

政治、意識形態和運動政策 之政治歷史考察

——一個橫跨兩岸爭議之議題

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摘 要

本研究目的旨在探討政治價值對於臺灣運動政策系統的影響。本文的研究目的有兩個面向。首先、探討國民黨與民進黨對於臺灣的運動政策顯現在政治價值、政策主導權及運動政策制訂認知上，在國家層級及國際層級的不同。其次、臺灣逐漸發展兩黨政治，且對於運動發展有不同的政治意識形態之下，本文進一步深究，在此政治發展架構之下，國際間的發展對於臺灣運動政策的影響。本文核心探討議題，反映臺灣主要政黨對於中國的政治意識型態的不同。例如、國民黨及新黨的大中國主義及民進黨的臺灣獨立意識形態政治立場差異。此一政治意識型態不同之議題，源自國民黨自中國大陸轉進臺灣開始，而且與很多國內事務政策皆有關聯。但是國內對於運動政策在沒有深究之下，似乎看不出其關聯性。因此本文以提出相關論述及國會議員的質詢內容，並參考相關理論之觀點，呈現臺灣的運動政策發展圖像。

關鍵詞：政治價值、國民黨、民進黨、政治意識形態

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A Study of the Political History for Politics, Political Ideology and Sport Policy in Taiwan

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Abstract

The aim of this essay is to explore the political values in Taiwan sports policy system. It, first, explores differences regarding political values, and the nature of power struggles in sports policy between the KMT and DPP, and secondly, factors beyond Taiwan, are discussed, such as, what effect changes in global context have had on Taiwan? Concerning the status of Taiwan, the new development of two political parties with ideologies, which are contrasting in some significant ways, has implications for sports policy. The major divisions between the ideologies can be defined in relation to the Mainland China issue. The parties of KMT, the People First Party (PFP), and the New Party (NP) can be described as adopting a 'greater Chinese nationalist ideology. In contrast, the DPP and the Taiwan Independence Party (TAIP) are associated with a policy of 'separated development' and independence for Taiwan. Ideological differences associated with this issue have run deep since 1949. However, though its origins are in political reaction with the mainland, this ideological cleavage signals other policy implications in a wide range of what might at first sight seem unrelated policy areas. For these reasons, this essay present and provide regarding academic debates and political intention from Member of Parliament and theoretical concepts to provide a whole picture of the development of sport policy.

Keywords: political values, KMT, DPP, political ideology

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Introduction

“It is dangerous to exaggerate the significance of sport in terms of the construction and reproduction of political identities. Many people are simply not interested in sport or, if they are, their interest is not so great that it plays a major role in defining who they are. That said, huge numbers of people throughout the world are enthusiastic players, administrators and followers of sport and, for many of them, their sporting preferences are deeply significant. This is certainly true in relation to the construction of identities”.¹ It is at least as true when we turn our attention to other political identities, most notably those that are bound up with nations, nation states and nationalism between Taiwan and China. At the most basic level of analysis, it is easy to see the extent to which sport, arguably more than any other form of social activity in the modern world, facilitates flag waving and the playing of national anthems, both formally at moments such as medal ceremonies and informally through the activities of fans. Indeed there are many political nationalists who fear that by acting as such a visible medium for overt displays of national sentiment, sport can actually blunt the edge of serious political debate. No matter how one views the grotesque caricatures of national modes of behavior and dress that so often provide the colorful backdrop to major sporting events, one certainly cannot escape the fact that national identities, in some form or another, and sport are closely linked. It is important to appreciate, however,

¹ This paragraph is quoted by Alan Bairner, “Sport, the Nation State and Political Identities,” *Sport Studies*, 7 (Taipei, Dec. 2008):162.

that the precise nature of their relationship varies dramatically from one political setting to another and that, as a consequence, it is vital that we are alert to a range of different conceptual issues.

In 1949, the Chiang Kai-shek regime retreat to Taiwan and continued as the ruling power over the Republic of China (ROC). The regime claimed to IOC about its jurisdiction of Chinese Olympic Committee in Taiwan.² However, with the rise of Mainland China, most of the countries turned to recognise PRC as the only 'China' rather than 'ROC'. In 1954, the Olympic Committee of PRC was recognised by IOC. Thus, a "two-Chinas" situation was created in Olympic movement. However, this situation couldn't be accepted by PRC, since one China policy is considered a national benefit of PRC. In order to solve this problem, in 1981, an agreement was reached in Lausanne, Switzerland, that the Olympic committee in Taiwan is recognized as the name of "Chinese Taipei Olympic Committee" (CTOC), and the flag and anthem of CTOC needs to be recognized by IOC, which means CTOC cannot use the national flag/anthem, so as to solve the "two-Chinas" situation. In addition, Samaranch, the then president of IOC guaranteed that CTOC would be treated just like other NOCs. The result is well known as the 'Olympic Formula' giving Taiwan the right to participate in international sports event, even though Taiwan was expelled by United Nations. In the meanwhile, the PRC is attempting to exclude Taiwan from, attending and bidding for these international sports events. Hence, the tensions increase and many conflicts happened in international sporting field, especially in Olympic Movement.³

² Please see C. C. Lee and H. Y. Liu, "The Formation and Debate of the Olympic Formulation," *Zhong Hua Ti Yu*, 25.3 (Taipei, Sep. 2011): 555-563.

