

CHARLES UNIVERSITY

FACULTY OF SOCIAL SCIENCES

Institute of Communication Studies and Journalism

Master's Thesis

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CHARLES UNIVERSITY

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Words of War on Triangular Relations: A Critical Discourse
Analysis of the Cross-Strait Relations in Official Statements
of Taiwan, China and the U.S. during Nancy Pelosi's visit to
Taiwan in August 2022

Master's Thesis

Author of the Thesis: CHEN CHIH YUN

Study programme: Journalism, Media and Globalisation

Supervisor: MAZLUM KEMAL DAĞDELEN

Year of the defence: 2024

Declaration

1. I hereby declare that I have compiled this thesis using the listed literature and resources only.
2. I hereby declare that my thesis has not been used to gain any other academic title.
3. I fully agree to my work being used for study and scientific purposes.

In Prague on

July 26 2024

陳芷芸

References

CHEN, C.Y. (2024) *Words of War on Triangular Relations: A Critical Discourse Analysis of the Cross-Strait Relations in Official Statements of Taiwan, China and the U.S. during Nancy Pelosi's visit to Taiwan in August 2022*. Master's thesis (Mgr). Charles University, Faculty of Social Sciences, Communication Studies and Journalism, Supervisor Mazlum Kemal Dagdelen.

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Abstract

Nancy Pelosi's visit to Taiwan in August 2020 ignited significant geopolitical tension across the Taiwan Strait. This tension between Taiwan and China serves as a pivotal moment in investigating the dynamics of Cross-strait relations with the United States. In this context, the official statements from the three entities play a critical role in how each nation's discourse constructs or contests its geopolitical stances. Through Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA), this thesis explores the intricacies of language reflecting and influencing political ideologies and power dynamics. The qualitative approach aims to dissect the strategy of maintaining international recognition, sovereignty, and territorial integrity. Consequently, nine press releases from Taiwan, China, and the U.S., all issued on the dates of August 2nd, 3rd, and 4th, 2022, were selected for examination. The study reveals Taiwan's quest for international recognition, China's assertive territorial claims, and the U.S.'s strategic ambiguity. It adds to a broader comprehensive of how press release language can be used to convey global power dynamics, especially given Taiwan's precarious international position.

Abstrakt

Návštěva Nancy Pelosiové na Tchaj-wanu v srpnu 2020 vyvolala značné geopolitické napětí v Tchajwanské úžině. Toto napětí mezi Tchaj-wanem a Čínou slouží jako klíčový moment při zkoumání dynamiky vztahů mezi Tchaj-wanem a Spojenými státy. V tomto kontextu hrají oficiální prohlášení těchto tří subjektů zásadní roli v tom, jak diskurz každého národa konstruuje nebo zpochybňuje jeho geopolitické postoje. Prostřednictvím kritické analýzy diskurzu (CDA) tato práce zkoumá složitosti jazyka, který odráží a ovlivňuje politické ideologie a dynamiku moci. Cílem kvalitativního přístupu je rozebrat strategii udržování mezinárodního uznání, suverenity a územní celistvosti. Následně bylo ke zkoumání vybráno devět tiskových zpráv z Tchaj-wanu, Číny a USA, které byly vydány v termínech 2., 3. a 4. srpna 2022. Studie odhaluje snahu Tchaj-wanu o mezinárodní uznání, asertivní územní nároky Číny a strategickou nejednoznačnost USA. Přispívá k širšímu komplexnímu pohledu na to, jak lze jazyk tiskových zpráv využít ke zprostředkování globální mocenské dynamiky, zejména s ohledem na nejisté mezinárodní postavení Tchaj-wanu.

Keywords

Cross-strait relations, Critical Discourse Analysis, Nancy Pelosi, Taiwan, China, United States, Official statements

Klíčová slova

Vztahy mezi státy průlivu, kritická analýza diskurzu, Nancy Pelosi, Tchaj-wan, Čína

Title

Words of War on Triangular Relations: A Critical Discourse Analysis of the Cross-Strait Relations in Official Statements of Taiwan, China and the U.S. during Nancy Pelosi's visit to Taiwan in August 2022.

Název práce

Slova války o trojstranných vztazích: Kritická diskurzní analýza vztahů mezi Tchaj-wanem a Čínou v oficiálních prohlášeních Tchaj-wanu, Číny a USA během návštěvy Nancy Pelosiové na Tchaj-wanu v srpnu 2022.

Acknowledgment

Death serves a purpose; it taught me how life can be so precious yet so cruel when God decided to grant my dearest mother a life graduation ceremony a few months ago. Without death, I wouldn't understand the beauty of being alive. Thank you, Mom, for all you have done for me. Words cannot describe the sorrow of watching you slip away. You are the strongest woman I have ever known. You inspire me to live my life to the fullest and happiest. I miss you every day, my guardian angel... 願妳在天上一切都好 · 望我們在夢裡相見。

From a young age, I knew I wanted to pursue an international master's degree for my academic achievement. It is somewhat challenging as an Asian female in Europe. I am grateful to have met my soul sisters from this program, Lobna and Ana. We navigated our darkest times and celebrated our successes together. Despite being apart most times, my time abroad wouldn't have been as fulfilling without your love and support. Thank you, girls, I am lucky to have learned abundant knowledge from you every day since day one.

I am also thankful for the curiosity and bravery that led me to study at the University of Cape Town. There, I learned firsthand about the impacts of Western colonialism in Africa, realizing how much I had to learn more. Sarah, I'm glad we shared this mind-blowing experience. Ashlon, Adrian, and Adam, I appreciate our countless long-distance calls; and my friends in South Africa, you opened my eyes and showed me the warmth of your beautiful country, it holds a special place in my heart.

These past two years have brought me many pleasantly unexpected encounters in Denmark, South Africa, and the Czech Republic. To my thesis advisor Mazlum Kemal Dağdelen, thank you for your patient guidance, your constructive suggestions mean a lot to me. To everyone who helped me in this journey and shared their stories with me, I am more than grateful and privileged to have this opportunity. To my family and friends in Taiwan, I am blessed to have your endless support. To everyone who has shown me that humanity is plural, not singular, Mundus Journalism 2022-2024, you have broadened my horizons.

Finally, beyond the colours of our skin and the bounds of race, let us lay our arms to embrace love as our universal strength. Free Palestine, free the Global South and end white supremacy.

**Institute of Communication Studies and Journalism FSV UK
Research proposal for Erasmus Mundus Journalism Diploma Thesis**

THIS PART TO BE FILLED BY STUDENT:

Student's surname and given name:

CHEN CHIH YUN

Registry stamp: / Razítko podatelny:

Start of studies for EMJ (in Aarhus)

September 2022

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Došlo dne: 11 -12- 2023 -1-

Study program/form of study:

Erasmus Mundus Journalism

Čj: 478 Příloh:

Thesis title in English:

Reflections on Triangular Relations: A Critical Discourse Analysis of the Cross-Strait Relations in Official Statements of Taiwan, China and the U.S. between May and August 2022"

Přidělena:

Expected date of submission (semester, academic year)

(Thesis must be submitted according to the Academic Calendar.)

April (date hasn't been announced by the consortium)

Main research question (max. 250 characters):

How are the Cross-Strait relations discursively constructed within the official statements from China, Taiwan, and the U.S. released between May and August 2022?

Current state of research on the topic (max. 1800 characters):

Cross-Strait relations refer to the interactions between the People's Republic of China (PRC) and Taiwan, officially the Republic of China (ROC). It has been seen as an increasingly worrisome dynamic for some decades, particularly considering Taiwan-China relations as represented by the U.S. The U.S. recognizes the PRC as the legitimate sovereign over China under the One China policy; therefore, the PRC and the U.S. have formed a consensus to jointly control Taiwan's independence for a decade (Xiying, 2021). Under this tacit, Xiying (2021) has shown both China and the U.S. develop rationality to a certain extent tolerating the grey areas of each other's policies and can ultimately maintain a delicate balance across the Taiwan Strait.

However, Xiying (2021) also pointed out that the rise of the PRC is the root cause of this tension; the PRC considers Taiwan a region that should ultimately be unified with the mainland. The competing political and economic interests of China, Taiwan and the United States have influenced a pattern of diplomatic changes (Portada et al., 2020). The U.S. has alleged China for spreading COVID-19, human rights violations in the far-West province of Xinjiang, territorial disputes with India, issues with Tibet, strategic partnership with Russia and employing coercive means against Taiwan, resulting in Cross-Strait instability (Farooq, 2023, p. 98).

The recent visit by the U.S. Speaker of the House, Nancy Pelosi, to Taiwan plays a part in the U.S. provocative measures, which has stirred a Cross-Strait crisis in the region leading to escalation by the stakeholders (Farooq, 2023). The PRC Ministry of Foreign Affairs (MOFA) initiated a campaign against the U.S., condemning it as the most significant provocation towards Beijing in 25 years. However, Pelosi tested positive for Covid-19 and postponed her trip. Several Scholars have acknowledged that China's ultimate foreign policy

goal and its primary sign is to achieve a reclamation of sovereignty over Taiwan (Alexander, 2014; Erikson & Chen, 2007; Harold et al., 2019; Vogel, 2013).

Starting in May 2022, international media sparked significant attention by covering Pelosi's Asia tour and attracted widespread public interest. The aftermath of this visit in August also led to several discussions on Cross-Strait's peace red line. As noted by Tucker (2005) and Tunsjø (2008), researchers have covered a significant number of topics on the geopolitical, economic, policy, and crisis aspects of Taiwan-China, U.S.-China, and U.S.-Taiwan relations. Tang's (2021) research also indicates the transitive representations of China's image in the U.S. mainstream newspapers from 2008 to 2010. However, there appears to be a gap in how Cross-Strait relations are discursively constructed within the official statements from China, Taiwan, and the U.S in recent years.

According to Tucker (2005), Americans have respected the ROC's desire to preserve the status quo rather than seek either independence or unification, emphasizing only the centrality of peace to any future resolution. This is despite recognizing that unification with Taiwan under current U.S.-China relations is impossible (Lai, 2020). Nevertheless, China and the United States have established a workable framework to manage their relationship and any crisis that might arise over the Taiwan issue (Pinsker, 2003). This serves as an exemplary case study to understand how the three countries addressed this complex issue in their official statements through Critical Discourse Analysis with the timeline of May to August 2022.

Expected theoretical framework (max. 1800 characters):

The theoretical framework of this study will lay out Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA), with a specific emphasis on the contributions of Norman Fairclough (1995, 2013). CDA integrates the critical tradition of social analysis with language studies, focusing on the intricate relationship between discourse and other social elements such as power relations, ideologies, institutions, and social identities (Fairclough, 1995). Recent research on corpus based CDA has shown that China was often deemed predominantly negative image in three U.S. mainstream newspapers published between 2008 and 2010 (Tang, 2021).

Fairclough's concern of "Language, ideology and power", "Discourse and sociocultural change", "Textual analysis in social research", and "Critical language awareness" are unified by a substantial thematic: to develop methods for language analysis that capture its role in the workings of contemporary capitalist society. In this case, Tang (2021) points out that national image is primarily seen as the representations of a country's positive and negative standing in the other countries' media. China's image is represented as being related to seven participant roles from the U.S. media: the Persuaded, the Criticized, the Labelled, the Contained, the Punished, the Helped, and the Praised, which reinforce each other to make certain themes such as economy and trade more salient and represent China in a very negative light (Tang, 2021).

Therefore, this research will apply these theoretical frameworks to anatomize the Taiwan-China-U.S. official statements from May to August 2022. It will analyse the discursive strategies implemented in their official communications regarding Cross-Strait relations and Taiwan's Status. Through scrutinizing, this case study aims to dissect the use of linguistics that influences the political discourse surrounding this triangular relationship.

Expected methodology, and methods for data gathering and analysis (max. 1800 characters):

This qualitative exploratory research will apply Fairclough's (1995, 2013) model for CDA, complemented by Multimodal Critical Discourse Analysis (MCDA) as a supportive analytical technique, which intends to study the language combined with other modalities, such as images, scientific symbolism, gesture, action, music, and sound (O'Halloran, 2011). Within this understanding – investigating different forms like still images, speech, and texts, for instance, should work together as a whole. This combination will facilitate a broader understanding of official discourses that serve to construct social realities within the context of Taiwan-China-U.S. relations from May to August 2022. Generally speaking, the overseas literature (for example, Moyo, 2010; Syed, 2010) tends to suggest that there was a slight but noticeable improvement of China's image during the first half of the decade from 1949, but the deterioration returned and there were more intense criticisms and Sinophobic feelings in the U.S. media at the end of 2010s. Therefore, the dataset of this study will consist of official statements and press releases issued between May and August 2022, offering new perspectives, and, potentially pointing discrepancies, in the research findings.

Moreover, the previous studies raise the question about the definition of power and the moral standards that distinguish between its use and abuse—a question that, until now, has remained unanswered (Billig, 2008). This study will employ the Social Constructionist approach (Burr, 2015) to investigate how discourses construct social phenomena and categories. Utilizing Burr's framework (2015), the research aims to uncover the dynamics of sovereignty, identity, and power relations among the three countries.

Expected research design (data to be analyzed, for example, the titles of analyzed newspapers and selected time period):

This research is a study about the complex interplay of increasing military assertiveness by China, alongside a pattern of economic coercion, specifically during May to August 2022. The increasing Military and Diplomatic Tensions of the PRC started with the call-off visit to Taiwan by Nancy Pelosi in April 2022. Her later visit in August played a crucial role in shaping the diplomatic discourse in the PRC's MOFA, the White House, and Taiwan's MOFA. The three countries addressed the importance of Taiwan-Strait and Cross-Strait relations with different linguistic uses and symbolic constructions.

Mass media play a significant role on influencing the formation and propagation of a country's image through its representation in foreign media, despite not being the only factor of shaping public perception of national image (Tang, 2021). In early May, the Foreign Press Centers of the U.S. stated Taiwan is facing a front line of Chinese disinformation, cyberattacks. In June, MOFA spokesman from the PRC asserted that China has "sovereign rights and jurisdiction over the Taiwan Strait". Wu (2000) previously explained that the United States seek not to take advantage of tensions in the Taiwan Strait, yet it is actively, albeit awkwardly, courted by the two 'wings' to intervene. Farooq (2023) drew the conclusion that the targeted objective of the U.S. is to coerce China to submit to its terms and influence its relations with surrounding states, therefore, understand the U.S.' intent in backing Taiwan against China is a strategy to lure it into a proxy war.

Theoretically, the triangulation model holds that all three parties could be considered either 'pivot' or 'wing' (Ling et al., 2010). But disparities in size, resources, economic development, and military capability allow Taiwan to play the 'wing' role only; the United States, a definite 'pivot'; and China, somewhere in-between 'pivot' and 'wing,' depending on the variable at stake (Ling et al., 2010). As many authors have argued, the U.S.-China relations are, ultimately, hostage to the conditions across the Taiwan Straits, and the "Taiwan Issue" remains one of the few potential areas of conflict where U.S. preponderance could be challenged militarily by another major power (Tunsjø, 2008).

The research design will focus on a corpus of texts collected from official government channels in the PRC, Taiwan, and the U.S. from May to August 2022. Specifically, 6 press conferences from the PRC's MOFA, 5 regular press conferences of MOFA from CCTV (A state broadcaster in the PRC), 8 press conferences from Taiwan's MOFA, 7 press conferences from the Foreign Press Centers of the U.S. and the White House, and 1 opinion piece by Nancy Pelosi from the Washington Post. These corpus-based data include the pre-emptive statement of the PRC claiming Taiwan's territory, in response to Nancy Pelosi's Visits from the three countries as well as the aftermath of Pelosi's decision. These data will provide insight into the strategic discourse construction by each government. The use of their language in the press will reflect their stances and reactions to unfolding events related to Cross-Strait relations. The focus of Pelosi's visit's responses from the three countries will offer a perspective of how these countries see Cross-Strait relations. This analysis aims to dissect how the use of language from three countries can intensify the rising attention of Cross-Strait relations.

Expected thesis structure (chapters and subchapters with brief description of their content):

1. Abstract (Brief summary of the research with keywords)
2. Introduction
 - 2.1. Background of the Study: Brief overview of Taiwan-China-US relations and their significance.
 - 2.2. Research Problem and Questions: Define the main research question and the sub-question.
 - 2.3. Purpose and Significance of the Study: Explain the importance of the study in the current geopolitical context.
 - 2.4. Structure of the Thesis: Outline of the subsequent chapters.
3. Theoretical Framework
4. Literature Review
5. Historical Overview: contextual background.
6. Methodology
 - 6.1. Research Design: Describe the qualitative exploratory approach.
 - 6.2. Data Collection: official statements and press releases.
 - 6.3. Methods of Analysis: Critical Discourse Analysis and Multimodal Discourse Analysis
7. Analysis of Discourses
 - 7.1. China's Discourse
 - 7.2. Taiwan's Discourse
 - 7.3. US Discourse

- 7.4. Comparative Analysis
- 8. Findings and Discussion
- 9. Conclusion
- 10. References

Basic literature list (at least 5 most important works related to the topic and the method(s) of analysis; all works should be briefly characterized on 2-5 lines):

Burr, V. (2015). *Social Constructionism*. Routledge.

