

A Question of Names: The Solution to the 'Two Chinas' Issue in Modern Olympic History: The Final Phase, 1971-1984

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Preface

Though China entered international sports affairs and initiated a relationship with the IOC as early as May 1915, it did not actually participate in the Olympic Games until 1932. After a long civil war between communists and nationalists (KMT), which intensified after the end of World War II, the People's Republic of China (PRC) came into being on 10 October 1949. The defeated KMT government evacuated to the island of Formosa, now known as Taiwan. Thus, from this time in history, Taiwan and the PRC fomented a series of troubling incidents in international and IOC affairs. For instance, the PRC withdrew from the IOC and from all international sports federations in 1958 due to a series of controversies stemming from the festering issues and differences harboured by both Taiwan and the PRC. The PRC decision taken in 1958 prompted its absence from the Olympic Movement for a period of 25 years. However, world events and the phenomenon of "Ping Pong Diplomacy" in 1971 ushered in the beginning of a new era of detente and problem solution. Eventually, the PRC/Taiwan issue was settled in 1981, resulting in the PRC and Taiwan competing together for the first time in the 1984 at the Games of the 23rd Olympiad in Los Angeles.

Since the founding of the People's Republic of China in 1949, it experienced a series of political movements initiated and controlled by China's venerated Chairman Mao. By 1970, the PRC was exhausted. The economy had collapsed. Mao at last appeared to realize that China must restore and build its economy beyond all other considerations. Germane to this fundamental point, shedding China's long isolation from the international community rose as a priority consideration.

Mao and the United States

As is well known, the world entered a state of cold war after the end of World War II. The two conflicting ideological strongholds were the Soviet Union, as the leader of the socialist countries, and the United States, as the leader of the capitalist countries. The relationship between the PRC and the United States was viewed from the start as a class struggle, that is, between the proletariat and bourgeoisie. Particularly during the Cultural Revolution, American imperialism was seen as the foremost enemy of the Chinese.

One may thus be surprised that Mao started with the United States, rather than the Soviet Union, to rectify China's internal problems at that time. One might have thought that Mao would have joined with

the Soviet Union, because the PRC and the Soviet Union were both socialist countries. A brief analysis is in order here.

China and the Soviet Union had been in state of hostility since a breaking of relationships between the two in 1958. Actually, the animosity of both sides toward each other had festered for a long time, which can be traced to the time of the Tsars. The two large continental countries share a frontier of some 4,000 miles in a vast area extending from the frozen tundras of Siberia to the stark plains of central Asia. Dividing sovereignty over huge areas without regard to race or language produced major problems. The people straddling the border areas generally spoke the same native tongues, different from either Russian or Chinese. This magnified the insecurity and potential hostility of both regimes. Borders have changed back and forth throughout history due to the ambition and power of the contending parties. Much of Central Asia, appropriated by the Tsars in the nineteenth century, was now governed by new rulers in the Kremlin, ones who rejected the entire legacy of their predecessors except their geographical conquests. This alone dictated Chinese and Russian reciprocal paranoia. The superimposition of ideological conflict and personal jealousies turned inherent rivalry into obsession.¹

Mao saw no possibility of compromise with the Soviet Union that at the same time would not be grossly debilitating. To Zhou En Lai, the Chinese Prime Minister, China's conflict with the Soviet Union was both indelible and beyond the capacity to be managed without conflict. A conclusion to the confrontation could be resolved only by the willing subordination of one to the other, which was impossible, or the military victory of one over the other.² The conflict between the Soviet Union and China transcended communist ideology.

Another reason that China accelerated its diplomatic move toward the United States may have been the number of Soviet divisions stationed on the Chinese border, which accelerated from 21 in 1969, to 33 in 1971, to 45 in 1973.³ In fact, on the basis of the points made above, Washington seemed realistically closer to Beijing than Moscow.