³ In this political debate regarding Chinese Taipei participating IOC under PRC's One

With this basis of presentation, this essay, first, explores differences regarding political values, and the nature of power struggles in sports policy between the KMT and DPP, and how different perceptions of sports policy within the two parties diverged or overlapped at both international and national levels. Secondly, factors beyond Taiwan, are discussed, such as, what effect changes in global context have had on Taiwan? With the Taiwan state, the new development of two political parties with ideologies, which are contrasting in some significant ways, has implications for sports policy. The major divisions between the ideologies can be defined in relation to the Mainland China issue. The parties of KMT, the People First Party (PFP), and the New Party (NP) can be described, as we shall see in the following section of this paper, as adopting a ‘greater Chinese nationalist ideology’. In contrast, the DPP and the Taiwan Solidarity Union (TSU) are associated with a policy of ‘separated development’ and independence for Taiwan. Ideological differences associated with this issue have run deep since 1949. However, though its origins are in political reaction with the mainland, this ideological cleavage signals other policy implications in a wide range of what might at first sight seem unrelated policy areas.

For this essay, the empirical analysis of this research draws on the evidence provided by key actors in the Taiwan state who have played a significant role in enabling sports policy output. In order to understand the mechanisms in between politics, political ideology and sport policy over the decades, politicians’ perceptions (evidenced in a review of parliamentary debates) provided a useful empirical picture of sports policy. Other data

China Policy, in the beginning of 1980s was political critically. The debate can see Hung-Yu Liu, “A Study of the Signing of Lausanne Agreement between IOC and Chinese Taipei,” *Sport Studies*, 1 (Taipei, June 2007): 53-83.

sources employed included government reports, and press account as well as interviews with policy key actors.

Political Ideology and its function in Policy

Much of the concern with the development of political ideology has been limited to Western states, with classic distinctions between liberal, socialist, conservative and communist ideologies. Ideologies have become central to political life in western countries from the onset of modernity and the enlightenment project, after the American and French Revolutions. They share the same “modern agenda and response to the problems which emerged from the end of the 18th century and whose development formed the context in which the ideologies themselves unfold during the nineteen and twentieth century’s” It is important to acknowledge that for a number of theorists, particularly those of Marxist orientation, the nature of ideology is characterized in terms of the promotion of certain interests. As Baradat has noted “political ideology is a tool to justify political parties’ position in society. Ideology is nothing more than a fabrication used by a particular group of people to justify them. The concepts of an ideology were “completely subjective, and they were used to justify the ruling class of society”.⁴

However, while acknowledging that there may be aspects of hidden interests in the adoption of one or other political arguments, for the purposes of the discussion in this essay specifically and throughout the essay more

⁴ L. P. Baradat, *Political Ideology: Their Origins and Impact* (New Jersey: Simon & Schuster, 1997), 7.

generally, the concept of ideology adopted here is closer to that advocated by Hall than by Baradat: “A framework or network of values, concepts, images and propositions which we employ in interpreting and understanding how society works”.⁵ Marxist notions of ideology as false consciousness or as solely reflecting dominant interests are neglected for reasons which are well rehearsed in the literature.⁶ Henry points out that “ideologies may also be prescriptive, defending how society should work”,⁷ while Adams highlights the relationship of politics to ideology, and both emphasize that interests are reflected in ideological positions: “Politics is largely about reconciling conflicting views in order to come to collective decisions over what to do”. Conflicting views arise because people’s interests differ... “there are also broader systems of ideas about how society should be run, what values- such as justice, equality or freedom-it should embody, and these are ideologies”.⁸

As Adams notes, in western countries political ideologies are driven by political parties, which embrace, for example, liberalism, socialism, nationalism or conservatism: “Ideologies are practical doctrines aimed at changing the world, and as such in the modern world it is political parties that are the chief vehicles”. The major ideologies such as, liberalism, socialism, nationalism and conservatism have parties based upon them.⁹

However, it should be noted that there is an absence of a developed literature on definitions of ideology in political parties in Taiwan, and this,

⁵ Please see S. Hall, *Conformity, Consensus and Conflict* (Milton Keynes: Open University, 1982).

⁶ Please see A. Giddens, *New Rules of Sociological Method: A Positive Critique of Interpretative Sociologies* (London: Hutchinson, 1976).

⁷ I. P. Henry, *The Politics of Leisure Policy* (2nd ed.) (Basingstoke: Palgrave, 2001), 31.

⁸ I. Adams, *Political Ideology Today* (Manchester University Press, 1993), 3-4.

⁹ I. Adams, *Ideology and Politics in Britain Today* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1998), 9.

coupled with the inconsistency in the parties' policies, makes the clarification of certain ideological positions in Taiwan a difficult task. The political context of the Taiwan might not be strictly amenable to analysis following western theoretical models. For example, Adams has addressed Fukuyama's point of view that "the world will become increasingly like America, since all peoples aspire to American prosperity and freedom". Yet, it could be argued that if people want prosperity, better models can be found in Asia.¹⁰ Adams noted that liberal democracy did not bring economic success in Japan, Taiwan, Singapore, South Korea and Hong Kong, but that this was achieved through a combination of the free market with various forms of authoritarian rulership. In the Taiwanese context, many of the value positions adopted in the above are adapted to the East Asian context and in some specific respects may be unique to the Taiwanese context. The purpose of this part is to explain the role of ideology in state policy development. The rationale for such an explanation is that while political ideology has traditionally influenced the policy-making process,¹¹ in Taiwan there are two fundamentally different political orientations. These are i) the 'Chinese Nationalist' position which mainly includes KMT, PFP (People First Party) and the NP (New Party); and ii) 'Taiwan Nationalist' which typically covers DPP and TSU. Different political orientations are often linked to the different views on policy making and implementation, while KMT dominated the Taiwan state from 1949 to 2000, its political orientation on the nationalist question was a vehicle to drive their policy even in apparently tangentially related policy areas. Before proceeding with the discussion of the political values of key actors in sport policy in

¹⁰ I. Adams, *Political Ideology Today*, 351.

¹¹ P. John, *The Study of Public Policy* (London: Pinter, 1998).

Taiwan, it will therefore be useful to provide a context in respect of the general ideological positions adopted by the political groups to which the above interviewees belong.

