JOURNALISTS, MEDIA DIPLOMACY AND MEDIA-BROKER DIPLOMACY IN RELATIONS BETWEEN MAINLAND CHINA AND TAIWAN FROM 1987-2009

Longqing Wang

BA in English Language and Literature

MA in International Politics

Department of Media, Music, Communication and Cultural Studies

Macquarie University

30 March 2011

This thesis is presented for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy.

To Eugenia, my wife,
who has been supporting me on my way
from China to Australia, to Canada.

This page is intentionally left blank.

Contents

Abstract	9
Statement	10
Acknowledgements	11
Abbreviations	13
Map of the Taiwan Strait	16
Chapter I A Point of Departure: Multiple Interpretations of Cross-Strait Relations	17
Introduction	17
Cross-Strait Relations: Historical and Political Interpretations	19
Cross-Strait Relations: Cultural and Sociological Interpretations	22
Cross-Strait Relations: A Journalist-Focused Investigation	24
Thesis Structure	28
Summary	29
Chapter II The Cross-Strait Tango: History, Politics and Media	30
Introduction	30
Evolution of Cross-Strait Relations and Media Exchanges	33
1. Chiang Kai-shek's Era (1949- 1975)	34
2. Chiang Ching-kuo's Era (1975-1988)	36
3. Lee Teng-hui's Era (1988-2000)	39
4. Chen Shui-bian's Era (2000-2008)	42
5. Ma Ying-jeou's Era (2008-)	45
Political Structures and Media Systems	46
1. Political Structure of Mainland China	47
2. Political Structure of Taiwan	50
3. Media Systems: Mainland China vs Taiwan	51
Summary	56

Strait Relations	
Introduction	57
Frameworks of Analysis	60
1. Frameworks: An International Perspective	60
2. Chitty's Matrix Framework: A Cross-Strait Application	63
Communication and Diplomacy: Historical and Contemporary TwinsTwins	66
1. Communication and Diplomacy: Are They the Same?	67
2. Public Diplomacy: Who Can Win?	70
3. Propaganda: Good or Evil?	73
4. Media Diplomacy and Media-Broker Diplomacy: A Global Diplomat?	77
5. Public Relations: Does Money Work?	82
Summary	85
Chapter IV To Polish the Dim Mirror: In Search of Methodological Insights	87
Introduction	87
A Journalistic Cohort: Defining Personnel	88
An Intellectual Journey: Defining Paradigms	91
1. Appreciating Parochialism	91
2. Appreciating the Paradigm	93
(1) Burrell and Morgan's Typology (1985)	93
(2) McQuail's Typology (1994)	94
(3) Frey, Botan and Kreps' Typology (2000)	95
A Matter of Communication: Defining Approaches	96
1. Case Studies: An Approach for Illumination	98
2. Intensive Interviews: An Approach for Communication	104
Summary	113
Chapter V First off the Post: When Media Brokers Crossed the Taiwan Strait	114
Introduction	114
Case Narratives: A Tale of Two Journalists	116

Case I 1987: Two Early Birds Flying from Taiwan	116
Case II 1991: The First Step over Four Decades	123
Cross-Case Analysis: Media-Broker Diplomacy in Cross-Strait Relations	128
1. Initiation and Motivation	128
2. Awareness	130
3. Action	131
4. Consequences	132
Findings and Discussions: Beyond the Boundary	134
1. Findings: Cross-Strait Media-Broker Diplomacy	134
2. Discussions	136
Summary	139
Chapter VI Mediating at the Crossroads: An Interviewing Investigation of Cro	
Introduction	141
Interview Data Presentation	142
1. Narrative: Five Historical Events	142
Historical Event (1) 1984: A Secret Guest	142
Historical Event (2) 1989: Tiananmen	143
Historical Event (3) 2001: Conciliation	145
Historical Event (4) 2005: Anti-Secession Law	146
Historical Event (5) 2008: Clash	147
2. Conceptual Investigation: Making Coherence	148
Key-Concept Group (1): Cross-Strait Relations and Cross-Strait Media Exchanges	148
Key-Concept Group (2): Cross-Strait Journalists	151
(2.1) Field	151
(2.2) Roles: Self-Perceptions in Metaphors	151
(2.3) Roles: Government's Perceptions in Comparison	153
Key-Concept Group (3): Propaganda and Media Diplomacy	155
Key-Concept Group (4): Journalistic Professionalism	158
(4.1) "Serving the whole situation."	158
(4.2) "Put our head and wallet separately."	159

Key Findings	161
Theoretical Discussions	163
1. Historical Dimension	163
2. Political Dimension	165
3. Journalistic Dimension	166
Summary	168
Chapter VII Conclusion: Mediating Past, Present and Future across the	Taiwan Strait 169
Chapter VII Conclusion: Mediating Past, Present and Future across the	
	169
Introduction	169
Introduction Proposition Revisited and Prediction	
Introduction	
Introduction	

Appendix: Final Approval from the Ethics Review Committee, Macquarie University, Australia

Abstract

The focus of this thesis is the role of journalists, members of cultural and intellectual elites in their own societies, in the expansion of cross-strait relations between mainland China and Taiwan and the sociopolitical transformations that envelope these relations. Since 1949, the knotty relations between these two societies have been characterised by long-standing political and military confrontation, diplomatic competition and more recently, economic cooperation.