(This book clearly explains the basic theoretical assumptions of social constructionism. Drawing on a range of empirical studies, the book clearly defines the various different approaches to social constructionist research and explores the theoretical and practical issues involved.)

Dangerous Strait: *The U.S.-Taiwan-China Crisis*. (2005). In Dangerous Strait. Columbia University Press. <https://doi.org/10.7312/tuck13564>

(In the area of security, contributors provide incisive critiques of Taiwan's incomplete military modernization, the strains in U.S.-Taiwan relations and their differing interpretations of China's intentions, and the misguided inclination to abandon Washington's traditional policy of strategic ambiguity.)

Fairclough, N. (1995). *Critical discourse analysis: The critical study of language*. Longman
(Critical Discourse Analysis, Language and Power has proved to offer a wide range of students of linguistics, language studies and professional education a framework and a means of exploring the inbrications between language and social-institutional practices and between these, taken together, with broader social and political structures.)

Hyland, K., Paltridge, B., & Wong, L. (2021). *The Bloomsbury Handbook of Discourse Analysis*. Bloomsbury Publishing.

(This book covers the discourse of media, multimedia, social media, politeness, ageing and English as lingua franca. Identifying and describing the central concepts and theories associated with discourse and its main branches of study, it sustained and compelling argument concerning the nature and influence of discourse and is an essential resource for anyone interested in the field.)

Tunsjø, Ø. (2008). *US Taiwan Policy: Constructing the Triangle*. Routledge.

(This book considers the contemporary challenges posed to the 'one China' policy by the increased importance of promoting human rights and democracy in US foreign policy, arguing that the current US China policy is guided by a new strategy based on 'engagement plus hedging'.)

Related theses and dissertations (list of B.A., M.A. and Ph.D. theses defended at Charles University or other academic institutions in the last five years):

Date / Signature of the student:

Dec 11 2023 

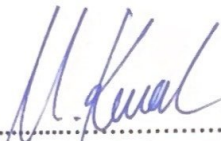
THIS PART TO BE FILLED BY THE ACADEMIC SUPERVISOR:

I confirm that I have consulted this research proposal with the author and that the proposal is related to my field of expertise at the Faculty of Social Sciences.

I agree to be the Thesis supervisor.

Dagdelen, Mazlum Kemal

11.12.2023



Surname and name of the supervisor

Date / Signature of the supervisor

Further recommendations related to the topic, structure and methods for analysis:

She successfully implemented the feedback she received earlier. She also developed her plan for the further steps of her thesis project in communication with me. So, no further recommendations are needed at this level.

Further recommendations of literature related to the topic:

The research proposal has to be printed, signed and submitted to the FSV UK registry office (podatelna) in two copies, **by November 15**, addressed to the Program Coordinator. Accepted research proposals have to be picked up at the Program Coordinator's Office, Sandra Lábová. The accepted research proposal needs to be included in the hard copy version of the submitted thesis.

RESEARCH PROPOSALS NEED TO BE APPROVED BY THE HEAD OF ERASMUS MUNDUS JOURNALISM PROGRAM.

Table of Contents

1. Introduction	8
2. Contextual Background: A brief historical account of the Cross-strait relations	10
3. Theoretical Framework	15
4. Literature Review	20
5. Methodology and Research Design	29
6. Limitation	35
7. Findings and Analysis	35
I. The People’s Republic of China	36
II. The Republic of China	64
III. The United States of America	74
8. Discussion	85
9. Conclusion	91
Summary	94
List of References	95

1. Introduction

In August 2022, the U.S. House Speaker Nancy Pelosi made a trip to Taiwan, stirring up various effects on the Cross-straits relations. The political dynamics between Taiwan, China, and the United States serve as an exciting case study of how states engage with each other through their official statements. This thesis delves into using language in the three parties' press releases to convey their political and ideological stances. The three parties' official statements in August 2022 aim to explore the far-reaching consequences of the political schemes that contribute to today's global politics and regional stability.

At the core of this investigation is an analysis of the discussions surrounding Pelosi's visit, which has been depicted in various ways. It can be seen as symbolic support, a provocation that can lead to potential reasons for a severe conflict or a diplomatic maneuver against the backdrop of Cross-strait relations. By scrutinising the official press releases and statements released by Taiwan, China, and the United States, this thesis will also point out how their narratives are influenced and shaped by power dynamics and historical contexts. Besides, Nancy Pelosi's visit should not be underestimated as she is the first highest-ranking American politician to visit Taiwan in 25 years. The online flight tracking website Flightradar24 reported that over 708,000 people worldwide tracked Pelosi's travel to Taiwan, which became the most heavily tracked flight in history (Wattles, 2022). This event demonstrates that her presence offers a perspective on the debates about sovereignty, democracy, and international acceptance. It reveals Taiwan's delicate position as a point of global concern, making it an interesting case study to inspect diplomatic autonomy and international relations.

Moreover, the landscape of China's strong position on territorial integrity and the United States' strategic ambiguity policy since the 1970s (Second Lieutenant Ethan D.

Chaffee, U.S. Marine Corps, 2023) underlines the challenges of diplomatic relations in recent political discourse across the Taiwan Straits. This research aims to fill the gap in analysing the impact of this specific event in academic research and to answer the following research question:

How are the Cross-strait relations discursively constructed within the official statements from China, Taiwan, and the U.S. released during Nancy Pelosi's visit to Taiwan in August 2022?

Nancy Pelosi's visit highlights the contrasting viewpoints presented by stakeholders: Taiwan's pursuit of legitimacy and the international community's recognition, China's strong assertions of ownership in territory and sovereignty, and the U.S.' strategic ambiguity foreign policy. These perspectives mirror tensions between Taiwan and China and echo deep-rooted historical, cultural, and political backgrounds that have influenced Sino-American relations and Taiwan's geopolitical position.

Employing the theory and methodology of Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA), this thesis explores the evident complexity of language and ideology that contradict the dialogue surrounding the visit. It analyses how sovereignty and legitimacy are utilised to achieve geopolitical goals. This investigation will also reveal the meanings embedded in political discourse that help each country interpret their implications for diplomatic relations. In this multipolar world order, the theme of Nancy Pelosi's trip to Taiwan has garnered increasingly significant attention in global power dynamics. This theme aims to connect sovereignty, national identity, and international legitimacy, representing the nations' obstacles in their political system. Legal declarations of independence in their press releases illustrate the intersection with practical political decisions and pose a worldwide concern.

The research is based on 2, 3, and 4 August 2022, dates with significant escalation of tension that can assist us in comprehending the geopolitical dynamics. It aims to enrich discussions on Cross-strait relations by shedding light on the interpreted mechanisms through crafted global narratives. It raises questions about what lies ahead for Taiwan's international visibility, the intertwined global hegemony of China and the United States. These findings serve as a path for addressing one of today's most sensitive and significant geopolitical challenges. This study strives to provide a novel view of how the United States sees Taiwan and add value to the pertinent literature of a recent global event. This agenda will emphasise how discourse(s) can play a role in decision-making as a communication tool for wielding power and influence. In the next section, an overview of the historical background will be presented for the context of the study.

2. Contextual Background: A brief historical account of the Cross-strait relations

Cross-strait relations refer to the interactions between the People's Republic of China (PRC, hereafter China) and Taiwan, officially the Republic of China (ROC, hereafter Taiwan). It has been considered an increasingly tense dynamic for some decades, particularly considering Taiwan-China and Sino-America relations. This intertwined relationship has to be traced back to 1911, when the ROC was established. After the fall of the Qing Dynasty, China marked the successful collapse of the Chinese monarchy and the founding of a republican government that was considered legitimate. However, several riots, agitations and warring factions weakened the ROC government, and soon after the civil war in 1949 (Dreyer, 1995, p.434-450), nationalist leader Chiang Kai-shek was defeated by Mao Zedong from the Chinese Communist Party, who then established a separate government - the People's Republic of China. Chiang Kai-shek led the Kuomintang (KMT, Chinese

Nationalist Party) to retreat to Taiwan, marking the commencement of the dual governance claim over *China*.

Following the relocation of the KMT to the island, the United States delivered substantial military support to Taiwan during the Cold War era (Hickey, 1986, p.1325), deeming this action as a political bulwark for ceasing the spread of communism (National Museum of American Diplomacy, n.d.). Since then, most of the U.S.-China relationship has revolved around the perennial dispute over the status of Taiwan. As part of the broader historical context, we need to point out that in 1971, the United Nations Assembly Resolution 2758 passed, “Recognising the only lawful representative of China to the United Nations is the People’s Republic of China and is the five permanent members of the security council.” (UN. General Assembly (26th sess. : 1971), 1972). The PRC claims to be the Successor of the ROC, leaving the ROC no place or rights to join the UN, WHO or any other international organisations to this day. The PRC wishes to:

“safeguard national sovereignty and territorial integrity firmly; the great cause of reunification will be accomplished, while attempts at secession will surely come to fail” (Consulate-General of the People’s Republic of China in Lagos, 2023).

In 1979, the United States shifted its recognition of China to the PRC government, severing formal diplomatic ties with the ROC in Taiwan. This agreement was reflected in the U.S.’ “One-China Policy”, and the U.S. has never recognised Taiwan as a part of the PRC; they merely acknowledge that the PRC holds the position that Taiwan is part of the PRC. (The U.S. “One China Policy” vs. the PRC “One China Principle,” 2022) This policy does not abide by the “One-China Principle” from the PRC,

“The PRC has a core belief stating that Taiwan is an inalienable part of China, serving as the sole legitimate government of that China, and the U.S. acknowledges this position but does not take a stance on its validity” (US Taiwan Business Council, 2022).

Despite that, the U.S. acknowledges but does not endorse the PRC’s control over Taiwan and interprets this as a political strategic ambiguity to maintain relationships with the ROC. Strategic ambiguity is a U.S. policy that aims to deter both a Chinese attack on Taiwan and a formal independence declaration by Taipei, by keeping the U.S.’ intentions unclear while recognizing “one China” to preserve stability and cooperation across the Taiwan Strait (Chang-Liao & Fang, 2021, p.45, emphasis in original). Later the same year, the enactment of the Taiwan Relations Act (TRA) served as a diplomatic connection between the U.S. and Taiwan, allowing for steady economic trade and commercial and cultural interactions through unofficial channels (Caitlin Campbell, 2024). The TRA mandates the United States to supply Taiwan with weapons and declares that any attempts to influence Taiwan's future through peaceful methods, such as boycotts or embargoes, are seen as a threat to peace and security in the Western Pacific region and are of significant concern to the United States (Caitlin Campbell, 2024).

In the 1980s and early 1990s, Taiwan, under the ROC governance, underwent a reform towards democracy, causing tensions with the PRC. The lifting of Taiwan’s martial law and the emergence of the pro-independent Democratic Progressive Party (DPP) resulted in increased military threats from mainland China. During this period, the United States faced the challenge of supporting Taiwan through the TRA while maintaining ties with the

PRC government (Copper, 2006). Despite increasing tensions in the 2000s, economic relations between the ROC and the PRC flourished, as shown by agreements such as the ECFA in 2010. Nevertheless, political tensions persisted due to the PRC's Anti-Secession Law and the ROC's pursuit of independence under the DPP's leadership in Taiwan. This illuminated a mix of political instability and economic practicalities because, throughout these events, the U.S. carried on as an ally for the ROC, which complicated its Cross-strait relationship with a progressively powerful PRC.

“The people in Taiwan understand too well what it is like to be bullied by an authoritarian aggressor,” - Joseph Wu, Minister of Foreign Affairs of Taiwan (Department of North American Affairs, 2022)

In the subsequent decades till this day, the PRC continued to claim that Taiwan had always been a part of China's territory, but this did not really happen until the Qing Dynasty (Wong, 2017). Several studies have shown that the Chinese who fled from mainland China to Taiwan only comprised 12% of the population since 1945 (Stanford University, 2005; Meng-Hsuan & Chang, 2010). However, the rise of assertive PRC president Xi Jinping and the election of the pro-independence DPP Tsai Ing-wen in Taiwan in 2016 worsened the situation and has heightened tensions. The U.S. shifted its focus towards Asia due to its foreign policy stance on Taiwan, which was prominent during the Obama era and further intensified in both the Trump and Biden administrations to demonstrate a renewed dedication to enhancing Taiwan's defence capabilities (Luke Bellocchi, JD, LLM, MSSJ, MBA, 2022).

On August 2nd, 2022, Nancy Pelosi, the then-Speaker of the United States House of Representatives, made a noteworthy day-long visit to Taiwan along with a delegation of five Democratic Party members of the House, being the highest-ranking U.S. official to do so

since the 1990s. She arrived in Taipei on the second of August at 10:43 p.m. Later, on August 3, at about 6:00 p.m., she left Taiwan for South Korea. As part of this Asia tour, this quick trip to Taiwan was preceded and followed by stops in South Korea, Singapore, Malaysia, and Japan.

“Our congressional delegation's visit to Taiwan honors America's unwavering commitment to supporting Taiwan's vibrant Democracy,” Pelosi said in a statement shortly after landing (Reuters, 2022)

Her ‘provocative’ trip to Taiwan sparked diplomatic tensions with China. The aftermath of Pelosi’s visit set off a chain reaction, demonstrated by the PRC's response by conducting live-fire military exercises, a series of cyber attacks, sanctions and economic coercion. This show of force, meant to display the PRC’s insistent claim over Taiwan, resulted in several discussions on the Cross-strait’s peace red line. The PRC Ministry of Foreign Affairs had already initiated an economic coercion campaign in May and June, sanctioning Taiwan’s exports to China as well as a significant increase in military exercises over the Taiwan Strait (Farooq, 2023).

On the island, Taiwan, political leaders greeted Nancy Pelosi's visit as a confirmation of the country's ties with the United States. To Taiwanese leaders, Pelosi’s visit symbolises solid international consensus for the country’s progressive democratic nature. Amid escalating threats from the PRC government, the president of the ROC, Tsai Ing-Wen, exhibited her commitment to democracy, emphasising Taiwan's determination to uphold peace and stability in the Taiwan Straits and mainland China area while safeguarding its status quo. On the other hand,

“Biden made clear that Congress is an independent branch of government and that Speaker Pelosi makes her own decisions, as other members of Congress do, about their overseas travel” (Wilkie, 2022).

It is portrayed as an assertion of autonomy and a display of bipartisan backing for Taiwan.

The U.S. Officials reiterated that the visit did not signal a change in the U.S. Policy, affirming that the One China policy remains unchanged. Meanwhile, Nancy Pelosi continued to support Taiwan's democracy, aligning with American values and interests. Following this visit, the U.S. politicians and officials expressed support for Taiwan, emphasising their commitment to enhancing Taiwan's security against threats. They demonstrated a commitment to bolstering Taiwan's security against threats.

In the scope of politics and diplomatic relations, Nancy Pelosi's trip to Taiwan mirrors the intricate and sometimes strained interactions between Taiwan, China, and the U.S. The relationship represents a tricky mix of diplomacy, national identity, and authority, indicating the delicate power of balancing the status quo, which yields a fresh perspective for analysing the official statement on how discourse can characterise today's Cross-strait relations.

3. Theoretical Framework

This chapter lays out the theoretical framework, providing a cohesive groundwork for analysing the discursive construction of Cross-Strait relations in official statements from the People's Republic of China, the Republic of China, and the U.S. during Nancy Pelosi's visit to Taiwan in August 2022. Drawing upon Norman Fairclough's approach to Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA), this section elucidates the theoretical underpinnings that guide

this study. It also reviews pertinent journal articles to situate this research within the broader context of international relations and communication studies, highlighting the contributions of central scholars in the development of discourse analysis.

CDA, a form of social practice with an interdisciplinary approach, emerged in the late 1980s. It was pioneered by scholars including Fairclough (1995, 1996), van Dijk (1993a, c, 1997), Wodak (1995, 1997), and van Leeuwen (1993), who provided the foundational statements for this field. It is widely recognised that these approaches are interconnected, examining how language structures are utilised in social life. The term discourse expresses structured discourse patterns between people in different social lives. “Discourse Analysis” can be used in various events as a framework, including analysing national identity, media, cultural developments, and communication. According to Fairclough (2013), discourse can be defined from an array of relations analyses that constitute life by its meaning and making meaning.

Jørgensen and Phillips (2006, p. 12) claim that “CDA is a series of interdisciplinary approaches that can be used to explore various social domains in many different types of studies.” Rogers (2003) states that “CDA differs from other discourse analysis methods in that it includes not only a description and interpretation of discourse in context but also explains why and how discourses work” (p. 3). Among CDA’s goals in resolving social problems, van Dijk (1991) says that it is an examination from a critical perspective of individuals in authority, accountability, and possessing resources and possibilities.

Fairclough's three-dimensional framework, as outlined in his books from 1992, 2001, and 2013, suggests that each phase of discourse analysis, i.e., *textual*, *discourse practice*, and *social practice* (p. 94, emphasis in original), is interconnected and requires a method of analysis. Despite their characteristics, these levels are intricately linked to one another and

help us understand how language is used. The relationship between text and social practice is thought to be mediated by discourse practice: on the one hand, the creation and interpretation processes of texts are influenced by and contribute to the nature of social practices; on the other hand, the text is shaped by the production process, and the interpretive process is guided by ‘cues’ found in the text (Fairclough, 2013, p. 94, emphasis in original).

