

Translation Studies

Translating existentialism in the Cold War: The comparative reception of Jean-Paul Sartre and Albert Camus in three USIS-funded journals in Taiwan

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5 **Translating existentialism in the Cold War: The comparative**
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7 **reception of Jean-Paul Sartre and Albert Camus in three USIS-**
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9 **funded journals in Taiwan**
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12 **ABSTRACT**
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16 This paper examines the reception of Jean-Paul Sartre and Albert Camus in
17 Taiwan during the cultural Cold War, focusing on three USIS-funded journals.
18 The researchers analyze archival materials through the lens of Lefevre's
19 (1992) concept of patronage to investigate the patronage networks shaping the
20 reception of Sartre and Camus. It then applies narrative theory (Baker 2006) to
21 examine the public narratives about these writers created by the translations
22 and the paratextual materials surrounding them, and how these public
23 narratives were shaped by the meta-narrative of the Cold War. The results
24 reveal that, while the public narratives about Sartre and Camus differed
25 significantly, all their works were subject to the patrons' ideological influence.
26 Works by Sartre and Camus that aligned with the Cold War meta-narrative in
27 Taiwan were selected, while works that ran against that narrative were
28 deselected. At the same time, almost all the works of Camus and Sartre
29 selected were translated faithfully, except for some sensitive words and
30 sentences regarding communism. **Censorship took place primarily in the**
31 **selection of works and in their packaging rather than in the translations.**
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46 **Keywords:** USIS-funded journals; Jean-Paul Sartre; Albert Camus; Taiwan;
47 the cultural Cold War; public narratives
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51 **1. Introduction**
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53 During the Cold War period (1947–1989), translation was used as an instrument of
54 propaganda and cultural diplomacy by both the United States (US) and the Soviet
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5 Union to validate and popularize their respective ideologies, to prevent the circulation
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7 of opposing ideologies, and to win over people's hearts and minds. And yet, while
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9 Cold War historiography has addressed the circulation of literary and other works as a
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11 weapon used by the two rival camps, it has, until only recently, largely neglected the
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13 role of "translation, one of its main vectors" (Popa 2013, 25). Translation during the
14
15 Cold War period has attracted some attention among translation scholars (e.g., Baer
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17 2011; Baer 2021; Lygo 2018), especially those studying Eastern Europe (e.g.,
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19 Thomson-Wohlgemuth 2003), but in recent years that attention has been increasing
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21 and broadening. The broadening of Cold War scholarship on translation is reflected
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23 not only in terms of geographic reach, such as Hong Kong (Li 2022), Taiwan (Wang
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25 2014; Wang 2015), Turkey (Arzik-Erzurumlu 2020), the Middle East (Haddadian-
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27 Moghaddam 2020), and Latin America (Guzmán 2020), but also in terms of the
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29 venues investigated. Much of the current research has focused on book diplomacy
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31 activities, such as the US Franklin Book Program (Arrabai 2019; Laugesen and
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33 Rahimi-Moghaddam 2022), the Soviet Progress and Mir publishing houses, and Cold
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35 War cultural diplomacy in the PRC (Ni 2022); much less attention has been paid to
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37 periodicals (e.g., Bollaert 2019; Li 2022; Rubin 2012), although they too were
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39 primary vectors of Cold War soft diplomacy. The present study seeks to contribute to
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41 the broadening of Cold War translation studies by focusing on Taiwan, a distinct site
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43 of Cold War translation activity within the Sinosphere, and by doing so through the
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45 study of three USIS-funded journals. By exploring Cold War translation in this way,
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47 we seek not only to broaden the geographic and institutional scope of Cold War
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5 reception studies but also to challenge the tendency to homogenize sites of reception,
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7 an enduring effect of Cold War binaries. To that end, we focus on two Cold War
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9 writers, Jean-Paul Sartre and Albert Camus, who are often grouped together as leading
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11 exponents of Existentialism but whose political affiliations in the Cold War were quite
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13 different and complicated.
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17 Both Jean-Paul Sartre (1905–1980) and Albert Camus (1913–1960) were French
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19 left-wing playwrights, existentialist philosophers, and Nobel Prize laureates in
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21 literature (although Sartre declined the award). They were both engaged in public life
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23 and committed to political participation and responsibility. They believed that people
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25 were committed to writing not just for the sake of writing but in order to use writing
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27 to promote a system of values, which Camus referred to as *littérature engagée*
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29 (engaged literature). After the Cold War started, their non-Communist leftism was
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31 strained by emerging polarization between the US and the Soviet Union. As the Cold
32
33 War intensified, the political affiliations and ideological positionings of Sartre and
34
35 Camus became increasingly divergent. Camus sided with the US and rejected
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37 communism, while Sartre's relationship with the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics
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39 (USSR) and other communist countries grew more amicable. Sartre and Camus came
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41 to embody the opposing sides of the Cold War, and each of them became his own
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43 side's moral and intellectual leader, although Sartre was never a Communist and
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45 Camus was never a partisan of capitalism. While there exist individual studies of the
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47 translations of the two authors in specific target cultures, such as Hsu (2009), Koş
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49 (2010), Aslanov (2012), Godayol (2016), O'Leary (2019), and Bollaert (2019), none
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5 of these studies investigates Sartre and Camus together, that is, from a comparative
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7 perspective. Specifically, this study examines the comparative reception of Jean-Paul
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9 Sartre and Albert Camus in three Taiwan-based journals that were fully or partially
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11 sponsored by the United States Information Service (USIS) based in Taipei during the
12
13 cultural Cold War.: *Literary Review* (文学杂志 wenxue zazhi), *Modern Literature*
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15 (现代文学 xiandai wenxue), and *Apollo* (文星杂志 wenxing zazhi).
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20 To investigate the comparative reception of Sartre and Camus in these journals,
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22 this study addresses the following three research questions: 1) What patronage
23
24 networks shaped the introduction of Sartre and Camus in Taiwan during the Cold
25
26 War? 2) What public narratives were generated about these writers in Taiwan during
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28 the Cold War, and how were those public narratives shaped by the meta-narratives of
29
30 the Cold War?; and 3) How were texts by Sartre and Camus translated in Taiwan
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32 during the Cold War? To answer these questions, the researchers analyze archival
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34 materials through the lens of Lefevere's (1992) concept of patronage to investigate the
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36 patronage networks shaping the reception of Sartre and Camus, focusing on the
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38 selection and deselection of texts for translation in the three journals under
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40 investigation. Baker's (2006) narrative theory is then applied to establish the public
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42 narratives about these writers created by the translations and the paratextual materials
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44 surrounding them, analyzing how these public narratives were shaped by the meta-
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46 narrative of the Cold War. Finally, a close comparative analysis of the translations
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48 against the originals reveals the extent to which ideology shaped translations.
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2. Taiwan in the cultural Cold War