Politics and Ideology in the Taiwan Context

Schwarzmentel has highlighted how, after World War II, nationalism was experienced as an increasingly powerful ideology influencing world politics and political events throughout the world: Since the war, Europe has been built on a liberal project, civil society at the expense of the nation.¹² This project is today out of breath, and the nationalist passions, with their infinitely more powerful capabilities of mobilization, are again at work.¹³ The central and consuming issue in relation to politics in the Taiwanese context relates to the relationship with Mainland China. However this issue is subtly connected to policy areas other than inter-state PRC/ROC relations. Clearly it is linked to international relations, but also to aspects of domestic policy. KMT advocates one nation but plural systems. DPP advocates separate development but with a stronger emphasis on social welfare. Rather than one element in a Greater China, the DPP is seeking to construct a state which has some local echoes of liberal democratic states elsewhere in the world – if not welfare states then certainly states with forms of social provision. The DPP project of a ‘modern’, autonomous state is therefore one which promotes a different approach to

¹² J. Schwarzmentel, *The Age of Ideology* (London: Macmillan Press, 1998).

¹³ Please see J. Rupnik, “The Reawakening of European Nationalisms,” *Social Research*, 63.1 (London, summer, 1996): 41-75.

social welfare and therefore to sports policy.¹⁴

KMT was formed with the aim of building Taiwan as an element in a Republic of China as a free, democratic, prosperous, strong and dignified modern country. The KMT was founded by Dr. Sun Yat-sen and established Three Principles of the People guide the party. On the other hand, the Democratic People's Party was established on September 28, 1986. Based on the DPP Charter, it has shown the main directions in social and political development in the party. The above discussion thus reveals the potential for disparity between KMT and DPP in political ideologies. The DPP 'model' of a 'modern' state is one in which nation building is in part a social as well as an economic and political project. Sport as with other policy areas becomes important in a variety of ways. Some detail in terms of the differences between DPP and KMT of their Mainland policies can be seen in the next section.

Since 1949 the Chinese have lived in one of two societies on either side of the Taiwan Strait with different political, economic, and social systems. The KMT policy in relation to PRC focus on unification in the deciding period. The Mainland Affairs Council established in 1992 illustrates the KMT as promoting ROC/PRC dialogue. By adopting 'one China, two equal political entities' as the framework for cross-Strait relations, the ROC government hopes that relations will develop in a peaceful, pragmatic, and rational direction. The Beijing authorities should realize that this is the best way to promote the unification of China.

In the course of cross-Strait exchanges, Beijing should dismiss any misgivings it has concerning the ROC government's determination to achieve

¹⁴ Please see both the KMT and DPP website. www.kmt.org.tw and www.dpp.org.tw.

unification...Furthermore, both sides of the Taiwan Strait should adopt moderate unification policies; it is inappropriate to be too important as more haste will only mean less speed...There is no point in the Chinese seeking unification for its own sake, unification should take place under a reasonable and sound political, economic, and social system and way of life... Once the ideological, political, economic, and social gap between the two sides is bridged as a result of our joint efforts, the unification of China will come naturally.¹⁵

Prior to taking control in central government, the DPP insisted on Taiwan as an independent country and launched a number of initiatives to rejoin the UN both at the level of national and international communities. In addition, the establishment of a sovereign and independent Republic of Taiwan was declared as a goal in the political Charter of the DPP. Marsh suggests on the basis of a survey of political opinion that there are four types of response to the question of national independence from Mainland China. These are i) Taiwan nationalist; ii) China nationalist; iii) Pragmatist and; iv) Conservative.¹⁶

Taiwan's economy continued to face a decline in 2001. While the economy dominates the government's political agenda, equally its relations with China continue to provide a long-term threat to Taiwan's security. It will refer here to three types of manifestation at the level of international policy which flow from the clash of ideology in relation to the issue of Greater China/Two Chinas. These are problems within the Olympic movement,

¹⁵ Please see "Political Intention to the PRC" *The Mainland Affairs Council, 2003.*
<http://www.mac.org.tw/>

¹⁶ Please see R.M. Marsh, "Taiwan's Future National Identity: Attitude and Geopolitical Constraints", *Comparative Sociology*,41.3(London,2000): 299-314.

problems and conflicts between the ROC and PRC in international sports events, and problems between Taiwan and other neighboring states in sport specifically Japan and South Korea, principally of an economic nature.

Tensions within Aspects of Sports Policy and International Relations Resulting from Ideological Differences-Power struggles between the ROC and PRC in the Olympic Movement

Within this context, the IOC only recognized one Chinese Olympic Committee that based on Taiwan. However, in 1968 in a close vote, by 23 to 21, the IOC recognized two Chinas, both the communist controlled area, PRC and that controlled by the Nationalist ROC.¹⁷ The recognition caused tensions and conflicts for both the Chiang Kai-shek and Mao regime in the years which followed. The two sides attempted to exclude one another from the political arena through a number of political actions.

Since the DPP's first term in office from May 2000, the internal and external political environment has altered. The issue of interaction in sport with the PRC has been discussed including the immigration of sporting elites to Taiwan, both PRC elite sport coaches and PRC-born elite sports participants and their adoption of Taiwanese identity. The DPP legislators insisted on opening the door for sport interaction with the PRC before they succeeded in taking power in central government. Ironically, the DPP

¹⁷ Please see R. Espy, *The Politics of the Olympic Games* (Los Angeles: California University Press, 1979).