The text and discourse practice components can clarify company authority dynamics and self-identity changes. It is argued in CDA that discursive practices have a role in establishing and maintaining uneven power relations among social groups, such as those between women and men, socioeconomic classes, and ethnic minorities and the majority, referring to these impacts as *ideological* effects. (Jørgensen & Phillips, 2006, p. 63, emphasis in original). After all, Fairclough distinguished CDA as a form of action in language and discourse, stemming from the daily practices with our family:

[T]he discursive constitution of society does not emanate from a free play of ideas in people’s heads but from a social practice which is firmly rooted in and oriented to real, material social structures (Fairclough, 1996, p. 66)

Another research that can be carried out in CDA (or discourse analysis in general) is the implications for questioning power and democracy. Fairclough (2013) suggests denaturalising is the goal of the ideology and offers discourse analysis as the “critical” objective approach. It presents how social structures are intertwined with discourse to determine each other. While CDA established a transparent pragmatic and sociolinguistic practice, discourse analysis does not draw a clear distinction in its fundamental principle (Wodak, 2001, p. 12). It attempts to unveil the complexity of written and spoken language structures that form social phenomena, preferably including visual images, as text and

images are often being examined and broadly accepted. While physical objects appear independently, their meanings can only be derived through discourse. The importance of assigning meaning through discourse is the formation of shaping and altering society in our world. It portrays language as an instrument that imparts knowledge and outlines social personas, connections and perceptions.

Scholars have also shown different discourses embody different perspectives and interpretations in each society, continuously contending with one another to establish hegemony. Fairclough (2013, p. 28) identifies ideology as “critical in contrast with descriptive views of ideology; it is associated with power as hegemony”. It aims to shape language understanding in accordance with their terms. However, he approaches discourse as one of the sociological practices, among many others, by utilising the idea of *intertextuality* (Jørgensen & Phillips, 2006, p.7, emphasis in original), which describes how a single text incorporates ideas and discourses from multiple texts. The critical approach does not imply the objectivity presented in social science; instead, it scrutinises the use of language exposed in power dynamics and social changes. Fairclough uses hegemony to connect speech and power (Gramsci, 2012; Fairclough, 2013). It takes a political stance to accomplish emancipation by exemplifying the language perpetuated in sustaining unequal power. It examines the context within which Fairclough bases his power theory on Gramsci's notion of hegemony and intertextuality as the foundation for discourse practice theory (Fairclough 2013, p. 94).

Power is interconnected with discourse. Studying power dynamics and class relations requires understanding the concept of ideology since ideologies are crucial to developing, maintaining, applying, and transforming power relations (Fairclough 2013, p. 26). Power arises from different social and class statuses, a combination of complex ideologies

originating from the inequities. An implicit effect of power and ideology on the construction of meaning results from the fact that in an operation of power, uneven power relations appear to be a natural order upon which reconciliation is founded (Wodak, 2002, p. 12).

To understand this concept, theorising CDA, Norman Fairclough seeks to achieve in the most aspirational and complex program, constructing a method-driven and theoretical framework. Fairclough considers media practices in formulating news, media institutional structure and political system. The aim is to endow social change and dismantle unequal power relationships. Van Dijk (2001) describes CDA as “focusing on social problems, and especially on the role of discourse in the production and reproduction of power abuse or domination” (p. 96). “CDA aims to analyse opaque and transparent structural relationships of dominance, discrimination, power, and control as they appear in language” (Wodak, 1995, p. 204), then establishes the connection between language and power. (Amoussou & Allagbe, 2018, p. 12).

Similarly, Wodak (1997, p. 173) established some basic principles of the CDA program as well, delineating the critical approach as “distinctive in its view of (a) the relationships between language and society and (b) the relationship between the analysis and the practices analysed”. Fairclough and Wodak stress the impact of the role of critical discourse, accentuating the inherent political essence of language in moulding and being moulded by social practices and power dynamics. When we delve into the discussions about Taiwan, China and the United States, it is evident to Filardo-Llamas & Boyd (2017) that political conversations go beyond the mere participation of political entities. This shared vantage point emphasises the relevance of a method that breaks down texts and actively interacts with the broader socio-political context where these texts are circulated. Though Fairclough (2013, p. 268) argued that “he was not being prescriptive and that he was offering

a ‘guide, not a blueprint’ for undertaking CDA, this work provided methodological advice.” It focuses mostly on methodology and ‘doing’ critical discourse sample analyses (Luke, 2002, p. 98, emphasis in original)”.

In light of the abovementioned definition of CDA, Fairclough’s findings contributed to using critical language awareness in making radical social changes. CDA taps into some keywords, including ‘power’, ‘power relations’, ‘hegemony’, ‘ideology’, ‘social construction’, etc. This analytical perspective upheld the interrogation of profound power relations rooted in discursive practices regarding these interrelated concepts. It undeniably affirms the significance of transparency and reflexivity in analysing how language performs within social power dynamics.

4. Literature Review

CDA's contributions have been instrumental in analysing how language and power intersect in complex geopolitical settings, particularly in sensitive political status issues like Cross-strait relations. This method, based on the theories of academics such as Norman Fairclough (1995), Ruth Wodak (1997), and Van Dijk (2001), outlines how conversation can be influenced by socio factors, impacting public perception and governmental decisions. Fairclough's three dimensional framework has been used to elucidate how discourse is shaped by socio-political contexts that influence public opinion and policies (Fairclough, 2013). Wodak (1997) and van Dijk (2001) further underscore the vital role of language in reinforcing power dynamics, serving as an aspect in deciphering the rhetoric among Taiwan, China, and the U.S.

Regarding the relationship between Taiwan, China and the United States, the language used in political discourse is significant in framing political strategies. Especially when researching relationships between Taiwan and China, most studies concentrate on

military interactions rather than the language tactics used in official messages. CDA dissects the framework for investigating the facets embedded in the official communication language of the three countries.

In a seminal study, Yang (2013) criticised the discussion surrounding Taiwan's Economic Cooperation Framework Agreement (ECFA) debate held on April 25, 2010, with China. This pivotal debate marks a consequential chapter in the history of Cross-strait relations. ECFA is ambitious to "promote the normalisation of Cross-strait economic and trade relations, which are needed to avoid Taiwan being marginalised by regional economic integration and to enhance Taiwan's position as a platform for regional investment." (Taiwan's Mainland Affairs Council (2010, p. 1). Yang (2013) explores the textual interpretation of negotiation and the prominence of strategic language used in official statements, seeking to form a discourse with economic and political orientation. Using van Dijk's socio-cognitive model to examine discourse in debates, Yang (2013) adeptly divided the analysis into three parts: statements, interrogations, and conclusions, portraying dominance and power (Yang, 2013). This methodological categorisation exposes how language constructs and contests dominance and control, which can be applied through the lens of discourse strategies that may be identified in other geopolitical dialogues like the U.S.-China interactions. It also incorporates Wodak's (2002) studies of how political discourse can uphold or question power dynamics. This offers a novel perspective on how language is strategically utilised in foreign affairs.

The debate delineates the verbal interaction of the polarised themes: dichotomy, "Us versus Them", proposed by van Dijk (1995). Yang (2013) grasps the impact of how such tactical discourse instruments are employed to influence public opinion and assert dominance in political settings. This model came from van Dijk's (1995) social cognitions

of claiming that “WE are democratic while THEY are not, and Our soldiers are fighting for freedom while the Others are terrorists.” (Yang, 2013, p.89, emphasis in original). Yang’s data analysis confirms that former president Ma Ying-Jeo used 80% of the lexical words of the political discussion to construct a *robust* discourse in Taiwan and China. The high percentage of delivery indicates how government officials craft speeches to support their positions, contrasting 20% of the opposition.

Politicians strategically framed their arguments, thereby manipulating the public’s opinion to align with their agenda. Examining the discourse in statements from Taiwan, China, and the U.S. is essential, as each country exercises language to mould local views on authority, democracy and credibility. Such research sheds light on how discourse is used in structured debates, carefully selecting words to present political viewpoints that sway public sentiment and policy decisions (Yang, 2013). It poses a probing extension question on how China articulates Taiwan's sovereignty in its statements. This insight can offer critical shifting power dynamics and the strategic language tactics the U.S. and Taiwan employ in international diplomacy. Broader discourse strategies can assist in understanding Cross-strait relations being engaged by the U.S.

Echoing Yang's findings, Cheng's (2020) investigation concerns former president Ma Ying-Jeou's deliberate strategic use of discourse in the 2012 Taiwan presidential debates. Cheng’s (2020) dissection uncovers the strategic use of modality verbs to support his policies, criticise his rivals and defend his time in office. Ma’s frequent use of the *obligation* verbs “must” and “should” stresses the importance of his policies as a leader, subtly guiding public perception and opinion, picturing how unavoidable and necessary it is for Taiwan to commit to the “right” choice for the future (Cheng, 2020). It is a tactic to adjust politicians' statements to influence their audience’s attitudes and actions and guide public opinion. Furthermore,

Cheng's (2020) discovery of *possible* modal of verbs such as "can" and "could" provide the public with potential outcomes if policies are implemented, instilling a positive and hopeful opportunity. These manipulations of communication play a crucial role in forming personas and impelling public opinion, which is essential for holding the dynamics involved in Cross-strait relations. Through Cheng's (2020) discussion of nuances in Ma's presidential speech, we can find Ma's transitions between obligation and permission or statements of capability and dedication present a framework that reflects the relationship between language and ideology within the realm of Taiwan's political dialogue (Cheng, 2020).

In addition to the corpus-based analysis of political debate brought up by Yang (2013) and Cheng (2020), Zhu and Wang (2020) offer an analysis of how Chinese print media use language to create perspectives on the identical political debate at an international level — the 72nd session of United Nations assembly. Their investigation points explicitly out how Chinese foreign minister Wang Yi and American President Donald Trump utilised linguistic tools to affirm their country's interests and ideological stance. Using Fairclough's three-dimensional Discourse Model, namely, "the description, interpretation, explanation of texts", the study scrutinises the two political discussions to understand how language, ideology and society interact (Zhu & Wang, 2020). By looking at the features of the text and the broader social context in both qualitative and quantitative ways, one can see that it can relate to the discourse dynamics involving Taiwan, China, and the United States.

The principal findings they inspect include: "Leaders in both countries have resorted to the Affect resources of Judgment in their remarks, with Wang's remarks as high as 68.9% and Trump's reaching 59%." (Zhu & Wang, 2020, p. 438) It also demonstrates how both Wang Yi and Trump address expectations and norms of behaviour with judgment resources to communicate. Besides, on formal occasions, such as discussions at the UN assembly, it is

common for policymakers from different countries to express their clear stances and assessments of thorny global issues. These may include disputes like the rise of authoritarian regimes, climate change, terrorist activities, and each country's role in promoting world peace, stability, and prosperity. Nonetheless, cultural differences determine how leaders utilise linguistic strategies to project their national ideologies and engage with international opinions. In this case, the Chinese are often deemed as introverted and reserved, pointed out by Zhu and Wang (2020, p. 439), the PRC's Foreign Minister Wang Yi frequently employs repetition and parallelism in his speeches to express the resolve of the government and the sincere aspirations of the Chinese people. His frequent mentions of "respect", "together", and "international cooperation" suggest a narrative portraying China as a stabilising influence in politics. Wang Yi's diplomatic strategy emphasises China's dedication to standards and collaborative international relationships, as the high application of "proprietary" resources in the category of "social sanction." This employment displays a strategy of positioning itself as a supporter of collaboration and adherence to global standards.

Conversely, Zhu and Wang's (2020) research defines Trump frequently using terms such as "success", "strong", and "strength", asserting his priority on autonomy and independent decision-making in global matters. The findings show Trump's reliance on the "capacity" assessment, a component of the "Social Esteem" resource, highlighting the evidence of the United States' strengths and abilities, making their narrative leadership-driven. It conveys Trump's and the US government's approval and appreciation of the UN's accomplishments to date (Zhu & Wang, 2020, p. 439). Most importantly, Zhu and Wang (2020) ascertain how cultural differences between the West and the East can affect the use of positive and negative remarks in Appreciation resources. In that, "Americans are more

willing to say whether things are worthwhile, attractive or captivating” (Zhu & Wang, 2020, p. 439). The research suggests that the United States government assesses what is considered ethical or not, which can be seen in the “Propriety” of the president’s speech. Fairclough (2013, p. 481) stated that these linguistic details represent the expressions of “American ideology”. The American has its norm of “righteous” or “decent,” depending on how it aligns with political values. This sets Americans apart from those labelled as “evil” or “wicked” for not conforming to these norms. This way of classifying entities demonstrates how the U.S. Political discussions label things based on beliefs rather than the inherent political values of the entities themselves.

The study conducted by Zhu and Wang (2020) signifies an apprehension of the repercussion of discourse decisions that play a role in incentivizing the international community to perceive certain ideologies. They suggest that leaders convey the language in diplomacy, illustrating how they exercise distinct discourses to advocate their nation's objectives and frame global vantage points.

Intending to understand a complete literature review of Taiwan's and China’s views in the discourse literature review, Wing-Chun Ng's (2020) analysis of the study influenced Beijing's response to opposition and hegemony in Hong Kong's political discourse. His research shows the complexity of how the power of language interplays Beijing’s increasing intervention, for instance, the Umbrella Movement, especially following the 2016 interpretation of Hong Kong's Basic Law by the Standing Committee of the National Peoples Congress (SCNPC). In the context of the recontextualisation of Beijing’s voice and discursive strategies, this case study is fundamental to watching Beijing’s interaction between legal mandates and the responses within Hong Kong. In the same manner as the prior studies, Wing-Chun Ng (2020) applies Norman Fairclough's three dimensional

frameworks of CDA, which dissects the dynamic connections among text, discourse, and social practices, underlining how discourses are constructed by structures.

During the press conference, the Hong Kong government incorporated Beijing's guidelines to enhance its governance approach. Identically, the pro-Beijing news articles included presenting the guidelines positively or mutually, thereby validating and reinforcing the government's legitimacy while closely aligning with Beijing's policy objectives. Wing-Chun Ng (2020), in observing how these strategies correlated to the hegemonising of political discourse as a political goal, reveals the local government's legitimisation their actions of suppressing the dissenting voices. China presents itself as an alliance to internalise hegemony in Hong Kong's political discourse. This implies that the Hong Kong government is not just relaying Beijing's messages but is actually integrating these messages into their narrative to influence public opinion and political results. Such findings impact political discourse and can serve as an example for addressing contentious issues like Cross-strait relations. These factors are principles in comprehensive diplomatic discussions and policy narratives defining Cross-strait ties.

To build an all-inclusive literature review on the triangular view, taking in this party - the U.S.' angle on the PRC government is essential. Tang (2021) proposed CDA with transitivity analysis from systemic functional linguistics (SFL) and collocation analysis from corpus linguistics (CL) to discover the PRC's image from 2008 to 2010. He found Americans usually portray the PRC government's national image in seven roles: "the Persuaded, the Criticized, the Labeled, the Contained, the Punished, the Helped, and the Praised" (Tang, 2021). These roles reinforce countries to draw certain conclusions in economy and trade, negatively representing China. The idea of a national image, defined by Boulding (1991), includes nations' cognitive and affective aspects about themselves and others. The media

shapes perceptions of a country's reputation, dramatically impacting international opinions and diplomacy (Entman, 1993; Bryant & Oliver, 2009). Research on a national image often relies on framing and agenda-setting to examine how the media presents countries and underscores the ideological and stereotypical portrayals in the news (Wu, 2006; Leung & Huang, 2007). Tang's (2021) research employs a blend of methods incorporating CL and SFL to study a self-built corpus of newspaper pieces. This approach enables an investigation of language patterns - "who acts upon China."- shaping relationships in media communication. By examining individuals' roles in China, those convinced are criticised or praised, exploring the themes and beliefs influencing how China is portrayed.

The narration of the PRC in the U.S. newspapers has framed a historical tension related to current relations between China, and the U.S. Tang (2021) found how the U.S. media depict China's international actions regarding Tibet as "improper" in suppressing the political form. The use of "is persuaded to "(48.8% of occurrences) is less frequent than "The Criticized" (23.8%), "The Praised" (3.2%) and "The Helped" (14.0%). The seminal study demonstrates the transitive representations and roles the United States took in its media. The newspaper also associates China with events such as the climate, Iran, human rights, and North Korea crises. Tang (2021) also discovered a key factor that contributes to topics related to Cross-strait relations by using the term "small praise and big criticism" in the following findings:

Pelosi said she praised China's leadership in her meetings for lifting millions out of poverty, calling it a 'remarkable' achievement. 'The problem I have is that – people say, "Well, look at Taiwan, look at [South] Korea, different places" – economic reform leads to political reform', she said. 'What I see in China is that economic

reform is being used to suppress the political reform'. (Washington Post, 6 June 2009, as cited in Tang, 2021, p. 815)

Following the previously mentioned “imposer,” Speaker Pelosi simultaneously views the PRC favourably for its accomplishments and criticises it for hindering political reform. The statement with both “social esteem” and “social sanction” indicates that the economy's surge is laudable while the political suppression is unethical. The headline “Pelosi Sees No Improvement In China on Human Rights” (cited in Tang, 2021, p.815) further implies the unprecedented accomplishment merely disguises the poor human rights record.

