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Power and Perception: Discursive Representations of Nancy Pelosi's Taiwan Visit in the Taiwanese Media Landscape

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Power and Perception:

Discursive Representations of Nancy Pelosi's Taiwan Visit in the
Taiwanese Media Landscape

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Table of Contents

1. Introduction and Research Question	1
2. Contextualizing Cross-Strait Relations, Taiwanese Identity, and Media Representation	3
2.1. Cross-Strait Relations and Taiwanese Identity	3
2.2. Media Representation and Political Events	6
2.3. U.S.-Taiwan Relations and High-Level Visits	7
2.4. Theoretical Framework: Framing and Discourse Analysis	9
3. Methodology	12
3.1. Timeframe	14
3.2. Materials - Data Collection	15
4. Summary of Nancy Pelosi's Taiwan Visit	15
5. The Run-up to Pelosi's Visit	17
5.1. Discourse Analysis of United Daily News	17
5.2. Discourse Analysis of Liberty Times	19
6. The Visit	21
6.1. Discourse Analysis of United Daily News	22
6.2. Discourse Analysis of Liberty Times	24
7. The Aftermath	27
7.1. Discourse Analysis of United Daily News	27
7.2. Discourse Analysis of Liberty Times	30
8. Discussion-Comparative Analysis: Identifying Cross-Cutting Themes and Variance	32
9. Conclusion	33
Bibliography	36
Appendix	40

1. Introduction and Research Question

In March 2014, the Sunflower student movement, which aimed to protest the Chinese Nationalist Party (KMT) government, emerged due to a pending free trade agreement with the People's Republic of China (henceforth referred to as China) (He 2019, 2). As it became more evident that young Taiwanese were pursuing a more advanced democracy, these protests influenced the 2016 election results, ultimately benefiting the Democratic Progressive Party (DPP) and leading to the victory of Tsai Ing-Wen (He 2019, 180). Tsai Ing-Wen achieved back-to-back victories in the 2016 and 2020 elections, leading to an 8-year term in office.

DPP candidates have won five elections since the first direct election in Taiwan, formally known as the Republic of China (ROC), while KMT candidates have won only three. While the DPP traditionally defines itself as democratic and actively promotes Taiwanese identity, the KMT defines itself as nationalist and promotes Chinese identity (Fell 2006, 110). Tsai's victory is also symbolic because she is the first female president in Taiwanese history, and Tsai comes from Hakka and aboriginal ethnic backgrounds (Sullivan & Lee 2018, 1). The DPP also aligns closely with the USA, while the KMT seeks opportunities to improve relations with China.

Nancy Pelosi's Taiwan visit from 2 to 3 August 2022 while serving as the U.S. House of Representatives speaker strained cross-strait relations. Pelosi announced her Asia Tour on 31 July 2022, with the initial schedule including stops in Japan, Malaysia, South Korea, and Singapore (Pelosi, 2022). Despite various speculations, even on 2 August 2022, it remained to be seen whether Pelosi scheduled a visit to Taiwan and whether it would occur. Following their departure from Malaysia, Pelosi's delegation reached Taipei, Taiwan, at 10:43 p.m. on the evening of 2 August. Such a high-level visit from the USA to Taiwan had not occurred since April 1997 (Newt Gingrich); that was one year after the first direct presidential elections in Taiwan, which was on 23 March 1996, and a few months before the handover of Hong Kong to China on 1 July 1997 (Gallo, 2022). Nancy Pelosi's Taiwan visit is crucial for the current status quo and future relations between Taiwan, China, and the USA.

Unlike the political parties' view, the Taiwanese media may have reflected this visit differently. I aim to analyze how Chinese and Taiwanese nationalist media in Taiwan evaluated this trip through a discourse analysis between pan-blue and pan-green media newspapers and find

answers to my research question which is: How do the United Daily News and Liberty Times evaluate Nancy Pelosi's Taiwan Visit on 2-3 August 2022, and how do the portrayals of these two media outlets align with political parties' stance against this visit?

This study delves into the discourse surrounding Nancy Pelosi's Taiwan visit, examining media representations. The media is pivotal in shaping public opinion, especially concerning sensitive political events. Understanding how Taiwanese media portray this visit is crucial to comprehending its implications for Taiwan politics and cross-strait relations.

To address my research question comprehensively, I have organized my thesis in the following manner: Initially, the literature review offers essential contextual information on the different topics. This encompasses background details about cross-strait relations, Taiwanese identity, the current status quo, domestic political events, the USA-Taiwan relations, high-level visits, and an academic literature review focusing on framing, discourse, and discourse analysis. Subsequently, the methodology section outlines the reasons behind opting for a discourse analysis methodology and delineates the data collection and analysis process. It begins by defining a time frame and delves into the data collection process. Following the methodology, the core of my thesis involves discourse analysis. In this section, I will analyze the collected data and later compare them. I will examine the following newspapers: United Daily News (聯合報) (known as pro-KMT) and Liberty Times (自由時報) (known as pro-DPP). Before concluding, I will discuss my findings that Taiwanese media outlets presented starkly contrasting portrayals of Pelosi's visit, influenced by their political affiliations. The comparative analysis showed that while both media reported on Pelosi's visit, their interpretations and emphasis varied significantly, with UDN focusing on adverse outcomes and LTN on positive impacts. This variance underscores the media's role in shaping public discourse and maintaining entrenched political perspectives rather than providing objective news. Ultimately, I will reflect on the results of my work at the conclusion of my thesis.

2. Contextualizing Cross-Strait Relations, Taiwanese Identity, and Media Representation

This section offers a comprehensive review of the existing literature, highlighting its immediate relevance. It provides a crucial context for understanding the complex dynamics of cross-strait relations, the evolution of Taiwanese identity, and the role of media in shaping political events and public perception in Taiwan. By examining historical, political, and cultural factors, this literature review aims to elucidate the multifaceted interactions that have shaped Taiwan's identity and its polarized political environment.

2.1. Cross-Strait Relations and Taiwanese Identity

Understanding the historical context of cross-strait relations and the evolution of Taiwanese identity is essential for analyzing contemporary media representations and political discourse, which are central to this thesis. This section delves into the interaction between cross-strait relations and Taiwanese identity, exploring how historical, political, and cultural factors have shaped Taiwan's evolving identity. I aim to shed light on the multifaceted dynamics contributing to Taiwan's politically polarized environment and its impact on media narratives by examining these events.

The relationship between Taiwan and China dates back to the Ming and Qing Dynasties. The Qing Empire officially declared Taiwan as a province of the empire in 1885. However, ten years later, in 1895, the Qing Dynasties handed over the island's administration to Japan. Following the overthrow of the Qing Dynasty by Chinese nationalists in 1911, the KMT established the Republic of China. Japan handed over Taiwan's administration to the Republic of China at the end of World War II (Morris 2004, 4). Just two years later, anti-government protests on 28 February 1947 escalated into a massacre by the KMT government. At the end of the civil war between the KMT (Chinese Nationalist Party) and the CCP (Chinese Communist Party), which emerged following the collapse of the Qing Dynasty, the KMT lost power, and the CCP established the People's Republic of China (PRC) in 1949. The KMT government relocated to Taiwan in 1949, leading to a political and ideological separation between the two sides of the Taiwan Strait. Taiwan faced numerous economic challenges post-World War II due to this separation in Cross-Strait relations. China utilized economic influence to strengthen connections with Taiwan and create

economic interdependencies (Wang 2022, 232). The economic dynamics between Taiwan and China have since played a crucial role in shaping the island's politics and distinct identity.

The Japanese colonial period paved the way for the emergence of a unique Taiwanese identity separate from mainland China (Stockton 2002, 165). Taiwanese aboriginal activists formed the Alliance of Taiwan Aborigines (ATA) in December 1984. ATA is the beginning of Taiwan's Aboriginal People's political movement. Aboriginal people distinguish themselves from Chinese immigrants and see themselves as the owner of Taiwan (Stainton 2015, 38). The KMT government's repressive rule accelerated the rise of Taiwan's opposition. Because of this dispute, the Taiwanese and Chinese public started to form separate identities. The significance of this discourse lies not only in its representation of indigenous perspectives but also in its embodiment of Taiwanese nationalist ideology. As robust Taiwanese nationalism emerged, concepts surrounding forming a new, multicultural Taiwanese ethnic identity began to sprout (Stainton 2015, 41).

The organization of democracy activists formed the DPP in 1986. The end of martial law in 1987 accelerated the democratization movements. Therefore, the democratic transition in Taiwan allowed for the expression of a distinct Taiwanese identity. Starting in 1987, during the presidency of Chiang Ching-Kuo (1978-1988), Taiwan permitted family visits to China. It was the first formal exchange between Taiwan and China after a period of no official relations or interactions. During Lee Teng-Hui's presidency (1988-2000), Taiwan established the Straits Exchange Foundation (SEF) on 9 March 1991, tasked with managing all exchanges with mainland China. In response, China established a counterpart organization, the Association for Relations Across the Taiwan Straits (ARATS).

Taiwan held its first direct election for the Legislative Yuan on 19 December 1992 (Copper 1992, 71). With its first fiercely competitive direct presidential election on 23 March 1996, Taiwan established a solid democracy within its borders, demonstrating a domestically developed democratic system (Bellows 1996, 235). Kuomintang candidates Lee Teng-Hui and Lien Chan won the election, and Lee Teng-Hui became Taiwan's first directly elected president. President Lee's promotion of a "new Taiwanese identity" in 1998 aimed to unite ethnically divided people on the island (Stockton 2002, 174).

The KMT's rule on the island lasted more than half a century. The KMT governed the island by martial law for 40 years. The DPP came to power democratically and Chen Shui-Bian (2000-2008), the openly pro-independence DPP candidate, became president in 2000. In 14 years, Taiwan transformed from an autocratic regime into a rambunctious democracy, and in 2000, the first peaceful transfer of power in the millennia took place (Gupta 2015, 1).

During Ma Ying-Jeou's (KMT) administration (2008-2016), cross-strait relations were relatively quiet compared to prior president Chen Shui-bian's administration. This resulted from President Ma Ying-Jeou's mainland policy of adopting "engagement" rather than "confrontation" with mainland China. However, under Tsai Ing-Wen's leadership (2016-2024), the DPP has adopted a cautious stance, refusing to accept Ma's mainland policies as a precondition for further negotiations with mainland China (Jiang 2017, 19).

The pivotal fifty-year period of Taiwan's detachment from the mainland encouraged Taiwanese nationalists to redefine the island's history. The Ministry of Education integrated the perspective of Taiwanese nationalism into a fresh set of textbooks. KMT supporters have vehemently opposed this novel approach to history. Those advocating for Taiwan's independence argue that the island has always had a history separate from the mainland (Perdue 2009, 101).

National identity in Taiwan is a nuanced concept encompassing a sense of belonging to a distinct community and a political allegiance. Traditional measures of national identity, such as the dichotomy of Chinese/Taiwanese identity or the spectrum of unification/independence preferences, provide valuable insights into the collective consciousness of the Taiwanese people (Taiwan Public Opinion Foundation 2023). However, they fail to fully capture the intricate nuances of political identity on the island (Jiang 2017, 37). With the changing political atmosphere, the subject of Taiwanese identity has become prominent since 2000. An increasing population segment expresses a Taiwanese identity rather than identifying as Chinese (Taiwan Public Opinion Foundation 2023). Although Taiwanese society exhibits diversity in Chinese or Taiwanese identity and differing views on political futures, the majority prioritizes some form of the status quo (Hsiao 2021, 3). The interplay between domestic political factors and external pressures from China adds complexity to cross-strait relations and further impacts Taiwan's evolving identity.

2.2. Media Representation and Political Events

Building upon the primary understanding presented in the previous section, I will continue to explore the role of media and its representation in Taiwan. Analyzing cross-strait relations and the development of Taiwanese identity illuminates the media's impact on political discussions in Taiwan. I aim to cover a basic understanding of the evolution of media in Taiwan that influences public discourse and political attitudes. Understanding how media representations navigate and contribute to these narratives is essential for comprehending Taiwan's broader sociopolitical landscape.

