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Editorial Coverage of the 2019 Hong Kong Protests:
A comparison between the Taipei Times and the Global
Times

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1. Introduction

On the 9th of June 2019, over one million Hong Kong residents took to the streets to demonstrate against a highly unpopular extradition bill proposed by Carrie Lam and her government (New York Times, 2019). Though the extradition bill was later suspended, this initial protest ignited a wave of demonstrations that are still going on to this day. Hong Kong, a city of over seven million people, which was handed over to the Chinese government by the British in 1997, currently operates under the political policy of “One Country, Two Systems” until it officially becomes a part of China in 2047 (Pan, Lee, Chan & So, 2019). Many protesters, however, are hoping that Hong Kong could turn into an independent democracy and the protests have gone beyond the extradition bill, centering around five key demands: The full withdrawal of the extradition bill, inquiry into police brutality, retracting the classification of protesters as “rioters”, amnesty for arrested protesters and dual universal suffrage (Wong, 2019). The protests have also been able to gain a significant amount of media coverage, nationally and internationally, making the cover of renowned newspapers such as the New York Times (e.g. 10th of June, 2nd of July) and getting support from major political leaders around the world (The Guardian, 2019). However, since the protests first started in June, the protests have become increasingly violent, causing great damage to Hong Kong’s economy, meaning that opinions on the protests have become increasingly divided (New York Times, 2019).

The People’s Republic of China and the Republic of China (henceforth referred to as China and Taiwan, respectively) are two states that are especially affected by the protests in Hong Kong. The mainland Chinese government can be seen as the main cause for the protests as much of the anger vented by the protesters is directed towards mainland China and its increasing involvement in Hong Kong’s political affairs (Zhu, 2019). Similar to Hong Kong, Taiwan is also a country heavily under pressure from the mainland Chinese government, which does not see Taiwan as a legitimate state and insists that, just like Hong Kong, it is part of China (BBC, 2017). On top of that, the media coverage on the protests differs heavily between the two countries, due to their very different media landscapes. China’s is one of the most controlled in the world, ranking 177th on the Press Freedom Index (2019), and Taiwan, a functioning democracy, has a fairly free press, ranking 42nd. With such contrasting political systems and also such different media conditions, this thesis aims to see how these two

countries differ in their coverage of the Hong Kong protests; protests that have a direct effect on both states' government policy.

More specifically, this thesis analyzes the coverage of the Hong Kong protests in editorials from two newspapers, the Global Times (China) and the Taipei Times (Taiwan). Given the recency of the topic, the huge international media coverage and the effects the protests in the globalized city of Hong Kong could have in global context, my thesis aims to qualitatively analyze the difference in editorial coverage between the two newspapers through a discourse analysis. This leads me to my research question: *How do editorials published in the Taipei Times covering the Hong Kong protests differ from the editorials published in the Global Times between the 9th of June and 10th of February?*

In order to answer my research question as accurately as possible, I have structured my thesis as follows: First, my theoretical framework provides the necessary background information on the topic of this thesis. This includes background information on the Hong Kong protests, Taiwan and China, the newspapers used for the analysis, and a literature review of scholarly works analyzing editorials and the media coverage of the 2014 Hong Kong Umbrella Movement protests. This section is followed by a methodology section, explaining the sampling process and the timeframe during which the editorials were chosen. The section also includes a justification for using discourse analysis as my form of analysis for this paper. The methodology section is followed by two sections that represent the main body of my thesis: The discourse analysis of the Global Times editorials and Taipei Times editorials. After the analysis I compare the similarities and differences between the two newspapers' editorials in the discussion section and also compare my results to the findings made by scholars covering the Umbrella Movement protests of 2014. Finally I finish with a conclusion section. My study found that while the two newspapers coverage of the Hong Kong protests could not be more different thematically, as they often use opposing narratives and arguments, their style and rhetoric have a tendency to overlap.

2. Theoretical Framework

My theoretical framework consists of four subsections. In the first subsection I discuss why I chose a Taiwanese and Chinese newspaper for the analysis by explaining the relationship between Taiwan and China and by providing additional information on the Hong Kong protests. This is followed by a brief overview of the two newspapers selected: the Taipei Times and the Global Times. Lastly I will justify why I chose to analyze newspaper editorials, followed by a literature review on previous research on protests, including the 2014 Hong Kong Umbrella Movement.

2.1 Taiwan, China, and “One Country, Two Systems”

In this thesis, I am especially interested in seeing how the protests are covered by news outlets from Taiwan and China. The reason for this is because, apart from Hong Kong, they are the two countries most affected by the protests and because both countries belong to greater China. Mainland China is particularly interested in Hong Kong’s internal affairs, since Hong Kong, the former British colony, will officially become a part of the People’s Republic of China in 2047, due to the handover negotiated with Britain in 1997 (Pan et al., 1997). In addition much of the anger vented by the protesters in 2019 is geared towards the Chinese government and its undemocratic meddling in Hong Kong’s affairs (John, 2019). The Chinese government’s “One Country, Two Systems” policy has especially come under intense scrutiny in Hong Kong. The policy was implemented after Hong Kong’s handover to China in 1997, and it allowed for Hong Kong to keep its separate political system until complete reunification with China in 2047 (Pan et al., 1997). This separate political system is the reason why Hong Kong citizens enjoy greater freedoms, such as freedom of press and the right to protest, than their neighbors in mainland China. However, protests have been erupting because China is not behaving in accordance with this policy, as their influence in Hong Kong’s internal affairs has steadily increased over the past years, as can be seen by the Chinese government’s decision to rule out civil nominations of Hong Kong’s Chief Executive and thereby foster a “fake” universal suffrage in 2014 (Du, Zhu & Yang, 2018). The proposed extradition bill that sparked the 2019 protest is also seen as China’s meddling into Hong Kong’s affairs. Interestingly, according to China’s Ministry of Foreign Affairs the “One Country, Two Systems” policy was originally intended for Taiwan, and had already

been proposed to Taiwan as early as 1960 (Ministry of Foreign Affairs of The People's Republic of China, n.d). Taiwan, however, has continuously rejected the policy and will continue to do so in the foreseeable future under president Tsai (Lee, 2019). Taiwan is also heavily influenced by the protests in a different way. Taiwan has found itself in a similar situation as Hong Kong. It is a democratic state, enjoying many freedoms not granted in mainland China, and it also sees itself threatened by the Chinese government, which does not see Taiwan as an independent country and actively seeks to cut Taiwan off from international diplomatic relations through the One-China Policy (BBC, 2017). Additionally, there is a wide consensus among many in the media, that the protests directly affected the Taiwanese election and helped re-elect president Tsai, who ran on a campaign critical of the Chinese government, while repeatedly referring to the Hong Kong protests (Pomfret, 2020; Chung & Cheung, 2020). Given the hostile relationship between China and Taiwan and the direct effects the Hong Kong protests have on their political landscape, it is of extreme interest to see how the coverage of the Hong Kong protests differs in the two countries.

2.2 The Taipei Times and the Global Times

Though print media are on a general decline, news outlets still receive many views online, including the Taipei Times which gets 6 million clicks per month, according to its website. The Global Times has an even larger readership. According to an article it published in 2010, it had a circulation of 2.4 million in 2009 and about 200 million online visits per day. Though the numbers provided by the Global Times might be inflated, both newspapers undoubtedly still reach a large audience.

I have chosen the two newspapers because I expect their coverage to be extremely different from each other. In the "About us" section of the Taipei Times website, it states that the newspaper "strongly supports the protection of Taiwan's democracy in an increasingly complex and unpredictable region". Additionally the newspaper belongs to the Liberty Times group, and its Chinese-language newspaper counterpart, the Liberty Times, is famous for supporting the Democratic Progressive Party (DDP), which is notorious for its nationalistic agenda and support for Taiwanese independence (Kuo, 1993). For this reason I expect to see a very supportive stance towards the Hong Kong protests in their editorial publications.

I expect to find the opposite ideology represented in editorials published in the Global Times. Similar to the Taipei Times, the Global Times is also known for being very

nationalistic (Lee, 2010). An article published by the Foreign Policy has even called the Global Times the “Fox News of China” (Larson, 2011). Additionally, research by Lee (2010), found that the Global Times commentary pieces tend to echo Chinese government opinion, as the newspaper works closely together with the Chinese foreign ministry.

Lastly, it is important to note that all editorials were published in English and that the newspapers therefore target a predominantly international audience, such as English-speaking expatriates residing in China and Taiwan.

2.3 Newspaper Editorials

Why did I choose editorials rather than newspaper articles? Editorials are of special interest to me, because they tend to have a very subjective style of reporting, expressing the authors’ and the newspapers’ values and beliefs (Miriam Webster, n.d.). These values and beliefs are often expressed with the help of modal words, such as “must”, “should”, etc., that appear much more frequently in editorials (Liu, 2009). And, according to Liu (2009), it is exactly this authoritative language used from a position of power that gives editorials the ability to have a great influence on public opinion. Vaughn (2005), who analyzed editorial coverage on the Lebanon War, claims that editorials play an even more important role during times of conflict, by “both updating and contextualizing new events” for readers to better understand the events that are occurring. Given Hong Kong’s turbulent times, this finding is especially relevant to this study.

Additionally, unlike in Op-Eds, the opinions and ideological positions expressed in editorials are not only personal but they are adjusted and constructed to fit that of the newspaper in which it is published. This means that by analyzing the editorials I am not just analyzing the opinions and beliefs of certain authors, as would be the case with op-eds, but I am analyzing ideological beliefs held by a newspaper.

Lastly, I expect that the authors of the editorials will employ a diverse range of rhetoric and linguistic devices to convince the reader of their standpoint, since editorials typically have a very opinionated and subjective style of writing. I believe that this highly opinionated style of writing will highlight the differences, between the ideologies of the two newspapers, even more evidently than a normal journalistic article would.

2.4 Protest Coverage and the Protest Paradigm

The media coverage of protests has been extensively studied by media scholars around the world. Wouters (2013), for instance, found that media attention is vital for protesters since their aim is to affect policy and sway public opinion. The only way they can achieve this is by receiving heavy media attention so that their voices can be heard. The media is thereby able to give them access to the political arena. However, in order to be able to gain significant coverage, a protest must be perceived as newsworthy. According to Wouter's (2013) conditions for a newsworthy protest, the Hong Kong protests are very much worthy of serious media coverage, because they are massive in size, disruptive, and use symbolic actions. For this reason, it comes as no surprise that they are heavily covered both in the national and international media.

A highly relevant theory for this thesis is the protest paradigm. The protest paradigm has found that protests and protesters are often covered in a negative way by the media. As summed up by Lee (2014), the protest paradigm "can be considered as a heuristic notion summarizing a pattern of news coverage that expresses disapproval toward protests and dissent." Lee (2014), also argues, however, that the negative portrayal of protests in the media has been on the decline recently, especially in democratic countries and in more liberal news outlets. This is especially the case when the protests are of a political nature. Du, Zhu & Yang (2018) have also found that media coverage in democratic countries, such as the United States and Taiwan, cover protests more positively by legitimizing or even supporting their cause, thereby moving away from the protest paradigm. I expect this to also be the case with the Taipei Times.

There are a few scholars that have analyzed the news coverage of the 2014 Hong Kong Umbrella Movement protest, but given the recency of the ongoing protests, literature on the current protests is still lacking. Three studies analyzing the media coverage of the Hong Kong protests in 2014 are especially relevant to my study as they include the analysis of Taiwanese and/or Chinese media (Du, Zhu & Yang, 2018; Ho, 2019 and Zhang, Khalitova, Myslik, Mohr, Kim, & Kioussis 2018). Ho (2019), who compared coverage of the 2014 Umbrella Movement in the China Daily and the South China Morning Post (SCMP) found that the China Daily portrayed the actors as violent, while the SCMP portrayed them as determined and innocent. Du, Zhu & Yang (2018) analyzed Taiwanese and Chinese news coverage, specifically the People's Daily overseas edition and the Taiwan United Times. It

found that the People's Daily, a newspaper owned by the same group as the Global Times, used anti-protest rhetoric while the Taiwan United Times took a pro-democracy stance. They also found that the People's Daily concentrated on the economic impact of the protests to a much more significant extent. Zhang et al. (2018) examined the role of agenda-building theory in context of the 2014 Umbrella Movement, in China, Singapore and Taiwan. They found that aside from the protests themselves and Hong Kong legislation, crime, economic impact, and Chinese government reaction were among the five most salient topics in the Chinese state-sponsored media coverage. While the Taiwan media coverage's five most salient topics also included protests, Chinese government reaction, and Hong Kong legislation, the other two most salient topics were historical review of the Beijing–Hong Kong relationship and democratic and human rights issues in China. My analysis seeks to find out to what extent the protest paradigm is visible in the editorial coverage of the protests and if the coverage is similar to the one found by researchers studying the 2014 Umbrella movement. My thesis is also highly relevant in the sense that there has been no previous research on the 2019 protests, protests that could possibly shape the future of Hong Kong and China.

3. Methods

In the first part of this method section, I would like to explain why I believe that conducting a discourse analysis is the most effective methodological approach to answer my research question. The other two subsections of this part of my thesis relate to my editorial sample. First I justify my time frame and then I transparently document the process of my sampling procedure.

3.1 Discourse Analysis

According to Fee and Fairclough (1993) discourse can be considered as an “active relation to reality”. This means that forms of communication, such as editorials in the case of this thesis, should not be seen as passive depictions of reality. Rather, they are active contributors to reality, creating meaning and shaping perspective. According to Schneider and Hwang (2014), “discursive acts have the power to define what is accepted as common-sense truth throughout society”. This power to define what is accepted as the truth is especially relevant

in the case of editorials, as they are opinionated descriptions of relevant events and debates appearing in newspapers often trusted and relied upon by readers to help them better understand what is happening in the world around them. This means that the editorials I analyze should not just be seen as passive depictions of what is happening in Hong Kong during the time of the protests, instead they should be seen as active contributors to reality, giving the events meaning and forming the reader's perception.

In order to understand how the discourse used in editorials creates meaning and shapes perspectives, I have conducted a discourse analysis. The discourse analysis that I have conducted comes closest to the critical discourse analysis approach, in the sense that I aim to critically study the language and narratives used by editorials covering a politically sensitive event such as the Hong Kong protests. However, my analysis does differ from a critical discourse analysis in the sense that I am not attempting to critically analyze how the newspaper editorials contribute to social problems, such as racism or inequality. One of the main reasons I chose to do a discourse analysis is because it is an interdisciplinary approach that can be used to analyze any kind of communication, especially media content (Dijk, 2014). Two other reasons why I have chosen to conduct a discourse analysis is, because of the ability it gives me to use an inductive approach and because of the possibility it offers to combine qualitative and quantitative measures of analysis.

I have based the structure of my discourse analysis on a chapter by Florian Schneider, who can be considered an expert in discourse analysis, especially in the field of media. His chapter on discourse analysis pulls together “disparate traditions in discourse analysis into a simple set of work steps” (see further readings). In my discourse analysis I use an inductive approach in which I create codes and themes as I analyze the articles, rather than making them beforehand. The focus of the analysis is on two aspects: content (themes, narratives, etc.) and linguistics (rhetorical devices, style, etc.). These two aspects can be summarized by two questions I aim to answer. First, what arguments, actors and events are focused on in the editorial coverage and how are they portrayed? Second, what type of linguistic methods, such as rhetorical devices, are used by the authors to get their viewpoint and perspective across to the reader?

Additionally it is important to note that the discourse analysis solely concentrates on the textual content of the articles. This means that even though some of the Global Times articles included photographs, the analysis did not include such visuals. Furthermore, I also

used quantitative measures, in order to further help the analysis (see table 1-3). During the process of the inductive analysis of the editorials, I was able to identify five overarching themes in both newspapers' editorials. Each one of these overarching themes, in return, consists of several sub narratives and linguistic devices.

3.2 Timeframe

The time frame during which the editorials used for the analysis were published lies between the 9th of June and the 9th of December 2019. The reason why I chose the 9th of June as my starting point for the data collection is because it was the day of the first large scale protest against the extradition bill in Hong Kong, which saw around one million people take to the streets of central Hong Kong (New York Times, 2019). The 9th of December was selected as the cut-off point because on the 8th of December the Civil Human Rights Front organized a huge demonstration with a turn-out of 800000 (Aleem, 2019). During my sampling process I realized that this was the last time the Hong Kong protests got significant editorial coverage, especially from the Taipei Times as the Taiwanese elections and more recently the coronavirus got the majority of media attention. The coronavirus also led to a decline in pro-democracy protests as the Hong Kong population became more worried about the virus and their government's handling of the pandemic. The five month timespan I have chosen also covers some of the most important protests up until now, such as the airport demonstrations in August and September, the student and police clashes on Hong Kong university campuses, that included the siege of the Polytechnic University from November 17th to 29th, and also the Hong Kong District Council Elections on the 24th of November. Given the recency of the issue, the editorials I sampled for this research are all freely accessible online, on globaltimes.cn and taipeitimes.com.