2.1 *The domestic context of Taiwan*

In 1949, after their defeat by the Communist Party of China (CPC), the Kuomintang (KMT) government was forced to retreat to Taiwan, where it repeatedly failed to recover the mainland. The US continued to support the KMT government after it retreated to Taiwan, even when the People's Republic of China was founded on the mainland in 1949. The US recognized the capitalist government in Taiwan as the only legitimate Chinese government, offered Taiwan security agreements, and sold it weapons. For the US, the very *raison d'être* of the government in Taiwan was to "act as a bulwark against Soviet expansionism" and "a vital Western rampart against the Soviet threat" and communist infiltration (Scott-Smith 2012, 17). The US used Taiwan as a display window for capitalism in Southeast Asia and other neighboring countries and areas.

The KMT government tightened control over ideology in Taiwan, making the struggle against communism its highest priority during the Cold War period. The period from 1949 to 1987 in Taiwan is referred to as the White Terror (Bai Se Kong Bu 白色恐怖), when the KMT government systematically suppressed political dissidents, especially those who criticized the KMT government and expressed positive views of the CPC. Many intellectuals, such as Li Ao and Bo Yang, were imprisoned for allegedly resisting the rule of the KMT government and sympathizing with communism.

The KMT government in Taiwan encouraged journals, newspapers, magazines,

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5 and individuals to publish articles supporting the fight against communism. During
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7 this time, the literary field in Taiwan was dominated by the White Terror and anti-
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9 communist literature. Translation was also enlisted in the fight against communism.
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11 During the Cold War, American literature dominated imported overseas literature in
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13 Taiwan, in order to promote American values of freedom and democracy (Wang 2015,
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20 *2.2 USIA and USIS*

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22 President Truman signed the Smith–Mundt Act on 27 January 1948, which authorized
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24 the first large-scale peacetime propaganda effort overseas in US history. According to
25
26 the Act, the government funded and extended the existing bureaucracy of propaganda
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28 within the State Department. The United States Information Agency (USIA) was
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30 established in 1953 and operated until 1999, and it was known overseas as the United
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32 States Information Service (USIS). USIA and USIS were devoted to public
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34 diplomacy. U.S. propaganda targeted both people in the Soviet bloc and people in the
35
36 “free world,” including countries in Africa, Asia, and Latin America. According to
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38 Osgood (2002), USIA set up over 208 posts in 91 countries, none of which was
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40 behind the Iron Curtain. At the end of 1950s, about 50 posts were based in Europe, 34
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42 posts were located in the Near East and South Asia, 40 posts were placed in Latin
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44 America, 34 posts were in Africa, and 50 posts in the Far East. USIA set up a post in
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46 Taipei called USIS Taipei and a post based in Hong Kong called USIS Hong Kong.
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54 A network of intellectuals was established to engage civil society and steer
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5 public opinion in the “right” direction in Taiwan. Many of these intellectuals, such as
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7 夏济安 (Hsia Tsi-an), 张爱玲 (Eileen Chang), and 宋淇 (Song Qi), were
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9 sponsored by the USIS to write books discrediting Communism and Communist
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11 countries, to translate works on American culture, and to found journals, such as the
12
13 *World Today* magazine (今日世界) and *Literary Review* (文学杂志), to disseminate
14
15 the values of freedom, democracy and capitalism and to prevent the circulation of
16
17 communist thought (Li 2022; Wang 2014; Wang 2015). Translation and literary
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19 creation were intended to persuade Chinese-speaking audiences, both in Taiwan,
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21 Hong Kong, and the mainland, and in overseas Chinese communities scattered across
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23 Southeast Asia and in US Chinatown communities, of the universality of US values in
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25 a way that did not appear overly propagandistic. USIS Taipei played a central role by
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27 “providing materials for use by other posts to persuade overseas Chinese to look to
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29 [Taiwan] as the custodian of Chinese social and cultural values and as the
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31 representative of the real interests and aspirations of the Chinese people” (United
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33 States Information Agency 1961).
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41 The USIS employed many writers and translators to produce works to sully
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43 the reputation of the mainland. Eileen Chang is a great example. Chang was a
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45 renowned writer in the 1940s. After the PRC was founded on the mainland in 1949,
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47 she fled to Hong Kong and, like many intellectuals, was penniless. Then she was
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49 recruited by the USIS, the propaganda branch of the U.S. State Department, which
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51 was avidly looking for translators. Under the direction of Richard McCarthy, the
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53 Director of Cultural Operations at USIS Hong Kong, the USIS launched a Book
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5 Translation Program, which employed many contract translators at a relatively high
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7 salary. The US government and USIS selected which books were to be translated,
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9 such as Whitman's poetry, O'Henry's short stories, and Emerson's essays. USIS
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11 avoided a heavy-handed approach in its literary translation program, choosing to
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13 translate the works of American Renaissance writers, such as Emerson, in order to
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15 deliver American values of freedom and democracy without the taint of overt
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17 propaganda. McCarthy's Book Translation Program recruited Eileen Chang, who was
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19 commissioned to translate Ernest Hemingway's *The Old Man and the Sea* into
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21 Chinese in 1952, which was seen as a work promoting American democracy. Then
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23 she, at the behest of the USIS, wrote her own novel 秧歌 (Yang Ge), and translated
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25 this novel into English in 1955 as *The Rice-Sprout Song*. This novel depicted the
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27 ruthless nature of the land redistribution movement of the Communist government on
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29 the mainland and strongly denounced communism. Both books were published in
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31 serial form in Chinese in the 1950s in *World Today* magazine (今日世界, former
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33 name *America Today* 今日美国), which was a Chinese-language magazine published
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35 by USIS Hong Kong to promote individual freedom and self-determination (Li 2022).
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37 Chang also translated some of Emerson's essays for the USIA-funded *World Today*
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39 *Press* (今日世界出版社). Chang wrote her own novel *Naked Earth* (赤地之恋),
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41 which was also anti-communist, with financial support from the USIS Hong Kong in
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43 1954; she later rewrote it in English. The USIA provided Chang with the plot line of
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45 the novel and asked her to fill in the details, although Chang also maintained a degree
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47 of creative autonomy by diverging from the USIA's anti-Communist agenda. Copies
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5 were later distributed to other USIS posts in Southeast Asia, and they were offered to
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7 local visitors to the USIS libraries as free reading material. According to the
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9 operations memorandum from USIS Taipei to USIS Hong Kong dated 17 January
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11 1961, the novel *Naked Earth* was part of the China Reporting Program (USIS Taipei
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13 1961). In other words, USIS Hong Kong regarded the novel as a report on the actual
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15 situation on the mainland rather than a work of fiction. USIS Taipei requested 50
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17 copies of the novel *Naked Earth* if USIS Hong Kong still had them in stock (USIS
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19 Taipei 1961). Chang later went to the USA as a refugee with the help of the USIS and
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21 Richard McCarthy.
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26 27 **3. The patronage network of the three journals**