Taiwanese media faced many difficulties due to martial law until 1987. With the lifting of martial law, there was significant growth in the media environment, such as an increase in the number of newspapers and radio stations. However, some media channels are biased and shape the news according to their political leaning (Rawnsley & Rawnsley 2012, 397). While newspapers affiliated with the KMT, such as United Daily News and China Times, hold significant influence, the growing sense of Taiwanese identity has contributed to the popularity of media outlets like Liberty Times, which aligns with the DPP (Rawnsley & Rawnsley 2012, 397). Overall, the media in Taiwan reflects the country's diverse political landscape and evolving social dynamics.

United Daily and Liberty Times both started their editorial life in 2000. According to the description of United Daily, its vision and objective are to provide professional and original editorial contents to Chinese readers around the world. It has various news providers to enhance the scope of its content as well as some magazine publishers. It defines itself as Taiwan's the most professional digital media news page (udn.com). As it is evident, United Daily aligns itself with the Chinese identity by targeting all Chinese readers worldwide.

According to the description of Liberty Times, it upholds the concept of "Taiwan First, Freedom First" and aims to ensure timely and accurate news coverage domestically and internationally in the spirit of being rooted in Taiwan and caring for the world. Liberty Times believes that citizens can rapidly grasp the pulse of the news in this way. It provides a free e-newsletter with extensive news coverage, including first-hand reporting about the most recent events worldwide with audio, video, and image content. It also announces its aim as connecting

younger generations (ltn.com.tw). Liberty Times align itself with the Taiwanese identity by stressing Taiwan first.

Chen Shui-bian, elected president in 2000, aimed to separate political institutions from the media to foster greater independence and impartiality in the media. For this, the government had to divest its shares in the media industry and restrain the governmental entities' impact in the media (Rawnsley & Rawnsley 2012, 408). Lawmakers passed legislation in 2003 formalizing the withdrawal of political parties, the state, and the military from direct ownership stakes in the media (Rawnsley et al. 2016, 70). While Taiwan reduced state influence in the media, people worried about the potential new owners who may have ties to the PRC or political parties to influence editorial content.

Media reporting influences public opinion and the media has a watchdog role. A prime example that highlights the watchdog role of the media in the democratic process is the media criticism of President Ma Ying-Jeou and his administration during the Typhoon Morakot incident in 2009, which led to the resignation of the prime minister (Rawnsley & Rawnsley 2012, 411). Although traditional media has a significant impact on shaping politics, the Sunflower Movement in 2014 also demonstrated the influence of social media. Students occupied the Legislature to prevent ratification of the Cross-Strait Trade Agreement. Instead of relying on traditional media channels to make their voices heard, they broadcast live on social media 24 hours a day (Rawnsley et al. 2016, 73). As Taiwan advances its democracy, the relationship between media and politics and their impact on each other also evolves.

2.3. U.S.-Taiwan Relations and High-Level Visits

In this section, I focus specifically on the relationship between the United States and Taiwan, specifically in high-level visits. I intend to explain the strategic importance of Pelosi's visit to Taiwan by tracing the historical trajectory of U.S.-Taiwan relations, as well as the high-level visits.

The USA and Taiwan maintain unofficial ties despite the lack of official diplomatic recognition due to the One China Policy. This lack of formal recognition resulted from the United States normalizing diplomatic relations with the PRC in 1979. In response, the U.S. Congress enacted the Taiwan Relations Act (TRA) in January 1979, which allowed the United States to

maintain trade, cultural, and other connections with Taiwan, and permitted providing Taiwan with defensive weapons and ensuring that the United States could protect Taiwan from any threats or coercion (Glaser et al. 2020, 5). The TRA is a vital component of the U.S. policy towards Taiwan and is the primary guiding legislation for this relationship (Taiwan Relations Act, 1979).

In May 1994, the Clinton Administration permitted a Taiwanese president to transit through the United States for the first time. President Lee Teng-Hui stopped to refuel his plane in Hawaii, but he did not spend the night. President Lee visited Cornell University in June 1995 and addressed his fellow alumni (Lawrence, 2024). The Clinton Administration's decision marked a significant development in U.S.-Taiwan relations.

In 1997, House Speaker Newt Gingrich visited China and stated that the USA would intervene militarily if the PRC attacked Taiwan (Faison 1997). His visit to Taipei in April 1997 and his words surprised Taiwanese people, especially those who supported pro-independence. He said, “We will help you economically and ensure China does not use force against you. Nevertheless, it is important to find peaceful ways to live alongside them. If China attacks you unjustly, we will step in to protect you. However, if you provoke them, like declaring independence, you will be left to handle it alone” (Neighbors 2013, 153). Newt Gingrich's statements emphasized the delicate balance of the USA in the region.

Tsai Ing-Wen called Donald Trump on 2 December 2016 to congratulate him on his election victory. In return, Trump congratulated Tsai on her electoral success earlier that year. This phone call is an essential event in Taiwan relations because it was the first time a U.S. president or president-elect had directly communicated with the Republic of China (ROC) president since 1979 (Cole, 2016). During their conversation, which lasted over ten minutes, they discussed economic and security topics. This phone call was surprising because it was unusual for a Taiwanese leader to communicate directly with the incoming president of the USA. In an interview before his inauguration, Trump added to the uncertainty by mentioning that all aspects of the U.S.-China relations, including the One China policy, were open to negotiation. Additionally, Tsai extended her congratulations to Trump via Twitter after his inauguration (Lee 2017, 26).

In 2018, the Congress passed the Taiwan Travel Act. The act states that it ought to be the U.S. policy to “permit high-level officials of Taiwan to enter the United States and to hold meetings with officials of the United States,” including officials from the Departments of State and Defense

(Taiwan Travel Act, 2018). This legislative initiative aimed to bolster ties and promote dialogue between the two sides.

While Nancy Pelosi's visit to Taiwan was uncertain, Newt Gingrich commented on Nancy Pelosi's Taiwan visit on 25 July, stating that China's threats were largely unfounded and amounted to bluffing (Fox News Staff, 2022). He emphasized the importance of Nancy Pelosi's Taiwan visit to maintain American foreign policy principles and to support Taiwan (Gingrich, 2022) in an article published on his website on 27 July. He also stressed the need for Pelosi to assert American strength and resilience against Chinese pressure by commenting “Nancy Pelosi must go to Taiwan in August”, suggesting that showing any sign of weakness would embolden the Chinese government (Gingrich, 2022). Nancy Pelosi became the highest-ranking figure in U.S. politics to visit Taiwan after Newt Gingrich (Timsit, 2022). During her visit, Pelosi emphasized advancing the common interests’ significance in governance, economy, and security while enhancing ties between Taiwan and the United States (Pelosi, 2022).

On 5 April 2023, Taiwan's President Tsai Ing-Wen met the U.S. House of Representatives Kevin McCarthy and congressional leaders in California during her travel to the United States (Gypson 2023). This engagement demonstrated the ongoing commitment of both sides to strengthening bilateral ties and promoting mutual interests. In June 2023, the United States and Taiwan signed the first agreement under the U.S.-Taiwan Initiative on 21st Century Trade (Trade Representative Office, 2023). This agreement represents a significant step towards expanding economic cooperation, enhancing mutual prosperity and strategic cooperation between the United States and Taiwan.

2.4. Theoretical Framework: Framing and Discourse Analysis

In this section, I will investigate the theoretical framework of my methodology, focusing mainly on framing and discourse analysis. Understanding these theoretical foundations is crucial as they provide tools to critically examine how media shapes public perceptions and influences political discourse.

Framing is the act of selecting certain features of a perceived reality and emphasizing them in written or spoken communication. Goffman (1974) argued that when a particular event happens, “schemata of interpretations”, referred to as “frames”, can serve as a mental framework for how

individuals position themselves, perceive, identify, and label it (Goffman 1974, 21). Frames intentionally or unintentionally shape how the audience perceives certain aspects of information, issues, or events by presenting them in a particular way and emphasizing some elements while downplaying others. In this way, it highlights a specific definition of the problem for a particular understanding of it, and interpretation of causes in a desired way (Entman 1993, 52). While framing can assist individuals in processing and recognizing information, it can also contribute to bias because people may adopt the existing framing to obscure the real meaning.

In news reporting, the media not only presents facts but also injects their viewpoints and interpretations. It utilizes various frameworks to shape the messages it presents to the public. Gitlin (1980) discusses framing as the intentional selection, emphasis, and exclusion of information. He suggests that journalists use framing to quickly process large amounts of information and package it for their audiences. This process involves rearranging facts to draw attention to specific aspects of the truth rather than presenting the entire picture (Gitlin 1980, 7). Gitlin emphasizes that journalists shape news reporting by collecting, selecting, emphasizing, and excluding information to construct meaning.

Florian Schneider (2022) defines a *frame* as a set of interconnected concepts that guide interpreting information. Framing involves employing such a set of references by incorporating one or more concepts during communication. In everyday communication, we often use framing to clarify our understanding of issues and how we wish others to perceive them (Schneider 2022, 80). Framing can occur through the use of language, images, metaphors, and other communication devices, and it plays a crucial role in constructing meaning and influencing public opinion on various topics. The fact that the same information can lead to different interpretations in different frameworks highlights the subjective nature of perception and communication.

Framing and discourse are interconnected as both involve language and communication devices to shape perceptions and construct meaning around issues or events. Different scholars defined discourse in various ways. Deborah Schiffrin (1987) considered discourse in two main ways. Firstly, discourse is a linguistic unit beyond the sentence level, encompassing larger language units. Secondly, we understand discourse based on its narrative organization (ibid., 1-2). According to Guy Cook (1989, 6), the latter type of language - language in use for communication - is known as discourse, and the search for what gives discourse coherence is discourse analysis.

French Sociologist Michel Foucault (1972) also used the term to explain how language mirrors and shapes human knowledge. In Foucault's understanding, “discourse” refers to a group of rules immanent in practice and defined in their specificity (ibid., 46).

According to Schneider (2022), while “discourse” commonly refers to spoken exchanges or debates, its significance in the humanities and social sciences goes beyond mere conversation. Discourse represents the statements made by society members about a particular subject, so it is a flow of knowledge through time. This ongoing communication process establishes a consensus that defines what is considered “normal” and “acceptable”, termed the “hegemonic discourse”. Statements challenging these accepted norms are part of the “counter-hegemonic discourse”. Discourse captures a society's evolving understanding and shared assumptions as individuals engage, contest, and contribute to collective knowledge (ibid., 107). Discourse encompasses both spoken and written forms of communication. Diverse manifestations of discourse include but are not limited to speeches, articles, news reports, and other modes of communicative expression.

Fairclough's idea of the “naturalization” of ideologies and ideological practices highlights how media discourse can make certain ideologies seem like common sense or inherent truths, potentially leading the public to accept them unquestionably. This suggests that ideologies can become disconnected from their original social and interest-based origins, appearing to be common sense rather than products of specific groups or interests (Fairclough 1995, 35).

The application of discourse analysis serves as a valuable tool in scrutinizing the intricate ways in which language operates as a tool for communication, playing a pivotal role in shaping and organizing perceptions. Within any discourse, the potential exists for implicit meanings, capable of constructing, reinforcing, or even altering our understanding of reality. This method allows for a nuanced exploration of how language functions as a dynamic force, influencing the construction and evolution of perceptions within various contexts. In “Media Discourse”, Fairclough described discourse analysis as “an attempt to show systematic links between texts, discourse practices, and sociocultural practices” (Fairclough 1995, 17), while in “Critical Discourse Analysis”, he explained that critical discourse analysis seeks to uncover and challenge naturalized aspects of discourse, aiming to reveal the underlying social constructs and question their taken-for-granted status (Fairclough 1995, 36).