The Origin and Meaning of Ping-Pong Diplomacy

As Jonathan Kolatch has told us:

*Improvements in United States-Chinese relations continue at an ever-increasing pace. One of the most fruitful starting points is the area of sports. There is little doubt, as the table tennis episodes of early 1971 have shown, that there is much understanding and trust that can develop through international sports activity.*⁴

The re-emergence of the PRC to the international sporting world began in 1971 with the appearance of the Chinese table tennis team at the world championships in Japan. At these championships, the Chinese invited the American delegation to a series of exhibition matches in China. In 1972, President Nixon of the United States visited China, the way having been prepared by "ping-pong diplomacy"—an "officially blessed" visit by an American ping-pong team.

The story can be traced to 7:30 on the evening of July 15, 1971. President Nixon spoke to the nation from a television studio in Burbank, California, producing one of the diplomatic surprises of the century. As detailed in Nixon's memoirs:

Premier Chou En Lai and Dr. Henry Kissinger held talks in Beijing from July 9 to 11, 1971. Knowing of my expressed desire to visit the People's Republic of China, Premier Chou En-lai, on behalf of the Government of the People's Republic of China, extended an invitation

to me to visit China at an appropriate date before May 1972. I accepted the invitation with pleasure. The meeting between the leaders of China and the United States is to seek the normalization of relations between the two countries and also to exchange views on questions of concern to the two sides.⁵

Actually, the issue of the normalization of relations between China and the USA was raised in Nixon's inaugural address. The first serious public step in the China initiative had been taken in February 1970 when Nixon sent his first Foreign Policy Report to Congress. The section on China began: "The Chinese are a great and vital people who should not remain isolated from the international community."⁶ In the following year, both the PRC and the USA carried out a series of diplomatic efforts to address Nixon's statement. There followed several indirect overtures, such as the "Yahya connection," the "Romanian connection," and the American writer Edgar Snow's personal connection with Mao.⁷ Finally, Ping-Pong Diplomacy marked the climax of a series of diplomatic efforts. As cited by Nixon:

On April 6, 1971, a breakthrough occurred in a totally unexpected way: we received word from the American Embassy in Tokyo that an American table tennis team competing in the world championships in Japan had been invited to visit the PRC in order to play several exhibition matches. I was as surprised as I was pleased by this news. I had never expected that the China initiative would come to fruition in the form of a Ping-Pong team. We immediately approved the acceptance of the invitation.⁸

The American ping-pong team's visit to China triggered shock and curiosity across the country. Many residents of Beijing queued throughout the night waiting for the ticket booth to open on the day of the matches. They not only wanted to see the ping-pong performance, but also they wanted to see what an American really looked like, because very few westerners had visited China in the previous 20 years. The only image that young Chinese had of America was from government sources, usually not a flattering portrayal. Almost everything in China during those years was controlled, including dress, eating, hair style, etc. Therefore, the long hair of Kenn, a member of America's ping pong team, became a hot topic of Chinese chit chat. Zhou En Lai, the former Prime Minister, commented graciously, but humorously, on Kenn's long hair: "Keeping long hair indicates a kind of understanding of life. Exploring life is young people's characteristic. Genuine knowledge comes from practice."⁹

The now famous "Ping-Pong Diplomacy" episode and subsequent move towards normalization of relations between the two countries signalled new thinking by Chinese leaders. One can also say that this was a turning point in the PRC's history, after being isolated from the world community for nearly twenty years. "Ping-pong Diplomacy" set the stage for further negotiations between the PRC and the United States and initiated a carefully calculated, step-by-step rapprochement, a rapprochement which had ramifications for sporting matters. In 1971, the United Nations recognized the PRC and expelled Taiwan. This facilitated the re-examination of the PRC by the sporting world. Since normalization of relations with America, China began to emerge from its isolation. The following years also witnessed China's rise in terms of diplomatic relationships. It established diplomatic ties with most of the countries in the world. China's cultural exchanges with western countries were also strengthened.