To summarise the literature review, this literature review carried out using CDA draws on the solid theoretical foundations laid out by scholars like Fairclough, Wodak, and Van Dijk. The studies examined show that discursive practices do not reflect realities but actively shape and challenge them. Yang's (2013) review of the ECFA debate illustrates how discourse analysis can unveil the use of language in cross-straits political contexts to establish dominance and sway public opinion. In a similar political discourse, Cheng's (2020) research into former President Ma Ying Jeou's employment demonstrates how modal verbs and discursive positioning can subtly impact perceptions and political outcomes. This is the notion of language choices that are never neutral. It carries various points of view that serve specific political objectives.

Additionally, Zhu and Wang's (2020) exploration of speeches at the UN General Assembly indicates how an array of discourses can bring world leaders to project power and assert ideologies on a global platform, mirroring power dynamics and cultural distinctions. Combining these discourse analysis studies with the data-driven approach outlined by Tang (2021) gives us an overview of how China is portrayed in the U.S. Media. The roles

attributed to China as “The Criticized” and “The Persuaded” show how ideological representation shapes media narratives, impacting international perceptions and relations.

Incorporating CDA into the study of relations offers a framework for understanding the nuanced yet impactful ways language shapes global politics. The authors unveil the layers involved in using language across various settings—from local political discussions to international diplomacy—touching on the three countries’ intertwined relations starting from the past.

5. Methodology and Research Design

This study investigates the discursive strategies used by China, Taiwan, and the U.S. regarding the prominent theme of “Nancy Pelosi’s visit to Taiwan in August 2022.” It adopts the qualitative approach of Critical Discourse Analysis. This research aims to contribute to the academic understanding of how language is constructed in discourses around the issue of Cross-strait relations. This research seeks to address the following research question:

How are the Cross-strait relations discursively constructed within the official statements from China, Taiwan, and the U.S. released during Nancy Pelosi’s visit to Taiwan in August 2022?

This section will outline the methodological framework and methodology for a CDA of the chosen political texts and press releases from Nancy Pelosi (representing the U.S.), the PRC, and the ROC. Since CDA attempts to “uncover, reveal or disclose what is hidden or otherwise not immediately obvious in relations of discursively enacted dominance or their underlying ideologies” (van Dijk, 1995, p. 18). Therefore, an inductive approach will be used to identify themes, frameworks, and underlying meanings through textual analysis,

paying particular attention to the word choice, tone, and style will also be taken into consideration.

In several social spheres, critical discourse analysis provides empirical studies of theories and methods, that influence social and cultural changes (Jørgensen & Phillips, 2006, p. 60). Fairclough (2013) points out that CDA introduces the critical tradition of social analysis in language studies and significantly contributes to social analysis. It focuses on discourse and its relationships with other social aspects, such as power dynamics, ideologies, institutions, social identities, etc. The texts are interpreted in communications and interviews as well as from ‘multi-modal’ texts (which combine language and visual imagery) on television and the internet. (Gee, 2014, p. 12, emphasis in original). Matters of Cross-strait relations are linked to several social ties related to events that occur almost entirely through texts (news and press). This is why CDA is particularly suitable for examining how discourse constructs, maintains, or challenges power dynamics within societal contexts.

As laid out in this thesis’s literature review, CDA regarding the relationship between Taiwan, China, and the United States is connected to linguistic choices to maintain power in political discourse, making CDA an adequate method to apply to this topic. “It aims to transform action and values such that the social scene becomes increasingly equal, more democratic, less victimising” (Graham, 2018, p. 202). “Political institutions, governments, political media, and political supporters operating in political environments to achieve political goals” (Wilson 2001, p. 398, emphasis in original). This is particularly true for the selected press from the officials, who are considered to interact with the other official parties directly.

Drawing upon Fairclough’s (2013) three dimensional framework, the analysis will first identify text. The textual analysis will focus on the vocabulary, thematic content, and

framing strategies in the news releases issued by Nancy Pelosi and the MOFAs of the PRC and the ROC. This involves a review of rhetoric, grammar, and lexicon to understand how ideas like international recognition, sovereignty, and security are presented in the three presentations. Second, in addition to analysing the text itself, it will evaluate the circumstances in which they discuss Cross-strait relations, how they react to questions from reporters, and how the presses respond to each other. This involves recognising the statements' source, comprehending the context in which they were made, and assessing the influence of these conversations on public opinion and governmental decisions. The discussion section will provide a broader context of the social dimension of Cross-strait relations and their relationship with the United States.

By interpreting and clarifying the relationship between the textual components and their more extensive settings, these analyses shed light on how geopolitical tensions nowadays may be reflected in historical communications. With this extensive grasp of the dynamics of Cross-strait relations and the U.S. involvement, this comprehensive method will offer a sophisticated understanding of the discourse processes in international diplomacy.

The analysis will also implement Word Cloud, an open-sourced software, a textual data visualisation that allows anyone to quickly identify the terms that appear most frequently in a particular body of text. Word Cloud helps organise data in an understandable and accessible way by supporting statistical analysis, data visualisation, and identifying recurrent themes and patterns in texts (Camargo & Justo, 2013). It is commonly employed by Humanities and Social Sciences Research as an instrument for processing, examining, and distributing qualitative sentiment information. It allows one to enter any text and outputs a visual depiction of the most often used terms based on their relative sizes. It will help display the context of the presses in a visual format.

The following secondary research questions contributed to the textual analysis by facilitating the process of perceiving the features and arguments of the individual articles and drawing conclusions from that:

- What is the tone of describing “Taiwan”, “China”, and “United States”, “Pelosi” in the chosen presses?
- How are the aspects of political strategy, sovereignty, or security being emphasised to describe “Taiwan”, “China”, and “United States, or Pelosi”?
- What background information was provided to support the narrative of the sovereignty and international status of “Taiwan”, “China”, and “United States, Pelosi”?
- Does the text offer explicit suggestions on addressing or managing the underlying goals and objectives concerning the Taiwan issue?
- What assumptions underpin the statements made, and how do these influence the discourse with international perspectives on sovereignty and autonomy?

The questions that led the analysis helped identify the articles' main approaches and discourses. This study's conclusions will be presented in a section organised around general observations. Each country's assertions will then be expressed in separate sections, and a section on the social level of the analysis will follow. With a focus on Cross-strait relations and the U.S. involvement, this comprehensive approach offers a sophisticated understanding of the discursive practices in international diplomacy. The following section of this chapter will explain why the relevant papers were selected.

Nine press releases are selected from the MOFA of the ROC and the PRC; the latter three are from Congresswoman Nancy Pelosi’s media press release. All documents were released on the exact dates, namely the second, third and fourth of August, and all are in

response to Nancy Pelosi's visit. They contain expressions of Taiwan's democracy and topics related to Cross-strait relations. It is worth noting that Pelosi did not respond on the fourth of August; however, two presses were released from her on the 3 August 2022; therefore, the analysis on 4 August will only cover the ROC and the PRC's presses.

There are several reasons for choosing the official statements published on the websites of the two countries' MOFA and Nancy Pelosi's website. For the first reason, the official document from their media press section may be seen as reflecting the views of the Cross-strait relations because of their official standing. Through these press conferences, governments primarily convey their viewpoints, stances on policy, and reactions to global events. They offer official remarks that enlighten audiences at home and abroad about the state's position on some issues. Furthermore, Wodak and Meyer (2001) stress the significance of examining language in institutional settings. Since official papers are a component of institutional discourse, they are frequently the focus of analysis. Secondly, the press from the ROC MOFA's side sourced authorship as the ROC's Department of North American Affairs. It can be concluded that the presses are strongly supported by the political nature of Taiwan's position. In addition, the regular press conferences of the PRC and Congresswoman Nancy Pelosi are platforms frequently used by spokespeople to present issues that advance their governments' goals. This echoes Fairclough's use of language (2013) to sway public opinion, support policies, and affect perception abroad. Regular press conferences help facilitate lively communication between the media and the government. Journalists' questions can offer more participatory and responsive forms of communication by being the watchdog, providing a more interactive and receptive form of communication. The fact that many of those statements are made public with easy access being read by journalists, investigators, and policymakers is another justification for high-value and trusty

sources. As a result, the selected presses are well-known open source and play a crucial role in Cross-strait relations.

Regarding the timeframe of the press selection, it is essential to note that Congresswoman Nancy Pelosi made her subsequent trips on the third of August to South Korea and Japan after Taiwan, and the press conference from Nancy Pelosi shifted their focus to those countries' matters. Subsequently, her visit to Taiwan's effect on Cross-strait relations cannot provide a more specific analysis of other diplomatic engagements from the official side. These data will provide insight into the strategic discourse construction by each government. Using the ROC and PRC's language in the press from MOFA and the media from Congress Women, Nancy Pelosi will reflect on their stances and reactions, elucidating the focus of Pelosi's visit. Responses from the three countries will offer an angle at how these countries see Cross-strait relations and dissect how the use of language from three countries can intensify the rising attention to Cross-strait relations.

Hence, the selected presses from the ROC and the PRC on August 2, 3, and 4 2022, have been carefully chosen to coincide with Nancy Pelosi's supporting visit to Taiwan. These dates pose an issue given that they record the officials' immediate and uncensored reactions, which is fundamental for comprehending the dynamic interplay of political discourses after Nancy Pelosi's visit. The Taiwanese and Chinese governments expressed their opinions during this crucial time for diplomatic communication to influence global perceptions and make political claims. Their immediate responses condensed into these news releases illuminate the rhetorical instruments each government has been using. These rhetoric strategies can provide an array of information for dissecting the language and framework that have been implemented in the context of rising tensions across the Taiwan Strait.

6. Limitation

Before presenting the findings, it is essential to critically understand and acknowledge my standpoint for the sake of the researcher's self-reflexivity. As has already been discussed in the theoretical chapters, discourses define the meaning of identities with which we identify. In light of this, my Taiwanese identity and my cultural and national background provide a unique perspective on the geopolitical dynamics surrounding Nancy Pelosi's visit to Taiwan. This identity inevitably influences how I view events, especially the ones regarding the position with which I identify, for example, Nancy Pelosi's trip to Taiwan. This, however, also adds a deeper layer of understanding to my analysis of Taiwan's geopolitical complexities. My insights are inevitably informed by my lived experiences within the Taiwanese socio-political milieu and my aspirations for Taiwan's international recognition and political future. Therefore, to mitigate the potential biases deriving from my identity, I have taken rigorous steps throughout my research, particularly during the data collection and analysis. I, for example, developed a thorough plan for the research project, engaged in several rounds of the coding process and in-depth analysis, and reviewed each step of my research with my supervisor and other peers. Moreover, my ability to speak Mandarin Chinese and English allows me to gather information and engage with perspectives, leading to a more authentic portrayal of the voices involved. Throughout my research project, I upheld the values of academic rigor and thoroughness in my analyses, ensuring that my conclusions are rooted in evidence and considering the dynamics influencing Taiwan's position on the world stage, and thus aimed to provide objective research.

7. Findings and Analysis

Prior to exploring current discourses influenced by geopolitical tensions and power dynamics in Cross-strait relations, it is vital to building a solid foundation by comprehensively understanding and analysing the chosen data. To begin with, the findings of the textual analysis of official statements from Taiwan, China, and the United States on August 2, 3, and 4, 2022, will be shared. The results will cover the rhetorical methods, selections of words, and thematic emphases that define the discourse surrounding Nancy Pelosi's trip to Taiwan.

This section will present the findings of this research. It will be organised into two prominent figures: the Word Cloud image to assist the most spoken words in the press and an analysis that examines the socio-political backdrop in which the comments were delivered and received. The default of the generator is 50 words. However, to give the press enough space to explore the use of language in its use of verbs and terms, I upscaled it to 70 of the most mentioned words to enrich the context of the analysis, offering an extensive investigation for this thesis. The insights gained will then be organised through an analysis of discourse that categorises them based on the identified topics of conversation. It is also worth mentioning that while excerpts from statements from the ROC and the PRC were not their official language, the presses were written in English to maintain a global understanding.

I. The People's Republic of China

Three regular press conferences are being analysed in the search for power dynamics from CDA. The analysis will first delve into a) *Foreign Ministry Spokesperson Hua Chunying's Regular Press Conference on August 2, 2022* (before Nancy Pelosi visits Taiwan at 10 pm), b) *Foreign Ministry Spokesperson Hua Chunying's Regular Press Conference on August 3, 2022* (When Nancy Pelosi is in Taiwan), and then move on to c) *Foreign Ministry*

Spokesperson Hua Chunying's Regular Press Conference on August 4, 2022 (When Nancy Pelosi left Taiwan in the afternoon on August 3). The meeting took place after the U.S. House Speaker Nancy Pelosi visited Taiwan, a visit that caused a rise in tensions between the People's Republic of China and the United States.

This gathering offers an opportunity to use CDA to explore how discussions on power, sovereignty, and international norms are shaped and debated in the context of Cross-strait relations. The first press conference will focus on how the PRC portrays the words "Taiwan", "China", and "Pelosi (representing the United States)". The second one will focus on how the descriptions have evolved from the third to the fourth of August. It is worth noting that this structure will be employed throughout the whole analysis section.

a) Foreign Ministry Spokesperson Hua Chunying's Regular Press Conference on August 2, 2022

The regular press conference conducted by Hua Chunying served as a focal point of international attention due to Nancy Pelosi's visit and how she, as a spokesperson, commented on behalf of the PRC government on the question of Taiwan and China. It is a press conference strategically discussing what happened globally, including the tensions between Taiwan and China.

On August 2, 2022, Nancy Pelosi made her first visit as an American official in 25 years to Taiwan, upending the PRC's hegemony over Taiwan and reversing the delicate diplomatic balance. The PRC interpreted this action as a test violating the "One China" policy, which has characterised Sino-American relations since the relationships were restored in 1979.

Before diving into analysing this political discourse, it is essential to show the most frequently used words from Word Cloud in the press from Figure 1., namely, Taiwan, China,

nuclear, cooperation, development, international, foreign, regional, security, and visit. Word Cloud assists in representing the most frequently used words across the press, reflecting the language used in the discourse surrounding Nancy Pelosi's visit to Taiwan. The key terms, for instance, “China,” “Taiwan,” “nuclear,” “development,” and “cooperation” are the language employed to depict the occasion, which is not just literal. It is also imbued with meanings influenced by the political perspectives of participating parties. Regarding the issue between “Taiwan” and “China”, these two words are used in highly ideological and opposing contexts.

Regarding reviewing the press release from the People's Republic of China on August 2, 2022, it is evident China presented the country's interactions and position on sovereignty and stability in the region. The press release also is the report from Hua Chunying on State Councilor and the then Foreign Minister Wang Yi at the ASEAN (The Association of Southeast Asian Nations) gatherings in Phnom Penh, Cambodia. This agenda plays a role in China's involvement in diplomacy and its dedication to strengthening a thorough strategic partnership between China and ASEAN.

A total of 16 questions were asked of Spokesperson Hua Chunying's response to the CCTV (China Central Television, reporting directly to the Chinese Communist Party's Central Publicity Department), Bloomberg (owned by Michael Bloomberg 88% and Bank of America on 12%; through Merrill Lynch), China Daily (owned the Chinese Communist Party), CRI (state-owned international broadcaster of China), The Wall Street Journal (owned by Rupert Murdoch's News Corp. in New York), Dragon TV (State-owned media), Phoenix TV (state-owned Hong Kong media outlet), Xinhua News Agency (People's Republic of China's official state news agency), TASS (Russian state-owned news agency), Hubei Media Group (State-owned publisher), Reuters (Public Media Company from

Source: Author (2024)

Figure 1. shows, out of 4090 words, some of the most mentioned words related to the word “China” 50 times are “nuclear” 30 times, “cooperation” 20 times, “development” 19 times, “international” 18 times, “foreign” 17 times, and “one-China” 7 times. Some words, such as nuclear, cooperation, development, international, and foreign, share a similar theme regarding the word China. They revolve around international engagement and China’s stance on the global stage. For instance, “nuclear” is often associated with discussing weaponry, energy, and technology, implying China's significant power as a country. Another most mentioned word, “Taiwan”, 23 times, is usually correlated with “Taiwan region/question/independence” These themes are the rhetorical techniques employed in the media briefing to influence opinion on Taiwan's political standing concerning China. Lastly, “ Pelosi” was used six times, and “US/ United States” was used 51 times. These two words have multiple narratives; however, using political discourse is often a strategy for China to isolate the United States, bolstering the alliance.

The word “nuclear is often linked to China when discussing policy, energy and non-proliferation. China plays a role in conversations regarding atomic safety, disarmament, and the peaceful application of nuclear technology. The country's position on these matters impacts security and international agreements when being asked by TASS about the future of nuclear arms agreements, President Biden affirmed the United States' readiness to swiftly negotiate a new arms control framework with Russia, aiming to replace the expiring New START treaty by 2026, highlighting the critical role of the country's stance in shaping international security and diplomatic agreements.