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29 *Literary Review* published its first issue on September 20, 1956, and its last issue on
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31 August 20, 1960, with 夏济安 (Hsia Tsi-an), a professor of English literature at the
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33 National Taiwan University, serving as its chief editor. The USIS Taipei sent a
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35 foreign service dispatch to USIA in Washington on January 25, 1960, whose subject
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37 was “Survey of Taipei Chinese-Language Publication: Literary Review” (USIS Taipei
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39 1960). According to this dispatch, *Literary Review* was “a USIS Taipei unattributed
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41 Chinese monthly publication,” which means this journal was completely sponsored by
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43 the USIS Taipei. *Literary Review*, a patronized monthly literary journal, was a part of
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45 the Chinese-language program of the USIS in Taipei, and thus a medium of
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47 propaganda for the US in the Cold War. It published 4500 copies per issue, and
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49 almost half of the revenue came from USIS. Most of these copies were sent to the
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5 USIS posts in Southeast Asia to influence Chinese intellectuals there and to reduce
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7 the impact of the CPC.
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10 *Modern Literature* was founded by 白先勇 (Pai Hsien-yung) and other
11 students at the National Taiwan University in 1960, who were all students of Hsia
12 Tsi-an. The end of *Literary Review* and Hsia Tsi-an's departure for the US inspired
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14 Pai Hsien-yung and other co-founders to create *Modern Literature*, so this journal can
15
16 be seen as a continuation of *Literary Review*, although Pai Hsien-yung and his
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18 colleagues were more avant-garde than Hsia Tsi-an. This journal ceased publication in
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20 1983. Pai Hsien-yung said there were no more than two thousand copies per issue,
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22 and that the copies of this journal were distributed to Taiwan, Singapore, Malaysia,
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24 and Hong Kong (Pai and Berry 2016, 49-50). Yu Kwang-chung (1983), one of the
25
26 **main actors of *Modern Literature***, argued that this journal was also supported to some
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28 degree by the USIS Taipei. Xu (2003) also claimed that this journal, influenced by
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30 *Literary Review*, was admired by **Wu Lucian**, and thus received financial support
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32 from USIS. Pai Hsien-yung (2012), however, denied that the journal was sponsored in
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34 any way by USIS Taipei, maintaining that USIS never provided him with funds to run
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36 the journal but simply bought 600 copies of the tenth issue and 600 copies of the
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38 eleventh issue of the journal. The relationship with the USIS did not extend beyond
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40 this. With the ninth issue, *Modern Literature* ran into financial difficulties, and
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42 Richard McCarthy of USIS bought some copies to support the journal. Pai Hsien-
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44 yung (2012) argued that the funding to found *Modern Literature* was raised by him
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46 from his family's friends and that this journal never received any foreign aid. This
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5 may be true, but he did not mention the fact that USIS was among the primary
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7 purchasers of the journal.
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10 Archival materials contradict Pai Hsien-yung's claim. The operations
11 memorandum from the USIS Singapore (1960) to the USIS post in Taipei of 10
12 October 1960 shows that after reviewing the second issue of the bi-monthly Chinese
13 literary journal *Modern Literature*, the USIS post in Singapore found the journal to
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15 “appear quite readable and acceptable as a good substitute for the demised
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17 LITERARY REVIEW” (USIS Singapore, 1960). Based on this, the USIS post in
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19 Singapore requested that the USIS post in Taipei ship 200 copies of every issue of
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21 *Modern Literature* to the USIS post in Singapore “for distribution to all secondary
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23 Chinese schools, and public libraries in Singapore and the three territories of British
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25 Borneo” (USIS Singapore, 1960). The USIS in Singapore requested that the 500
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27 copies of the tenth and eleventh issues of the *Modern Literature* journal “be sent
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29 directly to the persons on the attached list, in no way attributed to USIS” (USIS
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31 Singapore, 1961). Moreover, because some of the key actors behind this journal are
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33 alive, many archival documents regarding the journal and the actors associated with it
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35 are still classified. It is likely that USIS Taipei, USIS Malaysia, USIS Hong Kong and
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37 other USIS posts in Southeast Asia also bought copies and that USIS posts were its
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39 primary customers. In addition, it was Richard McCarthy of USIS who recommended
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41 Pai Hsien-yung and the co-founders to attend the Writers’ Workshop at the University
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43 of Iowa, and he helped them obtain scholarships. Paul Engle, the director of the
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45 Writers’ Workshop at the University of Iowa, believed that “writers could serve in the
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5 soft diplomatic struggle against the Soviet Union” and thus he became “by the 1960s,
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7 the creative writing cold warrior par excellence” (Bennett 2015, 11). Thus, this
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10 program “complemented other campaigns to establish the arts and sciences as a
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12 counterforce to Soviet domination and a bulwark against international instability”
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14 during the Cold War (89).
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17 The literary journal *Apollo* was founded in 1957 and published articles that
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19 fought against communism and promoted American education, democracy and law. It
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21 also published articles that indirectly criticized the Kuomintang, and some of its
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23 authors were even imprisoned for criticizing the authorities. In 1966, *Apollo* was
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25 forced to shut down after it published an article titled “Free China”. According to a
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27 memo from USIS Taipei to USIS Singapore on 12 June 1961, the subject of which
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29 was “Chinese Language Periodicals”, USIS Taipei sent 15 copies of *Apollo* to
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31 Singapore, at a total cost of 22.50 USD (USIS Taipei 1961). In this memo, USIS
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33 Taipei informed USIS Singapore that it hoped these readers would subscribe to the
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35 journals on their own instead of through the USIS posts, and that publishers should
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37 not mention USIS in any transactions (USIS Taipei 1961). According to Wang
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39 (2015), USIS purchased some copies of 19 issues of *Apollo* and sent them to other
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41 USIS posts (109).
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49 As Wang (2014) argues, the journals under the U.S. Aid Literary Institution in
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51 Taiwan can be divided into two categories: “the first kind of journals was sponsored
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53 and distributed by USIS Taipei”, such as *Literary Review*, and “the second kind of
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55 journals was USIS Taipei bought the copies of the journals and sent them to other
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USIS posts”, such as *Modern Literature* and *Apollo* (78). “Under the US plans, *Literary Review* was founded to fight against communism, and *Modern Literature* was sponsored by the USIS Taipei and distributed to Southeast Asia because of its anti-communist stance”, so “the two journals did not resist the official policies of literature and arts but indirectly ‘support’ the policies” (75). USIS Taipei provided the journals, translators, and editors with technical and editorial support, allowed them to obtain source texts from USIS, which eliminated the risk of copyright violation, sent copies of these journals to USIS posts in other countries, and cleared any barriers for the journals and works to circulate in other countries. The difference between USIS involvement and Lefevere's (1992) original concept of patronage is that the US had to hide its patronage during the Cold War in order to avoid the taint of propaganda and the charge of neo-imperialism.