The PRC's Return to the Olympic Family

The PRC began its return to the IOC in 1971 by resuming participation in the Asian Games. During this time, several members of the IOC, including Reginald Alexander of Kenya and Giulio Onesti of

Italy, visited Beijing and made contact with China's sport leaders. Such visits, in fact, were going on behind Avery Brundage's back because some members felt that the IOC President's views were those of the United States, which at the time did not recognize mainland China.¹⁰ In September at the 71st IOC Session in Luxembourg, Alexander raised the question of PRC membership in the Olympic Family of nations. The response received was that the IOC was ready to welcome all NOCs whose statutes conformed to IOC rules.¹¹ On 1 August 1972, the PRC received a message from Willi Daume, president of the Munich Games Organizing Committee, inviting China to send an observer delegation to the Olympic Festival. Song Zhong, Secretary-General of the All China Sports Federation (ACSF), replied on 22 August, thanking Daume for his invitation but noting that because of the continued presence of the Republic of China Olympic Committee (ROCOC Taiwan) in the IOC, no PRC observer would attend.¹² Early in 1973, the Japanese Olympic Committee, in line with the Japanese government's recent opening of diplomatic relations with the PRC, began writing to various international federations and National Olympic Committees calling for China's reinstatement in the IOC. The Japanese Olympic Committee sought the expulsion of Taiwan¹³ and wanted the cooperation of the federations and national committees in bringing this about.¹⁴ In March 1973, Willi Daume, now Vice-President of the IOC, went to Beijing to discuss the possibility of China's rejoining the Olympic Movement.¹⁵ Daume was told that the PRC would wait sixty-five years, if necessary, before entering the Olympic Games, as long as Taiwan continued to be recognized by the IOC and international federations.¹⁶ But in actuality, the PRC's return to the Olympic Family was already under way at the time.

The renewed interest in China relative to Olympic matters, was enhanced by a more favorable political world climate toward the PRC. At the time, the PRC was a member of only two international sports federations—table tennis and ice hockey. Only the latter was an Olympic sport. In order to become eligible for recognition by the IOC and participate in the Olympic Games, the PRC had to acquire membership in at least five recognized federations whose sports were on the Olympic program. As well, it had to establish, of course, a National Olympic Committee. For this requirement, the PRC's strategy was to approach those federations that did not include Taiwan as a member. Eventually, just prior to the 9th Olympic Congress in October 1973, the Asian Games Federation voted to admit the PRC to the Teheran Asian Games and to expel Taiwan.¹⁷ The motion was proposed by Iran and Japan and was passed after a "protest walkout" by Malaysia, Indonesia, Taiwan, and Thailand.¹⁸ At the IOC Congress in Varna in October 1973, one of the main topics of discussion dealt with the inclusion of the PRC in the Olympic Games and its return to the international sporting world. The Zambian delegate spoke out in favour of including China in the IOC. The Japanese delegate, acknowledging Zambia's support, stated: "It is a shame that a country with one-fourth of the world's population is excluded from the world."¹⁹ The Taiwan delegate responded sharply, calling the speech "purely political" and "un-Olympian."²⁰ But, the matter was far from settled, as can be seen by the IOC's reaction to the decision taken by the Asian Games Federation:

In order to have IOC-patronage the Asian Games Organizing Committees had to invite all NOCs in their area. It was also an IOC-rule stating that a nation without an NOC could not be invited. Evidently the PRC was going to be invited, but not the Republic of China (Taiwan).²¹

The Munich Session of 1972 was particularly noteworthy in the history of both China-IOC relations and for the Olympic Movement in general. Following 20 years of service as president, Avery Brundage stepped down, succeeded by the Irishman Michael Morris, Lord Killanin.²² At the 2nd African Games