According to Ruth Wodak, critical discourse analysis (CDA) focuses on studying real-life communication in various settings like institutions, media, politics, etc., rather than analyzing isolated sentences. CDA sees written and spoken communication as social activities influenced by specific situations, institutions, and social structures. She believes that these contexts shape discourse, and in turn, discourse shapes social and political reality. CDA examines how language use reflects and influences the world around us (Wodak 2009, 8). Schneider's definition of discourse analysis fundamentally involves a meticulous examination of language to uncover how linguistic choices influence meanings. In essence, discourse analysts concentrate on the specific words or groups of words selected by communicators, the grammatical features employed, and the rhetorical devices utilized when addressing particular subjects (Schneider 2022, 105).

3. Methodology

I will use the discourse analysis method as my primary instrument. I chose discourse analysis to examine how news articles create meaning and influence perspectives through their portrayals and discourses. I will discuss the narrative the Taiwanese media outlets crafted and the language they use to convey their messages. I chose discourse analysis because of its interdisciplinary nature. This flexibility allows for both inductive reasoning and a mix of quantitative and qualitative analysis. Because of its multidisciplinary nature, it applies to various forms of communication, particularly media content.

As Foucault said, "Discourse is the power which is to be seized." (Foucault 1981, 53). Newspapers can shape and direct people's opinions by composing a discourse. I will focus on the portrayal of Nancy Pelosi's visit by different Taiwanese newspapers. These newspapers are known for their affiliations with the DPP and KMT. Thus, this process will reveal how the DPP-favored and KMT-favored media outlets chose to present Nancy Pelosi's Taiwan visit on 2-3 August 2022. The news sources I will use for my research are in Mandarin, as it is the official language of Taiwan. Therefore, I will translate all the quotes from the news I will use in my thesis. This way, I will look through the deep meanings embedded in the language itself. I must look at the original articles, even if the translations are available. Otherwise, it will not be an analysis of the media outlets' discourse but of the translators' (Schneider 2022, 114).

Because of the abundance of news about this topic, analyzing all articles in detail is impossible, so I have to narrow my focus to a specific period. During my research, I will focus on the “portrayal of Nancy Pelosi’s visit”, “perceptions of cross-strait relations”, and “this visit’s effects on Taiwan”. I will examine how different media outlets discussed her motivations, objectives, and role, as well as the implications of Nancy Pelosi’s visit for cross-strait relations, which received significant attention during her visit. I will also assess how the outlets portray the PRC’s and the public’s reactions. I will identify what the newspapers emphasize.

During Pelosi’s visit, the KMT expressed caution and urged for pragmatic diplomacy. Although it worried about any actions that could escalate tensions with China, it welcomed Pelosi and accepted that it is an essential occasion for Taiwan. On the other hand, the DPP was less concerned about China’s reaction and saw Pelosi’s presence as a sign of strong U.S. support for Taiwan. The DPP viewed her visit as an opportunity to assert Taiwan’s distinct identity on the international stage and focused on reinforcing Taiwan’s position as a democratic nation with its own government and institutions.

Discourse analysis makes it possible to explore how ideologies and political relations affect the creation of meaning in media representations. Through discourse analysis, I want to reveal the underlying discursive strategies used by different newspapers to picture Pelosi’s Taiwan visit. To systematically analyze the materials, I employed a coding process involving identifying and categorizing key themes and features within the texts. The analysis unit was individual sentences and paragraphs within the news articles. I collected articles from UDN and LTN within the specified timeframe (24 July to 7 August 2022). I filtered articles to include only those directly related to Pelosi’s visit. I used open coding to identify initial themes and patterns in the texts. This involved reading the articles and noting recurring topics, phrases, and rhetorical strategies. Based on the initial coding, I developed a set of coding categories.

These categories include how the news articles portrayed Pelosi -- positively, negatively, or neutrally; the portrayal of Cross-Strait Relations, focusing on whether there is an emphasis on tension, cooperation, or neutrality; the perceptions of the US involvement, categorizing whether the articles seen it as supportive, critical, or indifferent; the implications for Taiwan, whether the articles viewed it as having a positive, negative, or no impact; the language used in the content, whether it is alarmist, optimistic, or neutral; and the political alignment expressed in the content,

noting whether it leans towards the DPP and the KMT or maintains a neutral stance. These categories form the basis for a thorough analysis of the coded data.

Possible biases and subjectivity exist within discourse analysis. I will present a critical stance and investigate each newspaper's motivations for framing Pelosi's Taiwan visit. I am aware of the limitations of this study, including the selection of newspapers and the scope of the analysis. I aim to clarify the perspectives and discursive approaches Taiwanese newspapers use in their coverage of Nancy Pelosi's visit by conducting this discourse analysis.

In conclusion, I will synthesize and consolidate the various findings from my analysis to assess the extent of similarities or differences present in the news coverage. Additionally, I aim to gain insight into how different media outlets interpreted Nancy Pelosi's Taiwan visit and portrayed it in the context of Taiwan's current situation. This comprehensive analysis will contribute to a nuanced understanding of the media landscape in Taiwan.

3.1. Timeframe

I narrowed down the period to 24 July and 7 August 2022. As a point of departure, I chose 24 July as my starting point for data collection because it was one week before Nancy Pelosi's Asia Tour started. From that date on, tensions between China, the USA, and Taiwan began to rise due to speculations about Pelosi's possible visit to Taiwan. I selected 7 August as the cut-off point because this was the day the Chinese military exercise around Taiwan ended. I can focus my analysis on the media's immediate response to Pelosi's visit by restricting the observation period to four days following the visit. I have noticed that with the end of China's military exercise around Taiwan, there has been a decline in news on Pelosi's visit.

I will gather materials in three distinct parts within the designated timeframe. The first part will include news coverage from one week prior to the beginning of Nancy Pelosi's Asian tour until the date that her visit to Taiwan was confirmed; this period spans 24 July to 1 August. During this period, uncertainty prevailed regarding Pelosi's potential visit to Taiwan. The following part will include the news coverage from when the Taiwanese authorities announced that Nancy Pelosi was coming to Taiwan until she departed from Taiwan: 2-3 August. Finally, the third part will focus on news coverage from Pelosi's departure from Taiwan to the end of the military exercise conducted by the Chinese army around Taiwan: 4-7 August. I aim to compare different media

outlets' attitudes concerning Pelosi's visit and delve into their nuanced perspectives articulated throughout this timeline.

3.2. Materials - Data Collection

I will examine newspaper articles from distinct Taiwanese newspapers. In order to compare different media outlets' attitudes to Nancy Pelosi's Taiwan visit, I chose United Daily News and Liberty Times. United Daily News and Liberty Times exhibit significant biases favoring the KMT and DPP, respectively. It is important to note that they are distinct entities from the actual political parties. I used the word Pelosi (裴洛西) as my search word. I scanned articles through search engines on Liberty Times and United Daily News webpages. I found 1334 articles from Liberty Times: 199 for the first period, 566 for the second period, and 569 for the third period. However, I only found 185 articles from United Daily News: 27 for the first period, 68 for the second period, and 90 for the third period.

Nevertheless, the coverage of Pelosi's Taiwan visit was brief in most of these articles, such as weekly reports, and thus irrelevant to my research. I also consulted a native speaker to eliminate less relevant articles. Additionally, I focused solely on textual content. Due to some articles solely featuring video content, audio content such as podcasts, or image content such as infographics and illustrated news, I omitted them. I did not specifically prioritize the analysis of images and graphics because that would require a completely different analytical approach. I will present the titles, author's name (if there is one), dates, and links to the articles I selected from United Daily News and Liberty Times under the Appendix. In order to gain full access to UDN articles, I had to subscribe. Otherwise, it is not possible to read some articles' full versions.

4. Summary of Nancy Pelosi's Taiwan Visit

The following summary of Nancy Pelosi's Taiwan visit serves as a critical backdrop to the subsequent discourse analysis and comparative study presented in this thesis. It highlights the unfolding events surrounding a pivotal moment in cross-strait relations and sets the stage for a deeper analysis of media representations and political implications.

While Pelosi's visit remained uncertain, Xi and Biden held an online meeting on 28 July 2022 that lasted more than two hours. Pelosi's possible visit to Taiwan just preceded the midterm

elections in the USA on 8 November 2022 and the 20th National Congress of the Communist Party to be held in China on 16 October 2022. The Chinese Ministry of Foreign Affairs announced that the PRC opposes this possible visit and said China would take strong countermeasures against this visit (UDN3). Chinese Ministry of Foreign Affairs asserted that Nancy Pelosi's visit challenged China's sovereignty and territorial integrity (UDN1). Xi Jinping stated that the domestic pressure was overwhelming, compelling him to take military action if this visit occurred; otherwise, there was no plausible way to explain it to the Chinese people (UDN3).

China reiterated a stance reminiscent of its warnings prior to the 1995 Taiwan crisis, issuing a stern warning to the United States that “Beijing will not sit idly by” (UDN4). In the face of these harsh statements from China, the U.S. Congress united across party lines to endorse Pelosi's planned visit to Taiwan. The U.S. Congress emphasized that the USA should not bow to China and affirmed that Pelosi's visit must occur. Pelosi's Taiwan visit has drawn widespread attention to cross-strait relations, reigniting international interest in the triangular dynamics involving the USA, China, and Taiwan.

Pelosi's private plane took a significant detour and deliberately avoided airspace over the South China Sea. 708,000 people tracked Pelosi's plane when it landed in Taipei, which is the most real-time flight tracking in history, according to Flightradar24. After Pelosi's plane arrived in Taiwan on the night of 2 August, China quickly announced the ban on hundreds of food products imported from Taiwan. Xinhua News Agency authorized the release of an announcement that the People's Liberation Army (PLA) would conduct military live-fire exercises in the waters around Taiwan from 4 August to 7 August. China started military exercises the day after Pelosi departed from Taiwan. The live firing exercise was a blockage of Taiwan. The military exercise area also contained Taiwan's territorial waters. Due to the PLA exercise around Taiwan, many flights were canceled, and many cargo ships had to change their route, which disrupted international sea and air transportation.

Pelosi visited the Legislative Yuan on 3 August at 9 a.m. She met with President Tsai Ing-wen at the presidential palace at 10:30 a.m. President Tsai awarded Pelosi a medal for her outstanding statesmanship and dedication to promoting friendly relations between Taiwan and the United States. Tsai also stated that the Taiwanese government and Taiwanese people admired Pelosi's dedication. Pelosi responded, “We will not give up on Taiwan”. Additionally Pelosi went

to the Jingmei Human Rights Cultural Park and met human rights defenders from Hong Kong, China, and Taiwan, such as Lee Ming-Che, Lam Wing-Kee, and Wu Er Kaixi. Her private plane took off at 6 p.m. and left Taiwan on 3 August.

This summary provides the essential details of Pelosi's visit, setting the stage for a deeper analysis of the media coverage and political implications in the subsequent sections. The following analysis will explore how Taiwanese media outlets with different political affiliations portrayed this visit and its broader impact on cross-strait relations.

5. The Run-up to Pelosi's Visit

Leading up to Nancy Pelosi's highly anticipated Taiwan visit, the discourse of United Daily News and Liberty Times took divergent paths, reflecting their unique perspectives on the visit's implications. UDN's focus on geopolitical tensions and potential risks contrasted with LTN's emphasis on bipartisan support and the visit's potential to strengthen U.S.-Taiwan relations. This section delves into the nuanced media portrayals and the constantly evolving narratives surrounding Pelosi's visit, providing a comprehensive view of the multifaceted dynamics shaping cross-strait relations.

5.1. Discourse Analysis of United Daily News

The 13 articles I examined for the first period consistently mentioned Pelosi's rugged personality, longstanding resistance to China, and her relationship with Beijing, which has long been bad (UDN1, UDN5). The articles also repeated the theme of her friendliness and pronounced support for Taiwan (UDN4, UDN6). They claimed she wanted to visit Taiwan because it was her last term in office. According to the paper, this possible visit resulted from the DPP's tricky operations in the USA, which were unnecessary because these activities probably would not benefit Taiwan (UDN8). The paper claims that some DPP officials and legislators actively engaged in internal propaganda regarding Pelosi's forthcoming visit (UDN11). While the articles stated that the pro-green views and DPP politicians supported this visit, they criticized Taiwanese authorities' low profile despite the escalating tension in cross-strait relations (UDN4, UDN8).