4. The selection and de-selection of works by and about Sartre and Camus for publication in the three journals

4.1 The selection of works by and about Sartre and Camus for publication in the journal *Literary Review*

Literary Review, which was completely supported by USIS Taipei, did not publish any works by Sartre, which may have been requested by USIS Taipei and/or determined by the meta-narratives of Taiwan in that specific context: during the Cold War and the White Terror, anti-communism was the meta-discourse. Besides the contextual factors, the actors' personal ideology played a role in selecting and de-

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5 selecting works for translation and publication. Some of them were employed by
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7 USIS Taipei and some were anti-communists.
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10 As shown in Table 1, *Literary Review* published nine works, both fictional and
11 philosophical, by and about Camus. It published the translation of four short stories
12 from the *Exile and the Kingdom*, and *The Myth of Sisyphus*, Camus's representative
13 philosophical work that expounds his notion of absurdism, and four introductory
14 articles about Camus's literature and philosophy. Therefore, *Literary Review* played a
15 pioneering role in the translation and introduction of existentialist literature in
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Publication Date	Volume number and issue number	Chinese Title with English Translation (our own or the source text)	Author	Transla tor(s)
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1958/1/20	Vol.3, No.5	客人 (“L’Hôte” “The Guest” (an excerpt from <i>Exile and the Kingdom</i>)	Albert Camus	Zhu Naichan g ¹
1958/5/20	Vol.4, No.3	评卡缪的一部短篇小 说集 (Review of Camus’s A Short Story Collection)	Norman Podhoretz	Zhu Naichan g
1959/5/20	Vol.6, No.3	现代艺术与存在主义 (Modern Art and Existentialism) (an excerpt from <i>Irrational Man</i> discussing many literary figures, including Sartre and Camus)	William Barrett	Zhu Nandu
1960/3/20	Vol.8, No.1	荡妇 (“La Femme Adultère” “The Adulterous Woman” (an excerpt from <i>Exile and the Kingdom</i>))	Albert Camus	Zhu Nandu
1960/4/20	Vol. 8, No. 2	卡缪的 “荒谬论” (Camus’s Absurdism)	Gao Ge	

¹ Zhu Naichang, Nandu and Zhu Nandu are the same person.

1960/4/20	Vol. 8, No. 2	卡谬论(On Camus)	Charles Rolo	Liu Shaoming
1960/4/20	Vol. 8, No. 2	论卡谬的小说(On Camus's Fiction)	Germaine Brée	Shi Zhuang
1960/4/20	Vol. 8, No. 2	叛教者("The Renegade") (an excerpt of <i>Exile and the Kingdom</i>)	Albert Camus	Nandu
1960/4/20	Vol. 8, No. 2	薛西弗斯的神话 (Le mythe de Sisyphe) (<i>The Myth of Sisyphus</i>)	Albert Camus	Zhu Naichang
1960/8/20		沉默的人们 ("Les Muets" "The Silent Men" (an excerpt from <i>Exile and the Kingdom</i>)	Albert Camus	Zhu Nandu

Table 1. The selection of works by and about Sartre and Camus for publication in the journal *Literary Review*.

Selective appropriation allowed the journal to introduce writers who were aligned with the narratives of Taiwan at that time, which were profoundly shaped by Cold War politics and ideology. Thus, Camus's literary and philosophical works were

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5 published in this journal, and the author was framed as a great modernist writer and
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7 philosopher. The selection of Camus's works for translation and publication can be
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9 considered a form of narrative accrual, which contributes to the construction and
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11 reinforcement of the Cold War (meta-) narratives of Taiwan and the USA. In contrast,
12
13 the de-selection of Sartre's works for translation and publication serves to limit,
14
15 curtail, and suppress competing or counter-narratives.
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20 21 *4.2 The selection of works by and about Sartre and Camus for publication in the* 22 *journal Modern Literature*