The thesis aims at analysing the role of journalists on both sides in brokering, from 1987, friendlier relations between mainland China and Taiwan, through what has been characterised in the literature as media-broker diplomacy and media diplomacy, diplomacy being a process of negotiation that can contribute to conflict resolution or advancement of cooperation in social contexts at all levels. This thesis proposes that cross-strait relations are a process of communication within which the media acts as the indicator of the political climate and journalists in particular have been important actors in constructing a peaceful climate. Historically journalists have been instrumental in improving cross-strait relations at times and at other times media has ratcheted up animosity. However, their role as mediators has been achieved at the cost of journalistic independence and neutrality.

To explore this research proposition, this thesis employs case studies and intensive interviews as two key research methods. From an historical perspective, this thesis delineates the trajectories of media-broker diplomacy and media diplomacy in the cross-strait setting (1987-2009). From an international communication perspective, however, it proceeds with a theoretical investigation of journalists' concerns about mediating at the crossroads of media and politics, journalistic independence and political participation, professionalism and nationalism.

The significance of this thesis is that it will provide an objective assessment of media diplomacy and media-broker diplomacy in one of the most difficult flash points in the world, providing as an outcome a detailed reconstruction and analysis of the process of media diplomacy and media-broker diplomacy in this context, which would be available as a model for consideration in other contexts.

Statement

I hereby certify that the work included in this thesis has not been submitted for a higher degree to any other university or institution. The sources of information used and the extent to which the work of others has been utilised have been indicated in the thesis.

Ethics Committee approval has been obtained. Reference Number: HE29MAY2009-D06567

Longqing Wang

19 October 2010

Acknowledgements

This thesis has been a life-changing event. Without the encouragement and support of many people, such a challenging research project would not have been achieved.

My first and foremost acknowledgement must be reserved for my Principal Supervisor, Professor Naren Chitty A. M., the Foundation Chair in International Communication at Macquarie University. Being globally-mindful and with a good understanding of Chinese affairs, Naren has always been a source of advice, inspiration, and encouragement. I highly appreciate his patience, kindness, rigour, and humour — a research spirit which I will cherish in my life. I am also much obliged to my Adjunct Supervisors Dr. Zhenzhi Guo at Tsinghua University in Beijing and Dr. Dennis Peng at the National Taiwan University (NTU) in Taipei and thank them for their willingness to take on this responsibility. In particular, I gratefully acknowledge Dennis' timely and strong support when I, as a mainland Chinese PhD candidate, applied for research visa to Taiwan in September 2009. I am also grateful to Dr. Sripan Rattikalchalakorn, who acted as my Associate Supervisor briefly in 2007-2008. I acknowledge the usefulness of Adjunct Professor Cavan Hogue's MA lectures on power paradigms and public diplomacy, and international public relations, and also Dr Qin Guo's lecture on research methodology.

I would like to extend my sincere thanks to Macquarie University for generously providing me with an International Macquarie University Research Excellence Scholarship (MQRES) for my thesis project. The three and a half years I spent at Macquarie has been a valuable part of my life. I have also benefited so much from Macquarie's PhD community. I highly appreciate the help of my good friend Dr. Ming Ming Diao, the Project Manager of Macquarie's Research Learning Centre. When I was considering where I should conduct my PhD research in 2006, Ming Ming, then a PhD candidate in International Communication, strongly encouraged me to come to Macquarie. I followed his advice, which has proven to be the wisest decision I have ever made. I also want to express my gratitude to PhD candidates Zoe Xiaoguang Zhu, Viola Huang Kuo, Li Ji, Wichian Lattipongpun, and Luc Chia-Shin Lin for regularly sharing research experiences, sources, and insightful views with me. Luc deserves my special gratitude for kindly showing me around in Taipei and also helping me to arrange an important interview during my field research in Taiwan in October 2009.

Thanks are also due to Professor Chris Bellenger, the Master of Robert Menzies College, and his wife Jan. In my eyes, they are a great model couple, generous with their love, knowledge, vision, and hospitality. From a public diplomacy and educational diplomacy perspective, two fine representatives of the Australian people. They have been my treasured mentors in many senses, spiritual inspiration, academic nurture, and English learning. Jan was particularly helpful in proofreading some chapters of the thesis (Chapter I, II, III, VI). Thanks also to David Steel-Smith, Scott Blackwell, William Gongliang Jiang, Mark Truong, and Hudson and Kathleen Sweeting for their assistance and warm friendship.