The articles predicted that Pelosi's visit to Taiwan would not occur (UDN3) after the Biden-Xi online meeting (UDN5). They underscored Biden's statement that the timing was inappropriate

for Pelosi's visit (UDN9), and the military was not keen on this visit (UDN1, UDN10). While the newspaper argued that the statements of the Chinese Ministry of Foreign Affairs and the PLA were too harsh (UDN9), widely mentioning these fierce statements and threats in the articles would cause readers to worry.

The articles frequently emphasize that Pelosi's expected visit could lead to the fourth Taiwan Strait crisis (UDN3). This event, they argue, touched a sensitive nerve. They claimed both political sides in Washington and Taipei seek to gain political benefits (UDN13). They further argued that Pelosi's Taiwan visit would primarily serve the interests of political parties, but there would be no national interests (UDN8). They also suggested that if Pelosi visits Taiwan, the mainland's foremost focus for implementing countermeasures will be Taiwan, not the USA. The papers argued that Taiwan would inevitably suffer losses regardless of the ultimate victory between the USA and China (UDN6).

The papers argued that because Taiwanese authorities would not be able to handle the situation correctly, the people of Taiwan would have to bear the bitter consequences (UDN11). They mentioned that geopolitical risks regarding this visit may affect the Taiwan stock market and that semiconductor chips will be under the spotlight. An article underscored the significance of TSMC, asserting that China's genuine concern lies not with Pelosi's itinerary but rather with ensuring access to semiconductor chips (UDN12). While articles stated that pro-green political groups actively advocated Pelosi's visit (UDN6), they did not address other political groups' stances directly.

The articles discussing Pelosi's potential visit to Taiwan reveal a distinct communication strategy through language and framing. During the uncertainty surrounding Pelosi's visit, the articles employ oppositional language, drawing parallels with other geopolitical tensions, such as the Russia-Ukraine conflict (UDN6). Phrases like "Pelosi is the reason for the tension" create a sense of opposition and blame, subtly framing the visit as a potential source of conflict and unrest. They imply that this visit would be unnecessary and non-beneficial for Taiwan by stressing that the USA's "One China Policy" has not changed (UDN5, UDN10). This strategy aims to influence readers' perceptions and provoke curiosity about the visit's implications by likening it to existing conflicts.

As Pelosi's visit becomes more certain, the tone of the reporting shifts towards more neutral language. This transition likely aims to present a balanced and objective view of the situation, avoiding sensationalism or bias. The articles shift from speculative language about potential outcomes to factual reporting on past events, such as Newt Gingrich's visit in 1997, providing historical context and framing her visit within a comparative framework. The articles selectively quote the statements of professors or well-known people who expressed negative opinions about this visit. A professor called on the Taiwan authorities to reject Pelosi's visit politely, which would be an outstanding achievement to preserve peace across the Taiwan Strait, thereby contributing to the improvement of relations between the two sides (UDN2), reinforcing the narrative of potential negative consequences and opposition to the visit. Additionally, references to Newt Gingrich's visit and its effects provide historical context and allow readers to draw parallels, potentially influencing opinions based on past events.

The articles highlight the potential economic consequences of Pelosi's visit by highlighting the possible impact on the Taiwan stock market and the semiconductor industry. They indirectly suggest that China's genuine concern lies with maintaining access to critical technology from Taiwan. This reframing shifts the focus away from the political visit towards economic interests, potentially piquing readers' interest. The articles claim that Pelosi is the reason for the tension and the one who provoked China for her political interests. They also reflect their dissatisfaction with Taiwanese authorities. Especially one of the headlines, “the opposition in Taiwan should unify to oppose Pelosi’s Taiwan visit”, implies reluctance or opposition towards Pelosi's upcoming visit. So, the papers’ discourse has an embedded acceptance of China’s claim about Taiwan. This underlying narrative subtly aligns with China's stance on Taiwan and reinforces the idea that Pelosi's visit could provoke unnecessary tension in the region.

5.2. Discourse Analysis of Liberty Times

The articles published before Pelosi arrived argued that the majority of Taiwanese people warmly embraced Pelosi’s visit (LTN6) and condemned China's threats to prevent her visit (LTN9). They argued that the free and democratic world need not fear dictatorial authority (LTN3). They labeled China’s attempts as barbaric and unreasonable and argued that Taiwan's friendship with its allies would never allow Chinese aggressors to interfere and coerce (LTN11). With the discussion of Pelosi's possible visit, Taiwan became an international issue (LTN13).

Both Democratic and Republican congress members stated in unison that Taiwan would not be left isolated and Pelosi's visit to Taiwan would fortify the U.S.-Taiwan relationship (LTN5). China's actions spurred bipartisan support in Congress for Pelosi's trip. Pelosi also invited various congress members for a joint visit to Taiwan, and congress members stated that China does not dictate who can go to Taiwan (LTN8).

If Pelosi goes to Taiwan, Chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff Mark Milley assured that the U.S. army will do everything to ensure Pelosi's safety (LTN4) and fully escort her Taiwan visit (LTN7). The articles extensively covered the U.S. military's preparation for her visit, and that the U.S. will not turn back on Taiwan. USS Ronald Reagan carrier strike group will accompany Pelosi's Asia tour (LTN12). The papers argued that the Taiwanese military would strengthen combat readiness against the CCP's military activities. Many articles mentioned America's military power and the U.S. military would accompany Pelosi if she visited Taiwan.

The articles argued that even though Chinese authorities made harsh statements, China would try to maintain stability as much as possible, and it is unlikely that a military conflict would happen on the eve of the Chinese Communist Party's 20th National Congress (LTN1). Former House of Representatives Speaker Newt Gingrich also supported Pelosi's visit to Taiwan, saying that China has no veto over U.S. officials and cowardice will lead to danger (LTN2). The DPP officials stated that the CCP's intimidation is rough and uncivilized behavior (LTN14), which shows that her visit to Taiwan is significant (LTN15). A former legislator said that China is afraid of Pelosi because Taiwan symbolizes freedom and democracy (LTN16). Even though many Taiwanese legislators and U.S. congress members expressed their thoughts, Taiwanese and U.S. officials maintained ultra-low-key on Pelosi's Taiwan visit (LTN17).

Even though there was news about some figures opposing Pelosi's Taiwan visit, such as Hu Xijin, former editor-in-chief of the Global Times, or Donald Trump, most of the news contained statements from those who supported this visit. There is much news that various legislators and political figures, such as Kuomintang Chairman Zhu Lilun and Former President Ma Ying-Jeou, welcomed Pelosi.

The Liberty Times articles had positive language about Pelosi's possible visit and never mentioned that this visit may cause a new cross-strait crisis. They consistently portrayed her as a supporter of democracy and human rights, a brave person, and the most influential woman in

American politics (LTN13). They use terms like “Iron Lady of the Congress” to describe her long-standing advocacy for Chinese human rights (LTN10). They portray a favorable image of Pelosi by positioning her visit as a significant milestone. This language elevates her status and signals support for her visit among readers. The articles highlight the positive reception of her visit among the Taiwanese people and condemn China's attempts to interfere and coerce. They show their stance against Chinese aggression and support for Taiwan's sovereignty by describing China's actions as “barbaric and unreasonable”. They frame Taiwan's friendship with its allies as a bulwark against Chinese aggression by depicting Taiwan as a democracy beacon in the face of authoritarian threats.

Liberty Times emphasized bipartisan support among U.S. Congress members for her visit by portraying it as strengthening the U.S.-Taiwan relationship. The articles contribute to a narrative of solidarity between the U.S. and Taiwan by referencing Congress members and statements from the Joint Chiefs of Staff Chairman regarding U.S. military support. This language bolsters confidence in the U.S.’s security assurances and reinforces the perception of U.S. military strength. The articles downplay the potential for a conflict, citing assurances from both U.S. and Taiwanese officials regarding stability and tension reduction. They seek to quell concerns about escalating cross-strait tensions by highlighting statements from former House Speaker Newt Gingrich and DPP legislators. This language aims to reassure readers about her visit's positive outcomes and downplay potential negative consequences.

Liberty Times's language reinforces support for Pelosi's visit and portrays it as a positive development for democracy and bilateral relations between the U.S. and Taiwan. The papers instill confidence in the visit's success and mitigate potential conflict or instability concerns by emphasizing the U.S. Congress members' bipartisan support and assurances of U.S. military protection. Through these communication strategies, the papers perpetuate the portrayal of Taiwan as democracy's steadfast defender against authoritarian threats while positioning her visit as a solidarity symbol between like-minded allies.

6. The Visit

As Nancy Pelosi's Taiwan visit unfolded, contrasting narratives continued to emerge in United Daily News and Liberty Times coverage, revealing divergent perspectives on its

implications. UDN's discourse highlighted concerns over escalating tensions and potential crises in cross-strait relations, reflecting apprehension and criticism towards the visit. In contrast, LTN emphasized overwhelming support for Pelosi among Taiwanese people and officials, portraying her visit as a symbol of solidarity and support for Taiwan's democratic values. This section delves into the nuanced media portrayals and public perceptions during Pelosi's visit, illustrating how different outlets framed and interpreted the significance of this diplomatic event.

6.1. Discourse Analysis of United Daily News

The 12 articles I reviewed mentioned extensively a cross-strait crisis. Most articles stated that although tensions rose before Pelosi's visit, the real crisis would begin after Pelosi left Taiwan. This discourse shows underlying disapproval of this visit. The article emphasized that although some people were excited about her visit, many were worried (UDN13). The articles said that even though the pro-green camp said everything was rosy in the garden, many threats were waiting for Taiwan. The articles also shed light on the protests in front of the Pelosi's hotel to stress the people's unrest. The articles argued that the Western mainstream media criticizes Pelosi's visit as "an extremely reckless, dangerous, and irresponsible move" (UDN24).

The articles stated that Taiwanese people were dissatisfied with the Tsai government's mismanagement, and the Tsai government was facing public backlash over rising prices, the housing crisis, and energy problems. The articles argued that Pelosi's Taiwan visit helped the Tsai's government to divert public dissatisfaction with its poor governance, and this event became a winning game only for the Tsai government but not for Taiwan because the headwinds of Pelosi's visit on both sides of the strait were about to begin (UDN21).

The papers underlined that Taiwan's young and robust population was mainly born after the 1990s, and they have little experience in cross-strait military threats in the past and lack judgment in the face of pressure. They accused DPP officials of playing with fire, which would lead to a self-immolation crisis for Taiwan (UDN22). Even though this was an international event during the DPP government's rule, the articles accused the DPP government of raising tension intentionally in the Taiwan Strait. This discourse demonstrates the anti-DPP stance of the United Daily News.

The visit touched a sensitive nerve in the trilateral relationship between the United States, China, and Taiwan (UDN18). The papers argued that because China cannot take it out on the USA,

it would put more pressure on Taiwan. They criticized the Tsai government for deliberately showing a low-key and passive posture (UDN24). They also highlighted concerns about domestic energy supplies, adding that once the coastal blockade lasts a long time, the security stock would no longer be available, which would significantly impact Taiwan's economy (UDN25).

While the news published before Pelosi arrived referred explicitly to the visit of Newt Gingrich, the news published during Pelosi's visit specifically mentioned the 1996 missile crisis (UDN21). They not only compared Newt Gingrich's and Pelosi's staying duration and activities in Taiwan but also compared the 1996 missile crisis and the possible fourth Taiwan Strait crisis.

The paper argued that Pelosi's Taiwan visit was "an unscripted dance show between China, Taiwan, and the USA" (UDN15). Another article concluded that neither America nor China intended to tear each other's faces off (UDN23). While the articles argued that Pelosi's visit intertwined with U.S. interests and domestic politics, they also speculated it was a move to attract American votes for the upcoming midterm elections. They also underlined that Pelosi's Taiwan visit correlated to the interests of the United States, not Taiwan's. They used unfavorable language for this visit, almost without mentioning any benefit or positive consequence on Taiwan.