government did not pursue this policy during their first term in office. As Sandschneider notes, “Taiwan is a vibrant and a diversified civil society of 23 million people that has established a fully democratic system thus demonstrating that it is possible to transfer elements of western democracy into a non-western historical and cultural setting”.¹⁸ This democratic revolution was evidenced by the elections of 1996 and 2000, the latter returning a government of a different political party (DPP) for the first time. In 2000, President Chen reaffirmed the DPP principle of an ‘independent Taiwan’, his victory of the year 2000 presidential campaign may have made the leader of the PRC nervous in political terms and could have created potential tensions between the two sides. President Chen was a legislator who had regularly challenged the foreign policy of KMT and instead advocated increased freedom of political expression. Given over fifty years of KMT dominated central government, DPP not only has had internal political struggles with KMT but also has raised tensions with the PRC. As Van Kemenade points out: “Cross-strait and Taiwanese internal politics are more interlinked than ever before”. In the short-term, Taiwanese politics are bound to see more instability and chaos, leading to a further deterioration in cross-strait relations.¹⁹

At the same time, on the 21st March 2001 the President of the IOC, Juan Samaranch sent a formal letter of congratulation to President Chen and hoped that Chen would continue to support the Olympic movement in Taiwan. Two

¹⁸ Please see S. C. Tang, “The EU's policy towards China and the arms embargo,” *Asia Europe Journal*, 3.3 (Berlin, Sep 2005): 313-321.

¹⁹ Please see W. Van Kemenade, “The Political Relationship Among KMT, DPP and PRC,” *Washington Quarterly*, 24. 55 (Washington, June 2001): 55. It also can see Kuo-Hsiang Sun, “Can China Play a Responsible Stakeholder? The Role of China in Cross-Strait Relations,” *Views & Policies*, 3.1 (New York, Sep. 2006): 55-75.

days later, Chen met Wu the IOC member at the office of Formosan Foundation in Taipei. The meeting was important for the relationship between the two sides. An oral report addressed to President Chen affirmed that the PRC Olympic Committee was going to take part in the bidding to host the 2008 Summer Olympic Games. As Wu noted the importance of helping the PRC to bid for the Games in order to reduce political tensions had been stressed and the bidding for the 2008 Summer Olympic Games would be a key issue.

It would be important to support Beijing's bid for the Games. President Chen responded to Wu in a positive manner and addressed the issue with the media both nationally and internationally during the President's inaugural ceremony in Taipei. The announcement made Wu a politically sensitive figure in the world's media. Due to the concerns about voting for the host city in 2000, IOC Member, Wu pointed out his intention for voting for the 2008 Olympic Games. Taiwan is considering supporting Beijing to bid for 2008 Olympic Games and it may be possible that part of the sports events take place in Taiwan.²⁰ Wu also claimed to have supported the vote for the PRC in 2000 and 2008 for the bidding city.

My vote went to PRC when PRC was bidding for the 2000 Olympic Games. This year the vote will go to PRC again for the 2008 Olympic Games... If PRC takes the Olympic Games, personally I think it will be helpful to keep peace between two sides. The KMT legislator Ding supported in parliament the line taken by the IOC Member, and

²⁰ Wu, J. K. is the IOC member of Chinese Taipei. He pointed out the political relationship will influence the possibility to host mega sport event in Taiwan.

*highlighted the importance of the decision.*²¹

*According to the prediction of the IOC member, the PRC is going to bid successfully to host the Games. In order to reduce the tension between the two sides, it is the right time to release a friendly message to the PRC government... Particularly, the Ministry of Mainland Affairs and the NCPFS should plan and take the opportunities to open a positive dialogue again.*²²

The strategic political announcement with regard to the 2008 Olympic Games bidding made a number of DPP politicians challenge the role of the Chinese Taipei IOC member. DPP legislator Shie pointed out one of the key actors of DPP promoting and supporting the movement of 'independent Taiwan', argued that the IOC member had not made efforts to bid for the 2002 Asian Games for Taiwan.²³

The Chinese Taipei IOC member, Wu, with an unreasonable excuse, (his father's sickness), did not try his best to support the Chinese Taipei Olympic Committee to bid for the 2002 Asian Games successfully... Instead, he played an important role to help promote the PRC's bid. Wu is the IOC member. His role and his authority come from the influence itself within this IOC not the ROC government. However, the Ministry of Education should be concerned about the action. The Ministry of Education should stop the subsidies to the IOC member's office in Taipei.

The KMT politicians, Li and Shie have made the same argument and

²¹ S. J. Ding, "Issue of Bidding for the 2008 Olympic Games," *The Parliamentary Debate*, 90.9 (Taipei, July 2001): 291.

²² S. J. Ding, "Issue of Bidding for the 2008 Olympic Games," 291.

²³ T. M. Shie, "Issue of Taiwan Independent" *The Parliamentary Debate*, 84.35 (Taipei, July 1995):500

argued against the actions of the IOC member in supporting the PRC bid for the 2008 Olympic Games. The same author made the point further and argued that it would not be fair to other bidding cities and would jeopardize international relationships. The IOC member of Chinese Taipei visited the IOC member of PRC to discuss the possibilities for the two sides to hold the 2008 Olympic games together... This was a surprise to the people of Taiwan. Wu is acting on behalf of IOC without going against the IOC Charter. However, Wu's action has jeopardized the role of the IOC and was harmful to Taiwan's foreign relations with other bidding countries.²⁴ Relations with the PRC are apparently somewhat better than in the past and many problems have been solved. However, the issue of the 2008 sports torch relay raised by the Taiwan media has been problematic:

The Beijing authorities want the Olympic flame to pass through Taiwan for two reasons. The first is to show the outside world that it is sincere in wanting to thaw cross-strait relations and thereby win international support. Second they plan to use such a move to create the appearance that the people on both sides of the strait are Chinese and stir up identity contradictions in Taiwan. Such sensitivities suggest that the conflicts and struggles between the two sides of the Taiwan Strait will continue for some time into the future.

²⁴ Please see S. R. Li, "Issue of the IOC Member," *The Parliamentary Debate*, 89.48 (Taipei, July 2000): 574-575.