“ [...] China is committed to a self-defensive nuclear strategy, and we have exercised utmost restraint in developing nuclear capabilities, which have been limited to the

minimum level required by national security. And we have never been part of any form of arms race. [...] Early this year, with China's efforts, the leaders of the five nuclear countries issued a joint statement on preventing nuclear wars and avoiding arms races, stressing that "a nuclear war cannot be won and must never be fought. [...]" (Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the People's Republic of China, 2022)

This "self-defensive nuclear strategy" label is a crucial term determining China's aim to seek differentiation from the U.S. and refuse to associate itself with more aggressive nuclear actions. The phrase "minimum level required by national security" maintains China's depiction as cautious, restrained, and responsible for atomic activities. Hua also stated that any other sort of competition in armed enforcement has never been an option for them. These comments leave a perception that China is the prevention of conflicts.

The inquiry by Hubei Media Group about the opening of the Tenth Review Conference of the Parties to the Treaty on the Non-Proliferation of Nuclear Weapons on August 1 in New York underscores a similar perception:

"The decision of the US, the UK and Australia to have nuclear submarine cooperation constitutes serious risks of nuclear proliferation. It has also intensified arms race and jeopardized regional peace and stability. China has expressed its opposition to that on many occasions. [...] Regrettably, however, despite international concerns, the US, the UK and Australia have insisted on pushing forward nuclear submarine cooperation and have been trying to explain away their course of action. [...] We also urge the three countries to honor their obligations on nuclear non-proliferation, cancel their decision on nuclear submarine cooperation

and contribute their share to peace and stability in the Asia-Pacific.” (Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the People’s Republic of China, 2022)

Hua Chunying shares China's views on the proliferation issues of the AUKUS agreement. For instance, the shared technology and resources are a nuclear weapon state like Australia, depicted as a clear violation of the NPT guidelines. She also stresses the focus on upholding global non-proliferation in China, avoiding the dangers of connections to proliferation. They have suggested that such actions could establish a precedent undermining the international community’s oversight of nuclear materials. Essentially, Hua demonstrates China’s commitment to global norms and responsibility for peace and stability in the region.

In response to questions about the high likelihood of Nancy Pelosi's visit to Taiwan, themes such as the Taiwan question, Taiwan independence, and international support are emphasised to reinforce adherence to the one-China principle. Phoenix TV highlights this by referring to US Secretary of State Antony Blinken's remarks at the NPT Review Conference, where he acknowledged Congress as an independent branch of government, noting the precedent set by previous speakers' visits to Taiwan.

“I think the world has seen very clearly that it is the US’s provocations that have led to the escalation of tensions in the Taiwan Strait. [...] When the House Speaker, being the third-highest ranking figure in the US government, flies on US military aircraft and makes a provocative visit to the Taiwan region, it is by no means an unofficial action. [...] Fourth, the US has been following a strategy of using Taiwan to contain China. And based on this strategy, the US has supported and connived at Taiwan-independence separatist forces and has made deliberate provocations against China

on the Taiwan question.” (Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the People’s Republic of China, 2022)

The one-China principle is a central theme in discussing Taiwan in this context; Hua often clearly stated China’s position regarding a potential visit by Nancy Pelosi to Taiwan. She implies the assertion that China will see Pelosi’s visit as a provocation from the United States.

“[...] The position of the Chinese government and people on the Taiwan question is consistent. Resolutely safeguarding China’s sovereignty, security and territorial integrity is the firm will of the more than 1.4 billion Chinese people. Achieving full reunification of the motherland is a shared aspiration of all Chinese people. And the US should give up any attempt to play the “Taiwan card” and strictly abide by the one-China principle and the three Joint Communiqués both in words and deeds and to the letter. [...]” (Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the People’s Republic of China, 2022)

In the same question, Hua also criticised how the United States described such a high-level visit as a precedent; however, China does not see it as legitimate in current or future actions. She reiterated that the one-China principle is fundamental to maintaining primary diplomatic relationships between China and the U.S. Moreover, internal policy mechanisms like the Taiwan Relations Act and the Six Assurances are not recognised universally. Still, they are unilateral agreements, invoking unnecessary complications and escalating tensions in the Taiwan Straits. The mention of “1.4 billion individuals” goes beyond being a statistic, implying a demographic power that any opposition to the official stance is a challenge to the government and the collective will of the entire Chinese

population. Using this population influence strengthens China's statements, indicating that straying from the one-China principle is not just improper but also widely disapproved of, making it unjustified and unsustainable internationally.

b) Foreign Ministry Spokesperson Hua Chunying's Regular Press Conference on August 3, 2022

During Nancy Pelosi's visit, Hua Chunying outlined the PRC's stance on various subjects. A total of 17 questions were asked to Spokesperson Hua Chunying responded to the CGTN (China Global Television Network, state-owned), AFP, Phoenix TV, Global Times (Daily newspaper owned by Central Committee of the Chinese Communist Party), Bloomberg, CCTV, Reuters, etc., the contexts are mostly infringement on China's sovereignty and territorial integrity.

First, Hua strongly defended the PRC's sovereignty claims over Taiwan, drawing upon historical narratives that shaped the PRC's position. The press briefing was more than a reaction to developments; it was a deliberate restatement of the PRC's enduring policies. Second, she reiterated the One-China policy, criticised the U.S.' actions on this policy, and denounced such action from the U.S. as hypocrisy in handling democracy and international law. Through the PRC's use of the press briefing as an occasion, Hua reiterated the government's claims over Taiwan and mobilised support from around the world against what it saw as provocations. Furthermore, this press briefing is significant as it includes comments and allusions from several contexts. It alludes to previous agreements with the U.S., ongoing questions about "Taiwan's independence", and other global conversations. Finally, Hua's comment as a spokesperson adds to international discussions over sovereignty, democracy, and integrity surrounding the word "Taiwan". By analysing this occurrence, we can discover

how the PRC manipulates its narrative to defend its sovereignty over Taiwan, influence public opinion, and participate in international discussions over the discussion of Taiwan.

Figure 2. Word Cloud

From: Free Word Cloud Generator



Source: Author (2024)

Figure 2. shows a total of 5851 words is included in the press release. The word “China” is mentioned 144 times, is consistently described as “sovereign” 8 times, “territorial integrity” 21 times, “one-China principle/ policy” 27 times, “one China” 9 times, “guardian of peace and stability/ security” 15 times, and “committed to historical agreements” 11 times. The word “Taiwan” mentioned 80 times, usually refers to “Taiwan Independence” 15 times, “Taiwan question” 14 times, “part of China” 8 times, referring to “ Taiwan (as) Region” 11 times, “subject to China's governance” 13 times, “separatist” 8 times or “ (Center of Provocation” with the U.S. 2 times.

The word “Pelosi”, mentioned 24 times, is an example of how the United States is associated with “hypocrisy” 3 times and “provocation” 11 times. A must-tone should

“acknowledge” the Chinese government’s agreements three times; a provocation/ aggression tone, like:

“I would also like to remind Pelosi that she is pitting herself against a nation with one-fifth of the world’s population and making a provocation to the more than 1.4 billion Chinese people.” (Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the People’s Republic of China, 2022)

Another mention of the demographic power of China’s significantly large population. This population emphasises the entire Chinese population as united against external threats or issues. This shows how references to population size are used to strengthen China’s position on the world stage, both politically and economically.

“Will Pelosi go down in history with a favorable or foul reputation for her stunt? I’m sure history will give a fair answer.” (Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the People’s Republic of China, 2022)

“The kind of democracy Pelosi refers to is like nothing but an ornate robe with lice crawling all over it.” (Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the People’s Republic of China, 2022)

“For people like Pelosi, their futile attempt to collude with the “Taiwan independence” forces and use the Taiwan question to contain China and undermine China’s sovereignty and territorial integrity will not stop but only accelerate the historical process of China’s reunification.” (Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the People’s Republic of China, 2022)

Words like “violation” 4 times, “ugly” 6 times, and “provocation/ provocateur” 13 times are also associated with the United States and Pelosi when referring to their government. She is also described as “pitting herself against a nation with one-fifth of the world’s population.” The constant mention of the population in China emphasizes how the country’s large number of people is used in discussions framing all citizens as facing external threats or provocations. This further shows how demographic figures are employed to emphasize China’s political significance.

When CGTN asked for a response to Nancy Pelosi’s statement about her delegation’s visit to Taiwan, where she emphasised America’s commitment to supporting Taiwan’s democracy and solidarity with its 23 million people against global autocracy, Hua Chunying remarked:

“The issue of her visit is not about democracy, but China’s sovereignty and territorial integrity. What she [Pelosi] has done is definitely not about upholding or defending democracy, but a provocation and infringement on China’s sovereignty and territorial integrity.” (Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the People’s Republic of China, 2022)

This statement points out the importance of “sovereignty”, placing it in the context of integrity and national values, which portrays Pelosi’s visit as an intrusion. It is interesting how Hua’s whole statement shifted from a discussion of a broader diplomatic and governmental system to a focus of criticism on sovereignty and territorial control. This strategic shift aims to veer the centre from Taiwan’s values towards the fundamental concepts of nation-states, such as sovereignty and territorial integrity. Furthermore, the label “provocation” amplifies the event’s significance for the PRC’s populace and the global

community. Hua frames Pelosi's visit as an infringement of sovereignty, not only paints China as a target victim of international disrespect but also fuels patriotic sentiments that often rally support domestically and validate retaliatory measures.

During the press briefing, Global Times asked for a comment on US officials defending Pelosi's visit to Taiwan and shifting blame. They referenced statements by Jake Sullivan, who accused China of turning a norm into a crisis, and John Kirby, who stated the visit doesn't violate the US's one-China policy.

“ [...]There is only one China in the world, and Taiwan is part of China. The Government of the People's Republic of China is the sole legal government representing China. [...]. Historically, the Taiwan question once represented the main roadblock to the normalisation of China-US relations. China stood firm on the one-China principle and would not make any compromise or concession on that issue. In 1971, the US affirmed to China the new principles it would follow regarding the Taiwan question. They include the US would acknowledge that there is only one China in the world and Taiwan is a part of China; the US would not repeat the phrase that the status of Taiwan is undetermined; the US had not supported and would not support movements for “Taiwan independence”. When President Nixon visited China in 1972, he reaffirmed those principles to Premier Zhou Enlai and the Shanghai Communiqué. [...] ” (Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the People's Republic of China, 2022)

The statement from Hua emphasised “Taiwan is part of China” six times. These invariable references also hint at a consistent message aiming to undermine claims or movements toward Taiwanese independence. Therefore, “Taiwan Independence” and

“Taiwan Region” are also languages used intentionally to deny the recognition of Taiwan as an independent sovereign country. In her remark, Hua repeatedly reiterated that “the People's Republic of China is the only legitimate government representing all of China, including Taiwan.”

“Disregarding China’s strong opposition and serious representations, Speaker Pelosi visited China’s Taiwan region. This is a serious violation of the one-China principle and the provisions of the three China-US Joint Communiqués.” (Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the People’s Republic of China, 2022)

She also declared that any independent Taiwanese government authority or diplomatic ties were illegitimate. All of the terms used to describe “Taiwan” put Taiwan at the centre of provocation; given the activities of pro-independence, their actions have been depicted as causing instability in the region towards China.

“It gravely undermines peace and stability across the Taiwan Strait, and sends a seriously wrong signal to the separatist forces for ‘Taiwan independence’.” (Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the People’s Republic of China, 2022)

Another example of territory “non-negotiable” can be seen in the response to AFP’s question, when asked about remarks by State Councilor and Foreign Minister Wang Yi regarding punishment for those who provoke China:

“China will do everything necessary to firmly uphold its sovereignty and territorial integrity. All consequences arising therefrom shall be borne by the US side and the “Taiwan independence” separatist forces. We mean what we say. I would like to

kindly ask you for some additional patience and confidence.” (Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the People’s Republic of China, 2022)

Hua explicitly states that any foreign involvement in Taiwan is seen as a direct threat to its authority (sovereignty and territorial integrity). The PRC government reiterated its firm stance with the phrase “shall be borne by the U.S.’ side”, placing the liability of responsibility and feasible repercussions squarely on the provocateurs like being a separatist force (“Taiwan independence”).

Hua countered Pelosi’s comments on minority rights in Xinjiang and Tibet by redirecting attention to matters in the United States. This response followed Phoenix TV’s coverage of Pelosi’s opinion piece in The Washington Post, where she condemned the lack of action, by the U.S. regarding human rights violations in China.

“Pelosi says that the US cannot stand by. Then why has she been standing by when it comes to the domestic problems in her own country?” (Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the People’s Republic of China, 2022)

When criticising the PRC government, Hua uses deflection in her statement to suggest hypocrisy in the U.S. stance, hinting at how the U.S. positions itself. Her manoeuvre directs attention away from China's actions to internal issues within the U.S., portraying the U.S. as holding double standards with its domestic challenges.

“[...] This is a typical example of “you can’t wake a person who is pretending to be asleep”. It puts the hypocrisy and ugliness of some US politicians on full display and reveals their sinister motive of using human rights as a pretext to interfere in other countries’ internal affairs, undermine China’s stability and contain China’s

development.[...]” (Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the People’s Republic of China, 2022)

Not only did Hua emphasise sovereignty and territorial integrity and redirect her stance on questions about the PRC, but she also extensively cited several historical agreements and global guidelines to defend Beijing's stance on Taiwan. For example, the PRC government established the One-China policy in various international communiqués, underlining the United States’ inconsistencies between past agreements and current events. Once again, the PRC justified its position on taking any retaliatory measures in the face of the U.S. actions. Such demanding emphasis claims over Taiwan’s sovereignty and territorial integrity reinforces the PRC’s government. It is evident that the PRC implies its ideologies and strategies by legitimising its stance in the eyes of the international community and populace.

c) Foreign Ministry Spokesperson Hua Chunying’s Regular Press Conference on August 4, 2022

4 August 2022 is the day after Pelosi stayed a night in Taipei and went to South Korea the same day. Figure 3., derived from Word Cloud Generator, shows 70 out of 6727 words in the press briefing of 22 questions. The image depicts the linguistic landscape of this press conference in China’s rhetoric choices. Hua Chunying engaged with various international media outlets from CCTV, Bloomberg, AFP, CGTN, Kyodo News, RIA Novosti (Russian state-owned domestic news agency), Hubei Media Group, Dragon TV, Reuters, Bloomberg, PTI (The Press Trust of India Ltd, a nonprofit cooperative), etc. This time, her comments continued to reiterate, echo, and restate the enduring principles of the PRC’s diplomatic posture. It is an immediate response to the PRC’s stance and a broader

impact on the PRC deeming the “Taiwan region”. Hua’s response on 4 August 2022 notably signalled a change in approach, moving from a defensive position to a more proactive one by stressing China’s “sovereignty” and “territorial integrity” over Taiwan. She firmly addressed criticisms from the G7 and other global decision-makers, examining key themes in narrative content, international positioning and emphasis in this press briefing.

The press release indicated a broader global breadth of the discourse surrounding Pelosi’s visit. In this session, Hua’s response continued to emphasise the unwavering position on “China”, “Taiwan”, “Sovereignty”, “Integrity”, “Territorial”, “One-China”, “statement”, “principle”, and “provocation”, etc. Regarding the most frequently mentioned “China” 152 times, “Taiwan” 82 times and the word “Pelosi” 24 times. Yet, these repeated vital terms are generally related to China’s view on national unity, reinforcing the government’s position on Taiwan, which continued to victimise itself throughout the conference by pointing out historical injustices and aiming to target both the international audience and the local population to garner support for the nation.

Figure 3. Word Cloud

From: Free Word Cloud Generator



Source: Author (2024)

First, “China” is often associated with respecting China’s sovereignty and territorial integrity. The word “sovereignty” is mentioned 44 times, and “territorial integrity” 38 times, mirroring the rhetorical shifts towards a more assertive and proactive tone on the PRC’s defence in power dynamics. Moreover, it is used several times to justify, resonate with, and restrain criticism from media outlets. Hua also asserted China was being “forced,” leaving China in these defensive actions.

Other words related to China are the “One-China Principle” featured 33 times, repeated throughout the entire briefing, associated with fundamental, universally recognised, and non-negotiable contexts; and “Peace and stability/ security” was mentioned 18 times to frame China’s commitment and concerns to maintain regional stability, painting the PRC as a protector, promotor and guardian. The word “support”, mentioned 22 times, has also shown an association with the international community (G7, ASEAN, UN and the African Union

and other countries leaders), legitimately grounded and morally justified China's stance on Taiwan, criticising actions made by the U.S. and its allies.

Second, the word "Taiwan" is frequently described as an inalienable "part of China (territory)" six times. The repeated iteration also retains its characterisation under "Region" 19 times, "Taiwan question" 10 times, "Taiwan Independence" 10 times or " (threats from) separatist/separatism (movements)" 10 times. The portrayal used by Hua Chunying justifies the Chinese military drills as necessary to guard its territorial integrity. Not surprisingly, "provocation", mentioned 28 times, correlates Taiwan with the United States and Nancy Pelosi, justifying China's strong defensive reaction over this incident.