The articles I have reviewed demonstrate an explicit use of language to convey specific viewpoints and shape reader perceptions. Even though the articles did not share any opinion directly, they had an alerting effect because of the excessive mention of tension and crisis. One prevalent strategy is portraying Pelosi's visit as unnecessary and potentially harmful to Taiwan's interests. For instance, phrases like "extremely reckless, dangerous, and irresponsible move" used by the Western mainstream media imply a robust opposing stance towards Pelosi's visit. This language undermines the perceived value or legitimacy of Pelosi's trip to Taiwan, suggesting that it may bring more harm than benefit. The articles highlight the Taiwanese people's dissatisfaction with the Tsai government's management and governance issues and explicitly criticize the administration for attempting to divert public attention from domestic problems, such as rising prices and the housing crisis. This portrayal reinforces that Pelosi's visit serves the DPP's political interests rather than addressing Taiwan's essentials. The statements imply the editorial's stance against the DPP government and Tsai authorities. While the articles express the discontent about how this visit would strengthen the Tsai government's hand, they were not entirely against Pelosi's

visit. However, they do not like that the Tsai government takes all the credit, so they mention her visits' possible adverse effects.

The articles repeatedly portray the visit as a potential trigger for heightened tension in cross-strait relations. They emphasize public unrest, threats from China, and a new cross-strait crisis, creating a sense of alarm and apprehension surrounding Pelosi's visit. Terms like “playing with fire” evoke imagery of risk and unpredictability, reinforcing that Pelosi's visit will negatively affect Taiwan. They deftly perpetuate the idea that the conflicting interests of the United States and China are weighing on Taiwan. They imply Taiwan's vulnerability by highlighting being sandwiched between the two powers under the Tsai government's passive posture. This language reinforces the narrative that Tsai government let external forces determine Taiwan's fate. The language used in the articles shapes reader perceptions by framing Pelosi's visit as unnecessary, politically motivated, and potentially harmful to Taiwan's interests. The discourse conveys a sense of mistrust and apprehension toward the visit through negative portrayals, alarmist language, and subtle criticisms of the government, ultimately contributing to a narrative of caution and concern.

6.2. Discourse Analysis of Liberty Times

The 18 articles I reviewed excessively stated that Taiwanese people welcome Pelosi. The articles never mentioned that this visit would cause a crisis in the Taiwan Strait. Even though some blue camp members had negative opinions about this visit (LTN22), the chief of the KMT caucus in the Legislative Yuan stated that the KMT stands with democracies (LTN31), and the KMT Chairman Zhu Lilun sincerely welcomed Pelosi's visit (LTN27). The KMT officials also severely condemned the PLA military exercise (LTN28). The papers argued that Tsai government's diplomacy was in the right direction because former President Ma Ying-jeou, the KMT chairman Zhu Lilun, and political figures from different views expressed their welcome (LTN20). The articles stressed that not only opposition groups gathered to protest against Pelosi but also pro-independence groups gathered and held up banners to welcome Pelosi (LTN23).

Pelosi's meeting with human rights and democracy activists at the National Museum of Human Rights referred to her support for human rights and democracy (LTN33). The editorials described Pelosi as Taiwan's true friend, fearless of the CCP's intimidation, a human rights fighter, and the most powerful woman in American political history. They also stressed that her Taiwan

visit would be beneficial and harmless to Taiwan: her visit to support Taiwan would strengthen the fight against China's annexation and help Taiwan more (LTN18). They argued that the Taiwanese would never bow their heads, and democratic Taiwan went one step further.

The articles argued that even though Pelosi's visit caught the Chinese people's attention, they were quite dissatisfied because Chinese threats failed to prevent Pelosi's visit and only resulted in a PLA exercise (LTN35). They claimed that Chinese officials get angry about her visit, while Taiwanese people remained calm (LTN21) under the president's leadership.

The articles highlighted various quotes from Taiwanese officials to imply this visit's importance, and China is the one which is increasing tension unnecessarily; the Ministry of Foreign Affairs said that including Taiwan in the itinerary demonstrates the "rock-solid" support of the United States for Taiwan (LTN24) and the Mainland Affairs Council condemned China's military intimidation and told the CCP to stop threatening and provoking immediately (LTN32). The articles claimed China's threats and military activities would only make the Taiwanese more united. Due to PLA activities, the Taiwanese army strengthened combat readiness (LTN19) and coordinated closely with the United States and other countries to avoid escalating the situation (LTN30). The officials also added that the Taiwan military has the absolute ability and confidence to shoulder the responsibility of defending its territory. The Taiwan army will also counter any action that infringes on Taiwan's national sovereignty (LTN34). The papers aim to let people feel safe and sound by stating these quotes from Taiwanese officials.

The articles argued that although China has banned hundreds of food products imported from Taiwan, prepared food exports only account for 0.1% of the total exports from Taiwan to China, which will not seriously impact Taiwan's economy (LTN25). The papers claimed that China's imports of Taiwan's electronic components have increased. China's manufacturing industry is far more dependent on Taiwan's chips from the perspective of trade amount (LTN26). The articles mostly expressed the DPP officials' supporting statements about Pelosi's visit and the CCP's unnecessary aggression. They evaluated this visit as the U.S. would stand with Taiwan (LTN29). They also underlined that her visit would help Taiwan strengthen its democracy and freedom.

Liberty Times discourse presents a consistent of overwhelming support for Pelosi's visit among Taiwanese people and officials. The articles emphasize her significance as a human rights

and democracy supporter, framing her visit as beneficial and harmless to Taiwan's interests. The articles' language elevates Pelosi's image and underscores her visit's positive impact by using phrases such as "Taiwan's faithful friend". Liberty Times perpetuates the narrative of solidarity between the United States and Taiwan by positioning Pelosi as a symbol of support for Taiwan's democratic values.

The articles highlight bipartisan support for Pelosi's visit, with KMT officials expressing solidarity with democracy and welcoming her arrival. This language reinforces bipartisan consensus on the importance of U.S.-Taiwan relations and downplays any potential divisions within Taiwanese politics. Liberty Times seeks to bolster confidence in Taiwan's ability to defend its sovereignty and resist external pressure by emphasizing unity against aggression. The articles dismiss Chinese attempts to prevent Pelosi's visit as ineffective and counterproductive, framing Taiwan's calm response as a testament to its resilience and determination. They reassure readers about Taiwan's security and stability by referencing Taiwanese officials' statements about Taiwan's readiness to defend its territory. This language projects an image of Taiwan as a steadfast defender of its sovereignty and democratic values in the face of external threats.

Liberty Times downplays the economic impact of China's retaliatory measures against Taiwan, citing statistics to underestimate the significance of banned food imports and emphasize Taiwan's importance in China's manufacturing and global supply chain. The articles seek to mitigate concerns about the potential consequences of Pelosi's visit to Taiwan's economy by highlighting Taiwan's economic resilience and the limited impact of Chinese sanctions. This language works to maintain a sense of confidence and optimism about Taiwan's prospects despite external challenges. Liberty Times' discourse reflects a strategic communication approach aimed at reinforcing support for Pelosi's visit and bolstering confidence in Taiwan's ability to navigate external pressures. Liberty Times seeks to project an image of Taiwan as a resilient and determined democracy standing firm against authoritarian threats through positive portrayals of Pelosi, bipartisan unity, and dismissive attitudes toward Chinese intimidation. This language aims to shape reader perceptions and promotes a narrative of solidarity, strength, and confidence in Taiwan's future.

7. The Aftermath

After Nancy Pelosi departed from Taiwan, divergent perspectives presented in the aftermath of her visit, as depicted in United Daily News and Liberty Times coverage. UDN's discourse predominantly focuses on the negative implications and aftermath of Pelosi's visit, emphasizing heightened tensions, economic concerns, and criticisms directed at both Pelosi and the Tsai government. In contrast, LTN highlights positive outcomes, such as strengthened unity among Taiwanese people, increased international support for Taiwan, and assertions of Taiwan's readiness to defend its sovereignty against external threats. This section delves into the divergent narratives presented by newspapers, offering insights into how Pelosi's visit continues to shape public discourse and perceptions in Taiwan.

7.1. Discourse Analysis of United Daily News

The articles that followed Pelosi's departure from Taiwan focused on the severe implications of her visit. They emphasized that her visit led to the fourth Taiwan Strait crisis, a situation not in Taiwan's best interest (UDN27). The statements, such as "Does Pelosi's Taiwan visit make Taiwan more dangerous or safer and does it made the Taiwanese economy better or worse?" implied that this visit could potentially harm Taiwan's economy and make the region unstable and perilous for Taiwan. The paper asserted that the foundation for peace and stability had been shattered (UDN34). Another paper also criticized the DPP officials for failure to produce practical solutions to solve the problem (UDN30).

An article claimed that Pelosi's Taiwan visit was selfish because 23 million Taiwanese had to deal with the cost of Pelosi's Taiwan visit (UDN26). Another article argued that she left behind the fourth Taiwan Strait crisis after she got her historical reputation for not being afraid of the CCP's threats (UDN27). The article criticized Taiwan's Ministry of National Defense's statement regarding PLA missiles passing over Taiwan that "these missiles did not enter Taiwanese airspace" as a self-deception and ostrich mentality. (UDN34).

The articles were scathing in their criticism of the Tsai government, accusing it of not having a set of scripts for the increasing tension. They claimed that even though Tsai Ing-Wen shouted all day and night to China, she did nothing, and the Tsai government prepared for nothing (UDN35). They also criticized Tsai Ing-Wen's attendance at the "2022 Taiwan Food Exhibition,"

when Taiwanese people faced live military exercises and cyber-attacks (UDN36). They stated that eight countries had severed diplomatic relations with Taiwan since Tsai Ing-Wen took office (UDN38). Thus, Tsai Ing-Wen's administration is incompetent. They argued that the number of Taiwan's friends dropped to a record low of 14, and DPP officials are losing the diplomatic capital left by the Kuomintang in the first years (UDN38).

The papers argued that the CCP's economic sanctions on Taiwan would also make life difficult for the Taiwanese (UDN28). They claimed that the search for disaster prevention supplies also doubled due to the increasing tension and military exercises (UDN33). They implied that the Taiwanese were worried about the live-firing PLA exercises. The newspapers argued that the USA had an empty guarantee for Taiwan because even though Pelosi supported Taiwan, she also stated that the USA does not contradict the One China Policy. They criticized Pelosi's stance and commitment to democracy as fragile and unreliable. They also argued that in addition to supporting Taiwan verbally, the USA should take more concrete and practical actions to support Taiwan. They described Pelosi's Taiwan visit as "a political show" (UDN28) by portraying the USA and Pelosi as unreliable and untrustworthy.

The articles expected Pelosi's visit and the CCP's counteractions to impact the 2022 local elections. They argued that the DPP increased the tension in the Taiwan Strait with its wrong policies and then brainwashed Taiwanese people by using the CCP's reactions and other international issues as election material. They criticized the DPP for not being able to put forward ideas about the municipal vision and not being able to bring a better life to the citizens (UDN38). The paper argued that Pelosi's visit helped the DPP with its longstanding anti-China campaign, and the DPP could not unite the Taiwanese people (UDN31). They expressed that the US provoked China to create tension, and the DPP will use it to win the elections (UDN32). They argued that many young people in Taiwan are unfamiliar with Pelosi and show little interest in political issues (UDN32). They claimed the DPP officials conducted cognitive warfare against the Taiwanese people by shifting all the responsibility to the CCP. They argued that whenever there was the slightest unfavorable remark against the government, the DPP cyber army would immediately come forward and defend the DPP (UDN37).