Conflicts between the Taiwan and China for Bidding the International Sports Events

Moving on to the 1990s, struggles in both the political and economic domains between the ROC and PRC at international level have been very visible. Economically, ROC/Taiwan witnessed economic development in the 1980s and an economic boom during the 1990s. At the same time PRC took off in economic development from the late 1970s. As Fan notes:

*“in contrast to the Maoist period, China’s development philosophy since the late 1970s has emphasized efficiency rather than equity, and open door rather than self-reliance”.*²⁵

The PRC also achieved its goal of economic growth up to the 1990s. The two sides have competed on a global scale using economic leverage to attempt to exclude one another from various markets through political actions. Shin provides an example of the exclusion through economic competition in the case of relations with France, with:... the Republic of China challenging its diplomatic isolation by economic means, [in for] example the case of the ROC’s efforts to develop relations with France [he goes on to describe]... the ROC’s campaign to promote relations via different types of economic diplomacy and the People’s Republic of China’s ability to undermine the ROC’s effort.²⁶

²⁵ Please see C. C. Fan, “The PRC Economic Strategies after Postwar Period,” *Annals of the Association of American Geographers*, 85 (Washington, June 1995): 421-429.

²⁶ Please see C. Shin, “Development of ROC-France Relations: The Case of an Isolated

Politically, the PRC insists on the 'one China principle' and avoids portraying an image of 'two Chinas' at a global level. The two sides did not reduce tensions but increased conflicts in international sporting events. The PRC has attempted to exclude ROC/Taiwan from attending and bidding for international sport events, such as the Asian Games and East-Asia Games.

However, Miller notes, "the PRC's actions in respect of ROC/Taiwan without regarding political-economic power over the years have provided a narrow view of the PRC's actions". In so many respects they are more rational than their ideological mainland brothers. After the severe flooding in southern China in the summer of 1991, Taiwan and Hong Kong donated substantial relief funds, Taiwan a massive \$15 million. Yet at the 1989 congress of the Olympic Council of Asia, representatives of the China National Olympic Committee had solemnly condemned the bid by Chinese Taipei National Olympic Committee to stage the Asian Games of 1998, on the grounds that the People's Republic team could not compete in the land of Chiang Kai-shek.²⁷

The doubt, which Miller raises above, can be understood in the change in policy direction by the ROC. From 1949 to the early 1970s Taiwan relied on diplomatic and military support from the US in its stand-off with Mainland China both in the international relations generally and the Olympic movement in particular. However, in the period from 1971 to 1979, the ROC renounced the United Nations and cut foreign ties with the United States of America. Following the failure of its foreign affairs initiators, the ROC government considered adopting a different approach to become involved in the new

State and its Economic," *Issues & Studies*, 37.1, (London, March 2001): 124-159.

²⁷ D. Miller, *Olympic Revolution: The Bibliography of Juan Antonio Samaranch* (London: Pavilion, 1992), 176.

international environment. As a result, a more pragmatic approach was adopted. Joei highlights the key points of this pragmatic approach adopted by the ROC government.²⁸

Pragmatic diplomacy in its basic sense consists of expedient measures and methods adopted to deal with external relations and matters when a normal approach to official diplomacy is not operable, the practice of which is called pragmatic diplomacy or subtle diplomacy.²⁹ The facts are that there were 20,688 people in the ROC, and 1,964 citizens in Mainland China who benefited from the policy to allow cross-strait visits. The number has increased every year by around 500 under such a pragmatic approach. Following this development, the ROC Olympic Committee/Chinese Taipei also changed its strategy in seeking to rejoin the international sports community. Taiwan now embraced the IOC's decision not to allow it to use the title of Republic of China, and took the title, 'Chinese Taipei' from 1986. Under the so-called 'Olympic formula', the ROC government has focused on the aim of attending international sports events to enhance the image of the ROC.

The '1990 Taiwan Provincial Games' were being staged in Kaohsiung, the second largest city in Taiwan and ruled by the KMT Party. The city government decided to deliver the 'torch' of the Games to the island as symbolic gesture of ownership. Politicians from both the KMT and the DPP have raised this sport issue in relation to the argument of national identity

²⁸ Please see B. T. K. Joei, *Pragmatic Diplomacy in the Republic of China: History and Prospects*, J. C. Hu (Ed.), *Quiet Revolution on Taiwan, Republic of China* (Taipei: Kwang Hwa, 1994).

²⁹ B. T. K. Joei, "Pragmatic Diplomacy in the Republic of China: History and Prospects", 120.

between ROC and the Taiwan state. Both KMT and DPP legislators argue on the one hand, that central government has not paid attention to the issue and jeopardized the national image and right of the 'Taiwan' state to the island; on the other hand, legislators also suggested that the Mayor of Kaohsiung take political responsibility for this event. The DPP was established in 1986 and gained seats in the Legislative-Yuan in 1989. The new opposition party had differing views on the issue of the sports torch. The main focus was the use of the title of 'Taiwan state' and the right of the 'Taiwan state' to the island. The KMT government was withdraw from Mainland China and caused tension between Taiwanese and Mainlander... We need to recognize and understand that Taiwan is a state, with its own government, territory, legitimacy. Taiwan is an independent country.³⁰

The Mainlander Executive-Yuan leader, Hau responded to the argument with an ambiguous explanation. The action of delivering the sport torch was considered by central government... The government cannot stop the people, those who attempted to assert their right to the land. The Executive-Yuan has no right to halt the action and the central government evaluated this action as a reasonable means of asserting Taiwanese right effect ... The ROC government will continue to maintain the right of taking suitable action to protect its people. At the same time, the government would not consider taking military action.³¹ Significant arguments and discussions have been raised in parliament. In particular, the opposition party successfully lobbied for the record of martial law in and after 1987. The ROC removed 'martial law' and

³⁰ Please see T. T. Tian, "Issue of Taiwan Independent," *The Parliamentary Debate*, 79.84 (Taipei, June 1990): 178-180.