in Lagos, Nigeria, in January 1974, the new IOC president met with representatives of the PRC. However, no substantial progress accrued from the discussion.²³ Lord Killanin attended the Asian Games at Teheran in 1974 and invited the PRC to attend an Olympic seminar scheduled to be held at the time of the Teheran Games.²⁴ The question of the PRC's IOC membership, however, did not gain prominence until April 9, 1975. At the IOC Session in Lausanne, the PRC made a formal application for recognition as "the sole sports organization representing the whole of China." At the same time, the PRC set a condition that Taiwan should be excluded.²⁵ Those IOC members supporting the PRC's stance were from Algeria, Iran, Romania, Tanzania, Senegal, Albania, the DPR of Korea, Pakistan, Japan, Kuwait and the Congo. Support from the Asian Games Federation was also forthcoming.²⁶ By April 1975, the PRC already had secured membership in the required number of international federations.²⁷ At the IOC Executive Committee meeting in Rome in May 1975, representatives from nine nations: Iran, Albania, Iraq, Morocco, Ethiopia, Somalia, Zambia, Yugoslavia, and Japan, spoke in favour of admitting China and, concurrently, expelling Taiwan.²⁸ Later, a formal request was presented to the IOC by the Iranian NOC which cited the fact that the PRC had been recognized by the Asian Games Federation (AGF) in November 1973 and had participated in the international symposium held under the auspices of the IOC's Olympic Solidarity Committee. A statement issued to the press by the Iranian representative reviewed the history of the PRC-IOC dispute and concluded:

*... it is now time for this moulded and illogical situation to be clarified, and for the IOC to recognize that the All-China Sports Federation (Chinese Olympic Committee) is the official representative of China, as was decided at the 49th session of the IOC in Athens.*²⁹

The IOC member from Taiwan, Henry Hsu, in regard to the PRC application, was in favour of admitting China provided that it met the provisions of the Olympic Rules. On the question of the PRC demand that Taiwan be expelled, Hsu reminded his fellow IOC members of several points: (1) that never before had an applicant set prior conditions for acceptance by the IOC; (2) that the PRC did not control sport in Taiwan; (3) that the IOC had granted recognition to other divided states (Germany and Korea), and (4) that only when an NOC had broken the rules could it be expelled.³⁰

In early May 1975, the PRC issued a statement:

*... any attempt to resolve the conflict by changing the name of the ROC (Taiwan) committee, or keeping Taiwan in the IOC as separate state, or by inviting the PRC and yet not expelling Taiwan, would be unacceptable interference in the internal affairs of the Chinese people.*³¹

There was considerable discussion at the IOC's General Session in late May 1975. Finally the decision was made as follows: "An IOC-delegation headed by the President should visit China. In the absence of sufficient information there would be no vote taken during the Session."³²

In the same month, at the IOC's meeting with the Olympic Family's NOCs, forty-two delegates spoke. Twenty-five favored dual membership; seventeen wanted Taiwan to be expelled.³³

On 1 November 1975, the Iranian NOC intensified its campaign. They pointed out, "No vote was ever held on the acceptance of an NOC in Taiwan during the early years after the founding of the PRC."³⁴ In July 1951, it was merely announced that the one committee recognized by the IOC was located in Taiwan. President Killanin did not visit the PRC until 1977. A solution to the "Two Chinas Issue" was stalled once again.

The 1976 Olympics were awarded to Montréal in May 1970. In October 1970, five months later, Canada officially recognized the PRC. The PRC desired admittance to the 1976 Olympic Games. As well, they argued for Taiwan's expulsion. By its diplomatic decision, Canada was left with the dilemma of supporting their "new" one China policy in the face of IOC rules and regulations which stated that "free entry must be accorded to teams from all National Olympic Committees recognized by the International Olympic Committee."³⁵ The PRC was not a recognized IOC member and, further, an IOC seat was held by Taiwan. Canada was faced with the contradiction between IOC rules and regulations and its new foreign policy approach that recognized one-China (PRC). What is more, in support of Montréal's bid the Canadian Government had signed a letter on 28 November 1969 guaranteeing entrance to all parties representing NOCs and IFs recognized by the IOC "pursuant to normal regulations."³⁶ The conflict between the PRC and Taiwan started all over again. On 23 May 1975, in response to a question as to whether or not the government would support the participation of both Chinas at the 1976 Summer Games, Canadian officials stated that "these decisions have to be made by the International Olympic Committee. We are the host for the games but we do not decide who participates."³⁷ Beijing had formally requested that the Canadian Government bar unconditionally the entry of the Taiwanese delegation. Canada refused to do this,³⁸ on the condition that Taiwan compete in the Olympics without reference to the word "China," a condition that applied to Taiwan's participation in the 1960 Games in Rome.³⁹ At that time (1960), Taiwan participated as the representative of Taiwan and not as the representative of the Republic of China.⁴⁰ That situation included not using "the flag, anthem, or any symbol of the 'Republic of China' or use team designation that includes the word China,"⁴¹ because: "we (Canada) recognize the PRC and we are not under this guise proposing to import into our foreign policy a two-China policy."⁴²