The articles following Pelosi's departure from Taiwan exhibit a strong narrative of criticism and disapproval towards her visit, as well as towards the Tsai government and the DPP. They

convey a sense of alarm and skepticism regarding the visit's consequences for Taiwan through language. The articles discourse dire outcomes and suggest that the visit exacerbated tensions rather than promoting stability. This language underscores her visit's negative impact on Taiwan's security and well-being. The articles accuse Pelosi of selfishness because she left behind a crisis and also added that her visit burdened the Taiwanese. They used terms like “self-deception” and “ostrich mentality” to criticize the Taiwan Ministry of National Defense's response. They implied Taiwanese authorities' incompetence and negligence. This language reinforces the narrative of Pelosi's visit as a catalyst for crisis and instability while also questioning the effectiveness of Tsai government's leadership in managing the situation.

The articles blame the Tsai government for its failures in governance and diplomacy. The articles' criticisms range from accusations of incompetence in handling the crisis to neglecting domestic issues, such as rising prices and diplomatic isolation in the international arena. These highlight the government's shortcomings, implying that the Taiwanese lack confidence in the authorities' ability to address Taiwan's challenges effectively. The articles contribute to a narrative of distrust and disillusionment with the current administration by using terms like “incompetent administration” and “ignoring reality and brainwashing people”. They accused the DPP of manipulating and exploiting Taiwanese people by “protecting Taiwan” and “resisting CCP” discourses for its political interests. The papers' accusations of using the crisis for election material and conducting cognitive warfare against Taiwanese people imply a cynical view of the party's motives and methods. This language undermines the DPP's credibility and portrays the DPP as opportunistic and untrustworthy. The papers' general discourse against the DPP draws a picture of deception and manipulation, reinforcing the narrative of skepticism towards the party's actions and intentions. The language used in these articles reflects a critical and distrustful stance towards Pelosi's visit, the Tsai government, and the DPP. The papers do not directly support the KMT but accuse and portray the DPP poorly. They convey a sense of alarm and skepticism regarding the visit's consequences for Taiwan's security, stability, and governance through accusations of selfishness, incompetence, and manipulation. This language shapes reader perceptions and reinforces a narrative of crisis and uncertainty surrounding Pelosi's visit and its aftermath.

7.2. Discourse Analysis of Liberty Times

The post-departure articles highlighted the positive impacts of Pelosi's visit. They stated that this visit united the Taiwanese people (LTN37) and helped Taiwan gain international support against the CCP's intimidations. They argued that Pelosi's visit did not negatively impact Taiwanese people's daily life, so there is no need to see it as a crisis. Tsai Ing-Wen reassured that the government is fully prepared to defend sovereignty and will never back down (LTN46). Tsai Ing-Wen said that Taiwan does not seek war but is ready for the worst. The papers argue that Nancy Pelosi and Tsai Ing-wen have become global political figures (LTN49).

The papers claimed many Chinese people were disappointed because China's "red line" had repeatedly retreated. The G7 foreign ministers' joint statement expressed concern about the CCP's military exercises and called for international support for Taiwan (LTN38). The papers portrayed the CCP's military activities as a threat to the status quo in the Taiwan Strait, regional peace, and stability (LTN40). They stressed that military exercise also threatens the world economy because it blocks international flight and shipping lanes (LTN45).

The article reiterated Taiwan's preparedness to defend its national sovereignty and respond decisively to any infringement on Taiwan's territory (LTN36). They aimed to comfort the Taiwanese with a positive language tone, quoting officials' statements like "The public should not worry; Taiwan will respond appropriately" (LTN39) and "The government will firmly defend national sovereignty and security" (LTN40). The papers intended to instill a sense of security and confidence in the readers by reiterating Taiwan's preparedness.

The papers claimed that CCP's military intimidation caused the two sides of the strait to drift apart (LTN38). They stressed that the CCP not only conducted military exercises but also conducted cognitive warfare against Taiwan (LTN50). They stated that the Taiwanese want cross-strait peace but will resist the CCP and protect Taiwan (LTN43). They argued that Taiwan's young generation has a firmer will to fight (LTN48). They described that the CCP aimed to cause panic in Taiwanese society (LTN41). Because of that, the CCP has repeatedly intimidated and harassed Taiwan (LTN44). The papers also repeatedly highlighted the international support to reassure the Taiwanese. They claimed that Pelosi had pushed Taiwan to new international heights (LTN42).

The articles strongly emphasized international support for Taiwan, underscoring that Taiwan is not alone. They praised Pelosi and her visit and commended the Tsai government and its policies. They implied that the Tsai government is fully prepared for any situation, which shows the support for the Tsai government and the DPP. They portrayed Pelosi's visit as a win-win situation for Taiwan, expanding Taiwan's international space and exposing the CCP's arrogance.

Liberty Times' discourse consistently emphasizes this visit's positive impacts and Taiwan's resilience against external threats. The articles depict this visit as a unifying force for Taiwanese people and highlight the international support garnered against CCP's intimidations. This language reinforces the narrative of Taiwan's solidarity and resilience in the face of external pressures. This portrayal bolsters confidence in Taiwan's ability to defend its sovereignty and resist the CCP's aggression. Liberty Times repeatedly underscores Taiwan's preparedness to defend its national sovereignty and respond decisively to threats. Statements from Taiwanese officials reassuring the public and affirming the government's commitment to defending national sovereignty are strategically employed to instill a sense of security and confidence among readers.

Statements such as "cognitive warfare against Taiwan" portray the CCP's actions as divisive and harmful to regional stability. The papers framed this visit as a significant milestone in Taiwan's international engagement, elevating Taiwan's profile on the global stage and garnering attention. Liberty Times depicted the Taiwanese government, particularly under Tsai Ing-Wen's leadership, as fully prepared to defend its sovereignty and respond decisively to any threats. This emphasis on international support and recognition validates Taiwan's position in the global political landscape and reinforces its status as a key player in regional affairs.

Liberty Times' discourse adopts a positive and affirming tone toward Pelosi's visit and Taiwan's response to external pressures. The articles seek to bolster confidence in Taiwan's resilience through strategic language use, project an image of strength and determination, and highlight Taiwan's international significance. This narrative serves to reinforce Taiwan's position as a democratic stronghold in the face of authoritarian threats and promote a sense of unity and solidarity among Taiwanese people.

This comparative analysis aimed to the scholarly understanding of how media framing and discourse shape public perceptions and political attitudes in Taiwan. By highlighting the ideological underpinnings embedded in media representations, this study underscores the role of

media in constructing and contesting national narratives. The findings suggest that media outlets actively participate in potentially shaping public discourse, influencing policy debates, and framing public understanding of complex geopolitical issues.

8. Discussion-Comparative Analysis: Identifying Cross-Cutting Themes and Variance

United Daily (UDN) and Liberty Times (LTN) offer divergent interpretations of Nancy Pelosi's Taiwan visit, revealing contrasting perspectives on its implications for the country. However, a notable cross-cutting theme is the framing of Pelosi's visit as a significant event impacting Taiwan's geopolitical landscape. UDN and LTN recognize the visit's implications for U.S.-Taiwan relations and its potential repercussions on cross-strait tensions. Nevertheless, they diverge in their interpretations and emphasis on these implications.

The divergent portrayals of Pelosi's Taiwan visit underscore the theoretical concept of framing articulated by Goffman (1974) and Gitlin (1980). UDN tends to portray Pelosi's visit as a threat to Taiwan's economic and political stability, emphasizing potential negative outcomes such as economic sanctions and heightened tensions with China. In contrast, LTN presents the visit as a positive development, framing it as a milestone for U.S.-Taiwan relations and highlighting international support for Taiwan's sovereignty. UDN emphasizes the negative impact on the Taiwan stock exchange. In contrast, LTN highlights the losses in the Chinese and Hong Kong stock exchanges, pointing out that the losses were comparatively minor in the Taiwan stock market. While UDN stressed the adverse economic consequences of sanctions on Taiwan, LTN underestimated the sanctions by highlighting China's reliance on Taiwanese chips that is a soft power of Taiwan.

Language usage also varies between UDN and LTN, reflecting their distinct editorial stances and rhetorical strategies. UDN employs more alarmist and confrontational language, framing Pelosi's visit and its aftermath in terms of crisis and conflict. This language choice contributes to a sense of urgency and heightens readers' perceptions of the risks posed by the visit. On the other hand, LTN adopts a more optimistic and diplomatic tone, emphasizing cooperation and support for Taiwan amidst geopolitical challenges. This difference in language reflects each newspaper's editorial agenda and shapes readers' perceptions of the issues at hand.

UDN primarily features critical views from academics and individuals opposed to the visit, while LTN offers a portrayal by presenting views predominantly in favor of but also against this visit. UDN and LTN attribute the escalating cross-strait tensions to different factors. UDN points to Pelosi and the Tsai government's actions, while LTN blames China's behavior, portraying Taiwan as calm and resolute. UDN's focus on China's military power and exercises near Taiwan contrasts LTN's shift of focus to news about the U.S. army. Regarding domestic politics, UDN criticizes the policies of the Tsai government and the Democratic Progressive Party (DPP), contrasting with LTN, defends their correctness, citing positive remarks from Kuomintang (KMT) legislators and mayors. UDN highlights protesters against Pelosi's visit, while LTN presents the existence of opposing and supporting groups.

UDN questions the reliability of U.S. support, while LTN portrays it as steadfast. LTN also highlights international support for Taiwan, particularly Germany, Europe, and other countries, a point that UDN slightly mentions. UDN employs the term "crisis" to describe Pelosi's visit, whereas LTN avoids such language, instead characterizing China's actions as inconsistent and Taiwan's response as calm and steadfast. While UDN suggests that China's military activities induce fear and anxiety among Taiwanese people, LTN contends that these activities foster resilience and calmness within the Taiwanese populace.

The internal language structures within UDN and LTN reflect broader political discourse patterns in Taiwan. UDN tends to align with conservative viewpoints, framing Pelosi's visit and its implications through skepticism and caution towards U.S. involvement in Taiwan affairs. In contrast, LTN adopts a more progressive and pro-Taiwan stance, emphasizing Taiwan's agency and resilience in navigating geopolitical challenges. These internal language structures shape the discourse surrounding Taiwan's relationship with China and the United States, potentially influencing public perceptions and political attitudes.

9. Conclusion

I compared the Taiwanese media outlets United Daily News and Liberty Times, which are generally known for their affiliation with the KMT and the DPP, respectively. These media outlets' news are biased in a favorable way for their supported party. I used the discourse analysis method to investigate how each media outlet constructed its own narratives or its own communicating

perspectives. I analyzed texts by considering these media outlets' accepted stances and their way of portraying their own arguments. My analysis centered on how these media outlets' accepted stances shaped their discourse and their portrayal of Nancy Pelosi's Taiwan visit. In this direction, my thesis aimed to find answers to my research question: *How do the United Daily News and Liberty Times evaluate Nancy Pelosi's Taiwan Visit on 2-3 August 2022, and how do the portrayals of these two media outlets align with political parties' stance against this visit?*

As I pointed out in my analysis, United Daily presented a more distant and critical stance toward this visit by framing its arguments with the notions of a threat to Taiwan, a new cross-strait crisis, and the DPP government's mismanagement. While United Daily defended Taiwan's democracy and sovereignty against the PRC's threats, sanctions, or military activities in its reporting, the unfavorable language toward Pelosi's visit and the Tsai government employed by the United Daily has the same deeper meanings as the PRC's statements. While KMT Chairman Zhu Lilun, former Chairman Ma Ying-Jeou, and other KMT lawmakers warmly embraced Pelosi's visit, United Daily criticized it by producing news that was contrary to the KMT's official stance. Thus, it is possible to conclude that United Daily does not blindly follow the KMT. It shows us that United Daily editors reflect their own stance by adding their own thoughts in their reporting, which may contradict the KMT's official stance. However, the United Daily's portrayals sometimes imply an embedded pre-acceptance of some PRC claims.