3.3 Sampling

In the editorial section, I scanned for articles that had the keywords "Hong Kong", "HK", "Riots", "Rioters", "Protesters" and "Protests" in their title with help of the command + F function. On the Global Times website I was able to find all editorials this way, due to their typically long and detailed headlines. The Taipei Times editorial headlines, however, tend to be considerably shorter, so I also scanned editorials that didn't have these keywords. I then individually screened each editorial to make sure that the majority of the content dealt with

the Hong Kong protests. During this process I found that there was a very large quantity of Global Times editorials mentioning the protest, but many only indirectly dealt with the protest and were more of a criticism of the foreign policy of Western nations who had come out in support of them. These types of editorials, for example, were not taken into consideration for this analysis, because the protests were only very briefly mentioned. Nonetheless, 21 appropriate articles were found within the timeframe on the Global Times website. In regards to the Taipei Times many editorials mentioning the Hong Kong protests were more about the internal politics of Taiwan and only briefly touched upon the protests to further an argument. Furthermore, most of the opinion pieces on Hong Kong in the Taipei Times were Op-Eds and due to the smaller amount of editorial publications, the Global Times publishes approximately two a day and the Taipei Times only one, only 12 appropriate editorials were found for this research.

In order to keep the sample size from each newspaper the same, I narrowed down the pool of Global Times editorials used for the analysis to 12 editorials. Because all of the 21 articles were equally suitable for the analysis and in order to avoid personal bias, I randomly selected 12 editorials through an online randomizer. Because only 12 suitable editorials were found in the Taipei Times, all 12 were included, leading to a total sample size of 24 editorials.

4. Global Times Analysis

The Global Times Analysis consists of six subsections, the first of which is dedicated to the style of the editorials, discussing the length, titles and the typical structure of the editorials published in the Chinese newspaper. The other five subsections consist of the five main overarching themes that I was able to find through inductive coding during the analysis. Their titles are brief sentences summarizing the main arguments made by the editorial authors, such as “The protests are violent and criminal” (Section 4.2). Each of the sections also discusses subthemes and rhetorical devices.

4.1 Style

The Global Times editorials have an average length of 613 words, with a fairly high fluctuation in length, the longest editorial being 771 words long and the shortest 498. The Global Times headlines average about 8.25 words per title, the reason for the fairly high number, compared to the Taipei Times’ 5.5, is because many of the titles are full sentences rather than punchlines, e.g. “Hong Kong’s future won’t be held hostage by opposition and its Western supporters” (E1) and “Say no to mob violence and reclaim order in HK society” (E2). As can be seen by these examples, many of the titles already show a clear anti-protest stance in the form of warnings and appeals. All editorials are divided into short paragraphs, predominantly around 3 to 4 sentences long. The structure of editorials is fairly consistent, as most of them begin by specifically mentioning or describing an event, such as a recent protest (E1, E2, E7, E8, E11). Though a few editorials end with a short paragraph consisting of a sentence or two, most editorials’ ending paragraph does not differ greatly in terms of length in comparison to other paragraphs. Endings usually consist of either an evaluative statement of the current Hong Kong protests, such as “Hong Kong's deep-seated problems can only be solved through development” (E5, 47-48), or a sentence directed towards actors involved in the protests, such as “those who stubbornly engage in evil acts will eventually be punished by law and morality” (E11, 53-54). Additionally the Global Times editorials often seem to be directed at the supporters of the protests and Hong Kong citizens. The reason why I get this impression, is because many sentences aim to deter readers from sympathizing with the protests. This can be seen through a constant delegitimization of the protests, portraying their destructiveness and ineffectiveness, and statements such as “those who still pity rioters must

wake up” (E11, 48) and “it is time for Hong Kong society to take action and say 'no' to the violence” (E2, 51-53).

4.2 The protests are violent and criminal

The first of the five themes that I will be elaborating upon is the constant portrayal of the protests as violent and unlawful. A linguistic tool utilized in the Global Times editorials to portray protests as violent are the synonyms used to describe the protests and protestors, such as “riot”, “rioters”, “thugs”, or “mobs”. These negatively connoted words are often associated with criminal, chaotic, and violent behavior and give the reader a negative impression of the protests. The negative association often made with the words “riot” or “rioters” is also the reason why Hong Kong protesters listed not being classified as rioters as one of their five demands. In total, protests are referred to as riots thirteen times and protestors are also referred to as rioters (12), mobs (13), and thugs (4) on multiple occasions, showing that the Global Times authors are not supportive of the demand made by protestors to not be classified as such. Another synonym used to refer to the protestors is “the opposition”, implying that the Global Times authors see them as something negative fighting against them. In addition to using synonyms the editorials often use negatively connotated words to describe the Hong Kong protests and protestors (see table 1). The most frequently used words to describe protests/protestors, demonstrations/demonstrators and “the opposition” are “radical” and “extreme”.

The Global Times also portrays the protestors as violent in a less subtle manner, by repeatedly describing the violent acts committed by the demonstrators. In one editorial, for example, the author states that “the protestors have resorted to using makeshift weapons to attack the police.” (E7, 12-13), and in another editorial the author claims that the protestors had “turned the atmosphere into one of extreme chaos and violence” (E2, 8-9). Other editorials even compare the actions of protestors with those of terrorists (E7, 54; E11, title; E11, 30-31) and claim that their actions have been down right evil (E2, 49-50; E7, title).

Some editorials also put an emphasis on the human impact the protests have had on Hong Kong citizens to evoke empathy among readers. In editorial 12, for instance, the editorial mentions “a mainland student was mauled by black-clad local students, and his head was broken” (E12, 2-3), and editorial 10 mentions assaults on “innocent bystanders, including a taxi driver and well-known film actress, Cai Mai Tai-lo” (E10, 5-6). The

expression “innocent bystander” is especially important here, as it implies that protesters are out of control and that they are willing to assault anyone, including innocent people, to reach their goals.

In addition, the Global Times also portrays the Hong Kong protests as “criminal” by constantly emphasizing protesters’ disregard for the law. In many editorials, a juxtaposition is made between one of the protests’ main goals, democracy, and Hong Kong’s rule of law. This can be seen in editorial 6, which states “because of advocating ‘democracy’, mobs then should be exempt from the law. If that is made into a rule, is Hong Kong still a society ruled by law? This is what the opposition in Hong Kong has requested” (E6, 12-14)”. Two other statements use a similar juxtaposition arguing that “if their purpose is achieved, it would mean politics in Hong Kong is above the law” (E6, 23) and that “Hong Kong is indeed at a crossroads between restoring the rule of law and outright disorder” (E8, 46-47). These statements seem to suggest that if the protesters’ goals of democracy and sovereignty are achieved, the rule of law would no longer exist in Hong Kong and that the continuation of the protests would lead to “outright disorder”.

Table 1: Descriptive words in the Global Times

	Protests/ Protestors	Demonstrators/ Demonstrations	Opposition
radical	16	1	2
extreme	2	1	6
Hong Kong	0	3	4
violent	2	0	0

4.3 The protests are not in Hong Kong’s best interest

By describing the protesters as violent mobs, rioters, thugs, and criminals the Global Times depicts the protestors as people who an average person would not associate themselves with. Statements such as, “however, it is hard to imagine how ordinary Hong Kong citizens could resort to throwing flaming petrol bottles at police” (E7, 23-24) and “to say that the MTR is a little scared of protesters in the current situation is understandable” (E8, 20-21), further demonstrate to the reader that protesters are not ordinary citizens and that people, including

the readers, should be afraid of them. This portrayal leaves the reader questioning how such violent people could possibly have Hong Kong's, or anyone's, best interest at heart.

This also feeds into another one of the main arguments made by the Global Times when criticizing the protestors: its editorials claim that the protestors are a minority among the Hong Kong population. One way this is done, is by pointing out that the participation in the protests is lower than expected or lower than reported (E1, 2-3; E1, 42-43; E7, 27; E10, 1-2). Another method is to mention the discontent among Hong Kongers towards protestors with statements such as, "the vandals have triggered resentment among a growing number of Hong Kong citizens" (E6 27-28).

An additional argument made by the authors of the editorials that demonstrates why the protests are not in Hong Kong's best interest, is the argument that the protests are ruining Hong Kong. This is done, for one, by repeatedly mentioning the damage that has been done during the protests, with sentences such as "those responsible for orchestrating such violence have combined criminal behavior with protesting so they can destroy Hong Kong" (E7, 59-60). Furthermore, many of the authors make statements in which they voice worries about Hong Kong's future if the protests go on (E7, 50-52; E8, 52; E11, 48-50). A linguistic method used by authors to voice these worries is by contrasting Hong Kong's successful economic state before the protests with what it has become now, within the same sentence or same paragraph. An example for this would be: "Crippling the airport is a slap in the face of an international hub like Hong Kong. Its place among the global air freight industry has served as a pillar for the city, and contributed significantly to the city's high standing as a world financial center." (E7, 9-11) and "Hong Kong, affectionately known as the 'Pearl of the Orient,' is a highlight of the Asian economy. However, recently, fierce political emotions have taken over the city" (E2, 37-38). The second quote seems to suggest that Hong Kong is no longer the "Pearl of the Orient" because of the protests.

In addition, the Global Times repeatedly questions the true intentions of the protests. The predominant argument made by the Global Times, one that is touched upon at least briefly in every single one of the 12 articles, is that the "West" has "meddled in Hong Kong's affairs" (E1, 47; E4, 14) and "instigated" (E1, 46) the protests. A few of the authors even claim that the protestors are being misled by the "West", also referred to as "external forces" (E4, title). By claiming the "West", and not Hong Kong citizens, are the main instigators of the protests the editorials make it seem like the protestors are not protesting on behalf of

Hong Kong, but rather to further the agenda of other nations. According to the Global Times, the main reason why foreign countries, especially the USA, are meddling in Hong Kong's affairs is because they want to destabilize mainland China. This can be seen in statements, such as "obviously, the US is trying to use Hong Kong affairs to pressure China" (E1, 49-50) and "what they are trying to do is to throw Hong Kong into chaos and thus contain Beijing" (E5, 44-45). The word "obviously" used in the beginning of the first example is especially significant, because it implies that there is no alternative explanation for American involvement in Hong Kong's protests. The use of such evidentiality markers are also a good example of how small words in editorials can shape and define people's views on an event, by making something seem clear and obvious that actually is not.

Though the Western influence narrative is the most widely used narrative questioning the true intentions of the protests, the authors also mention other alternative motives as to why the protests are happening. One, for example, is that Hongkongers with a superiority complex couldn't accept mainland China's rise (E3, 16-18). Other editorials just claim that the protesters are seeking to "destroy Hong Kong" (E7, 60) or want to "see Hong Kong 'go to hell'" (E7, 16), yet again implying that the protesters aren't demonstrating in order to improve Hong Kong, but instead are aiming to achieve the opposite. Another example can be found in editorial 2, in which another evidentiality marker is used, to make a debatable statement about protesters' objectives seem undebatable: "it is universally apparent that their purpose was to annihilate Hong Kong order and dominate the decision-making through their version of street politics" (E2, 41-43).

4.4 The Chinese government's behavior is beneficial for Hong Kong

The editorials constantly seek to defend the Chinese government and the "One Country, Two Systems" policy that it implemented in Hong Kong, claiming that it is mainland China and not the "West" who has Hong Kong's best interests at heart. The editorials argue that the Chinese central government "has maintained respect for Hong Kong's high degree of autonomy" (E5, 20-21) and that it has not intervened in Hong Kong's internal affairs, thereby demonstrating its respect for Hong Kong's basic law (E4, 30-31). This argument seems to directly clash with the demands of the protesters, who are demonstrating because of the increased involvement of the Chinese government in Hong Kong's political affairs.

In regards to the “One Country, Two Systems” policy, which has been under heavy scrutiny during the protests, multiple editorials praise it for being beneficial to Hong Kong, with one author arguing that the policy is “based on the sincere goodwill of the central government and the whole of China toward Hong Kong” (E5, 28-29). Another editorial claims that Hong Kong gained “a unique advantage” through the system and that it allowed the city to “be among the first to hitch a ride on the mainland's development” (E3, 33-35). These statements not only demonstrate that the Global Times seeks to justify the Chinese government’s involvement in Hong Kong as being in the city’s best interest, it also gives the reader the impression that Hong Kong needs China in order to have a positive future and that a good relationship is to Hong Kong’s advantage. This notion is further demonstrated in an editorial about Hong Kong’s universities, which states “without the mainland's support, Hong Kong universities are sure to decline” (E12, 31-32).

4.5 Hong Kong is part of China

Many of the Global Times editorials emphasize the unity between Hong Kong and China, while repeatedly mentioning that Hong Kong is a part of China. In statements such as “an improved and fully recovered Hong Kong is the wish of all Chinese” (E2, 59) and “Chinese mainland society and Hong Kong belong to the same big family, and the mainland looks forward to witnessing the reemergence of a stable and prosperous city” (E2, 56-58), the Global Times even speaks on behalf of the whole Chinese nation, voicing its wishes for a “prosperous city”, since Hong Kong and China “belong to the same big family”.

This emphasis on unity and solidarity can be seen by the use of personal pronouns in sentences in which suggestions for future actions are made. The Global Times editorial uses the pronoun “we” fairly frequently in its editorials (E2, E5, E6, E11), and most of the time the first person plural pronoun refers to the Global Times media corporation. However, there are two sentences that stick out in which “we” seems to refer to Chinese people, from Hong Kong and China, as a whole. These sentences can be found in editorial 4, “we must not allow US hostility toward China to be brought into Hong Kong affairs as a lever to balance ‘one country’ and to reinforce ‘two systems’” (E4, 25-28), and editorial 8, “at such times, we should not bend over and go with the stream, nor should we engage in political speculation [...]” (E8, 32-34). By using the pronoun “we” the editorials suggest unity and sameness

between citizens of Hong Kong and China and that these two groups of people need to work together in order to safeguard Hong Kong's future.

This appeal for Chinese people, from Hong Kong and China, to work together also relates closely to the Global Times editorials appeals to Hong Kong citizens' Chinese patriotism, while emphasizing their "Chineseness". This is done by criticizing the overly Western orientation of the city, claiming that protesters "refuse to accept the fact that they are descendants of the Chinese nation but fantasize being part of the Western world" (E3, 11-13) and that the protests' involvement with the West "is a betrayal of Hong Kong's return to the motherland" (E4, 19). The editorials also make appeals towards the Hong Kong citizens to act in a way that benefits Hong Kong and China, and not the alternative motives of "Western forces" previously mentioned in the second theme (E2, 51-53, E11, 39-40). Furthermore, editorial 2 also appeals to Hong Kong citizens' patriotism as a reason not to support the protests, claiming that "those who love this city must have been frustrated and sad amid the escalating rampage that included hurling rocks at police throughout the afternoon chaos" (E2, 14-16). The modal word "must" in this sentence implies that anyone who isn't frustrated about the protests development must not love Hong Kong, subsequently implying that protesters themselves do not love the city.

Another interesting aspect worth discussing in regards to the editorials' appeals to Hong Kong's Chineseness is the repeated reference to "the motherland". Mainland China is referred to as "the motherland" in four of the twelve editorials (E2, E3, E4, E5), a term that very much emphasizes that Hong Kong is part of China. It is also a term that could imply that mainland China is in a matriarchal position of power in their relationship.

4.6 The Hong Kong protests must be stopped

The last overarching themes that I would like to address is the constant appeals made by the editorials to stop the protests. In addition to the previously mentioned themes, there are two ways that the Global Times appeals to the halting of the demonstrations: by urging Hong Kong citizens to fight back against the protests, and by warning protesters about the uselessness and severe consequences of their actions.

There are multiple types of appeals for the Hong Kong protests to stop, many of which use the modal verbs "should" and "must" (see table 2). One of these appeals has already been mentioned in the previous section, which discusses the Global Times' attempt to

appeal to Hong Kong citizen's Chinese patriotism. Among the other appeals directed towards Hong Kong citizens, some authors also emphasize the need to retain their financial status and livelihood (E9, 50-51) and others claim that it is Hong Kong society's responsibility to maintain stability (E2, 51-53) and that they should "step forward to defend the city's rule of law" (E11, 40). With statements like these, the editorials refer to Hong Kong's moral duty to stop the protests and that the end to the protests is in their best interests.

In addition to making appeals to Hong Kong citizens, protesters, and their sympathizers to stop the protests, the editorials also warn these actors. In editorial 11 for example, an appeal to sympathizer is immediately followed by a warning of what could happen if the protests continue: "Those who still pity rioters must wake up: The mobs are destroying the civilized and modernized Hong Kong as well as Hongkongers' home and future" (E11, 48-50). In editorial 3, whilst referring to violent protesters, an author claims that they "will be punished severely just as any enemy would who threatens national security" (E7, 33-34). These statements have an intimidating effect on the reader, the verb "will" making it seem like the punishments are unavoidable. One could even consider the statement as a direct threat.

Some warnings made in the editorials are especially of interest, as they seem to be made on behalf of the Chinese government. As mentioned when discussing the second theme, some editorials do not shy away from speaking for mainland Chinese society as a whole, through the use of personal pronouns when voicing concerns and wishes for Hong Kong's future. Some sentences also give the impression that the Global Times editorials are speaking on behalf of the Chinese government. Of course, I cannot confirm that these statements mirror those of the Chinese government, however, the manner in which some statements are phrased by the authors give the impression that they know exactly how the Chinese government will act in the future. Take these three examples for instance:

- "The Chinese government will never allow extreme opposition and the West to pull Hong Kong into the anti-China camp, nor will it allow the city to slip into long-term chaos or become a base for the West to subvert China's political system." (E9, 44-46)
- "If demonstrators who resort to violence are not punished according to law [...] Beijing will not agree." (E6, 30-32)
- "The Chinese government will make a clear division between peaceful and violent protests." (E6, 33-34)

The repeated use of the verb “will” implies that the Global Times authors know the exact stance that the Chinese government has and will have towards the protests. These statements, which give extremely threatening impressions, could have an intimidating effect on the protesters and its supporters.