23
24 A total of six works by and about Sartre were published in *Modern Literature* (see
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26 Table 2). The ninth issue of *Modern Literature* featured a special section devoted to
27
28 Sartre, consisting of four articles. The other two essays by Sartre are related to
29
30 Camus; in one, Sartre praises Camus, while the other is Sartre's letter of reply to
31
32 Camus, both of which were published in the two sections devoted to Camus. Such
33
34 decisions to translate and publish Sartre's works might reflect the aesthetic and
35
36 literary preferences of the journal's key actors for Sartre's philosophical thoughts and
37
38 existentialist literature. They may be interpreted as acts of individual courage or
39
40 temerity on the part of these actors in those politically and ideologically charged
41
42 years. This suggests that *Modern Literature* was more avant-garde than *Literary*
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44 *Review* and dared to introduce Sartre and his works to Taiwanese audiences, and that
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46 the second kind of journals sponsored by the USIS Taipei could have had more
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Publication Date	issue number	Chinese Title with English Translation (our own or the source text)	Author	Translator
1961/7/20	No. 9	沙特小传 (The Brief Introduction to Sartre)	editors of the journal	
1961/7/20	No. 9	沙特存在主义的自我毁灭 (The Self-destruction of Sartre's Existentialism)	Guo Songfen	
1961/7/20	No. 9	存在主义即是人文主义 (L'existentialisme est un humanisme) (Existentialism Is a Humanism)	Jean-Paul Sartre	Zheng Hengxiong
1961/7/20	No. 9	无路可通 (No Exit) (a play)	Jean-Paul Sartre	Dai Qinzhi and Shen Shuxuan
1966/5/15	No. 28	鼠疫 (<i>La Peste</i>) (The Plague) (an excerpt)	Albert Camus	Zheng Hengxio
1966/12/25	No. 30	亚伯特·卡缪赞 (Tribute to Albert Camus)	Jean-Paul Sartre	Chen Lingxia

1966/12/25	No. 30	基督教徒和非基督教徒 (The Unbeliever and the Christian)	Albert Camus	Zhang Huizhen
1966/12/25	No. 30	我们这一代的赌注 (The Wager of Our Generation) (an interview)	Albert Camus	Zhang Huizhen
1966/12/25	No. 30	评“鼠疫” (Notes on <i>The Plague</i>)	Gaetan Picon	Chen Lingxia
1971/5	No. 43	呼吁阿尔及利亚平民间 休战讲词 (Call for a Cease-fire in Algeria (Speech))	Albert Camus	Zhao Shi
1971/5	No. 43	悲剧的未来 (The Future of Tragedy)	Albert Camus	Zhao Shi
1971/5	No. 43	预言的滥败 (The Failure of Predictions)	Albert Camus	Lei Wan
1971/5	No. 43	沙特复卡缪的信 (Sartre's Reply Letter to	Jean-Paul Sartre	You Chou

		Camus (after their friendship ended))		
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Table 2. The selection of works by and about Sartre for publication in the journal *Modern Literature*.

Modern Literature was arguably the first publication to comprehensively introduce Sartre’s existentialist philosophy and literature in Taiwan, although it heavily attacked his philosophy and literature. The possible reasons behind the journal’s decision to publish these articles are various. First, the chief editor of this journal was Pai Hsien-yung, whose father 白崇禧 (Pai Chung-his) was a military general and a high-ranking official in the Kuomintang government in Taiwan. One of the co-founders was Ouyang Tzu, whose father was an influential judge and a famous professor of law in Taiwan. Second, Pai Hsien-yung (Pai and Berry 2016, 38-39) said that, because the publisher of a journal needed to be responsible politically and criminally, he asked Bai Jianmin, an influential legislator who treated Pai Hsien-yung’s family quite well, to serve as the publisher. Therefore, *Modern Literature* never faced political pressure. Third, this was a journal founded and run by college students, which may have made the censors in Taiwan less vigilant.

As shown in Table 2, there were nine articles by and about Camus in *Modern Literature*. This journal published two special sections of “Research on Camus” (卡繆研究), and each section contained four articles. Although this journal has published many more issues than the *Literary Review*, the number of works by and about Camus

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5 in *Modern Literature* is almost the same. The reasons for this might be: *Literary*
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7 *Review* and *United Daily News* had published many of Camus's literary and
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9 philosophical works, and *Modern Literature* mainly published translated works by US
10
11 authors.
12

13
14 *Modern Literature* published the Chinese translation of an excerpt from
15
16 Camus's *La Peste* (The Plague) as “鼠疫”. The plague in this novel was regarded as
17
18 “a symbol of despotism and totalitarianism, of absolutism, or of the human condition
19
20 in general” under the Nazis and during the Second World War (Hsu 2009, 60). There
21
22 are several possible reasons behind the journal's decision to publish this translation.
23
24 First, at that time, communism was threatening Taiwan, and many actors and their
25
26 families were against communism. Second, the key actors of this journal might have
27
28 been dissatisfied with the totalitarian governance of the KMT government, which had
29
30 imposed martial law and the White Terror. So, readers in Taiwan at that time might
31
32 have related to the desperation and sense of imprisonment in this novel in relation to
33
34 the mainland of China or to their own government. Third, Pai Hsien-yung (Pai and
35
36 Berry 2016) said that Camus was and is one of his favorite writers, and this work is
37
38 considered highly representative of Camus's literary style. So, the editor's personal
39
40 tastes may have played a role in the selection of this particular work for translation.
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48 Camus's speech “Call for a Cease-fire” was delivered on 1 February 1956 at a
49
50 gathering in Algeria, but it was translated and published in Taiwan only in 1971,
51
52 which was a notable year. In 1971, the United Nations General Assembly decided to
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54 give all lawful rights, including the seat in the UN, to the mainland and to expel
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5 Taiwan. In the same year, Henry Kissinger made a secret trip to the mainland to
6
7 prepare for President Nixon's state visit the following year. Here, the translator drew a
8
9 comparison between the relationship between France and Algeria and that between
10
11 the mainland of China and Taiwan, implying that they should not engage in life-and-
12
13 death conflicts but instead resolve their issues peacefully. Moreover, the publication
14
15 of the translation of this particular text at this particular time suggested that Taiwan
16
17 should be independent like Algeria. The journal also published a translation of
18
19 Camus's article "The Failure of Predictions," in which Camus argues that Marx's
20
21 predictions that communist countries would triumph were doomed to fail and that
22
23 capitalist society worked well.
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30 4.3 The selection of works by and about Sartre and Camus for publication in the 31 journal *Apollo* 32

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34 In 1964, Sartre was awarded the Nobel Prize in Literature, although he declined it. In
35
36 the same year, *Apollo* published three works by and about Sartre, as shown in Table 4.
37
38 Two introductory articles exhibited negative attitudes toward Sartre's philosophical
39
40 and literary works, arguing that they were full of errors. The third text was a
41
42 translation of Sartre's fictional work "Le Mur" ("The Wall"), which was against
43
44 colonialism and fascism. In 1965, the journal published Hu's (1965) article "存在主义
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46 的接力者" (The Relay of Existentialism), which also introduced Sartre's works,
47
48 although the author did not recognize Sartre's literary and philosophical achievements
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50 or Sartre's political engagement in real life, which was quite understandable in the
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context of Cold War Taiwan. The representation of Sartre in the journal was a little more complicated than the meta-narrative might suggest.