The Canadian Government did not reveal its position until the end of May 1976. In a reply to the Canadian stance, the IOC issued a statement in Lausanne:

*The Canadian position is in direct conflict with fundamental Olympic principles and that Montréal would never have been awarded the Games... if Canada had not given assurances that athletes from all National Olympic Committees recognized by the IOC would be allowed to attend.*⁴³

Nothing was done until 9 July, however, just eight days before the opening ceremonies, when several Taiwanese Olympic team members were refused permission to board an Allegheny Airlines flight from Detroit to Montréal because they lacked visas.⁴⁴ Meanwhile, Zho Zheng Hung arrived in Montréal with members of the PRC Olympic delegation.⁴⁵ Negotiations began between the IOC and Canada. Canada proclaimed its one-China policy. The IOC insisted that the PRC was not a member of the IOC, that Taiwan was a member, and that under the agreement given by Canada, Taiwan should be allowed entry as the Republic of China.⁴⁶ In a further effort to resolve the situation, the IOC, on 11 July 1976, "proposed that Taiwanese athletes compete under the Olympic flag rather than the name Republic of China." They were also to walk behind an empty national name sign. Taiwan rejected the IOC proposal.⁴⁷

Cancelling the Games was discussed within the IOC Executive Committee. As well, the idea of removing the name "Olympic Games" from the competitions was posed. Finally, a secret vote was taken. By 57 votes and 9 abstentions it was decided that the Games should take place as scheduled.⁴⁸ Some countries reacted strongly to the Canadian decision. Philip Krumm, president of the United States Olympic Committee, reportedly with the support of U.S. President, Gerald Ford, threatened an Ameri-

can withdrawal if Taiwan was not permitted to take part.⁴⁹ Such a withdrawal, of course, would have invalidated the IOC's lucrative American television contract.⁵⁰ On 13 July, Canadian Prime Minister, Pierre Trudeau, and Lord Killanin met for the first time since the Taiwan issue became public. Trudeau repeated his stand that Taiwanese athletes were welcome in Canada as long as they did not claim to represent China.⁵¹ Then, on 15 July 1976, Trudeau proposed that the Taiwanese flag and anthem be used, but not as representing the Republic of China, and further, that no mention of China be made. This was approved by the IOC by a 58 to 2 vote, with 6 abstentions.⁵² In recognition of this offer the United States Olympic Committee dropped its threat to withdraw from the Games.⁵³ The IOC amended its regulations to change the name of the Republic of China Olympic Committee to the Olympic Committee of Taiwan for the two-week duration of the Games.⁵⁴ This was a breakthrough, and Killanin believed that Taiwan would accept the compromise. However, both Taiwan and the Ambassador to Canada from the PRC strongly rejected the compromise.⁵⁵ Instead, the day before the Olympics were to begin they made a counterproposal under which Taiwanese athletes would compete in the name of the Taiwan-Republic of China Olympic Committee. This proposal was rejected by the Canadian government.⁵⁶ Yet another farce came to an end.

The Games of the Twenty-First Olympiad opened on 17 July 1976, without a Chinese athlete. Actually, the Canadian government's policy towards Taiwan, adopted in 1970, had disallowed Taiwan attendance at the World Cycling Championships of 1974 and the pre-Olympic boxing tournament, both held in Montréal.⁵⁷

Table 1: Overview of China's Internal Events, 1976

8 January	Zhou En-Lai, Chinese Prime Minister, dies.
5 April	The Tienamen Square Incident breaks out in Beijing. The Cultural Revolutionary Group violently suppresses demonstrators who support Deng Xiao-Ping and oppose the Gang of Four.
7 April	Deng Xiao-Ping is dismissed from all party and government posts for a second time.
6 July	Chu Teh dies.
28 July	The Tangshan (Hopei) earthquake results in more than 700,000 casualties.
9 September	Mao Tse-tung dies, and the secession crisis reaches its climax.
6 October	The Gang of Four are arrested in a coup initiated by Hua Kuo-feng, Deng Xiao-Ping, and Yeh Chien-ying. The Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution officially ends.