Table 2: Sentences voicing warnings and appeals containing modal verbs

	Global Times	Taipei Times
Should	25	6
Must	8	3
Need to	0	5
Have to	0	1
Total	33	15

5. The Taipei Times Analysis

The Taipei Times analysis has the exact same layout as the analysis of the Global Times. Similar to the previous section, I have also found five overarching themes during my analysis of the Taiwanese editorials. The five subsections discussing the overarching themes are preceded by the first section discussing style, layout and structure of the editorials.

5.1 Style

The average length of the Taipei Times editorials is approximately 596 words and their length is fairly consistent as the longest editorial has 653 words and the shortest has 550. The titles of the editorials are usually quite short, the average length being 5.5 words and, unlike the Global Times articles, they resemble catchy punchlines rather than full sentences.

The structure of most editorials is fairly consistent. Most of the Taipei Times editorials begin with the description of a recent event, such as one of the frequent Sunday demonstrations (E1, E3, E5, E10), a press conference by Carrie Lam (E12), or statements made by Xi Jinping in Nepal concerning the Hong Kong protests (E9). All editorials are structured in the form of short paragraphs usually containing one to four sentences. Most editorials end with a very short paragraph, usually consisting of one or two sentences, which

often contain sentences with modal verbs directed at actors involved in the protests, such as “It is Beijing’s leaders who need to be better educated.” (E2, 53-54), “Taiwan — and Hong Kong — must stay the course and play the long game.” (E9, 47-48) and “Lam’s administration needs to act swiftly and decisively [...]” (E3, 43). Whereas the Global Times consistently makes such evaluative statements containing modal words throughout their editorials, these types of statements are rarer in the Taipei Times and predominantly found at the end of editorials (see table 2).

Another notable aspect of the Taipei Times editorials is the large number of indirect and direct quotes they use, a writing style usually more prominent in objective newspaper articles. All editorials, except for editorial 3 and 8, at one point or another refer to a quote or statement made by a politician, activist, or even another media source, such as Wired Magazine (E10, 31-33) or Foreign Policy (E4, 36-42). These quotes are usually used to strengthen an argument. In some cases, however, the quotes are immediately criticised after they appear, for example in editorial 1, in which, after quoting Kaohsiung’s Mayor Han Kuo-yu, the author follows the quote in the next paragraph by stating “Kuo was being disingenuous, or was genuinely oblivious to the events unfolding in Hong Kong — either way, it does not look good for a presidential aspirant” (E1, 33-35).

5.2 The reasons for the protests are legitimate and justified

Similar to the Global Times, the Taipei Times editorials, also frequently use descriptive words to describe the protests and protesters (see table 3). However, unlike the Global Times, the Taipei Times editorials do not use the terms “riots” or “mobs” to describe the protesters, instead they use positively connotated words, such as “movement” or “activists” in addition to “demonstrators” or “protestors”. The most commonly used descriptive word characterizing the protests is “pro-democracy”, a description that is also used on multiple occasions when referring to actors sympathetic towards the protesters’ cause, e.g. “pro-democracy candidates” (E10, 7) and “pro-democracy lawmakers” (E7, 20). The framing of the protests as “pro-democracy” gives the reader a good impression of the protesters by using the positively connotated “pro”, rather than describing them as anti-government, for instance, which they could technically also be described as. Another commonly used term to describe the protests is “peaceful”, a similarly positively connotated word that portrays the protesters in a good light.

In addition to using positively associated words to describe the protests, many of the editorials voice their support for the protesters' cause. This is done by arguing that democracy and human rights are something worth protesting for, and that the behavior of the mainland Chinese government is worth protesting against. Editorial 5, for example, states that “China has a clear obligation under international law to implement universal suffrage, yet has done everything in its power to obstruct this process” (E5, 30-31) and claims that “Hong Kongers cleave tightly to ‘British values’ of democracy, the rule of law and a sense of fair play, which are being eroded by Beijing” (E5, 5-7). These statements seem to justify the protesters cause, a notion that is further supported by the statement “despite the economic downturn caused by the protests’ impact on tourism as well as the US-China trade spat, many Hong Kongers appear willing to continue protesting [...]” (E11, 33-35). This segment shows that even though the protesters are aware of the negative impact the protests are having on the city, they are still willing to protest, no matter what the cost.

Another recurring argument made to legitimize the protests is that the protesters represent the majority of Hong Kong citizens. The editorials claim that the protests are “widely representative of the territory’s residents” (E6, 23-24) and that “the protests in Hong Kong can no longer be discounted as the work of a minority” (E8, 37). Editorial 10, titled “Taiwan a guide for HK silent majority”, which covers the results of the Hong Kong district council elections on the 24th of November 2019, argues that the elections prove that the protests represent the wider Hong Kong population, and that many of its residents who do not protest themselves still support the protesters’ demands. The election resulted in 389 of the 452 seats available going to pro-democracy candidates, and the author claims that “The territory’s district council elections put paid to the lie peddled by Beijing and Hong Kong Chief Executive Carrie Lam’s administration — that the months of pro-democracy protests in the territory were foreign-instigated and supported” (E10, 3-5). This argument that the protests are foreign-instigated is also often made by the Global Times editorials. Another aspect that contradicts the Global Times is that the Taipei Times describes the protesters as “ordinary” (E1, 13), rather than violent and non representative of the population as a whole.

The editorials also use two linguistic methods to create empathy for the protesters among readers, which could in return increase support for the protests. The first method is by emphasizing the impact police brutality has had on protests. In editorial 7, the police brutality used against individual protests is vividly described with sentences such as “a group of

passengers is seen huddling in a corner, trying to shield themselves from the police, terrified and sobbing uncontrollably” (E7, 18-19) and “a young woman was reportedly hit in the eye with a beanbag round [...], which could be irrecoverably damaged.” (E7, 36-39). These sentences have the effect that the reader feels sorry for the protesters, who seem to be innocent people unjustly attacked by one of the main antagonists in the editorials, the police. The other linguistic device that creates empathy with the protesters, while suggesting that their actions are justified, is the use of adverbs, specifically adverbs such as justifiably, unfortunately and regrettably. Here are a few notable examples:

- “Panic spread as Hong Kongers justifiably feared the bill would sound the death knell on freedom of speech” (E9, 18)
- “Unfortunately, Lam, at a news conference on Tuesday, appeared as deaf to their appeals as she has been all year” (E10, 13-14)
- “Regrettably, Saturday evening’s carnage was not the first time Hong Kong police have used excessive force in the past few weeks” (E7, 32-33)

These adverbs can serve as emotional cues for the reader, influencing how they cognitively evaluate the content expressed in the statement. In this case, these adverbs support the protests and condemn the actions of those that oppose it.

Table 3: Descriptive words in the Taipei Times

	Protests/ Protestors	Demonstrators/ Demonstrations	Movement
pro-democracy/ democracy	6	0	2
peaceful	2	0	0
massive/ huge/ large-scale	1	3	0
leaderless	1	0	1

5.3 The Chinese government’s behavior is wrong and unjustifiable

Throughout the editorials there is an incredibly high amount of criticism directed at the Chinese Communist Party (CCP). Through this constant criticism, the CCP is portrayed in a very negative light and the party is clearly made out to be the main antagonist within the

context of the protests. In addition, the criticism of the CCP's behavior in the Taipei Times does not just refer to their dealings with the Hong Kong protests, the negative portrayal of the party is made on a much broader spectrum, including criticism of the "One Country, Two Systems" policy in general and the handlings of past protests, such as the Tiananmen Square Massacre in 1989.

The most common criticism of the CCP, is the criticism of its authoritarian behavior and lack of respect for democracy and human rights. In editorial 3, for example, which covers the attacks on protesters by unidentified "masked thugs" (E3, 2) in the MTR, the author accuses the Chinese authorities of "using intimidation to sow division and fear", claiming that it was the Chinese government who had hired these thugs. The author then substantiates this claim, arguing that "corrupt local governments frequently hired thugs [...]" (E3, 24), followed by a rhetorical question: "What other explanation is there, other than that they were hired thugs — possibly gang members — employed by China's security apparatus to do Beijing's dirty work?" (E3, 33-34). The rhetorical question emphasizes that there is no other reasonable explanation other than that the Chinese government hired the "thugs" to beat up the protesters, whilst condemning such an act as immoral. On several occasions the CCP is portrayed in a similar light, one editorial describing them as "bullies" (E5, 35) and another as "ever-more authoritarian" (E10, 46-48). In addition, there are also repeated criticisms of the CCP's disregard for its citizens' rights. Chinese nationalism promoted by the government, for example, is described as "a way of distracting its citizenry from their lack of rights or voice in governance" (E8, 3-4). Editorial 8, however, takes its criticism of Chinese authoritarianism the furthest, making an extended comparison between the Chinese government and the Nazi regime (E8, 23-32), followed by the statement "the CCP has followed the Nazi playbook since the founding of the People's Republic of China's" (E8, 33-34). By making this comparison between the CCP and one of the most brutal regimes in human history, the editorial goes to an extreme length to demonstrate just how evil and authoritarian the Chinese government really is.

I was able to identify three word groups that are used to describe the Chinese government in the editorials. The first one is the portrayal of the CCP as blind and deaf (E6, title; E6, 1-3; E6, 49; E9, 34) and the second one is the description of the CCP as misinformed and uneducated (E2, title; E2, 10-12; E2, 43; E2, 54). The last word group is a constant referral to the CCP's lack of capabilities in dealing with Hong Kong, especially in editorial 9,

with the Chinese government being described as “inept” (E9, title) and “counterproductive” (E9, 31), while the government’s action is repeatedly referred to as a “strategic blunder” (E9, 11; E9, 31; E9, 42). All these word groups play into a larger theme of portraying the CCP as incompetent, especially in its decision making, as the government is either blind to the information available, too uneducated to understand it, or not competent enough to make the the right decisions. Oddly, these descriptions do not fall in line with the comparison of the CCP to the Nazi regime and the repeated referral to its brutal authoritarian rule. This opposing portrayal of the CCP will be further elaborated on in the fourth subsection.

Another prominent criticism of the CCP is the “One Country, Two Systems” policy, which it implemented in Hong Kong after the 1997 handover. Editorial 4, for example, states that “recent incidents in Hong Kong have further exposed China’s ‘one country, two systems’ formula as a failure” (E4, 1-2), later claiming that the main reason for its failure is its inability to ‘safeguard Hong Kongers’ political rights” (E4, 11).

Lastly, the Taipei Times editorials use historical references to not only criticize the Chinese government's current behavior in Hong Kong, but its past transgressions when dealing with dissidents and protesters. Three editorials, for example, refer to the Tiananmen Massacre of 1989 (E2; E6; E9). Additionally, the author in editorial 6 lists a plethora of anti-Chinese government protests in order to emphasize how often the CCP has behaved unjustly in the face of protests: “The idea of a leaderless movement for change has always been beyond the CCP’s comprehension, hence its vicious response to the 1989 Tiananmen Square protests, to the silent Falun Gong protest in Beijing in 1999, Charter 08 and so many others” (E6, 25-27).

5.4 The Hong Kong government only acts in the interest of the Chinese government

In addition to the Chinese government, the Hong Kong government and its police force are also portrayed as antagonists. However, the criticism of the Hong Kong government can be seen as an indirect criticism of the CCP as I will elaborate upon momentarily. Interestingly, almost all of the criticism of the Hong Kong government is directed at Hong Kong’s Chief Executive Carrie Lam, who is accused of having “lost the public’s trust and tarnished the territory’s image as a financial and commercial hub” (E12, 22-23). More importantly though, Carrie Lam is repeatedly accused of acting in the interest of the Chinese government, while disregarding Hong Kong. This can be seen by editorial 12, referring to her as “Beijing’s

puppet” (E12, title; E12, 36), and in editorial 7, in which she is accused of having “relinquished control of the territory’s governance to Beijing” (E7, 47-49). Editorial 9 also claims that the extradition bill was actually China’s president Xi “attempting through Hong Kong Chief Executive Carrie Lam (林鄭月娥) to introduce a law” (E9, 28-29). For this reason one could claim that any criticism directed at the Hong Kong government, including its police force, is indirectly targeted at the CCP.

The violent portrayal of the Hong Kong police force, whose superior is the Hong Kong government, was already briefly touched upon in the first theme which analyzed the vivid description of the force used by police against protesters in an MTR clash. This shows that while the Global Times repeatedly portrays the protesters as violent and aggressive, the Taipei Times does the opposite, portraying the Hong Kong police as violent, while emphasizing the peaceful intentions of the Hong Kong protests. In addition to the detailed descriptions of police brutality in editorial 7, the Hong Kong police’s behavior is also portrayed as wrong and unjust, with statements such as “Hong Kong police are increasingly using disproportionate violence” (E7, 10-11), and “Civic Party Legislator Kwok Ka-ki accused the police of ‘shameless behavior unbecoming of monsters’” (E7, 27-28). The fact that this depiction of the police as monsters is made by a legislator from Hong Kong, further emphasizes that the police are not behaving in a way deemed positive by Hong Kong’s citizens. The Hong Kong police are additionally described as “out of control” (E7, title), and editorial 3 and 12 especially criticize them for “failing to respond to calls for help” (E3, 35) and “turning a blind eye” (E12, 15-16) to two separate attacks on protesters on their way home from protests. The editorial thereby accuses the police of disregarding the needs of Hong Kong citizens which it is supposed to protect.

5.5 The Hong Kong protests demonstrate why Taiwan must beware of China

Whereas the Global Times emphasizes the unity between mainland China and Hong Kong, the Taipei Times does the opposite and emphasizes the similarity between Hong Kong and Taiwan’s predicament, while portraying mainland China as the common enemy, one that Hong Kong and Taiwan need to be wary of given the CCP’s response to the protests. The first method through which the Taipei Times editorials argue that the Hong Kong protests should be seen as reason for Taiwan to be more wary of the Chinese government, is by emphasizing the strong bond between Taiwan and Hong Kong due to their similar positions

when it comes to their conflict with the CCP. Editorial 6, for example, claims that the “Taiwanese feel a kinship for protesters in Hong Kong” (E6, 33) while arguing that one of the reasons for this is that “Beijing’s promises, even its signatures on international treaties, cannot be trusted” (E6, 35-36), thereby implying that the common enemy is one of the reasons for unity. Furthermore, editorial 1 states that there is “a strong current of support in Taiwan for Hong Kong’s struggle to protect its freedoms” (E1, 43-44). A statement which is immediately followed by the supposed reason for it: “Taiwanese are acutely aware that today’s Hong Kong could be tomorrow’s Taiwan” (E1, 45).

The argument that the Hong Kong protests are the reason why Taiwan should be wary of mainland China, can be found throughout the editorials in titles such as “Beware the Hong Kong model” (E1) and statements such as “the report, like the protests in Hong Kong, is a sobering reminder of Taiwan’s journey toward greater democracy, and how easily the civil rights enjoyed today can be lost tomorrow” (E11, 49-51). This last example almost seems like a warning directed towards Taiwanese citizens to further protect their civil rights.

The Taipei Times also warns Taiwanese citizens to be wary of China, by criticizing the “One Country, Two Systems” policy implemented by the Chinese government in Hong Kong; a policy that was originally intended to be put into place in Taiwan. A statement that sums up the editorials’ criticism of the policy in reference to Taiwan can be found in editorial 12: “The belief that ‘one country, two systems’ was a formula that the Chinese Communist Party first designed for Taiwan would be amusing if it were not scary. If it has failed so miserably in Hong Kong, how could anyone expect it to be successfully applied to fiercely democratic and liberal Taiwan?” (E12, 40-44). The rhetorical question not only implies that the policy could never work in Taiwan, but the adjectives “democratic” and “liberal” used to describe Taiwan, imply that the “One country, Two Systems” policy is anything but liberal and democratic. Taipei’s mayor Ko-Wen-je, is also quoted, who says that “even beggars would run away” (E4, 13), if the “One Country, Two Systems” policy were implemented in the same manner in Taiwan.

Not only do the editorials warn Taiwanese to be wary of the CCP, they also criticize Taiwanese actors who do not stand in solidarity with the protesters. An example for this appears in editorial 1, which states “there are some in Taiwan [...] who seem more interested in regurgitating the official line from Beijing than engaging with reality.” (E1, 6-8). The use of the verb “regurgitate” rather than repeat, for instance, negatively connotes this sentence

implying that anyone repeating the official line from Beijing should be seen in a negative light. This statement is then followed by a criticism of Kaohsiung's Mayor Han Kuo-yu, a member of the Kuomintang party and a presidential candidate at the time. He is criticized for his reaction to the Hong Kong protests, or lack thereof, with the author claiming that “it does not look good for a presidential aspirant” (E1, 34-35). The Taipei Times, known for its support of the DPP, thereby not only criticizes non-solidarity between Taiwanese and Hong Kong, it also uses the Hong Kong protests as a method for addressing the pre-election political landscape of Taiwan.

5.6 The world must stand up to the Chinese Communist Party

In the second theme I mention two fairly contradictory descriptions of the Chinese government. On the one hand the CCP is portrayed as authoritarian and even compared to the Nazi regime, but, on the other hand, several word groups give the CCP a weak and incompetent image. While the one description is intimidating, the other makes the opposite impression, an impression which is further emphasized by the statement “perhaps China’s leaders are not the formidable strategic geniuses that the outside world takes them for” (E9, 44). The reason for these contradicting portrayals could be that they both have an encouraging effect on readers to stand up against the Chinese government, by, firstly, causing outrage over its authoritarian rule and, secondly, reassuring the reader that the CCP is not as powerful as people think and can therefore be fought against.