Publication Date	Volume number and issue number	Chinese Title with English Translation (our own or the source text)	Author	Translator
1957/11/5	Vol. 1, No. 1	今年诺贝尔文学奖得奖人：“以真诚启发良知”的卡缪 (Camus, Winner of the Nobel Prize in Literature This Year, Who Uses Sincerity to Illuminate Human Conscience)		Jiang Sen (real name is He Xin)
1958/1/5	Vol. 1, No. 3	尚仁慕真反抗极权的卡缪 (封面) (Camus Who Adores Benevolence and Truth and Fights Against Totalitarianism (the cover of this issue))		
1958/1/5	Vol. 1, No. 3	坚决反共的卡缪 (封面人物介绍) (Camus Who Resolutely Opposes Communism (the figure on the cover))	Editors of this journal	
1958/1/5	Vol. 1, No. 3	《死刑》 (“Death Penalty” (the last chapter of <i>The Stranger</i>))	Albert Camus	Yu Kwang-chung
1958/3/5	Vol. 1, No. 5	卡缪和欧洲的年轻人 (Camus and Young People in Europe)	Shu He	
1961/1/1	Vol. 7, No. 3	忧愁的象征——卡缪周年记 (The First Anniversary of Camus’s Death—the Symbol of Depression)	Zhi Hui	
1963/4/1	Vol. 11, No. 6	略谈存在主义及其哲学上的渊源 (On Existentialism and Its Philosophical Sources)	Liu Nailiang	

1963/9/1	Vol. 12, No. 5	存在主义评述 (On Existentialism)	B. Russell	Hou Pingwen
1964/2/1	Vol. 13, No. 4	这一代法国的声音——萨特 (封面人物介绍) (Sartre— Voice of France in This Generation (the figure on the cover))	Guo Songfen	
1964/2/1	Vol. 13, No. 4	存在主义的文星——萨特 (封面) (Sartre—Existentialist philosopher and Literary Star (Cover))	Long Siliang	
1964/3/1	Vol. 13, No. 5	《墙》(上) (“Le Mur” “The Wall” (the first half))	Jean-Paul Sartre	Cui Wenyu
1964/4/1	Vol. 13, No. 6	《墙》(下) (“Le Mur” “The Wall” (the second half))	Jean-Paul Sartre	Cui Wenyu
1965/5/1	Vol. 16, No. 1	存在主义的接力者 (The Relay of Existentialism)	Hu Pinqing	

Table 3. The selection of works by and about Sartre and Camus for publication in the journal *Apollo*.

As indicated in Table 3, when Camus was awarded the Nobel Prize in Literature in 1957, *Apollo* published an article, which was the first work to introduce Camus in Taiwan. The article praised Camus as a fighter against colonialism and communism and as an admirer of the US. The first issue in 1958 published three articles by and about Camus. This was closely connected with the fact that the editors of this journal held anti-Communist beliefs, and the journal's creed was anti-