Source: Edwin Pak-wahleung, *Historical Dictionary of Revolutionary China 1839-1976* (Westport, CT: Greenwood Press, 1992), p. 519.

The Taiwan team packed its bags and went home on 19 July.⁵⁸ Ten days later, the PRC delegation, headed by Zhao Zheg Hung, returned to Beijing.⁵⁹ In hindsight, it is hard to believe that the PRC, beset by a series of political disasters, had the ability to organize a team to participate in the Olympic Games in 1976. Indeed, there were no indications that the PRC was actually going to take part in the Montréal Olympic Games. Domestic news and propaganda in China were silent on the issue. Very few Chinese even knew that the Olympics were being held in Canada.⁶⁰ In fact, 1976 was a critical and terrible year in Chinese Communist history. The serious internal power struggle and succession crisis within the

Chinese Communist Party obliterated most other issues, including Olympic matters. Early in 1976, the Chinese Prime Minister, Zhou En Lai, died. His death became an occasion for massive demonstrations against the remaining power of the Cultural Revolution group. As far as the PRC's domestic situation was concerned, not much attention was paid to international affairs. The PRC was in no position to organize a team to compete in the Montréal Olympic Games even if the problem of "two Chinas" issue had been solved successfully. Table 1 provides a brief overview of China's cataclysmic internal events of 1976.

The Olympics Eventually Transcend Politics – The Solutions to the "Two Chinas Issue"

Deng Xiao-Ping came to power in 1978, marking the end of Mao's rule in China. Even though the impact of Mao's ideology lingered, Deng Xiao-Ping adopted a series of reformatory policies in China which countered Mao's fundamental doctrine of "class struggle." Under Deng's guidance and vision of building a socialist country with Chinese features, the PRC began to shift its attention towards constructing a country more in tune with modern global trends. The understanding of Deng's reform strategy is reflected in his noted expression: "Don't fret about whether a cat is black or white; as long as it can catch rats, it is a good cat."⁶¹ In other words, to Deng, the issue of capitalism or socialism was not important, as long as either works. Since then, extreme idealism has gradually been replaced by realism.

Under the spirit of reform and an expanding open-door policy, Western culture, high technology and even sports commodification that came with the Olympic Movement, attracted the attention of the Chinese people. It started to influence their way of life. But more importantly, and drastically different from before, a spirit of freedom, equality and competition began to be pursued.

During the early period of Deng's reform, Olympic matters once again became a subject of interest in tune with China's new outlook. The Chinese were intent on showing the world that they were as healthy and fit as anyone else.

The "two Chinas" problem that lasted for nearly 40 years eventually was solved in 1981. Chinese people divided by a narrow strip of the Chinese Sea for 30 years initiated communication with each other in the form of sports. The emergence, development and solution of the "two Chinas" issue is a typical example of sports combined with politics in Olympic history.

In 1977, the IOC was determined to settle the Chinese question before it could pose a threat to the successful staging of the Moscow Games. Killanin went to Beijing on 12 September 1977, accompanied by Masaji Kiyokawa, the IOC member from Japan, and the late Harry Banks, technical Director of the IOC. In Beijing, they met with members of the All-China Sports Federation and Wang Meng, Minister in charge of the Physical Culture and Sport Commission.⁶² No substantial progress was made regarding China's readmission to the Olympic Family.⁶³ The times were not quite receptive to reconciliation. Killanin said of his five days official visit to China:

I had an extremely friendly talk with Chinese officials, including Sports Minister Wang Meng and Lu Chin-Tung, a leader of the All China Sports Federation. The PRC maintains there is only one China, not two Chinas, nor one China and one Taiwan. There is no solution seen immediately, but we can say the door is open, we need some methods to work out a solution.⁶⁴