This theme is closely related to the previous one, which elaborates on the need for Taiwan to beware of the CCP. However, the editorials do not just warn Taiwan to be wary of the CCP, they also warn the international community of the Chinese Communist Party and encourage all nations to stand up to the CCP (E6, 37-40; E6, 49-50). Whereas the Global Times, which uses appeals and warning at a much higher frequency than the Taipei Times (see table 2), mostly makes appeals to stop the protests and its support, the Taipei Times directs many of its appeals towards standing up against the CCP. An example can be found in editorial 9: “Taiwan — and Hong Kong — must stay the course and play the long game.” (E9, 48). A few other examples stem from editorial five, which is titled “Britain must stand up for HK”, in which the author claims that Britain has a clear moral and legal duty to “interfere” (E5, 52). Another example in which the Taipei Times appeals to the world to stand up to the CCP, is in editorial 8, in which the author compares the CCP with the Nazi

regime while claiming that “for too long, too many in the world have stood silent in the face of atrocities in China, but speaking up for human rights is not interference in a nation’s internal affairs” (E8, 21-22) and that “criticizing Beijing can be costly, but staying mum is even more expensive” (E8, 48). Not only do these examples claim that standing up against the CCP is something they should do, it's something they must do, claiming that it is there “moral duty” and using the Nazi comparison to justify why interference in China’s affairs is necessary, just as it had been in World War II.

6. Discussion

In this section I address multiple topics regarding the results of my analysis. First and foremost, I answer my research question, by comparing the results I have found from the preceding analysis of both newspapers’ editorial coverage of the protests. This comparison discusses both differences and similarities in regards to narratives, linguistics and styles. In this section I also compare my results to those made by previous research discussed in the theoretical framework. Lastly, I will briefly address the limitations of my study.

In regards to the themes, narratives and general arguments made in the two newspapers’ editorials, the Global Times and Taipei Times differ from each other in almost every way possible. In fact, in many aspects, at least theme-wise, the Global Times and the Taipei Times do not just differ, they directly oppose each other. For example, whereas the Global Times questions the validity of the protests’ causes, often claiming that they serve as a pawn of the “West” to weaken mainland China, the Taipei Times supports their goals of democracy and human rights. Additionally, while the Global Times repeatedly defends the Hong Kong and mainland Chinese government, the Taipei Times constantly criticizes it. The most directly contrasting theme between the two editorials, however, is the opposite portrayal of the protesters and the police. In the Taipei Times the protesters are described as peaceful and ordinary Hong Kong citizens, whereas in the Global Times they are described as violent, criminal outliers in the Hong Kong population. Similarly, while the Taipei Times condemns the violent behavior of the police, the Global Times defends it. The last theme, in which the opposing stances between the Taipei Times and the Global Times becomes clear, is the emphasis they put on the solidarity between Taiwan and Hong Kong and China and Hongkong. The Global Times emphasizes the “Chineseness” of Hong Kong society, even

attempting to appeal to the Chinese patriotism among Hong Kong citizens to stop the protests. The Taipei Times, on the other hand emphasizes the solidarity between Hong Kong and Taiwan, mainly enforced by their common enemy: the mainland Chinese government.

Aside from the cases where the two newspapers directly oppose each other thematically, the Taipei Times also differs from the Global Times in the sense that it addresses the Hong Kong protests as one issue within a larger problem. The larger problem being the general authoritarian behavior of the CCP throughout its history. This larger problem is repeatedly referred to, as can be seen by the intense criticism directed at the CCP. On multiple occasions historical references to other movements are made, such as the 1989 Tiananmen Square Massacre (E2, E6, E9). Through broad criticism and historical references, the Taipei Times emphasizes that this is not the first time the Chinese government has behaved in such authoritarian fashion, which is why, not just Taiwan, but the entire world must beware of the CCP and stand up to it.

While the two newspapers have almost no thematic overlap in their editorials, there are a few similarities to be found in regards to their rhetoric and style. Nevertheless, there are also a lot of linguistic differences between the two newspapers, one of which, for example, is that the Taipei Times editorials give a more objective impression, often resembling the writing style used in articles rather than in editorials. For example, one can find direct and indirect quotes in almost all of the Taipei Times editorials, which is not the case in the Global Times. The Global Times, on the other hand, gives more of an emotional and opinionated impression. Its editorials use personal pronouns on several occasions, which do not appear at all in the Taipei Times. And though both editorials often use modal verbs to make warnings and appeals, the Global Times does so on a much more regular basis. This can be seen in table 3, in which I counted the amount of times sentences with the four modal verbs, “must”, “should”, “need to”, and “have to”, were used in the editorials. These appeals are especially interesting, because they have a persuading effect on the reader. According to Liu (2010), these types of authoritative sentences utilizing such modal verbs are also the most likely to have an effect on public opinion. Interestingly, of the 15 times the four modal verbs were used to voice appeals in the Taipei Times, over half of the time (8) the sentence was either in the last or second last paragraph of the editorial. To fall back to the argument of the Taipei Times having a more objective impression on the reader, both newspaper editorials seemingly aim to influence their readers opinion, yet the Taipei Times does this more

subtly, predominantly using appeals to the readers at the end of the editorials, as a concluding remark with which the reader should leave after having processed the information given in the editorial.

Nevertheless, though the ideology of the editorials are completely different, they do tend to report on the protests in a similar fashion. Both newspapers' reporting is extremely one-sided, as neither reports on the perspective of the other side. Even the Taipei Times, who I argue uses a more objective writing style, does not ever validate or support any claim made by the Chinese or Hong Kong government in regards to the protests. The repeated use of descriptive words to portray the actors involved in the protests, such as protesters, police and politicians in a manner that fits the newspaper's ideology can also be seen as a similarity (see table 1 and 3). Both editorials are also prone to use exaggerations to describe these actors and events, especially the Global Times when it describes the violent behavior of the protests and the decline of Hong Kong as a city.

Though this doesn't directly relate to either the themes or the rhetoric used in the editorials, another similarity I found between the two newspapers is the target group that the authors address. As previously mentioned in the theoretical framework, it is important to note that the English Global Times and Taipei Times have different target groups than their Chinese language parent newspapers, the People's Daily and the Liberty Times. These editorials target an English-speaking international readership in Taiwan, China, and abroad. This can be seen in the Global Times, whose target audience seems to be geared towards readers inclined to support the protesters. The reason the editorials leave this impression is because of their direct appeals to supporters, such as "those who still pity rioters must wake up" (E11, 48), "step forward to defend the city's rule of law" (E11, 40), and "those who love this city must have been frustrated and sad" (E2, 14). These seem to be directed mostly at Hong Kong citizens and other foreigner actors rather than Chinese citizens. Throughout the editorials, it seems the Global Times is trying to persuade the reader to take a position against the protesters, which can also be seen by the villainizing of the protests and the constant defense of the protests' enemy, the Chinese Communist Party. The Taipei Times seems to have the same target audience as the Global Times, but while the Global Times attempts to decrease support for the protests, the Taipei Times is trying to increase the support, by repeatedly appealing to Western countries to take action against the authoritarian behavior of the CCP. However, the Taipei Times also seems to target Taiwanese readers when it portrays

the CCP's involvement in Hong Kong as a reason to beware of mainland China. Given the target group of these English-language newspapers, it could be interesting to analyze the difference of the protest coverage between the English versions and their Chinese-language counterparts.

The results found in this study also confirm several other findings made by previous research that studied the media coverage of the 2014 Umbrella Movement protests (Du, Zhu & Yang, 2018; Ho, 2019; Zhang et al., 2018). This thesis contributes to the growing body of scholarship that has found a decreasing adoption of the protest paradigm in democratic countries (Lee, 2014; Du, Zhu & Yang, 2018). In line with the findings made by Du, Zhu & Yang (2018), the Taipei Times editorials do not adopt the protest paradigm, predominantly portraying the protests positively, while voicing their support for demonstrators. The Global Times on the other hand, a newspaper from a one-party ruled country in which the press is heavily censored, does adopt the protest paradigm in its coverage. Furthermore, the findings also fall in line with Ho (2019), who found that the China Daily repeatedly portrayed protesters as violent; this is clearly also the case in the Global Times.

Inadvertently, my thesis adopted a similar structure as the quantitative study by Zhang et al. (2018), since I also identified five main themes for each newspaper covering protests. Interestingly, three of the most salient themes in Chinese newspapers found by Zhang et al. (2018) overlap with the themes I found in the Global Times. The themes crime, economic impact, and the Chinese government response all also play a significant role in the Global Times' narrative. Zhang et al.'s (2018) findings are also confirmed in regards to the Taipei Times, as their research found that the historical review of the China–Hong Kong relationship and democratic and human rights issues in China were among the most salient topics in the Taiwanese protest coverage. As shown in the analysis, the Taipei Times editorial often used historical reviews of past Chinese government behavior, though not just in regards to China-Hong Kong relations, but also in relation to national Chinese affairs. On top of that, the Taiwanese editorials constantly criticize the Chinese government, especially in regards to their authoritarian rule and lack of respect for democracy and human rights.

The analysis also confirms an assumption I made in the theoretical framework, that the editorials' themes would very much align with the political orientation of their respective

newspapers. The Global Times takes a very nationalistic stance in its coverage of the protest, and portrays the protests in a negative light throughout the editorials. The Global Times' close alignment with the Chinese government can also be seen in the segments in which it almost seems as if the Global Times is speaking on behalf of the Chinese government (E4, 44-46; E6, 30-34). This coincides with Lee's (2010) findings, which show that the Global Times commentary pieces tend to echo Chinese government opinion. The Taipei Times, on the other hand, is very much aligned with the DDP, as can be seen by its support of the protests, its constant criticism of the Chinese government and the repeated comparison of Hong Kong's predicament to that of Taiwan, portraying the Chinese government as a common enemy. However, the most obvious instance in which the Taipei Times' alignment with the DDP can be seen is when a statement about the Hong Kong protests is used as a reason to criticize the then DDP's rival party's presidential candidate, Kaohsiung's Mayor Han Kuo-yu of the Kuomintang, who was, at the time, seeking election.

I was also able to find several more themes and sub narratives in my analysis that have not been found in previous research. Among these findings, is the incredibly salient narrative of blaming the West for instigating and supporting the protests, which is referred to at least once in every single Global Times editorial, with many of them claiming that the protests are just a means to further the West's agenda to weaken China. The Global Times thereby implies that the protests do not serve the best interests of Hong Kong, which in turn demeans the reason for which the protesters are demonstrating. The most interesting finding made in regard to the Taipei Times editorials, is the constant linking of Hong Kong's current situation to that in Taiwan. The protests and the CCP's involvement in them are portrayed in such a way that the editorials seem to be warning the readers to be wary of the Chinese government or else Hong Kong's predicament might become Taiwan's. As previously mentioned, the Taiwanese president Tsai, a member of the DDP, with which the Taipei Times is closely aligned, ran on a campaign that also cited the protests as a reason to distance itself from China. With multiple sources in the media pointing to the Hong Kong protests for her re-election (Pomfret, 2020; Chung & Cheung, 2020), it would be interesting to study what kind of influence the Taiwanese media coverage of the protests had on the election.

Lastly there are a few limitations of my discourse analysis that I would like to discuss. First of all, it is important to note that discourse analysis can only reveal what actors, in this case

editorial authors, are doing with their communication, it cannot reveal what the motivations behind their discourse is and what they aimed to achieve. Additionally we also do not, to a full extent, know how the language used by the editorials affects the reader. Are the linguistic strategies successful in convincing readers of an argument, or do they, in some occasions, backfire? For instance, the immense criticism of the “West” in the *Global Times* could be counterproductive if, for example, the reader is from one of those “Western” countries, such as Germany or the USA. It is important to remember that newspaper readers are not passive consumers of media, but active consumers that independently shape their own beliefs and perspective depending on their background and individuality. Lastly, while this might not be a limitation per se, the fact that the newspapers analyzed are English and do not necessarily target Taiwanese or Chinese citizens means that when interpreting these results, we must keep in mind that the newspapers’ coverage in their Chinese newspaper counterparts, geared towards a different audience, might be completely different in their discourse.

7. Conclusion

My discourse analysis answering the research question, *How do editorials published in the Taipei Times covering the Hong Kong protests differ from the editorials published in the Global Times between the 9th of June and 10th of February*, resulted in several interesting findings. For one, the analysis showed that in terms of the themes and arguments addressed during the coverage of the protests, the two newspapers’ editorials were not just different, they often directly opposed each other. This can be seen in the way they describe protesters, either as violent or peaceful, or how they describe the Chinese government’s behavior as either beneficial for Hong Kong or detrimental. In my analysis, I also made several other interesting findings regarding themes and narratives that were not mentioned in previous literature covering Chinese and Taiwanese media coverage of the 2014 Umbrella Movement (Du, Zhu & Yang, 2018; Ho, 2019; Zhang et al., 2018). One of which is the *Taipei Times*’ constant comparison of Hong Kong’s position to that of Taiwan, portraying the CCP as a shared enemy. It would be interesting to find out why this comparison occurs so often in the editorials, and one could argue that the (at the time) upcoming 2020 Taiwanese elections might have influenced this narrative. The *Taipei Times*’ criticism of the CCP also goes far beyond the context of just the Hong Kong protests, as editorials repeatedly point to the CCP’s

authoritarian behavior outside of Hong Kong and in the past. The most interesting finding made in the analysis of the Global Times' editorials, is the repeated blame of the "West" as an instigator of the protests, claiming that the protests are not in the benefit of Hong Kong, but are a just pawn of the "West" to weaken China. This argument of Western meddling in the protests appears in all of the 12 editorials analyzed. This thesis also provides additional information in regards to linguistic styles and rhetoric used by the editorials. For example, the Taipei Times editorials differ from the Global Times in the sense that they have a slightly more objective writing style sometimes resembling newspaper articles rather than editorials. This can be seen by their high use of quotes, less frequent use of modal words, and by the fact that, unlike the Global Times, they do not use personal pronouns in their editorials. Nevertheless both newspapers are prone to one-sided reporting and exaggerated descriptions of actors and events, as can be seen by the Taipei Times' comparison of the CCP to the Nazis and the Global Times vivid descriptions of violence and mayhem caused by protesters who they refer to as "thugs" and "rioters" throughout most editorials. Both newspapers also frequently use modal verbs to make appeals to the reader, though the Global Times does this on a more frequent basis.

As previously mentioned, one of the limitations of a discourse analysis is that it does not have the ability to inform if the language used in a text such as an editorial successfully affects the reader. What really stuck out to me during the analysis is the high amount of appeals, warnings, and threats made in the two newspapers. This has left me with the unanswered question of how effective the use of modal words in such appeals is on the reader. According to Liu (2009), this kind of authoritative language found in sentences using modal verbs can affect public opinion, yet the empirical evidence to support this claim is still lacking. It would be interesting to see through a quantitative experiment, for instance, what kind of effect such modal language in editorials has on shaping readers' opinions on certain topics. Additionally, as stated in regards to my limitations, the discourse in the English Global Times and Taipei Times could be completely different from that in the Chinese People's Daily and Liberty Times. It would be interesting to see if this actually is the case, and to see to what extent the audience that the newspaper is trying to reach influences the language and arguments they use to promote their ideology. Lastly, it would also be interesting to see how much the media coverage of the Hong Kong protests in the Taiwanese media influenced the 2020 Taiwanese election.

To conclude, my thesis has been able to make multiple new discoveries in regards to the discourse used in editorials covering protests. These new findings include the discovery of new themes and narratives in addition to those found by previous studies on the 2014 Umbrella Movement. My study also adds to a body of literature suggesting that the protest paradigm should be reevaluated, as the Taipei Times' coverage was extremely positive. My analysis found that while the two newspapers' coverage of the Hong Kong protests could not be more different thematically, as they often use opposing narratives and arguments, their style and rhetoric have a tendency to overlap. While the Taipei Times leaves a more objective impression through its style of writing, both newspapers are still prone to one-sided reporting, hyperbole and the use of appeals. As China continues to increase its involvement in Hong Kong's affairs, it will be interesting to see how the media in the two countries, that are most affected by the protests, will continue to cover them.

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ii. Appendix 1 (Global Times)

E1: Hong Kong's future won't be held hostage by opposition and its Western supporters

Source: Global Times Published: 2019/6/10 21:30:48

[6](#)

Demonstrations organized by opposition factions took place in Hong Kong on Sunday. Organizers claimed that some 300,000 people participated in the protests, but the police put the actual figure at about 153,000. On the same day, Safeguard HK, Support the Surrender of Fugitive Offenders Legislation announced that more than 730,000 Hong Kong citizens have shown their support to the government's plan to amend the extradition laws.

The government of the Hong Kong Special Administrative Region submitted the Fugitive Offenders and Mutual Legal Assistance in Criminal Matters Legislation (Amendment) Bill 2019 to the Legislative Council in April. The original bill was passed before Hong Kong was returned to China from Britain. The law allowed the extradition of people accused or convicted of committing a crime between Hong Kong and 20 other jurisdictions, which did not include the Chinese mainland, Macao and Taiwan.

The Hong Kong government intends to include the mainland, Macao and Taiwan into the bill. The proposed bill says that to be eligible for extradition, a suspect must have been accused of committing at least one of 37 internationally recognized offences.