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5 Communism. This journal was patronized by USIS, and the dominant ideology of
6
7 Taiwan was anti-Communism.
8
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10 Although to somewhat varying degrees, the journals sponsored by USIS
11
12 published more works by and about Camus than those by and about Sartre, praised
13
14 Camus while attacking Sartre, and briefly mentioned or entirely overlooked Camus's
15
16 leftist stance and past connection with Communism. The editors published the works
17
18 largely because Camus was opposed to Communism. It is not clear that they fully
19
20 understood Camus's thoughts, and they might not have known that Camus was a
21
22 leftist who supported socialism. Therefore, the translation and publication of Camus's
23
24 works and his introduction to Taiwan readers in the Cultural Cold War might have
25
26 been due to the editors' and translators' misunderstanding of Camus or because they
27
28 relied solely on his anti-Communist remarks and his struggle against Communism.
29
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31 Second, although Camus's both literary and philosophical works were translated and
32
33 introduced in the journals, it was his literary works that were highlighted, which
34
35 allowed his leftist thoughts to be "smuggled" into Taiwan.
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41 The findings are consistent with Rubin's (2012) argument that the magazines
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43 and journals sponsored by the Congress for Cultural Production (CCF) and the
44
45 Central Intelligence Agency (CIA) consecrated the writers who shared their ideology
46
47 and ensured that only some writers were socially qualified to comment on public
48
49 affairs. The CCF seldom censored its own writers and "their positions were chosen in
50
51 advance," so "it would publish Albert Camus, not Jean-Paul Sartre," as Sartre's
52
53 ideological positioning was not the same as that of the CCF (54). U.S.-sponsored Cold
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5 War organizations silenced and marginalized those writers whose dissenting thoughts
6
7 and practices threatened to undermine the dominant US ideology. As Rubin (2012)
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9 notes, the CCF made “efforts to discredit and delegitimize” Jean-Paul Sartre (12) in
10
11 order to suppress and eliminate dissent, while the CCF conducted covert activities to
12
13 permit Albert Camus’s works “to travel in unlikely, unexpected, and influential ways”
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15 (17).
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19 Also, censorship has both a repressive and a productive aspect. As Baer (2010)
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21 argues, “translation scholarship has tended to focus on the repressive aspects of
22
23 censorship, on censorship as silencing, erasure and blockage” and overlooked the
24
25 creative power of censorship (22). Moreover, even in totalitarian regimes, it is more
26
27 porous and unpredictable in practice than one might imagine. As Sherry (2010, 2)
28
29 remarks, “censorship is dispersed among various actors and involves **processes of**
30
31 **cultural legitimation** as well as prohibition” and is “an integral part of the cultural
32
33 system and is internalized by its actors” Those processes often entail interaction
34
35 “between different actors, negotiation between different actors, each with vested
36
37 interests in the processes of cultural production” (2). Although the selection and
38
39 publication of articles published in the journals were subject to multiple controls and
40
41 censorship during the Cold War, many of Sartre’s books and articles, and French
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43 leftist thoughts were able to reach Taiwan, thanks to clever strategies of translators,
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45 editors, publishers, critics, and other agents.
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5 **5. The framing of Sartre and Camus in the three journals in Taiwan during**
6 **the Cold War period**
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9 According to the work of Gerard Genette (1997), paratext is critical material
10
11 surrounding a text that attempts to shape its interpretation. Genette (1997) breaks
12
13 down paratextual material into two types: peritextual, which accompanies the
14
15 translation within the book, and epitextual, which circulates separately from the text
16
17 itself, namely, outside the book, consisting of “elements in the public and private
18
19 history of the book” (xviii).
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24 This research examines both peritextual and epitextual material related to
25
26 these two authors in Taiwan. Introductory articles or critical articles played an
27
28 important role in introducing foreign writers and controlling and domesticating their
29
30 literary works in the receiving cultural field. As Bourdieu (1993) argues, the aesthetic
31
32 value of literary works is shaped by social, ideological, and institutional factors, and
33
34 thus literary production is heavily reliant on the institutional framework that
35
36 authorizes and legitimizes it. Especially in very hierarchical cultural systems, such as
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38 in communist countries, introductory articles or critical articles are one of the most
39
40 effective means to control cultural production.
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46 The corpus we analyze to deduce the public narratives about these authors are
47
48 the peritexts and epitexts of the articles by and about Sartre and Camus published in
49
50 the three journals *Literary Review*, *Modern Literature*, and *Apollo*. The researchers
51
52 analyze how the public narratives about Sartre and Camus were shaped by or
53
54 supported the metanarratives of the Cold War in Taiwan by conducting a critical
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5 discourse analysis (CDA) and narrative analysis of the materials, including articles
6
7 and introductions. According to Baker's socio-narrative theory (2016), there are four
8
9 types of narrative: personal narratives (narratives of the self), public narratives (stories
10
11 within any social grouping), disciplinary narratives "which are the theoretical and
12
13 historical accounts that circulate in any field of knowledge" (248), and metanarratives
14
15 which are very powerful narratives, and in the metanarratives we are embedded in as
16
17 contemporary actors or participants in history.
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22 Public narratives and metanarratives are especially relevant to this research.
23
24 Baker (2006) defines public narratives as "stories elaborated by and circulating
25
26 among social and institutional formations larger than the individual, such as the
27
28 family, religious or educational institution, the media, and the nation" (4). There are
29
30 different public narratives in any society, dominant public narratives and smaller
31
32 public narratives. Individuals in that society can either accept the dominant public
33
34 narratives or dissent from public narratives. Translators play a significant role in
35
36 "both disseminating and contesting public narratives within and across national
37
38 boundaries" (5). Metanarratives are overarching, powerful, grand and dominant public
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40 narratives, which structure and legitimize smaller constitutive stories and related
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42 events. As Baker (2006) contends, the meta-narrative of the Cold War "was
43
44 essentially an invention of the American political elite, soon to be followed by other
45
46 political elites across the globe. Its global circulation and reach required the kind of
47
48 economic and cultural muscle that only a super power could muster" and "[p]olitical
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50 and economic dominance may indeed be the prime factor determining the survival
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5 and circulation of political meta-narratives” (45). Of course, the Soviet Union
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7 promoted its own meta-narrative, and disseminated that meta-narrative in various
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9 modalities throughout the world and in translation.
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12 The actors in Taiwan made use of reframing strategies by adding introductory
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14 text to the Chinese translations in order to eliminate or tone down any counter-
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16 narratives and guide readers to “correctly” understand the texts. The public narratives
17
18 about Sartre and Camus were completely different in Taiwan during the Cold War.
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22 In the three journals under discussion, the public narratives of Camus were
23
24 those of a writer who was awarded the Nobel Prize in Literature for being
25
26 humanitarian, moral and just, and those of an existentialist philosopher, though the
27
28 former held much greater priority over the latter. In Taiwan’s discursive articulation,
29
30 Camus emblemized the rich combination of a righteous intellectual, moral light,
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32 philosopher, great writer, and political activist, who stood for universal conscience
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34 and the moral voice of his era, as he was regarded by the Nobel Prize committee as
35
36 one of the world’s foremost literary antagonists of totalitarianism. His public
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38 narratives were those of a warrior who fought against totalitarian regimes and for
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40 human reason, freedom and justice, as shown in Figure 1. The cover, which was a
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42 paratextual material, of the third issue of the first volume in the journal *Apollo* in 1958
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44 was Camus, and the title was “Camus who adores benevolence and truth and fights
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46 against totalitarianism”.
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53 Sartre, on the other hand, was criticized for betraying the truth for communism
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55 and siding with the Soviet Union and the Communists, for ignoring the fact that the
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5 Soviet Union imprisoned dissidents. The actors involved with these three journals
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7 argued that Sartre's literary creation was a complete failure, his writings were not
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9 deep enough or not philosophical enough, and Sartre's existentialist philosophy was
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11 illogical, unscientific, and irrational. They believed that Sartre was so immoral,
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13 depraved, and small-minded, with clever talk and an ingratiating manner, and that
14
15 Sartre became a teacher who spread evil, and his destruction of others and himself had
16
17 reached a terrible level. As shown in Figure 2, Sartre was on the cover of the fourth
18
19 issue of the thirteenth volume in the journal *Apollo* in 1964. The title was "Sartre—
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21 existentialist philosopher and literary star". The photo and the title did not the framing
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23 as clearly as the title of the Camus issue cited above.
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5 **Figure 1.** “尚仁慕真反抗极权的卡缪 (封面) (Camus Who Adores
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7 Benevolence and Truth and Fights Against Totalitarianism (the Cover of the third
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9 issue of the first volume))”, (1958) in the journal *Apollo*.
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38 **Figure 2.** “存在主义的文星——萨特 (封面) (Sartre—Existentialist
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40 Philosopher and Literary Star (Cover)),” (1964) in the journal *Apollo*.
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42 **7. The Chinese translation of Sartre’s and Camus’s works in the** 43 **three journals** 44