However, Killanin visited Taiwan a year later, accompanied by Louis Girandou N'Diaye, IOC Vice-President from the Ivory Coast.⁶⁵ Hence, Killanin suggested a resolution which aimed at reinstating "the Chi-

nese Olympic Committee and to maintain recognition of the Olympic Committee whose headquarters are located in Taipei.⁶⁶ Killanin was careful to avoid using the word "Chinese" in reference to Taipei. It was well known that Beijing would not endorse a return to membership as long as Taipei used the Nationalist flag and anthem in Olympic ceremonies, an act that purported to indicate sovereignty over the mainland. In its Montevideo session in 1979, the IOC also suggested that the PRC and Taiwan representatives meet in Lausanne to carry on a discussion presided over by Killanin. However, the meetings did not come about due to Taiwan's rejection of the idea.⁶⁷

Juan Antonio Samaranch, who succeeded Killanin in 1980,⁶⁸ made his first major appearance in the saga in 1978 when he reported at Athens on his own recent visit to the PRC and said that the IOC must do everything in its power to allow the PRC to be recognized. As a first step, he recommended that the NOC of the Republic of China (Taiwan) be asked to change its name.⁶⁹ Obviously, the situation for the PRC was different from what it had been in the 1950s. The Marquess of Exeter, Lord David Burghley, who had been President of the International Amateur Athletics Federation (IAAF) from 1946 to 1976, and was well versed on the China question, agreed that only mainland China should be called "China." Further, he pointed out that there were precedents for dependent territories having their own NOCs, such as the Virgin Islands and Puerto Rico, each of which were linked to the government of the United States. There was also another example in Olympic history that could be applied. Frantisek Kroutil of Czechoslovakia referred to the opposition of both Austria and Hungary in 1912 to Bohemian participation in the Games, which had been solved by the Bohemian team marching at a distance behind the Austrian team, and with its own flag.⁷⁰

At Montevideo, some signs of compromise began to appear. The PRC took the first crucial step toward compromise. In April 1979, in a plenary session of the IOC, He Zheng Liang, a representative of the PRC, stated:

According to the Olympic Charter, only one Chinese Olympic Committee should be recognized. In consideration of the athletes in Taiwan having an opportunity to compete in the Olympic Games, the sports constitution in Taiwan could function as a local organization of China and still remain in the Olympic Movement in the name of the Chinese Taipei Olympic Committee. However, its anthem, flag and constitutions should be changed correspondingly.⁷¹

This was the first time that the PRC had shown a willingness to allow Taiwan's NOC to include the word "China" in its title. Even though the Taiwan spokesman had proposed the view in 1970 that two Chinese sports organizations would be acceptable, the PRC had refused to accept it at that time.⁷² The Montevideo vote on the recommendation passed by 36 to 30. The Chinese Olympic Committee (PRC), located in Beijing, became an IOC Family member. Recognition of the Chinese Olympic Committee (Taiwan) located in Taipei also became an established fact.⁷³ The extract of the minutes of the 81st IOC Session read as follows.

Having heard the reports of the IOC Commission of Investigation regarding the two areas of China, the 81st Session of the IOC meeting in Montevideo received the delegations from Beijing and Taipei with the aim of enabling all Chinese youth to participate in the Olympic Games.

As a result of the above, and in an Olympic spirit, the IOC decided: (1) to readmit the Chinese Olympic Committee (Beijing); and (2) to maintain recognition of the Olympic

Committee whose headquarters are located in Taipei. All matters pertaining to name, anthem and flag will be subject to studies and agreements which will have to be completed as soon as possible.