The amendment aims to avoid Hong Kong becoming "a haven for fugitives." However, the legislation was politically hyped up by the opposition and their international supporters. They claim that the amendments will hurt human rights in Hong Kong and are lobbying for international assistance.

According to foreign reports, similar demonstrations on a smaller scale have taken place in some cities in countries such as Australia. In Western societies, if some forces want to hold such political demonstrations and there are organizations ready to foot the bill, it is easy to stage such shows.

It is worth noting that some international forces have increasingly collaborated with the opposition in Hong Kong. Two opposition groups visited the US in March and May to notify the US about the government's decision to amend the extradition law. US House Speaker Nancy Pelosi met both groups. US Secretary of State Mike

Pompeo met some in May and claimed the amendment threatened the rule of law in Hong Kong.

The governments of UK and Canada released a joint statement at the end of May about the proposed changes in Hong Kong's proposed extradition law. Chris Patten, Hong Kong's last British governor, said on June 6 that the proposed extradition bill will undermine Hong Kong's reputation as a global financial hub. While Hong Kong leader Carrie Lam insists the bill is necessary to plug legal loopholes, Patten trashed the argument, calling it "absolute nonsense."

For some time, a decreasing number of people in Hong Kong have shown their will to participate in street politics. More people have been supportive of the government's measures to implement the policy of "one country, two systems." Nonetheless, Western countries more actively point an accusing finger at Hong Kong affairs, instigating the opposition to create more chaos.

Washington has been particularly active in meddling in Hong Kong affairs. Radical politicians such as Marco Rubio have said that the US should rethink providing Hong Kong trade and economic privileges. Obviously, the US is trying to use Hong Kong affairs to pressure China. Some radical opposition members in Hong Kong are hand-in-glove with the US.

But from a historical point of view, the waves they created are just bubbles in the air. The future of Hong Kong will not be held hostage by the opposition and their supporters. The amendments to the extradition law are still under legislation, which is just and Hong Kong SAR government and society should not abandon their efforts.

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E2: Say no to mob violence and reclaim order in HK society

Source:Global Times Published: 2019/7/2 3:47:50

[22](#)

Hong Kong celebrated its 22nd anniversary of its return to the motherland on July 1. Over the past few days, people from all levels of society gathered to celebrate the occasion.

Opposition activists also convened to stage a demonstration, an annual routine that residents have since grown accustomed.

In the morning, demonstrators took to the streets in an attempt to disrupt a flag raising ceremony carried out by officials with the Hong Kong Special Administrative Region (HKSAR), but their efforts failed. Later that afternoon, they turned the atmosphere into one of extreme chaos and violence.

Demonstrators broke windows with steel pipes and rammed a car into the front gate of the Hong Kong legislature, and then stormed inside the building. Their actions were nothing short of mob-like behavior.

Out of blind arrogance and rage, protestors showed a complete disregard for law and order. Those who love this city must have been frustrated and sad amid the escalating rampage that included hurling rocks at police throughout the afternoon chaos.

When protestors stormed the Hong Kong Legislature, it was an open and symbolic attack aimed at expressing contempt for the rule of law while trampling on the fundamental interests of society.

Although Hong Kong is a capitalist city, it will never condone such violent behavior. It is a disgrace that such a developed society could carry out this kind of reckless and savage violence that has signaled an ominous alert for the city's future.

In the West, police enforce a zero-tolerance policy toward vandalism and the destruction of government property. This recent round of rioting will forever be a stain upon Hong Kong's image as a reliable hub for international finance and commerce.

As a media organization headquartered in Chinese mainland, we were dismayed and shocked beyond belief while watching the legislature building under siege. We

were also very concerned about the safety and well-being of the Hong Kong community.

In light of the autonomy already in place, law and order are the internal matters of Hong Kong and meant to be handled by the local government. However, with a general and common sense understanding of how justice functions, Chinese society is all too aware that a zero-tolerance policy is the only remedy for such destructive behavior witnessed. Otherwise, and without this policy, it would be similar to opening a Pandora's Box, upending social disorder.

Hong Kong, affectionately known as the "x of the Orient," is a highlight of the Asian economy. However, recently, fierce political emotions have taken over the city. The SAR government has implemented measures to stabilize the situation.

Meanwhile, a few people have created mobs and filled with street thugs in an attempt to turn the protests into an event filled with extreme confrontation. It is universally apparent that their purpose was to annihilate Hong Kong order and dominate the decision-making through their version of street politics.

This brand of arrogance that has challenged Hong Kong's rule of law must strongly be condemned. The city should not be turned into a haven for violence.

We believe that neither Hong Kong nor the Chinese mainland will allow this type of mob culture to flourish. Problems and disputes are to be resolved through constitutional devices currently in place and readily available to all members of society. Using violence to hijack a society like Hong Kong's is the greatest evil of the modern era.

It is time for Hong Kong society to take action and say 'no' to the violence. Under the principle of "one country, two systems," the residents are responsible for maintaining stability.

This is also the underlying obligation implied within the "Hong Kong people governing Hong Kong" policy. The city's image and the lifestyle enjoyed by those who live there shall not be undermined by vicious protesters. Chinese mainland society and Hong Kong belong to the same big family, and the mainland looks forward to witnessing the reemergence of a stable and prosperous city.

An improved and fully recovered Hong Kong is the wish of all Chinese.

E3: Hong Kong youth's future hinges on mainland

Source: Global Times Published: 2019/7/30 23:13:41

[2](#)

A majority of protesters in Hong Kong are young, some of whom are still college undergraduates. Do they know what they are doing? Probably not.

When a group of people feel dissatisfied and lost, slogans such as "democracy" and "freedom" allow them to blow off some steam on the streets. It is hard for these people to realize that they have become mobs manipulated by extreme political forces and that they are destroying their own future.

The most extreme protesters held the national flags of the US and the UK and called the Chinese mainland "Shina," a highly derogatory term used by Japanese invaders in World War II.

Their ignorance of history cannot help shape their values. As the culture of colonialism has constantly impacted on their national identity, they refuse to accept the fact that they are descendants of the Chinese nation but fantasize being part of the Western world.

When Hong Kong was under British rule, it made full use of geographical advantages and became one of the most developed regions in Asia. After the coastal area of the mainland narrowed the economic gap with Hong Kong, some Hongkongers with a superiority complex couldn't accept it and attributed the challenges they face to China resuming sovereignty over Hong Kong.

Some young Hongkongers think absolute democracy is what they should pursue. Incited by the West, they clash with police officers and attack them using bricks and slingshots. They are doing what Hongkongers have never done before. This makes them feel closer to the West.

It will be so easy to achieve prosperity if violence on the streets can generate a brilliant future. From Ukraine to South America, many young people took to the streets to wreak havoc, but none of them has been heading for a better future since then.

The future of young people hinges on social development. The lives of young Hongkongers depend on whether they can be integrated into the most dynamic development wave in the region. The biggest engine for the development of East Asia and the Asia-Pacific region is the mainland.

Fortunately, Hong Kong's return to the motherland came at a time of China's rise. Asia and the world are strengthening their ties and seeking closer economic interaction with China. Hong Kong thus gained a unique advantage: the "one China, two systems" policy has granted it a high degree of autonomy while allowing it to be among the first to hitch a ride on the mainland's development.

This is the direction and roadmap for young Hongkongers to move forward. Developed cities around the world face common problems, such as the widening wealth gap and skyrocketing home prices. But the mainland is not the cause of these problems in Hong Kong. In fact, it's where Hong Kong can find resources to solve these problems.

Regrettably, for various internal and external reasons, some Hongkongers have deviated from their lifeline, misled by extreme opposition and Western forces to get embroiled in a political struggle. They are trapped in it and cannot find a way out. It's hoped they will be able to broaden their vision, see things in the true light and work with the country's help and guidance to Hong Kong.

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E4: Don't let external forces ruin Hong Kong's future

Source: Global Times Published: 2019/7/10 16:13:40

[5](#)

US Secretary of State Mike Pompeo Monday met with the founder and chairman of Hong Kong media company Next Digital, Jimmy Lai (Lai Chee-Ying), who is regarded as holding radical views, to discuss the Hong Kong government's amendment to the extradition bill and Hong Kong's autonomy. The meeting was seen as US escalating its interference in Hong Kong affairs.

Around the same time, Hong Kong's politically confrontational singer, Denise Ho Wan-sze, spoke at the United Nations Human Rights Council. She vilified the "one country, two systems" framework and absurdly called on the Human Rights Council to remove China from the list. There was a lot of coverage in Western media.

Hong Kong society is capable of exercising the high degree of autonomy granted by the Basic Law. China has the ability to implement the "one country, two systems" policy and solve the problems arising in this process. Who gave the US the power to supervise the Chinese mainland and Hong Kong's "one country, two systems"? When Washington already sees Beijing as a strategic rival and puts pressure on China at the forefront of its strategic considerations, will the US have the well-being of Hong Kong at heart while it meddles in Hong Kong affairs?

Hong Kong's radical opposition forces are binding themselves with external forces. This also finds no basis in the Basic Law. To be precise, this is the act of selling the country and Hong Kong. It is a betrayal of Hong Kong's return to the motherland and an attempt by foreign powers to influence Hong Kong's affairs.

"One country, two systems" is based on the sincere goodwill of the central government and the whole of China toward Hong Kong. Its implementation is backed by the Constitution. Interference by external forces is disrupting China's constitutional system and challenging China's sovereignty.

The people of Hong Kong must clearly understand the strategic risks brought about by the external forces stirring up the situation in Hong Kong. We must not allow US hostility toward China to be brought into Hong Kong affairs as a lever to balance "one country" and to reinforce "two systems."

The amendment was initiated by the Hong Kong regional government, which also made the decision to revoke the amendment. Because this is more of an internal affair, Beijing has not intervened. This fully demonstrates Beijing's respect for the

Basic Law. Washington and London, as outsiders, should respect the Basic Law of Hong Kong, the right of Hong Kong people administering Hong Kong and Beijing's governance over Hong Kong.

The failed amendment has been turned over. Let history discover and summarize the complex clues and implications of this. Hopefully, the vast majority of Hong Kong's population will soon calm down and return to normalcy in the city, moving away from overheated politics and putting the economy and people's livelihood back in focus. In particular, it is necessary to prevent the collusion between the extreme opposition and Western forces such as the US from becoming an ulcer of Hong Kong politics, which will put the future of Hong Kong in serious jeopardy.

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E5: HK opposition should not misjudge situation

Source: Global Times Published: 2019/7/29 22:53:40

[8](#)

Officials from the Hong Kong and Macao Affairs Office of the State Council expressed their firm support to the Hong Kong Special Administrative Region (HKSAR) government, Hong Kong police and Chief Executive Carrie Lam at a press conference on Monday. This shows the riots that have lasted over 50 days in Hong Kong failed to waver Beijing's position and shake the "one country, two systems" principle.

Hong Kong opposition responded rapidly, calling the conference a "waste of time" and accused Beijing of misjudging the situation.

But the extreme opposition and demonstrators in Hong Kong have misunderstood the geopolitical factors and the current era. It is they who completely miscalculated the situation.

The riots were sparked by resistance to amending the Fugitives Offenders Ordinance. Despite the HKSAR government declaring the extradition bill "dead," violence continued to escalate and radical protesters have become more vehement. They want to paralyze the HKSAR government, challenge the authority of the police and ultimately establish an opposition-dominated political structure manipulated by the US and Western forces.

All of their actions have touched the bottom line of the "one country, two systems" principle.

Beijing didn't forcefully intervene in the Hong Kong situation, and it has maintained respect for Hong Kong's high degree of autonomy. But Beijing will never yield to pressure created by the opposition and the Western forces behind them. Even if the opposition pushes the riots to the extreme, they are doomed to fail.

"One country, two systems" principle is a constitutional arrangement. The central government's jurisdiction over Hong Kong is the inevitable result of Hong Kong's return to the motherland, which cannot be impacted by any turbulence within Hong Kong. The riots will only cause harm to the local people.

"One country, two systems" principle has ensured Hong Kong's high degree of autonomy while preventing turmoil in Hong Kong from spreading to the mainland. Whatever the mobs did on the streets is ruining Hong Kong. The mainlanders are

very sympathetic to this. But the mobs cannot affect the attitude of mainland society, nor can they cause a sense of crisis in the whole country.

The riots in Hong Kong have provided the mainland with a negative example, demonstrating how fragile social solidarity is under the Western system.

A high degree of autonomy requires Hong Kong society to be responsible for its internal order, and the core lever to fulfill this responsibility is the rule of law that Hong Kong has long been proud of. As the rule of law is severely damaged, unprecedented chaos has appeared in Hong Kong.

When riots are severe enough to destroy the city as an international financial center, Hong Kong society will eventually be fed up with turbulence and begin to rebound.

We believe that a bottom line exists in Hong Kong, and the turning point will come sooner or later.

US and Western forces might suffice to incite extreme opposition, but they are by no means capable of reshaping Hong Kong politically. What they are trying to do is to throw Hong Kong into chaos and thus contain Beijing.

Understanding the situation is essential to everyone. The riots won't have any political future. Hong Kong's deep-seated problems can only be solved through development.

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E6: Hong Kong opposition's pipe dream of amnesty to the mob

Source: Global Times Published: 2019/7/24 20:50:39

[2](#)

Hong Kong's opposition and radical protesters have ridiculed themselves by demanding that the Hong Kong Special Administrative Region (HKSAR) government not prosecute lawbreaking demonstrators. We believe that the SAR government will never make concessions to them on the issue.

It is well known that some rioters in Hong Kong have carried out grave acts prohibited by law during demonstrations. Their detention and trial are a fundamental part of the rule of law. It is up to the courts to decide what to do with them.

The real purpose of the opposition's demand for unconditional release and amnesty to those rioters is to use the power generated by street politics to overwhelm the authority of law, to declare that violence in street politics enjoys judicial immunity, and to lay down the rule that makes sure perpetrators are not held accountable.

Because of advocating "democracy," mobs then should be exempt from the law. If that is made into a rule, is Hong Kong still a society ruled by law? This is what the opposition in Hong Kong has requested. Some Western forces also support this demand. This is a real attempt to undermine the rule of law in Hong Kong.

Demanding the release of rioters is a brazen act of supporting violence. The opposition is trying to make a moral case of this vicious strategy directed against the rule of law and meant to shield violence.

Protesters were reluctant to stop after realizing their goal of blocking the extradition bill. They tried to win a battle that would have a longer term impact, and to be free from the law by turning the streets into a political arena that can influence major issues in Hong Kong.

If their purpose is achieved, it would mean politics in Hong Kong is above the law.

The HKSAR government and the police have encountered temporary difficulties in performing their duties, but Hong Kong's long-established foundation of the rule of law remains. Hongkongers' strong desire for a peaceful and orderly society has not changed. The vandals have triggered resentment among a growing number of Hong Kong citizens. They can't get away with it all at once.

The rule of law in Hong Kong is strongly supported and endorsed by the central government. If demonstrators who resort to violence are not punished according to law, the people of Hong Kong will fear endless consequences, and Beijing will not agree.

The opposition should not overestimate their power, and should not imagine that they can use violence to scare away people who uphold rule of law. Lawbreakers shouldn't dream that they can be condoned by making even bigger trouble.

And don't think that Western forces can help them get off the hook before the law. The West can only influence part of public opinion in Hong Kong. The rule of law in the city, supported by the central government, will never yield to Western pressure.

E7: HK violence reveals hidden agenda fueled by evil intentions

Source: Global Times Published: 2019/8/13 8:10:36

[4](#)

China's Hong Kong Special Administrative Region international airport was forced to cancel almost all departures and arrivals on Monday after violent protesters ransacked one of the world's busiest commercial airline hubs. Nothing so shameful has ever happened in the history of Hong Kong's aviation business. A spokesperson with the Hong Kong and Macao Affairs Office of the State Council said the protests were similar to acts of terrorism. The remarks were set a new precedent and so far, are the strongest ever made by China's central government since the demonstrations started.

Crippling the airport is a slap in the face of an international hub like Hong Kong. Its place among the global air freight industry has served as a pillar for the city, and contributed significantly to the city's high standing as a world financial center. The protesters have resorted to using makeshift weapons to attack the police. They have revealed their fierceness and desire to challenge Hong Kong's rule of law to the very end. To be frank, they are nothing more than street thugs who want Hong Kong to "go to hell."

The violent behavior of the radical protesters does not make sense. Although some protesters were misguided when they joined the anti-extradition bill protests, at least their actions were not without logic. Since the protests have escalated, threatening Hong Kong's rule of law and core values, a city where people live and work, it is hard to fathom such violence.

Some people in Hong Kong hold negative feelings. It is understandable they cannot resolve their emotions overnight. However, it is hard to imagine how ordinary Hong Kong citizens could resort to throwing flaming petrol bottles at police and become pioneers in destroying order and the rule of law without hesitation. Such behavior runs entirely counter to their fundamental interests. If they were not ignorant or insane, they would at least hesitate, and then reflect upon and restrain their actions.

While the number of protesters is shrinking, some have made up for the losses by exerting more violent behavior. For this group, their goal is to cripple the Hong Kong government and smash police authority. By doing so, they are determined to be recognized as an enemy of Hong Kong and the entire country. The Chinese government will make a clear division between peaceful and violent protestors. The latter will be punished severely just as any enemy would who threatens national security.