³¹ B. T. Hau, "Issue of the Sports Torch," *The Parliamentary Debate*, 79.84 (Taipei, July 1990): 55.

opened the door to the PRC for individuals to visit in 1987 to increase interactions. The policy focused on Mainlanders, those who moved from Mainland China to Taiwan after 1945, to visit their families living in PRC. The DPP politician Wu argued that central government has considered the policy to PRC in a practical way; ironically, however, the KMT central government forbade interaction between academics and those involved in sport. Sport, art and cultural activities would be easier for interaction in the initial stages. The Minister of Foreign Affairs announced the policy to the PRC that opens all sorts of academic and sport interactions to the communist countries without PRC. The KMT government insisted unbanning all international academic and sports events to PRC... The policy apparently obeyed the will of majority of people in Taiwan... Opening the door to PRC has already gained huge support from people in Taiwan and also international society. More interactions would be expected between sports culture and academics. These types of interaction between the ROC and PRC could be more flexible for the two sides to interact.

The Minister of Education, Mau responded to the DPP politician Chen and claimed the policy that ROC would not join the Asian Games. Chen highlights the relationship between politics and sport, and notes the importance of rejoining global society. The KMT government announced a number of times that politics and sport cannot overlap... As result, attending 1990 Beijing Asian Games would be nothing in relation to politics... Furthermore, rejoining international affairs is the key policy of the government, and attending the Games is one of the best ways to achieve it.³²

³² T. N. Chen, "Issue of the 1990 Beijing Asian Games," *The Parliamentary Debate*, 77.23 (Taipei, June 1988): 39.

The other issues of sports interaction with the PRC discussed in the 1990s include the immigration of sporting elites to Taiwan, adopting PRC's elite sports coaches and the representatives of the PRC born sports elites to Taiwanese identity. ROC/Taiwan has experienced political and economic transition, and increased interaction with PRC because of both internal and external factors. Externally, the collapse of the USSR in 1991, France and the US agreeing to sell the modern fighter jets to Taiwan and, both PRC and ROC joining the WTO in 2001 have influenced both countries. Internally, the power struggle of the KMT politicians whose family origin both lay in Mainland China and local born Taiwanese in the KMT in 1990 has increased. The DPP recognizing Taiwan independence in its political Charter in 1991, President Lee visiting South Asia for economic cooperation in 1994 and visiting the US for political discussions in 1995. Those reflect changing circumstances. More seriously, the '1996 missile threat' in the Taiwan Strait raised significant tensions in the 1990s.

The PFP legislator, Jeng argues that: "The prohibition of the DPP government's policy regarding individual sport elites and groups to visit PRC for participating in sports events would significantly damage sports development in Taiwan in terms of sports related industry".³³ The DPP government responded to these issues in Parliament and stressed two key directions: The DPP government has seriously considered the needs of sport development in Taiwan... The DPP government has started to establish the 'Act and Charter' to regulate the interaction with PRC, particularly with individuals. In terms of sports groups and organisations reflecting on the

³³ J. L. Jeng, "Argument of the 'Sport Population Enlargement Plan' of the National Sports Council," *The Parliamentary Debate*, 91.30 (Taipei, June 2002): 105.

political interaction with PRC, the DPP government will consider carefully and make such intervention possible at a later date.

President of the PRC Olympic Committee, Yuan Wei-Min, visited the ROC/Taiwan for the first time in attending 'the 4th cross-straits Olympic Exchange Conference' (a series which began in April 1996), in 2001 before the voting for the 2008 summer Olympic Games. At the same time, many of the key actors in the COC (Chinese Olympic Committee) visited ROC/Taiwan to attend the 'Sports Administration Personnel Delegation' including six high and middle-ranking COC cadres and five major actors in the PRC Sports Federation. Apparently, the Chinese Taipei IOC member's efforts and the DPP government's strategic approaches had been also to ease the tension in terms of sports interactions. The DPP's foreign policy towards the PRC in the initial stages can be seen as a conservative approach and reflects its general party policy to PRC. This reflects its different political ideology to the PRC and also its attempts to strengthen the ideology of 'Taiwan nationalism' for the inhabitants of Taiwan in the initial stage.

Political Values and the Positions Adopted in Relation to Hosting International Sports Events in Taiwan -The Debate over International Sports Events Bids

The realities of sports bids, explores the criteria for bidding for international sports events, and examines the abilities of Taiwan to bid for such events. Evidence from interviews suggests that the majority of

interviewees were in favor of international sport events bids. The rationales of Taiwan to bid for the Games can be divided into the following points i) to demonstrate ability to manage international sports events; ii) the existence of sufficient sports facilities and staff, iii) to promote the national image and identity; iv) economic benefits and v) political issues. Some key actors in central government also provided an overview of the constraints for bidding for international events. The Director of the Department of Physical Education, Wu highlighted factors forbidding for the Games such as the chance to develop sports facilities. He stressed the importance of providing excellent sport facilities for the Games at international level. There are some practical issues government has to consider before bidding for international sports events... i) to gain more experience in managing a single international sports event; ii) more funding for sport development to promote national identity, iii) improving the ability to manage the event.³⁴ In addition, perceptions of the key actors in central government, including the DPE and the NCPFS suggest that national prestige and image might be the most important aspects in bidding for the Games. To hold the Asian or Olympic Games, Taiwan will benefit from promoting the national identity of Taiwan as well as from encouraging more people to attend sports. In order to achieve these goals, the government should focus on both how to achieve gold medals as well as on how to reach a high standard of managing international events.³⁵ However, the IOC Member from Chinese Taipei, Wu highlighted:

“both the benefit of bidding for the Games externally and the importance of reinforcing the Game’s management. Bidding for the Games

³⁴ This paragraph was interviewed with Director of DPE.