Third, the word "Pelosi" is continued being labelled as a "provocateur", persisting in her visit to Taiwan, stirring conflict and instability intentionally. In the context of the United States, associated with Pelosi, her visit to Taiwan or the international community at G7 is often referred to as " aggressive" 4 times, "irresponsible" 3 times, and "violation" 12 times. Words like "infringes", mentioned five times, are related to the context of violation of sovereignty and territorial integrity, justification for defence, serving as a catalyst for international support, and undermining international commitment.

During the press briefing, CCTV brought up a topic regarding a G7 statement dated August 3. The statement highlighted concerns about China's actions being perceived as threatening and questioned the need for military reactions to Pelosi's visit to Taiwan. It stressed the importance of legislators' international travel being a practice and reiterated the G7's adherence to its one China policies.

"Reading this statement is like being transported back in time. The foreign ministers of these countries clearly believe that they still live in the days of the Eight-Power

Allied Forces over 120 years ago. [...]” (Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the People’s Republic of China, 2022)

“We no longer live in a world where the imperialist powers could run roughshod over Chinese people on Chinese soil. [...] First, China has the right to defend its sovereignty and territorial integrity. The tensions in the Taiwan Strait is fundamentally caused by the US connivance at the third highest-ranking official of the US government to take a military aircraft to visit China’s Taiwan region in disregard of China’s strong opposition and serious representations. [...]” (Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the People’s Republic of China, 2022)

The above declaration in the press release layered with past agreements and analogies that convey an assertive tone. Drawing parallels with past events helps showcase China's position as one focused on addressing previous wrongs, portraying China not just as reactive but as actively righting historical injustices. This strategy intends to evoke a sense of consistency and justification for China's behaviours. Furthermore, Hua’s words again victimise themselves from the historical transformation from imperialism to a modern state – The Eight Power Allied Forces, then actively defend its sovereignty. This discourse reminds the international community that the PRC will not be humiliated again. In contrast, it is rising and safeguarding its independence at the global level.

In the context of the first question, it is also evident that Hua utilised a defensive posture and corrected the rhetoric in misinterpreting the image of “China.” Her tone suggests that the G7 should not be concerned about the outdated perception of China because it no longer applies to China, which is resurgent and modern today. With the abovementioned words from Hua Chunying, we can tell that she reframed the narrative from victimising to

defending and, hence, a fortiori of sovereignty and territorial integrity. Nevertheless, Hua engaged the statement with international norms by pointing to agreements like the UN General Assembly Resolution 2758, claiming that the PRC's position is backed by history and is recognised.

Other answers from Hua Chunying also argue for China's sovereignty and territorial integrity. Bloomberg added the word "threats" in the second asked question. The direct address of "China Threats" made Hua swerve her answers and continue to seek justification for allegations of aggression.

"Your question is a typical example of how certain people think in the West. This is an issue about fundamental facts and principles because it involves China's sovereignty and territorial integrity." (Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the People's Republic of China, 2022)

"[...] Taiwan is an inalienable part of China's territory. The Chinese military drills in the waters off the Taiwan Island are a necessary and legitimate measure to uphold its sovereignty and territorial integrity and a necessary and legitimate countermeasure against the "Taiwan independence" separatist forces and foreign interference. [...]" (Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the People's Republic of China, 2022)

These comments are proof of continuing to vindicate that China's military activities are a legitimate reaction when it comes to the violation of the country's sovereignty. Specifically, Hua does not seem to acknowledge the view of China as a military danger. She further announces that China aims to challenge the perception of being a "threat" and confidently justifies the government's preparedness as a safeguard for its boundaries, framing these military exercises as defensive rather than aggressive acts.

The third question from APF also underscores the same tactic in this political discourse. The journalist brought up worries from ASEAN ministers about the risk of misunderstandings or tense encounters in the Taiwan Strait, sparked by provocation and ongoing military drills.

“The root cause of the current tensions in the Taiwan Strait is the joint provocation of the US side and “Taiwan independence” separatist forces, which seriously violates the one China principle and infringes upon our sovereignty and territorial integrity. In the face of such flagrant provocation, we are compelled to take justified, necessary countermeasures to uphold our sovereignty and territorial integrity.” (Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the People’s Republic of China, 2022)

Once again, China positions itself as reacting to challenges rather than provoking conflicts. By underlining the implication of the “one China principle” and pointing out interference in its sovereignty, China asserts that its actions are justified responses to external threats against its national unity over Taiwan. The rhetoric on both domestic and international occasions has demonstrated a solicitude towards the PRC’s international relations and its nationalism within the country.

As the quotes state, the PRC's primary concern regarding Hua’s description of Taiwan is questioning its legitimacy and sovereignty. The depiction of Taiwan often focuses on its status as a non-separable part of China, supported by treaties and historical assertions. This angle presents the matter as defending justifiable sovereign rights instead of attempting to establish dominance over a separate entity. Her narratives also suggested that despite the severe measures taken, China depicted itself as reluctant but necessary to respond to Taiwanese independence under international consensus. CCTV asked the question regarding

the G7 foreign ministers and the EU High Representative that they have expressed worries, about China's reactions to Pelosi's trip to Taiwan, highlighted that it is common for lawmakers to travel internationally and reiterated their stance on the one-China policy.

“ China will allow no room for any form of “Taiwan independence” forces.”
(Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the People's Republic of China, 2022)

This statement invalidates any movement advocating for independence in Taiwan. It draws China's actions (which could involve interventions and cause potential escalation) as defensive reactions to external provocation or internal separatist activities. It paints Taiwan as an instigator of conflict, thereby supporting the need for measures to uphold stability.

“The world sees this very clearly. Over 100 countries spoke up soon after the visit took place, stressing the importance of upholding the one-China principle and expressing support for China's efforts to uphold sovereignty and territorial integrity. If the G7 countries truly care about peace and stability in the Taiwan Strait, they should have urged the US early on not to make such a dangerous, reckless and irresponsible provocation against China. [...]”

Another quote from Hua's response implies the international community's active support and endorsement of the PRC's stance, reinforcing its legitimacy. This universal support for the One-China principle underpins the national and global consensus. ASEAN foreign ministers have voiced worries about incidents in the Taiwan Strait, cautioning that the present circumstances might result in misjudgments and serious clashes. APF questioned whether China is apprehensive about the outcomes of its military drills.

“The League of Arab States expressed support to China yesterday. [...] Russian Foreign Minister Sergey Lavrov said again that he did not see any reason to create such an irritant literally out of nowhere. Pakistan’s Foreign Ministry reaffirms in a statement Pakistan’s strong commitment to the one-China principle and firm support for China’s sovereignty and territorial integrity. Cuba’s Foreign Ministry issued a statement condemning interference in China’s internal affairs, stating its firm rejection to the actions aimed at harming China’s sovereignty and territorial integrity and emphasizing its concern over the increasing tensions as a direct result of the aggressive policy and high military presence of the US and its allies in the Taiwan Strait. Cuban Foreign Minister said on social media that Cuba rejects actions aimed at harming the territorial integrity and sovereignty of the People’s Republic of China, and condemns interference in its internal affairs. Iranian Foreign Minister said that his country’s support of one-China principle is indubitable. [...] Myanmar’s Foreign Ministry issued a statement saying that Pelosi’s visit to Taiwan is causing escalation of tensions in the Taiwan Strait. [...] In addition, press from Russia, Thailand, Cuba, South Africa, Zimbabwe and Angola have published commentaries to stress that Taiwan is a part of China and how Pelosi’s visit seriously violates the one-China principle, constitutes a serious provocation, seriously infringes on China’s sovereignty and territorial integrity and undermines peace and stability in the Taiwan Strait. [...]” (Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the People’s Republic of China, 2022)

The word “Taiwan” is closely tied to the discussion of international law and international agreements against perceived provocations by the United States and its allies. The one-China principle has garnered support from “over 100 countries,” signifying the

recognition of Taiwan as part of China rather than an independent entity. The widespread backing aims to counter any dissenting views or actions that might suggest autonomy or distinct status, such as those expressed by Nancy Pelosi or the United States. The purpose of such statements is to isolate Taiwan from receiving international recognition and support over the status that Taiwan is a separate entity from China. These collective endorsements serve to justify the PRC's claims over Taiwan and refute any other narratives like Taiwan's Independence in the eyes of the world.

“In the face of such flagrant provocation, we are compelled to take justified, necessary countermeasures to uphold our sovereignty and territorial integrity. All our measures are targeted against the “Taiwan independence” separatist forces. Anyone who is concerned about regional tensions should be asking the US to immediately and credibly follow the one-China principle, stop violating China's sovereignty and take real actions to uphold regional peace and stability.” (Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the People's Republic of China, 2022)

This remark is a proof of how Taiwan is portrayed in the PRC's policy. Hua describes “Taiwan Independence” as a separatist to link Taiwan as an action of provocation, seeking division. Such mention highlights China's belief that any steps toward Taiwan's independence violate its sovereignty and territorial integrity. Hua's use of language has consistently painted Taiwan not as an entity but as a component of China's overall sovereign entity. These words portray “Taiwan as a region” facing threats from external forces; hence, China must manage to uphold unity and stability.

Hua Chunying's statement on 4 August 2022 stresses Pelosi's visit and the overall U.S. approach towards Taiwan as a tactic to weaken China. By pointing out China's security

and national sovereignty, Pelosi's action is a transgression in her eyes, risking to stabilise and serve in direct defiance of the longstanding internationally recognised one-China principle. Therefore, it gives China a stage to indicate that the best course of action for the United States is to follow the One China policy and refrain from any actions that might be seen as endorsing Taiwan's independence. Urging countries and organisations such as ASEAN and the UN to acknowledge and denounce the U.S.' actions, suggesting the United States have altered its stance on international norms.

These tones, flooded with accusation and condemnation, are also shown in the context of the words “Pelosi” and “United States.” In addition to this, Reuters proposed an interesting question on whether China thinks that its military drills help in gaining the favor of the Taiwanese people.

“Did you ask the Taiwan authorities, when they insisted on inviting Speaker Pelosi to Taiwan, had they asked the Taiwan people about their hearts and wills? I know that after Pelosi arrived in Taiwan, quite many people in Taiwan actually protested to that. Do Taiwan authorities put the expectations, wills and the welfare and interests of the Taiwan people close to its heart?” (Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the People’s Republic of China, 2022)

In response to the impact of drills on Taiwanese residents, Hua directly reroutes the focus on criticising the Taiwanese authorities for not considering the wishes of its people. Her rhetorical question suggests to the audience that there may be a disconnect between the citizens of Taiwan, who might not support Pelosis's actions, and their government. Besides she also used the same rhetorical technique when trying to get the authorities to act for Taiwanese’ protestors by raising concerns about their regard for the views and interests of

the Taiwanese people. Such scepticism leaves the question to the journalists behind Pelosi's visit to Taiwan: Whether decisions genuinely aimed at benefiting the citizens of Taiwan.

“Unless they [the U.S.] stop trying to split China, China will never stop taking resolute actions to uphold our sovereignty and territorial integrity, not even for a day. And we will not stop demonstrating our resolve, will and capability.”

Another implication regarding the international community is the criticism brought up by the AFP that they found Human Rights Watch has urged the UN Human Rights Council to set up a group to look into human rights abuses in Xinjiang. They have also requested China's reaction, to this suggestion.

“I think everyone knows what Human Rights Watch is up to. The so-called assessment on Xinjiang is nothing but a stunt orchestrated by the US and some other Western countries.” (Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the People's Republic of China, 2022)

“[...] It is nothing but rumors and lies made up by the US side to contain China's development and disrupt stability in China. [...] Xinjiang is such a beautiful place where people from all ethnic backgrounds live a happy life today. I saw pictures online about tourists hitting the road in their own cars and pouring into Xinjiang this summer. [...] So for those who are trying to engage in political manipulation, smear China's image and contain and suppress China using the Xinjiang-related issues, they will not succeed.” (Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the People's Republic of China, 2022)

In the reply regarding Human Rights Watch and Xinjiang, Hua Chunying aims to counter perspectives that condemn China's human rights practices. By labelling these criticisms as “stunts” orchestrated by the U.S. and Western nations, Hua intends to highlight the credibility of those raising concerns about engaging with the actual issues. This tactic consistently aligns with China's delegitimising and discrediting criticism, portraying the question raised as biased or driven by geopolitical motives rather than sincere human rights considerations.

Finally, the Status quo is the position being discussed over the decades. The PTI asked about a Global Times article mentioning Pelosi’s trip affecting the peaceful status quo in the Taiwan Strait.

“About the status quo in the Taiwan Strait, I have said in detail what exactly the status quo is. The two sides of the Taiwan Strait belong to one and the same China. That is the real status quo of the Taiwan Strait. China’s sovereignty and territorial integrity have never been split. [...]” (Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the People’s Republic of China, 2022)

“And will this become a new normal? It hinges on the action of the US side and the "Taiwan independence" separatist forces. Unless they stop trying to split China, China will never stop taking resolute actions to uphold our sovereignty and territorial integrity, not even for a day. And we will not stop demonstrating our resolve, will and capability.” (Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the People’s Republic of China, 2022)

In conversations about the situation in the Taiwan Strait, Hua emphasised that Taiwan and mainland China are parts of one China, reinforcing China's assertions of

sovereignty. It portrays any measures regarding Taiwan as safeguarding integrity rather than aggressive acts. By characterising the U.S.' actions, including Pelosi's visit, as provocations that disrupt the status quo, Hua efficiently presents China as upholding stability amidst disruptions. Further, previously asked by Reuters points out the potential impacts on China's relations with the G7 countries if they fail to respect China's interests in sovereignty issues.

“It would be very unwise for the G7 to say or do something improper on issues concerning China's sovereignty and territorial integrity. [...] It might be useful for the G7 countries to think about how the US managed to keep the country unified whatever the costs during the Civil War. The UK has the issue of Scotland, while Canada has the issue of Quebec. Some states are seeking independence from the US. So on issues concerning sovereignty and territorial integrity, I hope these countries are fully aware of their own stakes and act prudently.” (Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the People's Republic of China, 2022)

The reference to events in the United States (Civil War), the United Kingdom (Scotland), and Canada (Quebec) is a way for Hua to draw parallels between Western historical struggles and China's current situation with Taiwan. Forming this comparison prompts an examination of the coherence in approaches towards national unity and sovereignty. Hua continues to hint at potential double standards and urges these Western countries to address their hypocrisy on internal affairs before passing judgment on China's stance.

II. The Republic of China

The press announcement from the Department of North American Affairs of the Republic of China (Taiwan) on August 2, 3 and 4, 2022, highlights the visit of the U.S.

House Speaker Nancy Pelosi to Taiwan. The analysis will first delve into a) MOFA sincerely welcomes visit of prominent US Congressional delegation led by House Speaker Nancy Pelosi (on August 2, 2022, when Nancy Pelosi arrived in Taiwan at 10 pm), b) US House Speaker Nancy Pelosi's visit to Taiwan fruitful; underlines staunch US support for Taiwan (on August 3, 2022, When Nancy Pelosi is in Taiwan), and then move on to c) MOFA strongly condemns China for launching multiple missiles into waters around Taiwan (on August 4, 2022 When Nancy Pelosi left Taiwan in the afternoon yesterday).

a) MOFA sincerely welcomes visit of prominent US Congressional delegation led by House Speaker Nancy Pelosi

The ROC deemed this action a symbol of the bonding between the United States and Taiwan. Throughout the press, the Taiwanese government consistently conveys the triumphant message of how grateful they are for Nancy Pelosi's trip's achievements, accentuating a sense of backing up Taiwan from members of the Democratic and Republican parties in Congress.

The announcement narrates Taiwan's efforts to solidify its position while facing challenges from regional and global uncertainties. The president of the ROC, Minister of Foreign Affairs, and other national leaders have all iterated Pelosi's engagements as cultural and political exchanges, delineating Taiwan as a significant player on the world stage capable of collaborating with major nations. This visit involved interactions at societal levels, showcasing a solid partnership between the U.S. and the ROC.

Figure 4. Word Cloud

From: Free Word Cloud Generator



Source: Author (2024)

Figure 4. displays the most mentioned 70 out of 408 words in the press release from the MOFA of the ROC. The picture derived from the word cloud unveils the start of the visit from Nancy Pelosi and the delegation. “Taiwan” is mentioned 14 times, “Speaker” is mentioned nine times, “house” is mentioned nine times, “affair” 9 times, “congressional” 5 times, “delegation” 5 times, “foreign” 6 times, “committee” 6 times, “visit” 4 times and “support” 3 times and “cooperation” 2 times. The press contains 408 words, highlighting the aspects of how the ROC leaders communicate with international affairs, specifically in the context of Taiwan-U.S. relations.

When the word “Taiwan” is mentioned, the central word in this press, it is used as a focal point to describe Taiwan’s role and position in this event matter.