As an open port, Hong Kong is sophisticated. Many permanent residents are foreign passport holders and not Chinese citizens. They have the right to vote and run for office. However, their emotions have been influenced by other factors, not to mention their loyalty to China. As Washington pointed out, Hong Kong is home to more than 80,000 US citizens. It is also likely that the same number of UK citizens reside there. The international diversity of the city's residents increases the complexity of reaching a consensus to restore order.

Media reports have indicated that some of the extreme protesters have been paid to create such chaos and destruction during the demonstrations. It would be easier for the public to pick out those "mercenaries" in an orderly society. However, due to the ongoing chaos that has gripped the city, this could be a difficult task. For those who have voluntarily stripped themselves of their national identity, they have treated the protests as an "exciting" game where they are happy to be a paid participant. In this case, the morale of such radicals will hinge on the cash benefits as the protests continue.

In a pragmatic community, a group who protests daily will make trouble. How many students and employed people can continue behaving in such a fashion? Their actions are harmful to Hong Kong and their future. The raging mobs have shown such diligence and to the point that they must be receiving support through nefarious political gain or financial stimulation. They are, without any doubt, similar to terrorists.

The very nature of the demonstrations is unlike the characteristics associated with armed robberies, and have since become more organized and strategic. Protesters have upgraded their weapons while focusing on attacking the police. It would be an insult to the public if such violent acts were labeled as spontaneous.

Those responsible for orchestrating such violence have combined criminal behavior with protesting so they can destroy Hong Kong. However, their evil intentions have been revealed. They are wolves in sheep's clothing. The time has come to single them out and strike, and make sure they pay for their actions.

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E8: MTR should avoid kowtowing to HK radical forces

Source: Global Times Published: 2019/8/23 20:03:40

[4](#)

MTR cannot kowtow to HK radical forces

Radical protesters staged a sit-in at Yuen Long Station in Hong Kong on Wednesday. Late into the night, however, violence was again on the rise. Damage was made inside the station, and roadblocks were set up outside to confront riot police. To the anger of many people, Hong Kong's major public transport network, the Mass Transit Railway (MTR), did not alert the police in time and cooperate to enforce the law. Instead, a free train was readied for the protesters to leave at about 11:30 pm.

MTR's largest shareholder is the Hong Kong Special Administrative Region (HKSAR) government. It is a public institution that bears more responsibility than ordinary institutions to maintain the rule of law and social order in Hong Kong. Instead of cooperating with the police, it has provided convenience for radical protesters, allowing them to disrupt order inside the station and then helping them to escape. This is definitely not an example it should set for Hong Kong society.

Many people pointed out that the radical demonstrators are increasingly fond of engaging in extreme activities along the MTR lines, due to the anticipation of cooperation by the MTR. As long as disruptions take place near the MTR, they gather and disperse quickly, making them harder for the police to deal with. The evacuation of protesters by MTR trains after protests has become standard for the latter.

Some MTR employees are known to sympathize with the protesters. To say that the MTR is a little scared of protesters in the current situation is understandable. However, as a public institution with social responsibilities, the MTR must consider safeguarding Hong Kong's public interests, especially the rule of law, as a benchmark of its values. It cannot kowtow to radical forces or offer protesters special services far beyond what the public expects.

Time and time again, offering free train services to troublemakers after demonstrations is a move that Hong Kong's government and society have not authorized the MTR to make. The message this service sends in the current climate encourages the protesters and runs counter to the joint efforts of the HKSAR government and the people of Hong Kong to curb the violence.

We have noted that some MTR employees have also been beaten and abused by radical protesters. The MTR is caught in the eye of the storm. At such times, we should not bend over and go with the stream, nor should we engage in political speculation and try to butter up both sides of the fence. The MTR should have its own principles and character, and in the midst of the storm, it should be able to maintain its social responsibility.

The turmoil since June has seriously affected Hong Kong society, with many people gradually distancing themselves from the rule of law, a core value of Hong Kong, and tolerating various manifestations of lawlessness. In the past, it was not acceptable for the public to occupy roads, destroy public facilities and erect posters in public places. But now demonstrators often do this. Some think they tolerate and accept it for democracy.

If big companies such as the MTR and Cathay Pacific also wobble in their defense of Hong Kong's core values, or even tilt toward those who undermine the rule of law, then Hong Kong's foundation as a modern society will not only be damaged, it may even collapse. Hong Kong is indeed at a crossroads between restoring the rule of law and outright disorder.

The MTR is telling Hong Kong society that radical protesters who commit acts of violence will not only avoid arrest by the police, but will eventually enjoy free trains. The MTR presented a smiling face to the radical protesters and gave a cold eye to the police. With its actions, it has added to Hong Kong's turmoil.

Without a stable and prosperous Hong Kong, where is the future of the MTR and the Hong Kong people? The management of the MTR should not lose its way. It's time for the MTR to take a firm stand. It should do its part so that Hong Kong does not lose its tomorrow.

E9: Color revolution aims to ruin HK's future

Source: Global Times Published: 2019/8/13 21:45:52

[27](#)

Is a color revolution taking place in Hong Kong? We think so, although this one is somehow baffling.

The riots in Hong Kong have deviated from the original intent of opposing amendments to an extradition bill, but have become a ruthless destruction of the city's rule of law. Radical protesters want to paralyze the city, undermine the authority of the government and police, demonstrations are no longer a complementary way of expressing demands under the legal framework, but an attempt to overthrow the rule of law and reshape the city's power structure. This is a typical color revolution.

The riots have been evolving in terms of organization and planning, during which political opposition and protesters have integrated and Western forces have offered them various forms of assistance and support. Radical protesters stage demonstrations, extreme political opposition groups distill the political implications of the street protests, while the US and the West put riots on a moral high ground by distorting the facts, confusing right from wrong to mislead Hong Kong society.

Color revolutions across the world were all aimed at regime change. But Hong Kong is not a country. The Hong Kong Special Administrative Region (HKSAR) government needs the authorization of the central government. Therefore, it's meaningless to "overthrow" the HKSAR government.

The first step for Hong Kong's color revolution is to completely paralyze the HKSAR government, police and the rule of law, and undermine Hong Kong's status as an international financial center. By doing so, the radical protesters aim to force the central government to give up governance over Hong Kong, accede to universal suffrage and give the city back to the Western world.

The city's international financial center status and its international shipping industry and tourism are the lifeline of its economy, which have been heavily stricken by riots. If Hong Kong loses its international financial center status, the city's decline is inevitable.

The US and the West won't feel regret for Hong Kong, nor will Asian countries and regions, including Japan, South Korea, Singapore and the island of Taiwan. It is Hong Kong and the Chinese mainland that will suffer the pain. The decline will lead

to long-term turmoil in Hong Kong, thereby increasing China's political and economic burden. This is what some American and Western forces want to see.

Some say defining Hong Kong's riots as a color revolution disregards the dissatisfaction of some Hong Kong citizens. They also argue that blaming the US and the West for external interference is to cover up internal problems. All color revolutions have internal reasons, such as poor livelihood, and the widening gap between rich and poor. A color revolution is evil as it ridiculously takes "democracy" as the prescription for deep-seated economic problems.

All countries that underwent color revolutions in the past 20 years have borne the consequences of long-term turmoil and further economic decline. The US and the West have promoted the color revolutions, but shirked their responsibilities for the bitter results.

The Chinese government will never allow extreme opposition and the West to pull Hong Kong into the anti-China camp, nor will it allow the city to slip into long-term chaos or become a base for the West to subvert China's political system. This is a grim fight between attempts to deprive and defend the city's international financial center status.

Hong Kong's international financial center status matters to the livelihood of Hongkongers, and is where their core interests lie. Therefore, it's also a fight for Hongkongers to safeguard their living. The mainlanders are their staunch supporters.

E10: Black-clad Western puppets continue rampage amid HK anti-mask law

Source:Global Times Published: 2019/10/7 7:23:37

[6](#)

Over the weekend, violence in Hong Kong escalated. On Sunday, demonstrators gathered, but turned out in lower numbers than expected. However, the scale and extent of their actions were heightened by an increase in violence and bloody attacks.

Innocent bystanders, including a taxi driver and well-known film actress, Cai Mai Tai-lo, were assaulted. It was also reported that a journalist suffered minor burns from a petrol bomb. Demonstrators vandalized MTR stations Friday night, which forced city officials to close them on Saturday.

What we have seen with this latest round of demonstrations is how Western politicians and media continue to remain silent. Meanwhile, US House Speaker Nancy Pelosi has taken the lead to denounce the anti-mask law that was enacted Friday by the Hong Kong Special Administration Region (HKSAR).

US and Western media outlets were quick to criticize the ban. Their efforts inspired further protests, and this time to be carried out by any means necessary. These same agencies only fuel the opposition and encourage the protesters by generating fake reports that influence public opinion on how the mask ban hinders freedom of expression and runs counter to the will of the people.

In the face of such unstable social order, the time has arrived for residents to choose sides and uphold the rule of law. A crumbling security apparatus designed to safeguard social order is destroying the city's foundation and reputation as an international financial hub.

Closed MTR stations and boarded storefronts will never ensure freedom. The level of fear felt by Mandarin speakers as they walk down the streets is a contradiction to the principles of democracy. Anarchy has never served the interests of any society.

The mask ban is not a threat to freedom of expression nor peaceful assembly. Its purpose is to deter the demonstrators, most of whom have worn masks to hide their identities since the riots began months ago. The move is also meant to reduce the level of violence violent and restore order by upholding the interests of the general public. Unfortunately, many rioters continue to disobey the law. It was also enacted so residents could feel reassured amidst the ongoing chaos.

There may be a few demonstrators who are entirely aware of the damage they have caused to their city's future, as they dive headfirst into political conspiracies, placing their gains above the common interests of all residents.

Politicians like Pelosi to continue to play a more sinister role. However, they will find themselves disappointed should things change following the anti-mask law. US activists and foreign media will no longer be satisfied when order is restored. Meanwhile, the future of the trade war remains unclear as a malicious tide continues to rise brought on by so-called Washington elites. The methods they use are designed to create more violence and unrest throughout the city.

Obscurity is the only result that emerges when US values are measured against Hong Kong's. But one thing is sure, both sides have different pursuits. US politicians have given most of their attention to restricting China's development. With their mindset, prosperity, stability, and democracy do not factor into the equation on US national interests. Washington only views the Pearl of the Orient as a political tool designed to contain the Chinese mainland. If the protesters could reach a proper level of sobriety, then they would easily see through such amateur tricks.

Opposition forces continue to engage in political games among parties. This appeals to those who think they should defy the government. Meanwhile, US politicians and foreign media are obsessed with annihilating the interests of the city's residents. The two forces combined have manipulated public opinion and mislead protesters, inspiring them to turn their home city into a land of chaos. The protesters have increased their assault on police forces and residents who hold different political viewpoints, while simultaneously referring to themselves as the heroes of democracy. Their actions have humiliated the logic and wisdom that Hong Kong society has enjoyed for centuries.

Those who live here deserve a weekend off after working hard on throughout the week. How shameful it is to deprive them of rest and relaxation by turning their living environment into a nightmare.

It's time for logic to resume its position among Hong Kong public opinion. It would be in the best interests of everyone for the city to reclaim its natural identity.

E11: HK rioters' acts similar to terrorists'

Source: Global Times Published: 2019/11/11 22:07:01

[13](#)

Radical protesters in Hong Kong on Monday morning set up barricades on many roads, damaged the railway, stopped people from traveling, and tried to force labor, school and market strikes.

A number of frenzied thugs then clashed with Hong Kong police when the latter were struggling to clear the roadblocks.

A video online showed a policeman was forced to pull out his gun as he was facing several mobs alone. He grabbed a rioter on his left hand and waved a gun with his right hand to warn another black-clad protester to stay away.

The second thug, however, ignored the warning, kept approaching and tried to snatch the gun from the police. The policeman had to open fire under the circumstances. The officer then shot again when a third rioter was rushing over him and trying to snatch his gun.

Also on Monday, a video showed rioters pouring flammable liquid on a middle-aged Hongkonger, and set him on fire when he was publicly expressing his opposition to them, saying "we are all Chinese." The man soon turned into a fireball. He was severely burned and reportedly in critical condition.

As a mainland media concerned about the ongoing situation in Hong Kong, the Global Times firmly supports the Hong Kong police in shooting down the rioters under the above-mentioned circumstances.

The use of force by the Hong Kong police re-established the power of legal justice that was despised by radical protesters: Attacking and threatening the police in the process of law enforcement should face all kinds of legal risks, including being shot dead on the spot.

We strongly condemn the barbarism of the mobs that set fire to an ordinary citizen who disagrees with them. Their heinous performance is no different from that of terrorists. Claiming democracy and freedom, the rioters cannot tolerate people who express different perspectives. They are showing vicious and primitive autocratic fanaticism.

The radical protesters who claim to be valiant have resorted to violence, with their targets ranging from police officers to ordinary people who simply don't support them. They are creating terror that is unprecedented in any civilized society, by fatally stabbing pro-establishment legislator, throwing Molotov cocktails into courts and setting ordinary people on fire.

Actions must be taken to resolutely control the increasingly rampant mobs. It is time for all Hongkongers to step forward to defend the city's rule of law.

We want to tell Hong Kong police: Fear nothing and resolutely guard the city's peace and tranquility in accordance with law. Be strong, be tough. You are fighting in the frontline but you are not alone. You are supported by a great number of people who love the country and the city. When necessary, the People's Armed Police Force and the People's Liberation Army Hong Kong Garrison will back you up in accordance with the Basic Law.

We call on the vast majority of Hong Kong citizens to express your attitude more solidly and help police against rioters. Those who still pity rioters must wake up: The mobs are destroying the civilized and modernized Hong Kong as well as Hongkongers' home and future.

We also warn the radical protesters: You are on the edge of doom. Those who are coerced to be "valiant" should walk away as soon as possible when you still can make the call. Those who stubbornly engage in evil acts will eventually be punished by law and morality.

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E12: Mauling mainlanders shows HK's decline

Source:Global Times Published: 2019/11/7 21:53:40

[6](#)

At a forum between Hong Kong University of Science and Technology (HKUST) president Wei Shyy and the university's students on Wednesday, a mainland student was mauled by black-clad local students, and his head was broken. Radical Hong Kong student attackers claimed that the mainlander pushed a local. But video showed both hands of the mainland student were in his pockets. The local student's fall was thus suspected of faking it.

In recent days, several Hong Kong universities have become focal points of radical protests and violence. At the graduation ceremonies of HKUST and the Chinese University of Hong Kong (CUHK), masked graduates created trouble on stage and held demonstrations on the campuses. HKUST students even urged their president to condemn police and laid siege to the president. The graduation ceremony at CUHK could not even proceed and had to end early.

Should these take place at prestigious universities? Should the campuses, where misdeeds such as intimidation and scuffles were repeatedly seen, be called prestigious universities? The masked black-clad students disgraced their colleges. They are turning well-known Hong Kong universities into the most unreasonable and most violent campuses in the world.

Many students, including those from the Chinese mainland, chose to have a shorter time or even gave up their chance to study at Hong Kong universities. The number of students who make the same choice will only keep growing.

Mainland students have lost their freedom of speech at Hong Kong universities. They might be harassed simply because they speak Putonghua. And their safety is now in jeopardy.

Hong Kong universities are dropping in ranking. It is almost certain that the misbehavior on their campuses will have an impact on their rankings next year. If no emergency measures are taken, Hong Kong colleges will suffer the same fate as those in the island of Taiwan and become inferior among Asian universities.

Excluding mainlanders from colleges has become a trend at some Hong Kong universities. They don't understand that if Hong Kong colleges want to sustain their relatively top positions in world rankings, the resources from the mainland are significant. Without the mainland's support, Hong Kong universities are sure to

decline, and may even perform worse than universities in the island of Taiwan. If Hong Kong universities become "community universities" for a local population of only several millions, they will be completely marginalized.

Hong Kong universities used to be competitive before the city's return to China. This shouldn't be an excuse for self-consolation. The mainland was backward then, but now its rise has changed everything. Whoever in the vicinity could develop closer ties with the mainland will be more capable of sustaining prosperity. Those who position themselves in a confrontation with the mainland will come to a dead end.

Some radical Hong Kong students have been politically brainwashed, almost losing their ability of independent thinking so that they view misdoings such as humiliating teachers, beating peer students and destroying public property as something worth bragging about. They remind the mainlanders of the radicals during the [Cultural Revolution](#) (1966-76).

Universities in Hong Kong have been in a mess, but Hong Kong society is unable to stop the chaos. Hong Kong is in decline. Mainland society has done its best under the "one country, two systems" principle. If the chaotic situation continues, universities in Hong Kong will no longer be suitable for mainland students. It's believed that starting next year, mainland students would think twice before applying.

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iii. Appendix 2 (Taipei Times)

E1: Beware the Hong Kong model

Following a massive demonstration through central Hong Kong on Sunday, protesters yesterday gathered on Tim Wa Avenue outside Hong Kong Chief Executive Carrie Lam's (林鄭月娥) offices, demanding that Lam unequivocally withdraw a controversial bill that would allow people arrested in the territory to be extradited to mainland China for trial. Many also called for Lam to fall on her sword.

Despite the massive protests that have rocked the territory, there are some in Taiwan — in politics and the media — who seem more interested in regurgitating the official line from Beijing than engaging with reality.

Although Lam on Saturday issued an apology and announced that her government would suspend the proposed amendments, Sunday's march saw the largest turnout of the movement to date. Organizers claimed that 2 million attended at the march's peak, although police estimates put the numbers considerably lower at 338,000. Irrespective of the true number, the anger of ordinary Hong Kongers was palpable, in no small part driven by the police's use of tear gas, rubber bullets and bean bag rounds to disperse demonstrators during an earlier protest on Wednesday.