³⁵ This paragraph was interviewed with Director of DPE.

*successfully, the benefits are visible... more sports participation can be predicted; better images of Taiwan can be achieved... it will be very positive to host international sports events like the Asian, or the Olympic Games in Taiwan. By doing so, Taiwan should pay attention to enhance its ability to achieve gold medals, and to reach a higher quality of managing international events”.*³⁶

*“Furthermore, politically, the ‘one China principle’ plays a central role in bidding for the Games. Interviewees from both the DPE and the NCPFS highlighted the practical difficulties of hosting an opening ceremony with ‘two Chinas’ involved. In fact, without solving political issues such as ‘one China principle’, it is very difficult to bid for the Games successfully... The key issue is, which state represents ‘China’... The Asian Games and Olympic Games in the opening ceremony require the nation’s leader to announce the beginning of the Games in the country. It appears to be a sophisticated political issue between Taiwan and PRC”.*³⁷

Shiu also highlighted the unacceptable situation of holding international sports events without flying the Taiwan national flag. Taiwan has suffered from not being allowed to unfurl its ‘national flag’ at international sports events... If Taiwan hosts the Games without unfurling our national flag, it will be painful for people in Taiwan.³⁸ The dilemma for Taiwan to bid for international sports events can be illustrated by the explanation of two of the PRC’s scholars on PRC recognition, of Taiwan as part of China. This sensitive

³⁶ This paragraph provided by Chinese Taipei IOC member Mr. Wu.

³⁷ This part was interviewed with Director of DPE .

³⁸ This part was interviewed with Chairperson of NCPFS .

political issue significantly constrains the bidding for international sports events. Taiwan is a province of China. Taiwan sports organizations should be under the leadership of the Chinese Olympic Committee. Item 24 of the Olympic Charter rules that within one country, there is only one Olympic Committee that organizes activities according to the Olympic Charter and the Olympic Ideal.³⁹ The following section will explore the constraints and strengths of Taiwan bidding for major events, particularly the political issues.

Political Constraints and Sports Reality in Bidding for Major Events

Since Taiwan takes a political position against the PRC in international relations, practices such as the ‘one China principle’ and ‘Olympic formula’ have been reinforced in the bidding for international sports events. Chinese Taipei IOC Member, Wu argued that :

political rather than logistical issues would be the dominant ones in bidding for international sports events at the present time between the two sides. Internationally, under the ‘one China principle’, it is impossible for Taiwan to bid for the Games successfully at the present time in my opinion... Nationally, we also need to examine Taiwan’s abilities to provide sports facilities and to enhance sport excellence to win gold medals... Under the ‘one China principle’ Taiwan has been bombarded with negotiations and tensions for over thirty years. Take the

³⁹ Please see H. Fan, & X. Xiong, “Communist China: Sport, Politics and Diplomacy,” *The International Journal of the History of Sport*, 19.2 (London, March 2002): 319-342.

*1990 Asian Games in Beijing as an example; we had arguments between representatives over names i.e. 'China Taipei' and 'Chinese Taipei' in Chinese when the Games were held in Beijing... Over the past thirty years, tensions between the two sides have been escalating regarding the representatives of China. Indeed, the PRC has exercised power to prevent Chinese Taipei bidding for the Asian Games in 1990 and 1995 respectively.*⁴⁰

Since bidding for international sport events is a key sports policy of the DPE and NCPFS, the procedures and problems surrounding are important issues. KMT legislator Pan presented the difficulties of bidding for the Asian Games in parliament, arguing that Taiwan should not only consider internal issues but also the external challenge from the PRC: The Ministry of Education has bid for the Asian Games without considering the political issues...

*To bid for the Games successfully or not is not only a financial issue but also a political issue with the PRC... However, the Ministry of Education did not address the issue of the national flag, or the national anthem, which would cause political arguments with the PRC nor did it provide details of the NOC's abilities to gain medals.*⁴¹

The KMT legislator Ding echoes this in arguing that, "without consensus between the Ministry of Education, the Council of Mainland Affairs and

⁴⁰ This quotation was interviewed with member of Chinese Taipei in the time of 03/10/2001.

⁴¹ W. G. Pan, "Issue of the International Sport Event Bidding," *The Parliamentary Debate*, 83.49 (Taipei, July 1994): 497.

the Ministry of Interior, it would be difficult to bid for the Games”.⁴²

Understanding of the significance of the Asian Games is informed by an appreciation of the history of Taiwan's participation and its performance. The ROC was absent from the 1st, 4th, 7th, 8th, 9th and 10th Asian Games because of a political problem. ROC/Taiwan first attended the Asian Games in 1954, the 2nd Asian Games and gained 6th place at that time. ROC/Taiwan rejoined the Games in the 11th Asian Games. This performance in the last Games was 7th place. Taiwan is thus certainly among the leading nations in sporting terms in Asia, it not in the very top fight, and should have the ability to host the Games.