The IOC Executive Board was authorized by the General Session to solve the problems associated with names, anthems, flags and constitution.⁷⁴

Finally, the entire matter was settled in the Nagoya meeting of the Executive Board in October 1979. Following the Executive Board's meeting, a postal vote of the entire IOC membership was taken on a resolution that the PRC's NOC be recognized as the Chinese Olympic Committee, with its own distinctive flag and anthem. The emblem and statutes had been approved. Taiwan's NOC was to be known as the Chinese Taipei Olympic Committee, with a different anthem, flag and emblem from those used in the past. They were to be approved by the Executive Board by 1 January 1980, and its statutes submitted by the same date. Thus, both bodies were to be permitted to describe themselves as Chinese. The ballot paper was sent to all 89 members. Eighty-one responses were received, 62 in favour, 17 against, and 2 were disqualified.⁷⁵ However, what followed was not as easy as was expected. As a result of the postal vote on the China question, the Chinese Taipei Olympic Committee telexed all IOC members warning them that if the resolution was passed it would institute proceedings against the IOC. After the vote, a lawsuit was duly served against the IOC. Taiwan's IOC member, Henry Hsu, issued a similar personal lawsuit.⁷⁶ Later Hsu withdrew his lawsuit, but the Taipei delegation, in correspondence with the IOC president, announced that they would not take part in the Opening Ceremony at the Winter Games in Lake Placid in 1980.⁷⁷ As a result of the lawsuit, the Taipei flag-bearer in Lake Placid asked the IOC to pay the legal cost of US \$24,000—which was rejected.⁷⁸ Finally, at the IOC session in Los Angeles in 1981, Hsu proposed an agreement to put an end to the pending lawsuit. An agreement between the IOC and the Chinese Taipei NOC was accepted as amended, and the name of the NOC would be in English only.⁷⁹ At the IOC session in Lausanne in April 1981, the President of the IOC officially announced the agreement reached with the Chinese Taipei Olympic Committee on 23 March 1981 following the proposal of the Los Angeles meeting.⁸⁰ The farce of the "Two Chinas Issue" which had lasted for almost half a century, finally came to an end.

Endnotes

- 1 Henry Kissinger, *Years of Upheaval* (Boston: Little, Brown and Company, 1982), p. 48.
- 2 Ibid., p. 46.
- 3 Ibid.
- 4 Jonathan Kolatch, *Sports Politics and Ideology in China* (New York: Jonathan David Publishers, 1972), p. xi.
- 5 Richard Nixon, *The Memoirs of Richard Nixon* (New York: Grosset and Dunlap Press, 1992), p. 544.
- 6 Ibid., p. 545.
- 7 Ibid., p. 546.
- 8 Ibid., p. 548.

- 9 The Chinese TV Series: *Chinese Olympic Light*, China Centre Television, September 1993.
- 10 Lord Killanin, *My Olympic Years* (London: Martin Seeker and Warburg, Limited, 1983), p. 111.
- 11 *Olympic Review*, No. 49, October 1971, p. 551.
- 12 "China Will not Send Observer Delegation to Olympics," *Beijing Review*, 35/1 (September 1972), p. 23.
- 13 As a country lacking industrial and agricultural raw material, Japan is dependent on sources from abroad. Therefore, it must seek foreign commerce. Such considerations require Japan to seek economic expansion. The PRC's diplomatic relations with Japan led to a huge increase in political and economic contacts, and offered new possibilities for PRC pressure on Taiwan. On the establishment of relations, both sides had agreed to the speedy conclusion of formal government agreements on economic and trade exchange. Trade between the PRC and Japan increased almost two-fold from \$ 1.1 billion in 1972 to \$ 2.015 billion in 1973. It was the first time that PRC-Japan trade exceeded Japan's trade with Taiwan. Chinese imports of Japanese-manufactured goods and plants were among the major factors which led to rapid increase in trade between the two countries.
- 14 *The Times* (London), 13 February 1973.
- 15 *The New York Times*, 22 March 1973.
- 16 *The Times* (London), 3 April 1973.
- 17 Lord Killanin, op. cit., p. 113.
- 18 Richard Espy, *The Politics of the Olympic Games* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1979), p. 149.
- 19 Ibid.
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- 60 The author's own experience.
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- 62 Killanin, op. cit., p. 113.
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Samaranch. 77 ballots were issued, making 39 the overall majority. Samaranch was elected President on the first round. In his speech of thanks, the new President promised to try to solve the great difficulties that the Olympic movement was experiencing... "to the best of my ability."

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