Sunday also saw more than 10,000 people rally outside the Legislative Yuan in Taipei to demand that the Hong Kong government withdraw the bill and release people arrested during the demonstration. Jointly organized by Hong Kong students, the Taiwan Citizen Front and the Taiwan Youth Association for Democracy, it was heartening to see so many Taiwanese — often unfairly accused of being apathetic toward international politics — come out in support of Hong Kong.

President Tsai Ing-wen (蔡英文) has said that even if Hong Kong's Legislative Council were to pass the extradition bill, her government would not seek the extradition of a Hong Kong resident accused of murdering his girlfriend while on holiday in Taiwan — a case Lam has used to justify the bill.

It was a responsible, well-timed intervention and clearly had an impact: Lam cited it as a reason for suspending the proposal in her statement on Saturday.

Contrast this with Kaohsiung Mayor Han Kuo-yu's (韓國瑜) response: On June 9, when asked for his views on the events in Hong Kong, Han said: "I'm not clear [about that], I don't know."

It is difficult to imagine that Kuo was unaware of the protest in Hong Kong, when the first large-scale march was taking place in the territory on that day and making headlines around the world. It can only mean one of two things: Kuo was being disingenuous, or was genuinely oblivious to the events unfolding in Hong Kong — either way, it does not look good for a presidential aspirant.

New Power Party Legislator Huang Kuo-chang (黃國昌) and Internet fitness celebrity Holger Chen (陳之漢) have criticized Taiwan's pro-China media — in particular singling out the Chinese-language China Times, owned by Want Want China Times Group — for either downplaying the protest marches or for spouting Beijing's line that foreign forces are meddling in Hong Kong's affairs. CtiTV News, a media affiliate, has also been accused of biased coverage of the events in Hong Kong.

Huang and Chen plan to hold a rally titled "Get lost, 'red' media" in Taipei on Sunday.

Despite pro-China voices attempting to influence public debate, there is a strong current of support in Taiwan for Hong Kong's struggle to protect its freedoms. There is a simple reason for this: Taiwanese are acutely aware that today's Hong Kong could be tomorrow's Taiwan.

E2: Beijing lacks education on HK

The gulf between the Chinese Communist Party (CCP) leadership and a majority of Hong Kongers has grown even wider over the past few months, as the effort by the territory's government to push through an extradition bill repeatedly drew hundreds of thousands of people to protests last month and led to the storming of the Legislative Council building on Monday evening.

Slamming British criticism of Beijing's rule, Chinese Ambassador to the UK Liu Xiaoming (劉曉明) on Wednesday told reporters that under British rule there was "no freedom, democracy, whatever" in Hong Kong and the "people had no right to elect officials [and] no right to demonstrate."

It is a pity that Liu did not take advantage of his time at Tufts University's Fletcher School of Law and Diplomacy, where he earned a master's degree in international studies, to learn more about Hong Kong.

As shocking as the demonstrations have been — or the "Umbrella movement" of 2014 — for people outside Hong Kong, they pale in comparison to the 1967 riots in the territory.

During that unrest, which began in May with protests over the sackings of some employees at an artificial flower factory and lasted through December, hundreds of bombs went off, 51 people were killed, hundreds were injured, about 5,000 were arrested and property damage ran into the millions of US dollars.

Influenced by the Cultural Revolution under way in China and widespread poverty in Hong Kong, huge demonstrations were held against British rule and widespread strikes were called, with Mao Zedong's (毛澤東) *Little Red Book* brandished by protesters while loudspeakers on the roof of the Bank of China building aired Chinese propaganda.

However, as the unrest turned more deadly, public support for the protests began to fade.

Many of the territory's academics, journalists and politicians have said that a sense of Hong Kong identity was forged during the 1967 unrest, an identity that was reinforced in 1989 by

the protests against the Tiananmen Square Massacre and then again by the “Umbrella movement.”

Academic and Alliance for True Democracy convener Joseph Cheng (鄭宇碩) last year told the *South China Morning Post* that “the riots had a great effect on the relationship between the people and the government,” as the colonial administration realized the importance of listening to people, and initiated social reforms and the opening of district council offices.

Unfortunately, that is a lesson that Beijing’s leadership has ignored since the handover.

As former Hong Kong chief secretary Anson Chan (陳方安生) told the *Washington Post* last month: “Beijing has misinterpreted Hong Kong’s culture, psyche and feelings. If only Beijing would understand what makes Hong Kong tick, what are the values we hold dear, then they can use that energy to benefit both China and Hong Kong.”

Liu’s comments show just how ill-informed he and Beijing are: While the first direct elections for the Hong Kong Legislative Council were not until 1991, documents released by the UK National Archives in 2014 showed that colonial governors in the 1950s repeatedly tried to introduce elections, but Britain backed down in the face of threats by Beijing to invade the territory if London changed the “status quo.”

The 1967 protests show that Hong Kongers were able to demonstrate, while Liu’s remark about the lack of “independent judicial power” is ludicrous, given that it is China’s kangaroo court system and lack of legal rights that have inspired such resistance to the plan to change Hong Kong’s laws to allow extradition to China.

The “patriotic education” that the CCP and pro-Beijing politicians in the territory have called for is unlikely to change Hong Kongers’ view of China. It is Beijing’s leaders who need to be better educated.

E3: Attacks disturbing development in HK

A peaceful protest against a proposed extradition bill in Hong Kong on Sunday descended into chaos and bloodshed after masked thugs in white T-shirts boarded a train and began attacking passengers at Yuen Long MTR Station. Scenes filmed on smartphones, later widely shared on social media, are redolent of a medieval battle, with assailants brandishing what appeared to be bamboo batons.

Photographs showed scores of people severely injured, including multiple lacerations to backs and head injuries. Hong Kong's Hospital Authority yesterday reported 45 people were injured, with one person in critical condition.

Caught in the violence was Democratic Party Legislator Lam Cheuk-ting (林卓廷), who received 18 stitches in a mouth wound, while a female journalist working for the online Standnews was left bleeding after allegedly being hit on the back of the head.

Hong Kong Chief Executive Carrie Lam (林鄭月娥) should immediately commission an independent investigation to get the bottom of who was responsible for the unprovoked violence.

One angle that investigators should consider is whether these attacks are a “united front” tactic by the Chinese authorities, using intimidation to sow division and fear to deter people from participating in marches. There are a number of reasons to be suspicious:

First, the attack appears to have been timed to coincide with protesters returning from a march in the middle of the morning on Sunday. Video showed assailants apparently singling out people dressed in black — the color worn by marchers — in the station and on streets nearby.

Second, there are numerous accounts from mainland China of the central government using such tactics to intimidate human rights advocates and break up protests by factory workers, while corrupt local governments frequently use hired thugs to force farmers off their land so that it can be sold to developers. Hong Kong non-governmental organization the Civil Human Rights Front yesterday said in a statement that “certain powerful authorities” have been using “thugs” to attack protesters since the 2014 “Umbrella movement.”

Third, what possible motivation could there be for a well-organized gang to carry out an attack on members of the public, apparently focused on returning marchers? While the frequent protests have undoubtedly caused substantial disruption to Hong Kong, the actions of the masked assailants are hardly the behavior of disgruntled residents lashing out because of the inconvenience and disruption to the economy in the past few weeks. What other explanation is there, other than that they were hired thugs — possibly gang members — employed by China's security apparatus to do Beijing's dirty work?

Many Hong Kongers are accusing the police of failing to respond to calls for help once the attacks started, while also criticizing the unnecessary deployment of tear gas against protesters at another location.

The police at a news conference later yesterday said that a patrol van was dispatched to the MTR station immediately after calls were received, but the officers were unable to handle the crowd of approximately 100 people and had to call for backup.

The lackluster response might be more ineptitude than conspiracy, but the actions of the police should also be fully investigated.

Lam's administration needs to act swiftly and decisively to ensure that Hong Kongers can continue to exercise their right to peaceful protest without fearing for their lives.

E4: Too late for Beijing to win hearts

Recent incidents in Hong Kong have further exposed China's "one country, two systems" formula as a failure, but what exactly went wrong, and could it have been better implemented?

The issue of "one country, two systems" was returned to the forefront in Taiwan after Chinese President Xi Jinping (习近平) in January asserted that Taiwan would eventually be united with China under the system.

Opinion polls showed that 79 percent of Taiwanese rejected the application of the formula to Taiwan, the Mainland Affairs Council said on March 23.

A few weeks later, the council said that the sentencing of demonstrators arrested during Hong Kong's 2014 "Umbrella movement" protests exposed the shortcomings of the formula and showed that it cannot safeguard Hong Kongers' political rights.

Taipei Mayor Ko Wen-je (柯文哲) last month criticized the implementation of the formula in Hong Kong and said that "even beggars would run away" if it were implemented in the same manner in Taiwan.

The failure of "one country, two systems" was evident in 2014, but arguably it had begun to fail much earlier than that. An article published by Web site China File on June 17, 2015, points to 2003 as a turning point for the territory. China "lost face," the article said, when close to 1 million Hong Kongers took to the streets to oppose a proposed bill to incorporate the "anti-subversion" Article 23 into the territory's Basic Law, which they feared would bring about the loss of freedom of speech and other liberties.

China subsequently began to increase control over Hong Kong through its "five-step" process for defining the election of the Hong Kong chief executive, imposed by the Chinese National People's Congress Standing Committee in 2004, despite its original promise to stay out of Hong Kong's affairs until 2047, the article said.

Despite its obstinate attitude toward foreign criticism of its involvement in Hong Kong, Beijing is reluctant to exercise too much control over the territory for fear of it losing its special

international status, the article said, arguing that Beijing needs Hong Kong to store and funnel money and goods to and from China.

Beijing knows that if “one country, two systems” is ever to succeed in Hong Kong, and potentially in Taiwan, it needs to win over young people who increasingly see themselves as “Hong Kongers” rather than as “Chinese.” This might be common sense, but it can be seen in practical implementation in Macau.

The Portuguese handed over nominal control of Macau to its pro-China residents following protests in 1966, although, when Lisbon tried to hand back the territory to Beijing in 1975 following a 1974 military coup, China said no.

People in Macau today see themselves as “Chinese.” It could also be that the people of Macau “prioritize the economic development China can bring to Macau rather than the maintenance of their civil liberties,” a June 21 report on Web site Foreign Policy said.

The article also refers to Kinmen County as showing how China has successfully won over minds in Taiwan as well. Kinmen County Commissioner Yang Cheng-wu (楊鎮浯) seeks closer integration with China and has told county residents not to oppose “one country, two systems,” the article said.

Nevertheless, surveys show that Taiwanese overwhelmingly reject the formula, and for good reason.

Beijing might have succeeded in winning over the peoples of Hong Kong and Taiwan had it used the “carrot” more often than the “stick,” but apparently it is much too late for that now.

E5: Britain must stand up for Hong Kong

Sunday's peaceful march in Hong Kong marked the 11th consecutive week of protests in the territory.

Large Union Jack flags have become a regular fixture of the marches: One was even unfurled inside the Hong Kong Legislative Council chamber after protesters occupied it on July 1. Some commentators have projected that many Hong Kongers cleave tightly to “British values” of democracy, the rule of law and a sense of fair play, which are being eroded by Beijing.

However, there may be an altogether more simple motivation for brandishing the flags: Protesters want to remind Britain's politicians — and the wider world — that the UK government has a moral duty and a legal obligation to intervene and stand up for the rights of its former colonial subjects.

The Sino-British Joint Declaration was signed on Dec. 19, 1984, by then-British prime minister Margaret Thatcher and then-Chinese premier Zhao Ziyang (趙紫陽) and registered at the UN the following year.

China promised it would guarantee Hong Kong's system of government and independent judiciary, as set out in the Basic Law — Hong Kong's “mini-constitution” — would remain intact for 50 years following the handover in 1997. The protesters are acutely aware of the promises and are determined to hold Beijing and the territory's government to account.

During the past 11 weeks, the protest movement has morphed from opposition to a now-suspended extradition bill, into five specific demands: withdrawal of the bill, the release of arrested protesters, withdrawal of the classification of a June 12 protest as a “riot,” an independent inquiry into police behavior and the implementation of universal suffrage.

It is this final demand — for free elections — a robust reaffirmation of 2014's “Umbrella movement,” which is the most significant.

Article 45 of Hong Kong's Basic Law places an obligation on China to implement “selection of the chief executive by universal suffrage upon nomination by a broadly representative nominating committee in accordance with democratic procedures,” while Article 68 states

that the “ultimate aim is the election of all the members of the Legislative Council by universal suffrage.”

Therefore, China has a clear obligation under international law to implement universal suffrage, yet has done everything in its power to obstruct this process.

British politicians and diplomats have, on the whole, been cautious in their criticism of Beijing’s meddling in Hong Kong, probably concerned about the potential for diplomatic blowback and damage to Chinese investment in the UK’s post-Brexit economy.

Unfortunately, as with all bullies, the passivity and appeasement has simply emboldened Beijing.

In November 2014, a committee of UK parliamentarians were told they would be denied entry to Hong Kong for a trip that was to be part of an inquiry into the territory’s relations with the UK 30 years after the joint declaration.

A Chinese Ministry of Foreign Affairs spokesman in 2017 told reporters: “Now Hong Kong has returned to the motherland’s embrace for 20 years, the Sino-British Joint Declaration, as a historical document, no longer has any practical significance, and it is not at all binding for the central government’s management over Hong Kong.”

Last week, Chinese Ambassador to Britain Liu Xiaoming (劉曉明) accused Britain of interfering in Hong Kong’s affairs.

It is not a question of interference. The UK has a clear legal obligation — as do all UN member states — to ensure that China respects international law.

After the sycophancy toward China’s leadership emblematic of former British prime minister David Cameron’s terms in office, and three years of near-paralysis under his successor, Theresa May, Prime Minister Boris Johnson’s new government must provide some fresh thinking on Hong Kong.

Britain has a clear moral and legal duty to “interfere.”

E6: CCP's blindness is showing

The old adage that there is none so blind as those who will not see is turning into a metaphor for the Chinese Communist Party (CCP), especially with regard to its views on Hong Kong and Taiwan.

Today marks a key date for Hong Kong — the fifth anniversary of the “831 Decision” on democratic reforms in the territory. Aug. 31, 2014, was the day the Standing Committee of the National People’s Congress adopted a decision that set the limits for the 2016 Legislative Council and 2017 chief executive elections, dashing hopes that the voting rights of Hong Kongers would be expanded and universal suffrage allowed.

The lead-up to that decision and its announcement triggered the Occupy movement, followed by the “Umbrella movement” protests in Hong Kong.

More protests are expected in the territory today, even though rally permits were rejected by police, and despite arrests in the past 48 hours of key players in the Occupy movement and other pro-democracy activists, including Joshua Wong (黃之鋒), Andy Chan (陳浩天), Agnes Chow (周庭), Rick Hui (許銳宇) and Civic Passion lawmaker Cheng Chung-tai (鄭松泰).

All were arrested on charges of rioting or other offenses in connection with this summer’s protests that the Hong Kong government has tried to brand as riots, and while the police yesterday denied that the arrests were timed with today’s anniversary, such statements ring hollow.

As Wong’s Demosisto party said, the arrests were clearly aimed at painting “a picture that the anti-extradition movement was pushed by some masterminds behind the scene, as to neglect the residents’ five demands.”

The CCP has been desperate for someone to blame for the unrest in Hong Kong, regardless of the protests having been avowedly leaderless and widely representative of the territory’s residents.

The idea of a leaderless movement for change has always been beyond the CCP's comprehension, hence its vicious response to the 1989 Tiananmen Square protests, to the silent Falun Gong protest in Beijing in 1999, Charter 08 and so many others.

This blinkered view has long extended to its perceptions of Taiwan as well, going back to the run-up to Taiwan's first direct presidential elections in 1996.

That Taiwanese would prefer their hard-won democratic system to Beijing's historic imperative of "longed-for reunification" is not just incomprehensible, it is clearly anathema to the CCP's leadership.

That Taiwanese feel a kinship for the protesters in Hong Kong and support their calls for greater democracy is not evidence of the involvement of "black hands," but legitimate support for human rights, and recognition that Beijing's promises, even its signatures on international treaties, cannot be trusted.

Unfortunately, this means that Taiwanese and other international visitors to China would be advised to be as paranoid as the CCP. They should take only burner phones and clean electronic devices with no history links to Internet accounts or photographs that could be used against them by Chinese authorities.

The disappearance last week of Morrison Lee (李孟居), a 44-year-old Hsinchu native who stopped in Hong Kong before heading to China and then to Indonesia on a business trip has raised concerns that he could end up like Lee Ming-che (李明哲), who went missing in China in 2017 for several weeks before Chinese authorities announced he had been arrested on subversion charges.

According to friends, Morrison Lee had voiced support on Facebook for the Hong Kong protests; his family has not heard from him since he traveled to Shenzhen on Aug. 20.

Lee Ming-che was convicted by a Chinese court for Internet postings he made in Taiwan.

The CCP is blinded by its own ideology. That means Taiwanese, Hong Kongers and everyone else have to keep their eyes wide open.

E7: Hong Kong police are out of control

Former British home secretary Robert Peel, credited as the father of modern policing, in 1829 established the Metropolitan Police, the world's first professional police force.