However, the problem of dealing with the obstruction of any bid by the PRC is paramount. Chan suggested that the possibility of political co-operation between the two sides would be doubtful without apolitical solution to the two China problems. The award of the 2008 Olympic Games to Beijing has animated the people of China, but has raised hopes, as well as fears, among the Taiwanese. The Olympic movement has enabled both countries to participate in international sports under the so-called 'Olympic formula'. It has also stimulated cooperation between them in such areas as science and trade. Can the Beijing Games bring the two sides closer together through the co-hosting of some events? Three issues may stand in the way: operational feasibility, juridical consent and political agreement. The most intractable problem is the 'One China Principle', a condition set by Beijing for further cooperation. The co-hosting project is not impossible, provided both sides have the political will to make it work. At the moment, however, this

⁴² S. J. Ding, "Issue of Bidding for the 2008 Olympic Games," 291.

political will seems to be wanting.⁴³ In 2000, the DPP took power in central government with its political slogan of 'Taiwan Independent'. This seemed to rule out any prospect of cooperation. The premier of the DPP, Chang, rescinded President Chen's announcement and in response to a question from a KMT legislator argued that under the 'One China Principle' it would be impossible to host any sport for the Beijing 2008 Olympic Games: President Chen claims that the public fully support the PRC to bid the 2008 Olympic Games... However, if the PRC insists on the 'One China Principle' as a condition for co-hosting part of the Games in Taiwan, the DPP government does not agree. The DPP government will only accept any sports interaction if it does not prejudice Taiwan's legitimate rights in the international community.⁴⁴

Political Values in Hosting International Sports Events in Taiwan: Resources Distribution between the North and the South of Taiwan

Arguments about the balance of the resources distribution between north and south Taiwan have generally existed over the years. To explain this it is necessary to trace political development at the south-north level in Taiwan since the Second World War. When the nationalists arrived, there were

⁴³ Please see G. Chan, "From the 'Olympic Formula' to the Beijing Games: Toward Greater Integration across the Taiwan Strait?" *Cambridge Review of International Affairs*, 15.1 (Cambridge, March 2002): 141-148.

⁴⁴ J. S. Chang, "The Argument of the 2008 Olympic Games," *The Parliamentary Debate*, 90.28 (Taipei, June 2001): 102.

conflicts between the Chang Kai-shek regime and local people particularly in the south part of Taiwan following the tragic '228 social movement' in 1947.⁴⁵ Given this historical tragedy, the DPP has had powerful support in south Taiwan. According to statistics from the Ministry of Interior, the DPP has held the majority of the vote in local governmental and presidential elections in the south virtually since its inception, while the KMT held the advantage in north Taiwan. The DPP holds the majority in South Taiwan including Kaohsiung city, while the KMT holds the majority of north Taiwan including Taipei. The competition to promote a representative city for the 2002 Asian Games raised the north-south argument in sport. The KMT legislator Lin argued that the selection of the bidding city for the 2002 Asian Games was unbalanced. It is doubtful whether international sports events could only take place in the city of Taipei or in Kaohsiung in ROC/Taiwan; they would at least require support from surrounding local authorities.

The Executive-Yuan has claimed and announced that bidding for the 2002 Asian Games is the main policy in central government... however, Taipei County takes more advantages than Taipei... Taipei County has an international standard Dome, supported by Sports Colleges, is rich in tourist resources and flexible transportation networks.⁴⁶ Finally, Kaohsiung won the right to bid for the 2002 Asian Games. In terms of sports facilities, south Taiwan had made efforts to maintain, renew and establish sports facilities to meet the needs. However, the KMT legislator Luo highlighted the shortage of sports college/education in south Taiwan to support international sports events.

⁴⁵ Please see J. S. Yu, ed., *Taiwan during the Post War Period: Land, People and Time* (Taipei: The China Times, 1995).

⁴⁶ J. J. Lin, "Issue of the Dome Building in Taipei County," *The Parliamentary Debate*, 83.15 (Taipei, June 1994): 188.

Since Kaohsiung will be entitled to bid for the 2002 Asian Games, most of the sports facilities will be maintained or established in this area. However, most sports education institutes are located in north and central Taiwan. South Taiwan still does not have any sport institutions. In order to facilitate the development of sport in South Taiwan and balance the sport education between north and south, a Sports College or Institute is necessary in the south.⁴⁷ Such observations reflect the unbalanced resource distribution between south and north Taiwan with regard to sport in relation to political traditions at local government level, and reflect a more or less overt form of clientelism between the major parties nationally, and their local political support.

Conclusions

The purpose of this essay has been to identify the dimensions in which politics and ideology are reflected in the Taiwan sports policy system. It is clearly explored ,first, the context of representatives of the Taiwan state through sport at a global level; secondly, the politics of the titles of sports events for the KMT and DPP; thirdly, relations on ability and reality in bidding for international sports event.

It is obviously that sports policy debates cannot be understood without a clear understanding of Taiwan's changing international situation, and the changing power balance in domestic politics. These themes offer the potential

⁴⁷ Please see C. J. Luo, "Issue of Bidding the 2002 Asian Games," *The Parliamentary Debate*, 84.6 (Taipei, June 1995): 134-135.

for an analysis of broader political, social debates particularly in terms of strategic relations between internal and external actors in the Taiwan context. Nevertheless, in relation to these observations, it is possible to draw tentative conclusions with regard to a strategic relations perspective. First, both key actors in the Taiwan and the PRC have taken advantage of structure in terms of global regulations to promote their interests. Secondly, the development of sport policy over the last four decades inside Taiwan has been linked to wider power struggles (particularly between North and South, DPP and KMT) and this has presented actors what resources for, and constrain on actions taken. Thirdly, one can note that while state support for sport may be superficially an 'apolitical' issue, political difference are clearly evident. It is generally accepted that hosting a high profile world class sporting event can bring some economic benefit, such as broadcasting rights, tourism revenue, sponsorship, or urban regeneration or development to a city, region or country. Besides these economic benefits, sport events can also be seen to be a tool for propaganda and diplomacy

South Korea mended their relationship with North Korea through their joint team for Olympic Games in 1988 and their relationship with Japan through co-hosting the FIFA World Cup in 2002. "Major sports events also provide a platform for host locations to benefit from positive place marketing effects, for governing bodies to develop their major event delivery capacity, for volunteers to gain valuable experience and for communities to enjoy a feel good factor. These impacts are maximized with effective partnerships between central government, governing bodies, and local organizing committees. It was a combination of these perceived benefits that led to Taiwan to host both the 2009 World Games in Kaohsiung and deaf Olympic games in Taipei.

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