Unlike United Daily, Liberty Times presented a positive, advocative stance toward this occasion by framing its arguments with the concept of an opportunity for Taiwan's democracy and sovereignty, a determined stance against outside threats, and garnering international support. Liberty Times' arguments, such as that China's threats are groundless, Pelosi's visit will be beneficial to Taiwan, and the Tsai administration governs very successfully, are almost entirely parallel to the DPP's statements. Although Liberty Times's reporting portrays events as predominantly favoring the DPP, it has also reported events that seem to be unfavorable for the DPP but by using a softer language compared to UDN. Thus, it is possible to conclude that Liberty Times does not only present one-sided news. Although most of it advocates the Tsai government and the DPP, it has a variety of articles, as is evident from the number of news stories related to Pelosi's visit. It shows us that Liberty Times editorials present news from various sources.

Both media outlets exhibited an exaggerated or speculative discourse about Pelosi's visit. United Daily exaggerated China's threats and the possibility of a new cross-strait crisis, while Liberty Times downplayed these arguments. In contrast, Liberty Times exaggerated Taiwan's achievements while United Daily downplayed these arguments. Each media outlet also distracted reader with speculations. They also referred to other people's views to support their exaggerated arguments and speculations, depending on their own stance. Rather than serving as objective news reports, these media outlets function more as an echo for entrenched political perspectives. While both of them blame each other for not displaying the events objectively, they just turn into what they blamed. By acting like this, both media outlets exhibited a role by maintaining their stance on national identity and cross-strait relations. United Daily and Liberty Times both potentially naturalize their ideologies and make subtle appeals for public acceptance of their political positions. As Fairclough argued, media discourse has the power to shape public opinion and to make the public unquestionably accept their ideologies. Although their discourse has differences, they support the democracy and freedom of Taiwan. They do not accept the CCP's threats or claims over Taiwan.

This media polarization raises concerns about the health of Taiwan's democratic media system. While media diversity and freedom of expression are vital components of a healthy democracy, the entrenched biases observed in UDN and LTN suggest a deepening political polarization within Taiwanese society. Such polarization can limit public access to balanced information and foster echo chambers. This, in turn, can hinder the media's role in promoting critical thinking and informed debate, as it reinforces existing political beliefs.

This visit is an important occasion because the relation between Taiwan and the U.S. is limited and especially the high level visits across the countries are so rare. I want to remind that my analysis has limitations and is based on my interpretation of the news reports I selected. The discourse of the media outlets in their other news reports may have differences from my results. Also, these media outlets are not the official news channels of the political parties. Thus, they do not have to align with the political parties or represent them. To gain a better understanding of this visit, it's imperative to widen the analysis to encompass a broader spectrum, incorporating not only news outlets but also video, audio, image contents.

This thesis analyzes how Taiwanese media outlets portrayed Nancy Pelosi's Taiwan visit. By employing discourse analysis, it reveals the media's role in shaping public opinion and political attitudes amidst significant geopolitical events. This study underscores the complexities of media bias and the importance of understanding how different narratives influence perceptions of national identity and cross-strait relations. The insights gained from this analysis contribute to a deeper comprehension of Taiwan's media landscape and its impact on democracy. Ultimately, this thesis demonstrates the crucial role of media in political discourse, highlighting the necessity of critically engaging with media representations to better understand their broader implications on society.

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Appendix

United Daily News

Abbr.	Date	Title	Author
UDN1	7/25/22	<u>裴洛西能否訪台 端視美中角力結果</u> Whether Pelosi visits Taiwan depends on the outcome of the U.S.-China power struggle	陳一新
UDN2	7/28/22	<u>在野勢力應聯合反對裴洛西訪台</u> The opposition forces should unite to oppose Pelosi's Taiwan visit	湯紹成
UDN3	7/28/22	<u>裴洛西訪台成桌上籌碼 拜習通話將如何過招？</u> Pelosi's visit to Taiwan becomes a bargaining chip. How will Biden and Xi strategize in their call?	郭崇倫
UDN4	7/29/22	<u>親綠政論節目勸進裴洛西「硬氣訪台」為何蔡政府卻刻意低調？</u> The pro-Green political program encourages Pelosi's "firm visit to Taiwan," so why does the Tsai government deliberately keep a low profile?	陳舜協
UDN5	7/29/22	<u>拜習通話後裴洛西不來了？蘇起：輿論轉向 美中應已達成默契</u> After the Xi-Biden call, is Pelosi not coming? Su Chi: The public opinion has shifted, the US and China should have reached a tacit understanding	黃國樑
UDN6	7/30/22	<u>裴洛西訪台恐掀危機 蘇院長這次不拿掃把跟老共拚了</u> Pelosi's Taiwan visit may trigger a crisis; Su won't use a broom to fight the Communists this time	范凌嘉
UDN7	7/30/22	<u>北京再提「絕不坐視不管」 反制裴洛西訪台不會輕輕放下</u> Beijing reiterates 'we will never sit idly by', countermeasures against Pelosi's visit to Taiwan will not be taken lightly	黃國樑
UDN8	7/31/22	<u>台灣邀訪裴洛西小心玩火自焚 恐成美中關係絆腳石</u> Taiwan invites Pelosi should be caution; playing with fire could backfire, potentially becoming a stumbling block in U.S.-China relations	高凌雲
UDN9	8/1/22	<u>裴洛西出訪中共軍事威脅可能性低 為何習近平不會趁機動武？</u> Pelosi's visit poses a low risk of military threat from the CCP. Why wouldn't Xi Jinping take this opportunity to use force?	郭崇倫
UDN10	8/2/22	<u>美指裴洛西訪台非改變現狀 籲陸勿藉口在台海軍事行動</u> The U.S. stated that Pelosi's visit to Taiwan does not change the status quo and urged China not to use it as an excuse for military actions in the Taiwan Strait	凌珮君
UDN11	8/2/22	<u>民進黨想藉裴洛西增進台美關係 卻恐讓人民承擔苦果</u> The DPP wants to improve Taiwan-U.S. relations through Pelosi, but it may make the people bear the bitter consequences	林修全

UDN12	8/2/22	<u>比起裴洛西訪台 切斷北京晶片供應恐更易誘發台海戰爭</u> Compared to Pelosi's Taiwan visit, cutting off the supply of chips to Beijing is more likely to trigger a conflict in the Taiwan Strait	田思怡
UDN13	8/2/22	<u>航路特意改走東海岸外？美中台軍事部署各有玄機</u> Did the flight route deliberately bypass the east coast? The military deployments of the U.S., China, and Taiwan each have their own intricacies	程嘉文
UDN14	8/3/22	<u>危機都在訪問後才開始 中共軍演形同鎖台 就怕擦槍走火</u> The crisis only began after the visit. The CCP's military exercises are akin to blockading Taiwan, fearing an accidental discharge	熊迺祺
UDN15	8/3/22	<u>裴洛西訪台：風雲變色的美中台關係·中國攻打台灣不遠矣？</u> Pelosi's Taiwan Visit: Dramatic Changes in U.S.-China-Taiwan Relations, Is China's Attack on Taiwan Imminent?	林秉宥
UDN16	8/3/22	<u>共軍宣布圍台軍演 網怒拿台灣出氣：民航機跟漁民怎麼辦？</u> The Chinese military announces military exercises surrounding Taiwan, sparking public anger: 'What will happen to civilian aircraft and fishermen?'	
UDN17	8/3/22	<u>北京以中美大局優先 無法對美發火恐只對台灣出氣</u> Beijing prioritizes overall China-U.S. relations, unable to take it out on the U.S., may vent its anger only on Taiwan	郭崇倫
UDN18	8/3/22	<u>共軍封鎖台灣軍演 國防部：加強戒備適切應對</u> PLA Blockades Taiwan Military Exercises; Ministry of National Defense: Strengthening Vigilance and Responding Appropriately	凌珮君
UDN19	8/3/22	<u>「裴洛西治好 14 億人的精神內耗」一夜炸鍋的中國輿論怎麼了？</u> "Pelosi cured the mental exhaustion of 1.4 billion people" What happened to Chinese public opinion overnight?	
UDN20	8/3/22	<u>飛彈來襲怎麼辦？萬安演習才教大家怎麼避難</u> What to do if there is a missile attack? The Wan'an drill just taught everyone how to take shelter	劉明岩
UDN21	8/3/22	<u>裴洛西旋風即將結束 兩岸的逆風才正要開始</u> Pelosi's whirlwind visit is about to end, but the headwinds for cross-strait relations are just beginning	王茂臻
UDN22	8/3/22	<u>中共軍演時機巧妙 表面鎖台威嚇 實則對內滅火維穩</u> The timing of the CCP's military exercises is clever. On the surface, it appears to intimidate Taiwan, but in reality, it is aimed at quelling internal unrest and maintaining stability	高凌雲
UDN23	8/3/22	<u>中共環台軍演威懾能收效？幾點看出美中還不想撕破臉</u> Can the CCP's military exercises around Taiwan achieve deterrence? Several points indicate that the U.S. and China still do not want to sever ties	程嘉文
UDN24	8/3/22	<u>中共炸鍋「鎖台」軍演 蔡政府是感受到壓力或助力？</u> Amid the CCP's outcry over the 'blockade of Taiwan' military exercises, is the Tsai government feeling pressure or gaining support?	周佑政
UDN25	8/3/22	<u>經貿懲罰變金融戰？學者示警陸籌碼較多 恐影響我加入 CPTPP</u> Economic and Trade Sanctions Turning into a Financial War? Scholars Warn that China Has More Leverage, Which Could Affect Taiwan's Bid to Join the CPTPP	巫其倫、

			戴瑞瑤
UDN26	8/4/22	<u>第 4 次台海危機 對台灣是危險且嚴重的警訊</u> The Fourth Taiwan Strait Crisis is a dangerous and serious warning for Taiwan	林新輝
UDN27	8/4/22	<u>裴洛西自遠方來 挑動美中台敏感神經 誰不亦樂乎？</u> Pelosi comes from afar, stirring the sensitive nerves of the U.S., China, and Taiwan. Who wouldn't be delighted?	陳舜協
UDN28	8/4/22	<u>兩岸關係非鍵盤口水戰 中共的經濟制裁 從台積看台灣擋得住嗎？</u> The cross-strait relationship is not just keyboard warriors' banter. Can Taiwan withstand the economic sanctions from the Chinese Communist Party?	應翠梅
UDN29	8/4/22	<u>選情衝擊要看中共玩多久 藍估「親美愛台」減分降至最低</u> The impact on the election depends on how long the CCP plays its game. The blue camp estimates that the score for "pro-America, love Taiwan" will be reduced to the minimum	李光儀
UDN30	8/4/22	<u>中共軍演助攻民進黨選情？ 綠憂對年輕人效益遞減</u> The CCP's military exercises assist the DPP's election prospects? The DPP worries about decreasing effectiveness among young people	陳舜協
UDN31	8/5/22	<u>藍綠現在才開始「抗中保台」選舉攻防 行得通嗎？</u> Are the Blue and Green camps only now starting the 'Resist China, Protect Taiwan' election offensive?	周佑政
UDN32	8/5/22	<u>裴洛西點燃一把火 民進黨又能向年輕人賣「芒果乾」？</u> Pelosi ignited a fire, can the DPP once again sell 'dried mango' (a sense of national crisis) to the youth?	唐秀麗
UDN33	8/5/22	<u>網購防災用品搜尋翻倍 「避難包」準備、檢查須知必看</u> Online Shopping for Disaster Preparedness Supplies Doubles: Essential Tips for Preparing and Checking 'Emergency Kits	陳立儀
UDN34	8/5/22	<u>中共演習只是前菜？學者憂我領空失守、外交官制裁擴大</u> Are the CCP's drills just an appetizer? Scholars worry about the loss of our airspace and the expansion of sanctions against diplomats	黃國樑
UDN35	8/6/22	<u>中共文攻武嚇 蔡政府將台海危機「升級」為國際危機</u> The CCP's verbal and military intimidation: Tsai government "escalates" the Taiwan Strait crisis into an international crisis.	周佑政
UDN36	8/6/22	<u>共軍演習前方吃緊 蔡總統仍有閒情「後方緊吃」赴美食展</u> While the PLA exercises are tense at the front, President Tsai still has the leisure to attend a food exhibition	李承宇
UDN37	8/7/22	<u>陸對台認知作戰 民進黨也對人民洗腦</u> China's cognitive warfare against Taiwan, the DPP also brainwashes the people	林修全
UDN38	8/7/22	<u>民進黨地方選戰扯國際事務打高空 但選民有這麼好騙嗎？</u> The DPP uses international affairs to play high-level politics in local elections, but are voters really so easily deceived?	何祥裕

