

## **RETHINKING COLD WAR DIPLOMACY THROUGH MEDIA:**

### **CENTRAL NEWS AGENCY AND TAIWANESE FOREIGN POLICY IN WESTERN EUROPE (1950–1987)**

#### English abstract:

In December 1949, the Central News Agency (CNA, *Zhongyang tongxunshu* 中央通訊社) relocated from Mainland China to Taiwan, becoming the official agency of the Republic of China (ROC). Despite its pivotal role within the Taiwanese media system, the CNA's influence on domestic politics and international diplomacy remains largely understudied. Its strategies of internationalization during the Cold War, however, are crucial to understanding the transformation of Taiwanese foreign policy.

Given its anomalous status in the international community, the ROC adopted unconventional diplomatic strategies. Media outlets became crucial instruments for the Ministry of Foreign Affairs and the Government Information Office, serving as alternative channels to formal diplomacy. This presentation will argue that the CNA supported Taiwanese foreign policy by cultivating partnerships with foreign news agencies and posting correspondents abroad who served as informal political intermediaries. Through reporting and liaison activities, CNA representatives promoted Taiwan's narrative as "Free China" (*Ziyou Zhongguo* 自由中國) while casting the People's Republic of China (PRC) in a critical light.

The study examines how CNA activities supported Taiwanese diplomacy in Western Europe from 1950 to 1987, emphasizing the central role of media and news circulation in shaping Cold War dynamics. It employs a historical approach and integrates Taiwanese and European archival materials, published literature, and oral sources.

From the 1950s, the CNA opened branches in London, Paris, and Madrid, later expanding to Rome and Bonn to counter Beijing and Xinhua News Agency's growing influence in the region. In the 1970s, following the ROC's UN exclusion and Sino-American normalization, it sought to strengthen its overseas operations in countries that recognized the PRC. These developments coincided with the international debate over the "free flow of information" doctrine. Although keen to follow US media policy and project itself as the voice of "Free China," the CNA struggled to present itself as a free and independent news agency, as it operated under the leadership of the Central Committee of the Kuomintang.

## 媒體與冷戰外交：中央通訊社與臺灣西歐關係（1950–1987）

### 摘要

1949年12月，中央通訊社（CNA，中央社）自中國大陸遷至臺灣，成為中華民國（ROC）的官方新聞機構。儘管中央社在臺灣媒體體系中具有核心地位，其對國內政治及國際外交的影響卻鮮有深入研究。冷戰期間，中央社的國際化策略對於理解臺灣外交政策的演變至關重要。

由於在國際社會中的特殊地位，中華民國採取了非常規的外交策略，媒體成為外交部與新聞局的重要工具，承擔了正式外交之外的職能。中央社透過與外國通訊社建立合作關係、派駐海外記者作為非官方政治中介，支持臺灣外交，並透過報導和聯絡活動宣傳「自由中國」敘事，同時批判中華人民共和國。

本文聚焦 1950 至 1987 年間中央社在西歐的運作，分析媒體和新聞傳播在冷戰格局中的核心作用。研究採用歷史方法，結合臺灣與歐洲檔案資料、出版文獻及口述資料，探討中央社如何在倫敦、巴黎、馬德里、羅馬及波恩開展海外活動，以應對北京及新華社的影響，並在 1970 年代聯合國除名及中美建交後調整策略。