“Speaker of the US House of Representatives Nancy Pelosi (D-CA) is leading a delegation on a visit to Taiwan from August 2 to 3.” (Department of North American Affairs, 2022)

“The Ministry of Foreign Affairs (MOFA) of the Republic of China (Taiwan) warmly welcomes the delegation of US Congressional leaders led by Speaker Pelosi.” (Department of North American Affairs, 2022)

“This marks the first visit by a US House Speaker in 25 years since Newt Gingrich (R-GA) came to Taiwan in April 1997.” (Department of North American Affairs, 2022)

In the same realm, the words “house” and “speaker” prominently reflect Nancy Pelosi's significant role and often appear at the same time as the word “delegation”. These words imply the level of officialdom and denote the high-ranking positions of the congresswomen and other delegation members. They connected the United States legislative body to the ROC's authority during the visit. Similarly, “congressional” and “delegation” are the nature of formal group visits, indicating structured significant activities in diplomacy rather than an unofficial or private gathering. Furthermore, the terms “affairs”, “foreign”, and “committee” suggest the nature of diplomatic engagement. They imply a potential to touch on various dialogues pertinent to the ROC and the U.S.

“The inclusion of Taiwan in the itinerary of Speaker Pelosi's first Asian tour since the US Congress resumed overseas travel this year fully demonstrates the high regard that the Congress has for Taiwan and once again emphasizes the rock-solid US commitment to Taiwan. The visit by Speaker Pelosi and other prominent members of Congress will enhance the close and cordial relations between Taiwan and the United States and further deepen global cooperation between the two countries across a broad range of areas.” (Department of North American Affairs, 2022)

The phrase “rock-solid” commitment echoes some words like “support” and “cooperation”, signifying the involvement of this engagement from the U.S. institution and government.

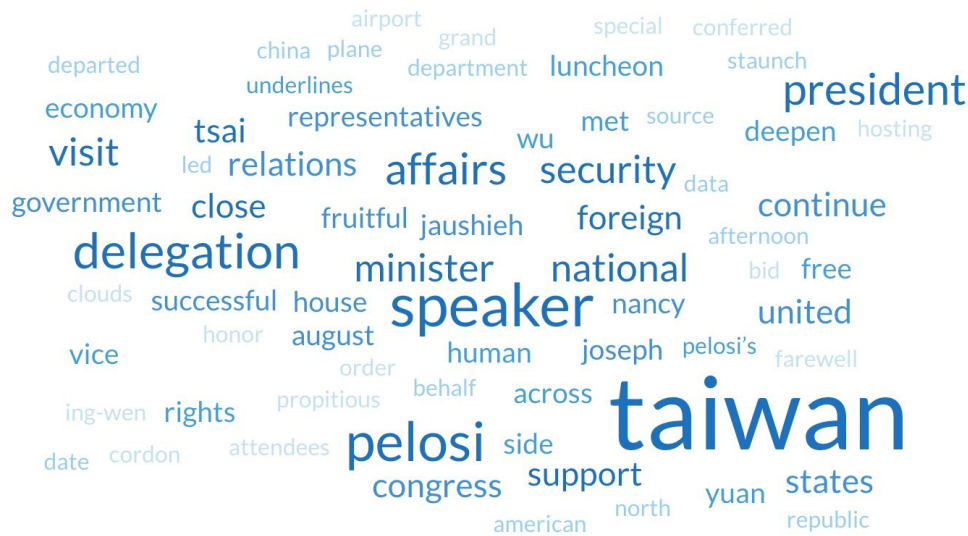
Overall, the press on August 2, 2022, painted a clear picture of Taiwan’s solid international relationships with the U.S. It illustrated Taiwan’s participation on the global platform to strengthen its ties with key international stakeholders, asserting a legitimate sovereign state amidst geopolitical complications.

b) US House Speaker Nancy Pelosi’s visit to Taiwan fruitful; underlines staunch US support for Taiwan

For over 43 years since the Taiwan Relations Act was established, it has maintained robust Taiwan-U.S. relations, supporting a productive endorsement through tangible actions from the U.S. It touches on various factors, including reinforcing diplomatic ties, legitimising the sovereign, and participation in the international community. The second press being analysed contains 465 words. The most mentioned words are “Taiwan” 19 times, “speaker” 8 times, “Pelosi” 8 times, “delegation” 7 times, affairs seven times, “security” 4 times and “president” 5 times. These prominent words are the central narrative around this high-profile diplomatic visit from the U.S. to Taiwan. The press also repeats the solid bilateral relationships filled with international support and places Taiwan in an irreplaceable position on a global scale during this occasion.

Figure 5. Word Cloud

From: Free Word Cloud Generator



Source: Author (2024)

Figure 5. shows that the most mentioned word, “Taiwan,” derives from the Word Cloud and is frequently associated with words like “Pelosi,” “Speaker,” “House,” and “visit.” These terms correlate to the nature of this visit, highlighting the significance of international affairs from the U.S. high-profile politicians. From the words “fruitful” and “support” in the headline, we can see this diplomatic engagement is instrumental to Taiwan’s recognition and legitimacy.

“[...] The delegation’s visit was very meaningful and bore fruitful results. [...] In her capacity as Speaker, she has often publicly expressed support for Taiwan. [...] At a time when regional and global developments are changing rapidly, the Ministry of Foreign Affairs sincerely thanks Speaker Pelosi for leading a number of prominent members of Congress to Taiwan for an official visit, demonstrating strong US support of Taiwan through concrete action. Taiwan and the United States enjoy close and friendly relations. [...]” (Department of North American Affairs, 2022)

Additionally, “Congressional delegation” and “affairs” imply an effort to enhance Taiwan's international credibility by offering to befriend U.S. official government activities. The linkages above portray Taiwan as a substantial player formally interacting with major world powers. Other words that occur with the word “Taiwan” are “cooperation”, “security,” “national,” and “region.” They are the linchpin that reflects regional security and stability.

“Building on this foundation, both sides will continue to deepen cooperation in numerous domains, including security, the economy, and good governance. Speaker Pelosi also commended Taiwan for its effective response to the COVID-19 pandemic and hailed Taiwan as a successful model of free and democratic countries worldwide. [...] Taiwan will continue to work side by side with the US administration and friends in Congress to further deepen our close partnership in such areas as security, the economy, and trade. Taiwan, together with the United States and other like-minded nations, will also continue seeking to ensure security across the Taiwan Strait, as well as the peace and stability of a free and open Indo-Pacific region.” (Department of North American Affairs, 2022)

Pointing out some of the successful measurements Taiwan has achieved contributes to the multifaceted symbol of the word “Taiwan.” It emerges within the international community regarding diplomacy, cooperation, and an active narrative that provides a positive global image.

Finally, Pelosi’s visit to the human rights museum also portrays forward-thinking and respect for rights in society. This action can imply that Pelosi’s purpose in visiting Taiwan is to support democracy and advocate for human values. It can also imply the lack

of humanity the PRC has towards its people, hinting at how Pelosi valued Taiwan's basic needs, aligning with what the United States claims to have.

“They also visited the National Human Rights Museum and participated in a roundtable discussion with National Human Rights Commission Chairperson and Control Yuan President Chen Chu, as well as representatives from civic groups. The delegation's visit was very meaningful and bore fruitful results.” (Department of North American Affairs, 2022)

c) MOFA strongly condemns China for launching multiple missiles into waters around Taiwan

The press on 4 August 2022 primarily focuses on criticising China's military exercise over the Taiwan Straits. It is significantly shorter, with 150 words, pointing at China firing numerous ballistic missiles near Taiwan, which raises concerns about the threat to Taiwan's security and the broader impact on stability and global norms. The MOFA of the ROC uses this press release to express disapproval of China's actions, likening them to North Korea's missile tests, which are widely condemned for their nature. Moreover, the press expressed a sense of urgency to call out the international community to condemn such action by the PRC government. The PRC government is coercing and standing by Taiwan's commitment to live in a democratic environment with rule-based principles that fit into international orders. MOFA from the ROC also stresses the importance of maintaining peace and stability in the Indo-Pacific region. These press communications have shown Taiwan's intention to garner support and emphasise how China's actions disrupt regional peace and interrupt global trade through marine routes.

“The Ministry of Foreign Affairs (MOFA) of the Republic of China (Taiwan) strongly condemns the Chinese government for following the example of North Korea in willfully test-firing missiles into waters near other countries, and demands that China exercise self-restraint. [...] MOFA urges the international community to condemn China’s military coercion towards Taiwan. The Ministry also calls on countries around the globe to continue to speak up in support of democratic Taiwan in order to jointly safeguard the values of freedom and democracy, to maintain the rules-based international order, and to ensure a free and open Indo-Pacific.” (Department of North American Affairs, 2022)

In this press release, the ROC’s MOFA also “strongly” condemns China’s missile tests as a direct threat to regional security, especially the day after Pelosi’s visit, placing Taiwan at the centre of the geopolitical tension. This military coercion from the Chinese government details a stance of defiance and disregard for Taiwan’s sovereignty. Instead of blaming Nancy Pelosi’s visit for causing more severe actions, it chose to hold the PRC accountable for its actions. The purpose is to continue to stand with the Western powers, showing its differences from the authoritarian repression and implying a notion of aggressiveness stemming from China impacting international traffic and trade.

“On August 4, China launched multiple ballistic missiles into waters to the northeast and southwest of Taiwan, threatening Taiwan’s national security, escalating regional tensions, and affecting regular international traffic and trade.” (Department of North American Affairs, 2022)

The portrayal of military, security, international law, and democratic principles weaves a narrative in which Taiwan positions itself as a guardian of core beliefs confronting

the Chinese government. Its goal is to strengthen its reputation and gathering support by advocating for international respect and regulations.

III. The United States of America

The U.S. House Speaker Nancy Pelosi visited Taiwan on August 2 and 3, 2022, and the speaker's press office released the statement and the transcript of the meeting with Taiwan's President Tsai Ing-wen, together with the press' QA session. The press event was a ceremonial occasion, a bilateral meeting that profoundly affirms the strengthening of shared democratic values, economic partnerships, and security preferences. Speaker Pelosi led the delegation of 5 democratic party members representing the United States of America. Her aim for the U.S. Congress is to reinforce the bipartisan and bicameral support for Taiwan.

The press event displays diplomatic consolidation, reassuring the commitment to security in the region and a platform to induce more economic and technological cooperation between the U.S. and Taiwan. It underscores the resilience of Taiwan's democratic values, which both the West and Taiwan devote themselves to. Furthermore, the CHIPS and Science Act is a new dynamic for both nations to interact in the Indo-Pacific region. These are tools used for discourse in diplomatic communication to inform international and domestic citizens on the policy made to stand with Taiwan's security and prosperity.

Three press releases will be analysed: a) Pelosi, Congressional Delegation Statement on Visit to Taiwan on 2 August 2022, b) Transcript of Pelosi Remarks at Press Event Following Bilateral Meeting with President Tsai Ing-wen of Taiwan on 3 August 2022, and c) Pelosi Statement on Congressional Delegation Visit to Taiwan on 3 August 2022.

a) Pelosi, Congressional Delegation Statement on Visit to Taiwan

This press release contains 202 words demonstrating a public declaration of the U.S.’s continued support for Taiwan. It emphasises the significance of security issues, economic partnerships and democratic governance. The most mentioned words are “Taiwan” 10 times, “congressional” 7 times, “visit” 6 times, “democracy/ democratic” 3 times, “United States” 3 times, and “Indo-Pacific” 2 times. Other words such as delegation, statements, commitments, interests, supports and policy are connected to the most mentioned words.

Figure 7. Word Cloud

From: Free Word Cloud Generator



Source: Author (2024)

It is clear that “Taiwan” is the central figure throughout the whole press narrative. The words “Pelosi,” “United States,” and “America’s” concurrently appear in the sentences, disclosing the bilateral relationship and Nancy Pelosi's significant role in this “visit.” Therefore, the word “visit” is often described with the terms “delegation”, “congressional”, and “Speaker”. The meeting was merely a discussion with top U.S. Lawmakers; instead, it was a deliberate interaction between influential members of the U.S. Congress. The debate

is a broader trip in the Indo-Pacific region, focusing on “security”, “democracy” and “economic”. The terms imply that the delegation's visit aimed not at strengthening connections with Taiwan but at promoting U.S. Interests within a larger regional framework encompassing security alliances, economic collaborations and backing for democratic governance throughout the Indo-Pacific region.

“Our visit is part of our broader trip to the Indo-Pacific — including Singapore, Malaysia, South Korea and Japan — focused on mutual security, economic partnership and democratic governance. Our discussions with Taiwan leadership will focus on reaffirming our support for our partner and on promoting our shared interests, including advancing a free and open Indo-Pacific region. America's solidarity with the 23 million people of Taiwan is more important today than ever, as the world faces a choice between autocracy and democracy.” (Speaker's Press Office, 2022)

Furthermore, “support,” “partnership,” and “commitment” indicate the U.S. cooperation initiative. This highlights the mutual benefits that will come throughout the visit, during which some policy and engagement will be discussed. The delegation aims to have tangible conversations that could result in concrete accomplishments, positioning this press with a larger U.S. strategy in the Indo-Pacific region. However, Pelosi often uses “our” instead of the U.S. in her sentence to avoid it, and it might imply a degree of diplomatic caution and sensitivity.

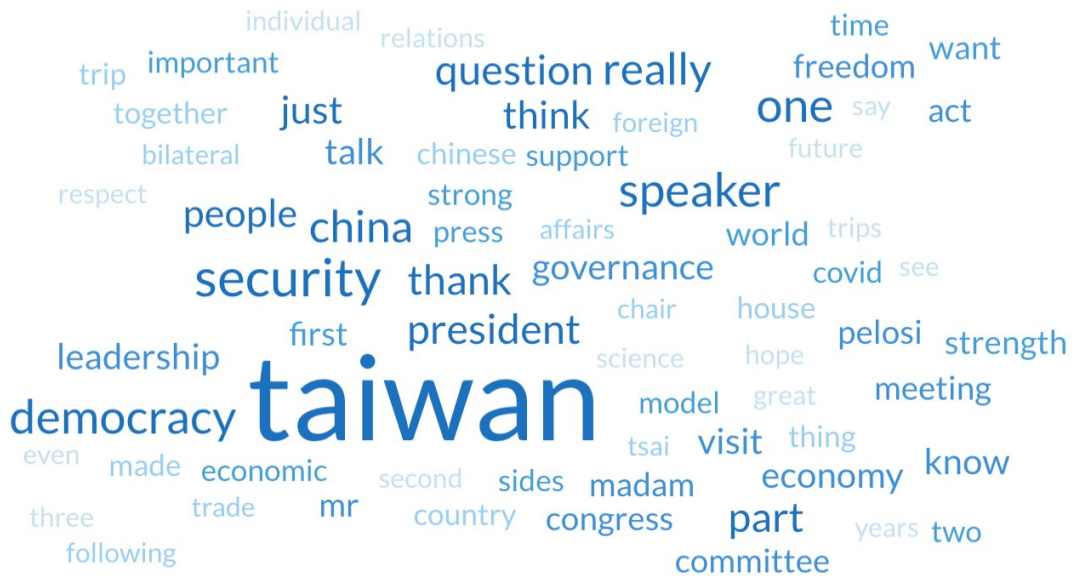
b) Transcript of Pelosi Remarks at Press Event Following Bilateral Meeting with President Tsai Ing-wen of Taiwan

Speaker Nancy Pelosi's comments after her bilateral meeting discussion with President Tsai Ing-Wen offer insights into how the language is used in the transcript and the priorities of the United States concerning Taiwan. This press release contains 1972 words, in which “Taiwan” is mentioned 26 times, “security” 14 times, “democracy” 8 times, “speaker” 8 times, “governance” 6 times, “president” 8 times, “U.S./ America/ United States” 3 times and “china” 7 times.

Figure 8. Word Cloud

From: Free Word Cloud

Generator



Source: Author (2024)

“Taiwan” is frequently used to discuss the context of security. Nancy Pelosi raised concerns about the U.S.’s commitment to helping Taiwan defend itself and remain secure to

protect itself from external threats. Initiatives from Nancy Pelosi's side centre on improving Taiwan's defence capabilities or the overall strategic significance of Taiwan in upholding peace in the Indo-Pacific area. Hence, it reflects the enhancement of Taiwan's military strategy against regional threats, especially those from China.

“Three areas that I just mentioned – security, economy, governance. Security: our relationship is a strong one.” (Speaker's Press Office, 2022)

“I do think that the – it's really important for the message to be clear that in the Congress, House and Senate, Democrats and Republicans are committed to the security of Taiwan, in order to have Taiwan be able to most effectively defend themselves.” (Speaker's Press Office, 2022)

“What matters to us is that we salute the successes of Taiwan, we work together for the security of Taiwan, and we just take great lessons from the Democracy of Taiwan.” (Speaker's Press Office, 2022)

Similarly, “democracy” is the centrepiece of “Taiwan,” described as a beacon of Asia regarding democratic values and progressive democratisation. Consequently, Pelosi stresses the importance of democratic ideologies that align with Taiwan's values. These examples justify the strong bilateral relationship between the U.S. and Taiwan, reinforcing the mutual respect of democratic governance. Through stressing bipartisan support in the U.S. Congress, Taiwan has U.S. support and commitment to maintain its sovereignty and fend off outside hostilities.