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48 Many Chinese translations published in the three journals were relay translations from
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50 the English versions. For example, the Chinese translation of Camus's (1971) article “
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52 悲剧的未来” (The Future of Tragedy) published in *Modern Literature* in 1971 was a
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54 relay translation from English of Camus’s *Lyrical and Critical Essays*. The English
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5 translation of this essay was “Lecture Given in Athens on the Future of Tragedy”. Yu
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7 Kwang-chung translated Camus's (1958) “Death Penalty” (the last chapter of *The*
8
9 *Stranger*) from Stuart Gilbert’s English version, which was the first time Camus’s
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11 literature was introduced in Taiwan. This translation was published in *Apollo* in 1958.
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14 Zhu Nandu translated seven out of the ten works by and about Camus published in the
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16 *Literary Review*. Given that Zhu Nandu majored in English literature at the National
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18 Taiwan University and taught English translation later in the mainland, it is likely that
19
20 his translation was done indirectly from English. There were many reasons for the
21
22 relay translation phenomenon. First, USIS Taipei probably provided the translators
23
24 with the English versions; second, many of the translators had majored in English
25
26 literature; third, the relationship between Taiwan and France was not good at that
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28 time. The French Communist Party became the largest political party in France in
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30 1946, with over half a million members, and often won more than twenty-five percent
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32 of the vote in national elections before the early 1970s. Moreover, some leaders of the
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34 CPC, such as Zhou Enlai and Deng Xiaoping, had studied in France. Many Europeans
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36 viewed Soviet intentions and capabilities realistically and thought “in terms of
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38 negotiating among rival states, rather than casting international relations in
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40 theological terms of good and evil,” unlike in the USA where McCarthyism had
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42 gripped the nation and Cold War ideology dominated American political culture
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44 (Friedman 2012, 90). For these reasons, France maintained a close relationship with
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53 the mainland of China.
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5 Almost all the translators faithfully translated the works of Camus and Sartre
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7 in the three Taiwanese journals under discussion, without major omissions or
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9 additions. We may conjecture as to why. First, only works that were closely aligned
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11 with the dominant narratives in Taiwan were selected, which rendered manipulating
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13 source texts largely unnecessary. Ideology shaped the translations at the selection
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15 phase. Second, Taiwan copied the systems of liberal democratic countries, which
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17 regarded censorship as an exceptional, even aberrant, practice that violated citizens'
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19 freedom of speech. During the Cold War, the liberal democracies attacked the Soviet
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21 Union and other communist countries for their censorship and control of the press.
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23 Therefore, the translators in the three USIS-sponsored journals in Taiwan may have
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25 chosen faithful translation strategies to show that they were superior to their
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27 counterparts on the mainland and that they respected freedom of speech.
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34 There were exceptions, however. References to communism were removed. In
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36 1961, the ninth issue of the journal *Modern Literature* published a Chinese translation
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38 of an excerpt from Sartre's (1961) book *Existentialism is a Humanism*. When
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40 translating political terms, the translator handled them very tactically. For example,
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42 when translating this sentence "nous ramène à une philosophie bourgeoise. Ce sont
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44 surtout là les reproches des communistes" (we are only espousing yet another kind of
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46 bourgeoisie philosophy. These are above all the reproaches of the communists) (28),
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48 the translator transliterated "bourgeoise" as "布尔乔亚" (bourgeoisie) and omitted the
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50 sentence "Ce sont surtout là les reproches des communistes" (These are above all the
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52 reproaches of the communists). Perhaps the content was considered too politically
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5 sensitive, especially as Taiwan was at that time undergoing the White Terror. For the
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7 same reason, the translator also omitted an entire paragraph discussing Marxism, the
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9 Russian Revolution, the communist parties in the Soviet Union and China, the
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11 proletariat, fascism, and political parties.
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13 14 **8. Conclusion**

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17 During the Cold War, translation took place within a complex political and
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19 ideological network that was profoundly influenced by patronage, although that
20
21 patronage was often covert. The authors found that all the translations of Sartre's and
22
23 Camus's works published in the three journals in Taiwan were subject to the patrons'
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25 ideological governance, especially at the selection stage. Works of Sartre and Camus
26
27 that fit the narratives of Taiwan were selected while works that ran against the
28
29 dominant narratives in Taiwan were de-selected. The meta-narratives of the Cold War
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31 shaped the selection and de-selection of Sartre's and Camus's works for translation
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33 and publication, and this selective appropriation in turn reified the public narratives of
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35 Sartre and Camus.
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41 Many Taiwanese actors translated the works by and about Sartre and Camus
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43 indirectly from English. Therefore, the selection of texts for translation into Chinese,
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45 it would appear, was limited to the texts available in English translation, an example
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47 of pre-selection. That being said, almost all the translators faithfully translated the
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49 works of Camus and Sartre in the three Taiwanese journals under discussion. This
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51 suggests that ideology intervened most significantly in the selection of texts for
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53 translation, not in the translations themselves, allowing the publishers to present their
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5 translations as faithful and true, free of ideological manipulation. In this way, the
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7 Taiwanese translators and journals could show that they were different from their
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9 counterparts in communist countries as they respected freedom of speech by not
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11 censoring works in translation, which was not entirely true. Some translators
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13 deliberately deleted and omitted sensitive words and sentences about Marxism, the
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15 Russian Revolution, and communism, which could “reveal the translatorial and
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17 editorial voice and the submerged ideological orientation of” these journals under
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19 discussion (Li 2022, 952).
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24 While the public narratives of Sartre and Camus that circulated in the three
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26 journals shared common features of the Cold War metanarrative in Taiwan, they also
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28 exhibited some differences. *Literary Review*, which was completely sponsored by
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30 USIS Taipei, did not publish any works by and about Sartre, but established Camus as
31
32 a moral writer and philosopher. But *Modern Literature* and *Apollo* still managed to
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34 publish philosophical and literary works by and about Sartre and published different
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36 works by and about Camus, which shows that the political patronage of USIS still left
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38 room for the aesthetic judgment of the individual agents, although they heavily
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40 criticized Sartre’s philosophical and literary works.
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45 By investigating the introduction of the works of Sartre and Camus in Taiwan
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47 in the context of the Cold War, this research contributes to recent scholarship in
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49 several subfields in Translation Studies, ranging from translation and ideology,
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51 translation in the context of the Cold War, translation and patronage, and translation
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53 as re-framing, among others. Especially important is the focus on East Asia in the
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5 Cold War and two politically engaged French writers, Sartre and Camus, which
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7 further complicates binary models of the Cold War. Within that complex system, in
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9 which culture and politics were profoundly entangled, translation played a central role
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11 in cultural diplomacy. It is hoped, therefore, that this research can offer a feasible
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13 model for investigating the role of translation not only in constructing and circulating,
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15 and through that circulation, reifying public and meta-narratives but also in
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17 challenging by making complex literary and philosophical texts available, in largely
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19 unabridged form, to interpretation by individual readers.
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