Liberty Times

Abbr.	Date	Title Chinese	Author
LTN1	7/26/22	<u>中國嗆聲反制...專家：軍事衝突不太可能</u> China threatens retaliation... Experts: Military conflict unlikely	孫宇青
LTN2	7/27/22	<u>挺裴洛西訪台 金瑞契：膽怯才會招致危險</u> Supporting Pelosi's Taiwan Visit, Gingrich: Cowardice Will Lead to Danger	孫宇青
LTN3	7/27/22	<u>熱烈歡迎裴洛西訪台，自由民主世界無須受獨裁政權威嚇！</u> Warmly welcome Pelosi's Taiwan visit; the free and democratic world does not need to be intimidated by authoritarian regimes!	邱志偉
LTN4	7/28/22	<u>訪台若成行 / 美參謀首長密利：窮盡一切保護裴洛西</u> If the Taiwan visit takes place / U.S. Joint Chiefs Chairman Milley: We will do everything to protect Pelosi"	管淑平
LTN5	7/28/22	<u>裴洛西邀兩黨議員同訪台 國會領袖齊讚聲：不讓台灣孤立</u> Pelosi invites bipartisan legislators to visit Taiwan together. Congressional leaders praise: 'We will not let Taiwan be isolated	管淑平
LTN6	7/28/22	<u>台灣本土社團歡迎裴洛西訪台 嚴厲譴責中國及彭蔭剛阻擋</u> Taiwanese local groups welcome Pelosi's Taiwan visit, strongly condemn China and Peng Yigang's obstruction	陳鈺馥
LTN7	7/28/22	<u>美軍全力護航裴洛西訪台 趙天麟：正是民主可貴之處</u> The U.S. military fully escorts Pelosi's Taiwan visit; Chao Tien-lin: This is precisely the value of democracy	陳政宇
LTN8	7/29/22	<u>美議員接連證實 裴洛西邀聯袂訪台</u> US lawmakers consecutively confirm Pelosi's invitation to jointly visit Taiwan	陳成良
LTN9	7/29/22	<u>台派社團：譴責中國威脅裴洛西訪台</u> The pro-Taiwan groups condemn China's threats regarding Pelosi's Taiwan visit	陳鈺馥
LTN10	7/29/22	<u>國會鐵娘子裴洛西訪台將創職涯巔峰 曾在天安門拉布條抗中</u> Congresswoman Iron Lady Pelosi's Taiwan visit will mark the peak of her career; she once held a banner in Tiananmen protesting against China	楊芙宜
LTN11	7/29/22	<u>台灣基進：竭誠歡迎「不與恐怖份子談判」的裴洛西訪台</u> The Taiwan Statebuilding Party sincerely welcomes Pelosi's visit to Taiwan, emphasizing "we do not negotiate with terrorizers"	葛祐豪
LTN12	7/31/22	<u>裴洛西亞洲行美中互槓！雷根號駛入菲律賓海 共軍「萬噸大驅」實彈射擊</u> Pelosi's Asia trip causes a U.S.-China standoff! The USS Reagan enters the Philippine Sea as the Chinese military conducts live-fire exercises with a 10,000-ton destroyer	陳成良
LTN13	8/1/22	<u>從裴洛西訪台與否看台灣問題「國際化」</u> Examining the Internationalization of the Taiwan Issue through Pelosi's Visit	黃大益

LTN14	8/1/22	<u>中共恫嚇裴洛西訪台 林靜儀：粗暴、不文明的行為</u> The CCP intimidates Pelosi's Taiwan visit. Lin Ching-yi: 'Rough and uncivilized behavior'	謝君臨
LTN15	8/1/22	<u>25年來首次美國現任議長訪台？王定宇：意義無比重大</u> First visit to Taiwan by a sitting U.S. Speaker of the House in 25 years? Wang Ting-yu: The significance is immense	謝君臨
LTN16	8/1/22	<u>中國為何怕裴洛西？陳柏惟：發現「台灣牌」在民主國家的大用</u> Why is China Afraid of Pelosi? Chen Po-wei: Discovering the Great Use of the 'Taiwan Card' in Democratic Countries	
LTN17	8/1/22	<u>台美官方對裴洛西訪台超低調 立委：為不讓中國顏面受創！</u> Taiwanese and American officials are extremely low-key about Pelosi's visit to Taiwan. Legislator: To avoid embarrassing China!	陳鈺馥
LTN18	8/2/22	<u>歡迎裴洛西議長 和民主台灣站一起</u> Welcome Speaker Pelosi and stand together with democratic Taiwan	
LTN19	8/2/22	<u>軍方今起3天強化戰備 增派8架幻象戰機進駐台東、提高艦艇巡弋密度</u> The military will strengthen combat readiness for the next three days, deploying 8 Mirage fighter jets to Taitung and increasing the density of naval patrols	羅添斌
LTN20	8/2/22	<u>馬、朱都歡迎 綠委：證明蔡英文外交路線正確</u> Green Legislators say Ma and Chu Both Welcome Pelosi which proves Tsai Ing-wen's Diplomatic Approach Correct	陳政宇
LTN21	8/2/22	<u>裴洛西訪台灣－國際轟動，中國氣炸，台灣冷靜、熱忱交相！</u> Pelosi's Taiwan visit — International sensation, China enraged, Taiwan calm and enthusiastic!	胡文輝
LTN22	8/2/22	<u>藍營意見分歧 陳時中：要對國家有信心</u> The Blue Camp is divided; Chen Shih-chung: "We must have confidence in our country"	楊心慧
LTN23	8/2/22	<u>對陣白狼！獨派歡迎裴洛西：台灣拒絕恫嚇威脅</u> Facing the White Wolf! Pro-Independence Faction Welcomes Pelosi: Taiwan Rejects Intimidation and Threats	陳政宇
LTN24	8/3/22	<u>疫後首訪亞洲就納台灣 外交部：彰顯美國支持堅若磐石</u> First visit to Asia after the pandemic includes Taiwan. Ministry of Foreign Affairs said that this demonstrates the rock-solid support of the United States	呂伊萱
LTN25	8/3/22	<u>財部：調製食品輸中 僅占整體出口0.1%</u> Ministry of Finance: Prepared food exports to China account for only 0.1% of total exports	楊雅民、黃佩君、鄭琪芳
LTN26	8/3/22	<u>誰依賴誰？</u> Who depends on whom?	鄭琪芳

LTN27	8/3/22	<u>國民黨籍立委對裴洛西來訪有異音？朱立倫：誠摯歡迎</u> The KMT legislator voices dissent on Pelosi's visit? Chu Li-lun: Sincerely welcome	翁聿 煌
LTN28	8/3/22	<u>中共軍演威嚇 國民黨：嚴厲譴責</u> The CCP's military exercises intimidate, KMT: strongly condemn	林良 昇
LTN29	8/3/22	<u>睽違 23 年再訪台 裴洛西：此行就是要與台灣站在一起</u> Returning to Taiwan after 23 years, Pelosi says: This visit is to stand with Taiwan	蘇永 耀
LTN30	8/3/22	<u>共軍逕行軍事挑釁 外交部：與美國等國家密切協調避免情勢升高</u> The Chinese military engages in military provocations. The Ministry of Foreign Affairs said that we are closely coordinating with the United States and other countries to avoid escalating the situation	呂伊 萱
LTN31	8/3/22	<u>曾銘宗：國民黨與民主國家站在一起捍衛國家</u> Zeng Mingzong said that the KMT stands together with democratic countries to defend the nation.	王千 豪
LTN32	8/3/22	<u>陸委會譴責中國文攻武嚇 正告中共立即停止威脅挑釁</u> The Mainland Affairs Council condemns China's verbal and military intimidation, warns the CCP to immediately stop its threats and provocations	陳鈺 馥
LTN33	8/3/22	<u>裴洛西抵國家人權博物館 會晤林榮基、李明哲、吾爾開希</u> Pelosi arrives at the National Human Rights Museum to meet with Lam Wing-kee, Lee Ming-che, and Wu'er Kaixi.	陳鈺 馥
LTN34	8/3/22	<u>紧盯共軍六區操演 國軍多重手段應對</u> Closely monitoring the PLA's exercises in six areas, the ROC military responds with multiple measures	涂鉅 旻
LTN35	8/3/22	<u>紅線呢？小粉紅大崩潰：感謝中方維護地區和平穩定</u> Red Line? Little Pink (Chinese nationalists) Meltdown: Thanks to China for Maintaining Regional Peace and Stability	
LTN36	8/4/22	<u>中共六軍演 國軍：將反制侵害主權行為</u> The PLA's six days military exercises. ROC military counters any actions infringing on sovereignty.	涂鉅 旻
LTN37	8/4/22	<u>中國文攻武嚇 陳其邁：讓台灣人更團結</u> China's verbal attacks and military threats. Chen Chi-mai says it makes Taiwanese people more united	蘇福 男、 葛祐 豪、 劉禹 慶
LTN38	8/4/22	<u>裴洛西訪台獲 G7 支持 民進黨：中共威嚇行動不受國際認可</u> Pelosi's Taiwan visit gains G7 support; DPP: CCP's intimidation actions are not internationally recognized	陳昀
LTN39	8/4/22	<u>政院：嚴正譴責中國軍演 國人勿擔心將妥為因應</u> Executive Yuan strongly condemn China's Military Exercises, citizens should not worry, we will respond appropriately	李欣 芳

LTN40	8/4/22	感謝 G7 與歐盟關切共軍威嚇 外交部籲請各國聲援民主台灣 Thanks to the G7 and the EU for their concern over the intimidation by the Chinese military. The Ministry of Foreign Affairs calls on all countries to support democratic Taiwan	呂伊萱
LTN41	8/4/22	中國的目的就是製造恐慌！陳柏惟提醒做好「這兩點」 China's goal is to create panic! Chen Po-wei reminds to do these "two things" well	
LTN42	8/5/22	裴洛西將台灣推升國際新高度 Nancy Pelosi elevates Taiwan to a new international height	
LTN43	8/5/22	中國軍演 陳時中：抗中保台是基本精神 Chinese military drills, Chen Shih-chung says resisting china and protecting Taiwan is the fundamental spirit	蔡思培、鄭名翔
LTN44	8/5/22	中共軍演引爆國際怒火 民進黨盤點：全球民主盟友挺台灣 Chinese military exercises ignite international anger; the DPP highlights: global democratic allies support Taiwan	陳政宇
LTN45	8/6/22	中國軍演封鎖國際航道 美國將派軍艦穿越台海 The Chinese military exercises block international waterways; the US will send warships through the Taiwan Strait	楊芙宜
LTN46	8/6/22	蔡英文深夜發文：政府做好完整應變準備 捍衛主權不退縮 Tsai Ing-wen posted late at night: The government is fully prepared to respond and will not back down in defending sovereignty	李欣芳
LTN47	8/6/22	中共的文攻武嚇讓兩岸漸行漸遠 The CCP's political and military intimidation is driving the two sides of the Taiwan Strait further apart	林正一
LTN48	8/6/22	接受 BBC 專訪 吳釗燮：台灣年輕世代戰鬥意志更堅定 Interviewed by the BBC, Wu Chao-hsieh says Taiwan's younger generation's will to fight is stronger	楊丞彧
LTN49	8/6/22	共軍射彈引發更大「天下圍中」 范世平：蔡英文躍升全球性政治人物 PLA missile launches trigger a larger 'siege of Taiwan.' Fan Shih-ping says Tsai Ing-wen rises as a global political figure	
LTN50	8/7/22	反制中共認知作戰 高檢署令嚴防假訊息 Counteracting the CCP's cognitive warfare, Prosecutor's Office orders strict prevention of fake news	吳政峰