In a force made up of ordinary citizens, police officers nicknamed "bobbies" were expected to adhere to the "Peelian principles," often summarized as "policing by consent." This meant that rather than using fear on the streets of London, "bobbies" had to secure and maintain the approval, respect and affection of the public, an ethos that is still followed. The Hong Kong Police Force of old, modeled on Britain's police force, once adhered to these principles and was considered "Asia's finest."

Unfortunately, the latest violent clashes at the Hong Kong MTR's Prince Edward Station on Saturday evening provide further evidence that Hong Kong police are increasingly using disproportionate violence to quell the unrelenting protest movement that has engulfed the former British colony.

Protesters on Saturday went ahead with a rally in defiance of the police.

A video uploaded to YouTube shows dozens of riot police sprinting down the platform at Prince Edward Station in pursuit of what appears to be a lone protester before tackling him to the ground. Officers then converge on a stationary train, pointing a tear gas gun through the open doors before storming carriages and, seemingly at random, spraying passengers with pepper spray and beating them with batons. A group of passengers is seen huddling in a corner, trying to shield themselves from the police, terrified and sobbing uncontrollably.

On Sunday, pro-democracy lawmakers held a news conference to condemn the use of extreme force.

Hong Kong Legislator Claudia Mo (毛孟靜) said: "Hong Kong people are now facing licensed terror attacks not just from the police force, but from the Hong Kong government."

"What happened on an MTR train at Prince Edward Station was blatantly clear through press footage and photos, and police would still dare to deny ... that [they] were beating up ordinary citizens indiscriminately," Mo said.

Civic Party Legislator Kwok Ka-ki (郭家麒) accused the police of “shameless behavior unbefitting of monsters.”

Such extreme levels of force being employed by police anywhere in Hong Kong, let alone within its safe and efficient metro rail system, would have seemed unthinkable just a few months ago.

Regrettably, Saturday evening’s carnage was not the first time Hong Kong police have used excessive force in the past few weeks. It follows multiple instances of officers firing rubber bullets, beanbag rounds and tear gas canisters at close range and at head height, targeting protesters.

In one particularly egregious example, a young woman was reportedly hit in the eye with a beanbag round at an anti-government protest outside Tsim Sha Tsui Police Station on Aug. 11. She is still receiving treatment to her shattered right eye, which could be irrecoverably damaged.

Hong Kong police increasingly look and act like a paramilitary outfit. Many officers wear olive-colored, army-style fatigues, instead of blue or black uniforms. The police regularly refuse to grant permission for rallies and last week conducted a dragnet operation, arresting many former student leaders of the 2014 “Umbrella movement” and other high-profile democracy advocates on trumped-up charges.

Following the events of the past few months, many Hong Kongers are understandably questioning whether Hong Kong Chief Executive Carrie Lam (林鄭月娥), who has repeatedly refused to condemn excessive force, has lost control not just of the Hong Kong Police Force, but effectively relinquished control of the territory’s governance to Beijing.

E8: What price conscience?

Apple, the Houston Rockets, the NBA, Tiffany & Co and Activision Blizzard this week joined the long and growing list of international companies to run afoul of Beijing and the rabid jingoistic nationalism it encourages as a way of distracting its citizenry from their lack of rights or voice in governance.

At issue was the real — or imagined — support for the pro-democracy protests in Hong Kong, which has joined the list of taboo subjects for “outside criticism” that includes Taiwan, Tibet and Xinjiang.

Four decades ago, as Beijing began opening its doors to foreign companies and capitalism, Western policymakers and businesspeople eager to tap into China’s vast market said that such exposure would gradually lead to China becoming democratic, with human rights improving alongside the economy. Time has proven just how wrong they were, and are.

The Chinese Communist Party (CCP) has not stopped jailing and killing dissidents, Falun Gong members and others, brutally repressing Tibetans and Christians who do not follow state-sanctioned churches or destroying the religion and culture of the Uighurs and other Muslim minorities in Xinjiang.

Being a Muslim does not automatically make one a terrorist, despite Beijing’s efforts to conflate Islamic radicalism and militant attacks elsewhere with Uighurs living according to their religious beliefs. Neither does advocating democracy and the preservation of humans rights in Hong Kong make one a separatist, despite what Brooklyn Nets owner Joe Tsai (蔡崇信) has said.

For too long, too many in the world have stood silent in the face of atrocities in China, but speaking up for human rights is not interference in a nation’s internal affairs.

Most people condemn the actions of Adolf Hitler and his National Socialist government, and the atrocities they committed before and during World War II, yet it is important to remember that those actions did not occur in a vacuum.

Many leading businesspeople and government officials were willing to ignore what was happening in Germany before the war, because they believed that business or sports could

be separated from politics, even though the Nazis established their first concentration camps just weeks after Hitler became chancellor and began rounding up political opponents.

The camps were a way to indefinitely incarcerate those the regime considered a security threat, as well as eliminate individuals or groups away from public or judicial purview or exploit them as forced labor.

The CCP has followed the Nazi playbook since the founding of the People's Republic of China's (PRC), much as the Soviet Union did with its gulag system.

To stay silent is to be complicit, as Beijing well knows. That is why it reacts so aggressively to those who criticize the CCP's policies and what it views as its national mandate.

However, the protests in Hong Kong can no longer be discounted as the work of a minority, as people from all walks of life, all ages and professions have made it clear that they will not go quietly into the darkness: not now and not in 2047.

Beijing's demand for silence is also why it has begun to target Taiwanese who have promoted human rights or supported Hong Kong activists, while continuing its efforts to destroy Taiwan's democracy.

China is trying to make people, companies and governments who criticize it pay for their words and actions. It is time that the CCP and the PRC pay the price as well.

It can be done. This week the Prague City Council canceled a sister-city pact with Beijing, while the US imposed sanctions on government agencies and high-tech businesses involved in running or supporting the concentration camps in Xinjiang.

Criticizing Beijing can be costly, but staying mum is even more expensive.

E9: Beijing's inept 'Greater China' strategy

During a state visit to Nepal on Sunday, Chinese President Xi Jinping (習近平) told Nepali Prime Minister Khagda Prasad Oli that any attempt to drive a wedge between China and its "territories" would "end in crushed bodies and shattered bones," China Central Television reported.

Xi's comment was an explicit threat to Hong Kong's pro-democracy protesters, who have been a thorn in Beijing's side for months.

The message was plain: If you carry on like this, you will share the same fate as the pro-democracy protesters whose bodies were crushed and bones shattered by the tanks that rolled into Tiananmen Square in 1989.

The comment seemed particularly crass as this year marks the 30th anniversary of the massacre, but more than lacking compassion, it was a strategic blunder: Whenever Beijing interferes in the affairs of Hong Kong — or Taiwan — its leaders only end up making matters worse for themselves.

In 2002, just five years after the handover of Hong Kong from Britain, the Hong Kong Legislative Council, apparently on orders from Beijing, proposed legislation to amend the territory's Basic Law to prohibit treason, secession, sedition and subversion against the Chinese government.

Panic spread as Hong Kongers justifiably feared the bill would sound the death knell on freedom of speech. The public mobilized and an estimated half a million or more Hong Kongers marched through the streets in protest on July 1, 2003 — a watershed moment in Hong Kong's democracy movement.

In 2012, the authorities proposed amendments to insert patriotism classes into Hong Kong's school curriculum. Much of society united against what was viewed as an attempt by Beijing to brainwash Hong Kong's youth. It also led to the formation of the student campaign group, Scholarism, headed up by then-15-year-old Joshua Wong (黃之鋒). Two years later, Wong was back spearheading the "Umbrella movement," after Beijing went back on its commitment to introduce universal suffrage.

Xi is interfering again this year, attempting through Hong Kong Chief Executive Carrie Lam (林鄭月娥) to introduce a law that would have allowed any Hong Kong resident to be extradited to China.

Beijing's meddling is counterproductive and a strategic blunder. All the Chinese government needed to do was scrupulously adhere to Hong Kong's "one country, two systems" model — and Taiwan's pro-independence movement would have been effectively neutered.

Beijing has been similarly tone-deaf to Taiwan, most famously firing missiles in 1996 into waters near it to prevent then-president Lee Teng-hui (李登輝) from becoming Taiwan's first directly elected president. The strategy backfired.

Today, Chinese warships and military aircraft regularly conduct encirclement drills around Taiwan in a crude attempt at psychological warfare.

With Xi's militarization of the South China Sea and brazen cyberespionage worldwide, he might have moved his chess pieces too early, prematurely waking the US lion from its slumber and alerting the whole world to Beijing's nefarious intentions. In years to come, these actions might also be viewed by historians as major strategic blunders.

That is not to say that in Taiwan, and elsewhere, people should be complacent, but perhaps China's leaders are not the formidable strategic geniuses that the outside world takes them for.

Having surrounded himself with a coterie of yes-men, the arrogant Xi and his regime might be weaker than the world thinks. Taiwan — and Hong Kong — must stay the course and play the long game.

E10: Taiwan a guide for HK silent majority

The silent majority took action on Sunday in Hong Kong and used the ballot box to make their voices heard.

The territory's district council elections put paid to the lie peddled by Beijing and Hong Kong Chief Executive Carrie Lam's (林鄭月娥) administration — that the months of pro-democracy protests in the territory were foreign-instigated and supported — as a record number of Hong Kongers cast ballots: more than 70 percent of eligible voters.

They voted overwhelmingly for pro-democracy candidates over pro-Beijing incumbents or novice candidates, voting them into 389 of the 452 seats, or more than 80 percent, and giving them control over 17 of the 18 councils. They are no longer willing to meekly accept governance by those who ignore their needs and desires to curry favor with Beijing, and they want a greater say in how the territory is run.

While the councils might be small potatoes in terms of governing the territory, as Beijing retains a death grip on the faux election process for chief executive and several pro-democracy candidates have either been ruled ineligible for the Legislative Council elections or had their elections annulled, they are a first step to claiming more power.

The new councilors will have control of 117 seats on the 1,200 member committee that chooses the territory's chief executive, a block that in previous "elections" was seen as strongly pro-Beijing. Adding those 117 votes to 235 the pro-democracy camp had in the previous election might be enough to make Beijing nervous, as a candidate needs to have 150 nominations to run for chief executive and 601 votes to win, even though the Chinese Communist Party's (CCP) policy plenum last month announced plans to "enhance" the system used to select the chief executive.

While Lam on Monday said that her government would "listen to the opinions of members of the public humbly and seriously reflect," protesters returned to the streets this week, as their demands remain unmet, including direct elections for chief executive and an independent investigation into police brutality against demonstrators.

President Tsai Ing-wen (蔡英文) urged Lam's government to heed calls for democracy, as political reform of some sort is clearly — and urgently — needed.

One way that Hong Kong could achieve that could be taking another page from Taiwan's playbook.

As Carl Miller pointed out in an article published on Wired magazine's Web site on Tuesday, the world could learn from Taiwan's ongoing efforts to reinvent its democracy in the wake of the 2014 Sunflower movement.

Members of the activist G0v (gov zero) collective, including those who were part of the Sunflower protests, joined the central government's newly formed Public Digital Innovation Space and in the past few years have helped change the way the government listens to the public and makes decisions through vTaiwan.

The goal is to make the policymaking process more transparent and inclusive, as well as stressing consensus-seeking.

The Sunflower movement helped inspire Hong Kong's "Umbrella movement" and the leaderless protests that have rocked the territory this year.

Hopefully, the lessons learned by Taiwan's government — by officials of the former Chinese Nationalist Party (KMT) administration and later by their Democratic Progressive Party successors — could be "reflected upon" by Lam's administration as it seeks ways to move forward.

A majority of Hong Kongers are not willing to go silently into the long, dark night of 2047, when the 50 years of "one country, two systems" is to end, under the ever-more authoritarian CCP; they do not want to end up like the non-Han people of Xinjiang.

There is no reason they should.

E11: Hong Kong: The world is watching

Many people in Taiwan — and around the world — will be watching Hong Kong tomorrow, where the Civil Human Rights Front (CHRF) received permission to hold a large-scale demonstration, two weeks after district council elections that delivered a resounding rebuke to Hong Kong Chief Executive Carrie Lam's (林鄭月娥) administration — and Beijing.

While CHRF vice convener Eric Lai (黎恩灝) said the aim was to show Lam that the elections were not the end of the pro-democracy protests, new Hong Kong Police Commissioner Chris Tang (鄧炳強) said that he hoped the demonstration would show the world that Hong Kongers are able to rally “in an orderly and peaceful manner.”

Tang is hopeful that Hong Kongers would listen to him, but a majority of them have made it clear — both at the ballot box and by either taking part in the six months of protests or supporting them — that they want their leaders to pay more heed to them.

Unfortunately, Lam, at a news conference on Tuesday, appeared as deaf to their appeals as she has been all year.

After announcing that her administration would be offering another round of relief measures to help the economy, which last quarter posted its first recession in a decade, Lam said the small-scale clashes between protesters and police last Sunday had thrown cold water on her hopes that the relative peace would hold.

While Lam did not give any specifics about the relief proposals — that was left to Hong Kong Financial Secretary Paul Chan (陳茂波) to do the following day, when he announced HK\$4 billion (US\$511.19 million) of measures that include subsidies for small companies to pay their utility bills, and allowing individuals and firms to pay their taxes in installments — she continues to stonewall on the demands that have fueled the protests long after the highly controversial extradition bill was withdrawn and finally dropped.

Instead, she complained about the new US legislation on Hong Kong, saying such interference by “an overseas government” was “most regrettable,” given that the territory has a high degree of freedom in many areas, including freedom of the press, assembly and religion.

As ever, she appeared completely oblivious to the fact that it has been China's encroachment on those freedoms — the growing media censorship, extrajudicial abduction of critics from Hong Kong and foreign countries, and its refusal to countenance universal suffrage in the elections for chief executive as well as the Legislative Council — that led to the revolt over the proposed extradition bill.

Despite the economic downturn caused by the protests' impact on tourism as well as the US-China trade spat, many Hong Kongers appear willing to continue protesting until all five of the pro-democracy movement's demands are met: withdrawal of the extradition bill, investigation into allegations of police brutality and misconduct, the release of arrested protesters, a retraction of the government's labeling of the protests as riots and Lam's resignation.

Ironically, it is the willingness of Taiwan's government to listen to protesters that led the South Africa-based civil rights group CIVICUS on Wednesday to list Taiwan as the only truly "open" nation in Asia.

In its latest *People Power Under Attack* report, which rates 193 nations according to their level of freedom of the press, speech and other basic rights, CIVICUS said Taiwan was the only Asian nation out of the 43 in the world in the open category, as it criticized growing censorship and repression in China, India, the Philippines, Brunei, Pakistan and Bangladesh, and the narrowing of rights in Japan and South Korea.

In Asia, 95 percent of people live in nations with closed, repressed or obstructed civic space, a CIVICUS official said.

The report, like the protests in Hong Kong, is a sobering reminder of Taiwan's journey toward greater democracy, and how easily the civil rights enjoyed today can be lost tomorrow.

E12: Beijing's puppet clinging to power

Hong Kong Chief Executive Carrie Lam's (林鄭月娥) dodgy and perfunctory attitude at a news conference on Monday following Sunday's attack on pro-democracy protesters at Yuen Long subway station revealed a dysfunctional administration that has lost the public's trust and could renew calls for political reform in the territory.

Neither Lam nor her deputies were able to give any concrete answer to reporters' questions on why it took the police so long to respond to reports of alleged gangsters attacking people and journalists heading home from a rally.

Police reportedly arrived at the scene almost two hours after the assault began. Many said that law-enforcement officials either ignored their calls or shut them out of police stations when they wanted to report the attacks.

Lam gave generic responses at the news conference, condemning the violence while claiming that she had been "monitoring the incident" with other officials the previous night.

She did not answer questions on whether she had only learned about the incident on Monday morning or why it took her so long to hold the news conference.

While dismissing speculation that the police had turned a blind eye to the attacks because of "collusion with gangsters," she and Hong Kong Police Commissioner Stephen Lo (盧偉聰) could not give a valid reason for the police's apparent indifference to calls for help.

Lam's handling of the incident stands in stark contrast to her attitude earlier this month when she held a news conference at 4am to "seriously condemn" protesters who stormed the Legislative Council building.

Her administration has been trying to sell the Hong Kong public a story that has been rejected by most people, and at this point, it no longer matters what she says, as she has lost the public's trust and tarnished the territory's image as a financial and commercial hub.

Even if she could prove that the police did not collaborate with triad members, her administration's handling of the incident was a disaster and would have cost her her job and political career if she were a duly elected official.

From the outset, Lam's hardline stance when dealing with the controversial extradition bill — calling it “dead,” but refusing to withdraw it — had been a source of contention for protesters. It has also led to bloody crackdowns, sparking criticism of political use of force, which harks back to the 2014 “Umbrella movement” protests.

Her obstinacy has aggravated a conflict deeply rooted in Hong Kong society: The government does not represent the people and therefore cannot reflect public opinion.

When the UK handed authority over Hong Kong to China in 1997, the agreement was that the territory would be allowed to retain its autonomy for 50 years under the “one country, two systems” framework.

Lam, a puppet of Beijing, does not and cannot reflect the will of the people, and the “autonomy” promised in the agreement has existed in name only.

The problem that sparked the “Umbrella movement” could come back to haunt Hong Kongers sooner than most people might expect.

The belief that “one country, two systems” was a formula that the Chinese Communist Party first designed for Taiwan would be amusing if it were not scary. If it has failed so miserably in Hong Kong, how could anyone expect it to be successfully applied to fiercely democratic and liberal Taiwan?