I must say a heartfelt thank you to all of my colleagues and friends in mainland China's media, who helped me in gaining familiarity with the cross-strait issues. I am particularly grateful to the journalists, in mainland China, Taiwan and Hong Kong, who agreed to be interviewed, and who gave their time to share their thoughts and opinions.

The last thanks have been reserved for my family. I am grateful to my mother. She could tolerate a son who has always been trying to get away from his hometown — as far as he can. I am also greatly indebted to my wife Eugenia Yujing Zhang for her love, support, and understanding. During the period of my candidature, amazingly, she has been able to relocate both our small family and her Fedex career development all the way from Fuzhou to Guangzhou, China and eventually to Ottawa, Canada. She has done an excellent job both as a wife and a business professional. As a current part-time MBA student of Carleton University in Ottawa, she also took on extra homework by helping me with all of the tables and figures in this thesis. For what she has done for me, I can only partially repay by dedicating this thesis to her.

Longqing Wang Macquarie University Sydney, Australia 19 October 2010

Abbreviations

ADB Asian Development Bank

AFP L'Agence France-Presse

AIT American Institute in Taiwan

AP Associated Press

APEC Asia-Pacific Economic Cooperation

ARATS Association for Relations across the Taiwan Strait

BBC British Broadcasting Corporation

BCC Broadcasting Corporation of China

CAL China Airlines

CASS Chinese Academy of Social Sciences

CBS Central Broadcasting System

CCK Chiang Ching-kuo

CCP Chinese Communist Party

CCTV China Central Television

CLGTA Central Leading Group for Taiwan Affairs

CMC Central Military Commission

CNA Central News Agency

CPBS Central People's Broadcasting Station

CPPCC Chinese People's Political Consultative Conference

CTS Chinese Television System

CTV China Television Company

DPP Democratic Progressive Party

ECFA Economic Cooperation Framework Agreement

FTV Formosa Television Corporation

GIO Government Information Office

GPD General Political Department

ICT Information and Communications Technology

IDE International Demonstration Effect

IOC International Olympic Committee

IPC International Political Communication

JAL Japan Airlines

JIC The Journal of International Communication

KMT Chinese Kuomintang Party, Chinese Nationalist Party

MAC Mainland Affairs Council

MIT Massachusetts Institute of Technology

NCC National Communications Commission

NCCU National Chengchi University

NP New Party

NPC National People's Congress

NTU National Taiwan University

NUC National Unification Council

OED Oxford English Dictionary

PFP People First Party

PLA People's Liberation Army

PR Public Relations

PRC People's Republic of China

PRSA Public Relations Society of America

RCSC Red Cross Society of China

ROC Republic of China (Taiwan)

RSF Reporters Without Borders (French name: Reporters sans frontières)

SAR Special Administration Region (Hong Kong, Macau)

SEF Straits Exchange Foundation

SETV Fujian Southeast Satellite TV

TAO Taiwan Affairs Office

TRA Taiwan Relations Act

TSU Taiwan Solidarity Union

TTV Taiwan Television Corporation

UN United Nations

UNESCO United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization

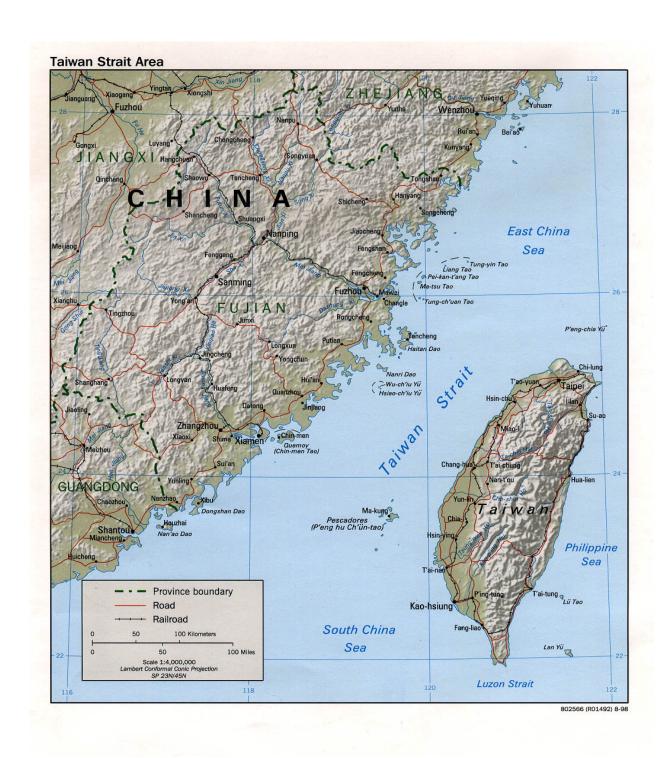
UPI United Press International

VOA Voice of America

VOS Voice of the Strait Radio Station

WTO World Trade Organization

Map of the Taiwan Strait



Source: www.taiwandocuments.org/papers.htm (Accessed on 09 October 2010)