“But it also is about our shared values of democracy and freedom and how Taiwan has been example to the world in that regard.” (Speaker's Press Office, 2022)

“And we want Taiwan to always have freedom with security. And we're not backing away from that.” (Speaker’s Press Office, 2022)

“So strength – and one of the biggest sources of strength is democracy. I said at meeting earlier with the parliamentarians: in our earliest days of our founding of our country, Benjamin Franklin, he said: freedom and democracy, freedom and democracy are one thing, security here. If we don't have – we can't have either, if we don't have both.” (Speaker’s Press Office, 2022)

Furthermore, freedom is sometimes mentioned in conjunction with the words “democracy,” “security,” and “Taiwan.” Pelosi shows how she provides Taiwan with practical, symbolic support that underscores the importance of safeguarding autonomy and democratic principles against authoritarian regimes. Pelosi highlights the lasting power of democracy by mentioning Benjamin Franklin, a historical figure that contributed to the founding ideology of America’s freedom of speech, emphasising its importance with Taiwanese political systems. She often uses “we” and “our” in the sentences. It is unclear what “we” and “our” stand for because it could be as if she is part of Taiwan and reiterating Taiwanese values, or she is avoiding directly referring to the U.S. Nevertheless, when it comes to governance, “Taiwan” has been recognised for its leadership in managing the COVID-19 outbreak. Pelosi points out Taiwan as a model of governance, setting the country as a competent sovereign that can manage crises of Cross-strait relations in responsive governance.

“Three areas that I just mentioned – security, economy, governance. Security: our relationship is a strong one. And we discussed how we can make it stronger and up

to date. Our economy: we talked about a trade agreement that might be possible and soon. And in governance: that, among other things, and in governance, I want to salute Taiwan for the leadership you have had in fighting COVID. Probably one of the highest rates of vaccination, but also the lowest number of deaths from COVID. A real model for the world. It's about science, but it's also about community acceptance of a plan. And that is called leadership. So thank you for that lesson to all of us.” (Speaker’s Press Office, 2022)

It also accentuates the scientific approach to collaborating with public health sectors that have been taken towards the leadership for fostering a trustworthy community. These essential elements for a successful government serve as a standard for the world.

Pelosi also directly avoided mentioning the U.S. in a first-person context, which serves several discourse strategies. Without speaking directly about the U.S. and more about its values and principles, and to a broader international community as an audience, Pelosi could be targeting influencing the globe by garnering support for Taiwan. Her rhetoric constantly centres on shared values without overtly projecting America’s soft power. This could indicate that Pelosi might be attempting to reduce perceptions of imperialism and America’s soft power. The fact that “U.S./ America/ United States” is only mentioned three times can also signify how this support from the U.S. is an individual administration or with her political party representing a unified commitment of America. It could hint that Pelosi is diplomatic cautious by not directly referring to the U.S. amidst the escalating tension in the region. Therefore, meticulous wording can help her avoid being too assertive and provocative on behalf of the United States.

The way Pelosi describes “China” is an interesting aspect worth mentioning. When asked by the Central News Agency (State-Owned, Taiwan) on how Hua sees Taiwan welcome Nancy Pelosi.

“And I just hope that it's really clear that while China has stood in the way of Taiwan participating and going to certain meetings, that they understand that they will not stand in the way of people coming to Taiwan. I think that whatever China was going to do, they will do in their own good time. And that there are certain insecurities on the part of the President of China as to his own political situation that he's rattling a saber, I don't know. But I really – it doesn't really matter. What matters to us is that we salute the successes of Taiwan, we work together for the security of Taiwan, and we just take great lessons from the Democracy of Taiwan.” (Speaker’s Press Office, 2022)

We can see from Pelosi’s answer that she disapproves of China's actions in preventing Taiwan from joining gatherings. This declaration shows her stance against China's attempts to isolate Taiwan diplomatically and reiterates her connection with Taiwan despite China's dissent. She also suggests that China's actions are inevitable. She (or may indicate the U.S.) cannot dictate China's choices rather than stay alert and be ready. This statement might be interpreted as recognising the sometimes independent character of China's foreign policy choices concerning Taiwan. However, Pelosi (casually) stated that “it doesn’t really matter”, shifting her focus away from China’s aggressive posturing to reaffirming her support for Taiwan. Moreover, Pelosi also mentioned China’s soft power, the contrast between China, Taiwan and Hong Kong, and a reaffirmation of U.S. policy to commit to Taiwan.

“So as China goes and uses its soft power, money and whatever, into many countries in order to get their support at the U.N. and other bodies, we have to recognize the – that has some effectiveness because it's a lot of money. And it's promises that may or may not ever be kept.” (Speaker’s Press Office, 2022)

“But again, we're not here to talk about mainland China. We're here to talk about Taiwan. We have our Taiwan Relations Act. We support the communiques, this, that and the other thing that has gone before. So we're not aware – we are supporters of the status quo and the rest. And we don't want anything to happen to Taiwan by force.” (Speaker’s Press Office, 2022)

Pelosi stresses the contrasts between Taiwan's thriving democracy and China's authoritarian regime by explicitly citing the breakdown of the “one country, two systems” policy in Hong Kong as a warning example. This parallel aims to express Taiwan as a leadership role model in harsh times dealing with China's vicious strategies, bolstering Taiwan's ethical and political backing from the United States. Besides, Pelosi suggests the long-standing guidelines - the Taiwan Relations Act and CHIPS and Science Act- that shape U.S. interactions with Taiwan. Through endorsing the “status quo”, Pelosi uses “we”, which could indicate America's dedication to safeguarding Taiwan's peace and stability, promoting a mutually agreed-upon method for any potential changes in Taiwan's political standing.

c) Pelosi Statement on Congressional Delegation Visit to Taiwan

Pelosi’s statement in this press release has continued to show her multifaceted and robust support for Taiwan. She carries on the themes of democratisation, security, economic

cooperation and international diplomacy, aiming to validate Taiwan’s existence and stand beside the country in facing geopolitical challenges. For this reason, the press contains 488 words, with “Taiwan” being mentioned 16 times, “security” 6 times, “visit” 6 times, “democracy/democratic” 4 times, “support” 4 times, “global” 4 times, “America” 3 times, and “China” 1 time.

Figure 8. Word Cloud

From: Free Word Cloud Generator



Source: Author (2024)

Taiwan is consistently portrayed as responsible and robust when addressing the regional and global challenges during the pandemic and the Chinese Communist Party’s sanction of the World Health Organization. These portrayals of Taiwan from Nancy Pelosi’s statement have connected to “democracy”, “global”, “visit”, and “security” in reaffirming America’s support for Taiwan, amplifying Taiwan’s global legitimacy with its democratic values and economic resilience. Her visit bears witness to strengthening and reassuring America’s support for Taiwan's isolation from the international community. This press remains optimistic in a steady way to fortify the bilateral relationship.

“Taiwan is a very special place: a key ally in peace and security, a global leader in economic dynamism and a model of democratic governance.[...]” (Speaker’s Press Office, 2022)

“On governance: we congratulated them on their robust response to the pandemic, one of the most successful in the world.” (Speaker’s Press Office, 2022)

“Sadly, Taiwan has been prevented from participating in global meetings, most recently the World Health Organization, because of objections by the Chinese Communist Party. While they may prevent Taiwan from sending its leaders to global forums, they cannot prevent world leaders or anyone from traveling to Taiwan to pay respect to its flourishing Democracy, to highlight its many successes and to reaffirm our commitment to continued collaboration.” (Speaker’s Press Office, 2022)

Nancy Pelosi's laudatory tone has highlighted her understanding of Taiwan as an indispensable global partner whose political and economic stability is crucial to worldwide democracy and market economies. These statements carry a sense of governance commendation in affirming Taiwan’s effective management during COVID-19. This critical aspect ties in with words like “robust”, “security”, and “support” to emphasise the internal policies Taiwan have reflected on health security in the region. All in all, Pelosi has elevated Taiwan’s image by advocating for inclusion in the World Health Organization and other global discussions. With her cooperative tone, she suggests that the U.S. and Taiwan have a fruitful interaction, corresponding to words like “visit”. The positioning is carefully planned, considering the U.S. interests in the Indo-Pacific, highlighting a beneficial relationship where both countries gain from each other's achievements and collaboration.

“Our meetings were very positive and productive.” (Speaker’s Press Office, 2022)

“In the community, it was very inspiring for us to meet with advocates for human rights in China at the National Museum of Human Rights. While in Taipei, it was my humble honor to receive the Order of Propitious Clouds with Special Grand Cordon, which I treasure as an enduring symbol of friendship between America and Taiwan.” (Speaker’s Press Office, 2022)

Furthermore, China is described negatively, notably showing its hindrance to Taiwan’s participation in global organisations, providing a contrast to China’s authoritarian approach to Taiwan’s democratic success. This obstructive action can imply that human rights issues stem from the country. Nancy Pelosi's visit to the Human Rights Museum in Taiwan paints a sarcastic picture of criticising the Chinese government’s supervision. Thus, the press has demonstrated unwavering support for human rights, legitimising Taiwan's global position.

8. Discussion

This research was assembled to investigate the discourses utilised by press agencies from Taiwan and China, as well as of Nancy Pelosi herself, acting representative of the United States, during her visit to Taiwan in August 2022. It will further discuss the context behind Nancy Pelosi’s visit that contributes to the current triangulation of events.

Drawing from Fairclough’s (2013) three dimensional framework, the analysis provided a complete textual and discursive analysis along with broader social commentary. A common goal of CDA studies is to uncover hidden ideologies and power dynamics in texts and discursive practices. Moreover, it is particularly compatible with speeches and texts in

political settings. Culture and Language politics focus on representations, values, and identities (Fairclough, 2013, p. 437). Thus, several ideologies are embedded in the press statements during her visit to Taiwan. The discussion of the findings tries to evaluate the unearthed ideologies and their prospective ramifications in the context of cross-strait relations and their links with America. The following discourses were found:

- Assertive narrative of sovereignty and territorial integrity from the PRC
- Leveraging of democratic values and pleas of international recognition from the ROC
- Strategic Ambiguity in their support for democracy in Taiwan from the U.S. (Nancy Pelosi)

Following Nancy Pelosi's visit, the language used by China demonstrates an exercise of global power and regional control in discourse, as analysed through Norman Fairclough's CDA framework. The PRC government's repetitive emphasis on Taiwan's sovereignty and territorial integrity goes beyond description. It functions prescriptively to influence global perceptions, dictate terms of engagement with Taiwan, and engage in self-victimisation by labelling the U.S.'s visit to Taiwan as interference with its international affairs. Through its state-controlled media, the PRC's assertive communication style aligns with Fairclough's (2013) notion of the power behind discourse, where language plays a role in upholding and asserting state authority. China made it clear to its people and the global community that the visit was a provocation to the one-China policy. It frequently mentions other historical events and agreements, demonstrating their long-standing efforts to consolidate Taiwan. It prompted a show of strength, signaling their preparedness to protect national unity by announcing that any actions supporting independence would be considered provocations. China kept positioning itself as a victim of breached protocols, justifying its firm response.

This strategy from China serves the purpose of fostering unity by consolidating citizens against an external threat and seeking to discourage international backing for Taiwan's aspirations of sovereignty.

The PRC also views this contingency as a diplomatic anomaly, aiming to unify and secure the advantages of Taiwan's geography. This is evidenced in the three years since Nancy Pelosi's visit, with the PLA (People's Liberation Army) drastically increasing their military exercises by 70% since 1996. The PLA has also been using more serious fighter jets that could do severe damage to the island. The goal is to intimidate and encircle Taiwan in the Air Defense Identification Zone, thereby meddling in its peace and security, and the so-called status quo that most Taiwanese desire. This escalating grey zone activity is one of the ways the PRC coerces Taiwan to "reunite". Concurrently, the PRC has been marginalising Taiwan's international recognition by persuading countries in Latin America, Africa, and some island countries in the Pacific Ocean to alter their support to Beijing for the last decades. Amidst the 2024 Olympic Games, it becomes even more apparent that the PRC is actively working to limit Taiwan's participation in international organizations. Competing under the name 'Chinese Taipei' and using a substitute flag instead of the Republic of China's standard, illustrates a strategic use of soft power by the PRC to assert its territorial claims in high-level global interactions.

Based on the analysis of the PRC's statements over the three days, the core of this discursive analysis revolves around the assertion of sovereignty. This goes beyond a territorial claim, serving as a profound expression of cultural and national identity. This discourse perpetuates the laden national unity for the PRC's credibility on the world stage, presenting Taiwan not as a distinct entity but as an essential part of a unified Chinese nation.

Such assertive rhetoric is strategically employed to rally back and bolster the government's reputation and international standing.

Conversely, as evident in the statements made during Pelosi's visit, Taiwan's communication highlights its quest for global recognition. This profound appeal for international solidarity shows the desperation to separate their identity from China whilst facing ongoing external existential threats, originating in the Treaty of Shimonoseki, signed by Japan in 1895. Taiwan came under the administrative control of the Republic of China after World War II. Over the years, the Republic of China often emphasised democratic values as a part of its identity by using Taiwan to refer to itself. These geopolitical predicaments have shifted Taiwan's national identity, often called the "Taiwan Consensus". This distinct Taiwanese identity dissonates with Taiwan's de facto independence, and its official name - ROC, further confuses its international position and engagements, aiming to set it apart from China's authoritarian government rather than the Chinese people. Considering these events, the waters in the Taiwan Strait have never been calm. This position from Taiwan transcends politics; it is a declaration that resonates with people from the West and represents the Western values that serve as the cornerstone of international advocacy for human rights and diplomacy.

Through this public discourse, the Taiwanese media portrays Nancy Pelosi's visit as a robust external validation. Her arrival confirmed Taiwan's government's commitment to Western values of democracy and independence, supporting the country's appeal against China's authoritarian regime. The ROC government focused on asserting its sovereignty and credibility, presenting Taiwan as an accountable participant in global affairs without provoking China and therefore, deserving backing in the face of the PRC's hostilities. This strategic deployment of language serves as an example of power through discourse, where

Taiwan calls for international attention in the press release to shape a narrative that resonates with Western notions of governance. Aligning with Fairclough's (2013) perspective on how language molds social identities and connections, the discourse from Taiwan underscoring its commitment to democracy, aiming to strengthen its relationships with democracies like the U.S, Taiwan seeks to establish itself internationally as a legitimate sovereign nation in line with globally agreed upon standards that uphold democratic rule.

Amidst these diplomatic maneuvers, the United States pursued a policy of “strategic ambiguity”. In this critical rivalry with China, getting the upper hand hinges significantly on the semiconductor industry. Taiwan’s TSMC (Taiwan Semiconductor) produces 92% of the high-end chips that help power the world’s electronic devices. America has relied on Taiwan’s semiconductor supply for the last decades. If an invasion from China should happen in Taiwan, the Western countries and countries invested in technological development could face strangulation of these cutting-edge supplies, affecting their economies. Therefore, it is said that TSMC provides Taiwan with a silicon shield to prevent war with China.

Nevertheless, the United States acting as a cop in the neighbourhood leaves Taiwan no room but to follow one of the “big brothers” between the two most powerful nations in the West and the East. However, the U.S. did not guarantee support for Taiwan if China actually attacked (AIT, 2022). Instead, it never stopped supplying Taiwan with more military, giving China an excuse to exercise its arms. This oscillation between a role as a protector and a pragmatic geopolitical player by promoting democracy is strategically calculated, given the political climate in the Asia-Pacific region.

Nancy Pelosi's trip to Taiwan showcased the United States' nuanced strategy of maintaining strategic ambiguity in its approach. It effectively balances support for Taiwan's

democracy while respecting the one-China policy, which embodies a stance that aligns with Fairclough's (2013) theory on discourse in intertextuality and social practices. Furthermore, Nancy Pelosi cleverly used Benjamin Franklin's name as a founding father of a free country, which is especially impactful given Americans' belief in Franklin's impact, as he was key in shaping notions of liberty and democratic values of the U.S., which persist today, with a particular emphasis on freedom of speech. Including Franklin's words, she also strategically emphasised Taiwan's democratic progress and COVID-19's positive global impact during her visit, subtly enhancing Taiwan's reputation on the world stage and boosting morale.

The signing of the CHIPS and Science Act is another point spoken highly of by Pelosi in her statements. Signed on 9 August 2022, by President Joe Biden, it strives to encourage foreign countries to cooperate with America to boost its domestic technology research development in semiconductor manufacturing. However, ironically, TSMC may be negatively impacted as this could potentially undersell focus on the semiconductor business due to shifting resources from Taiwan. This offers a perfect opportunity for the U.S. to mitigate the tension in Cross-strait relations and gain more assurance from Taiwan to secure its supply chain in the industry. It can also weaken the resilience of the semiconductor industry if the US over-prioritises expanding its own semiconductor industry. Hence, not only does it impact Taiwan's production line of semiconductors, but it can also compromise its silicon shield from China's lingering threat.

Simultaneously, her statements were carefully crafted to prevent narratives that implicate China in wrongdoing, and to maintain the status quo with China, ensuring regional stability. Pelosi's diplomatic efforts demonstrate how the U.S. utilises this discourse to navigate between advancing its ideological agenda whilst managing a practical relationship with China. This strategic ambiguity helps bolster Taiwan's goals without risking conflict,

showcasing a diplomatic balance that underscores America's deep involvement in Asia Pacific affairs.

Thus, Pelosi's narrative in the press releases was intricate, reflecting America's international and domestic policy priorities. By standing against authoritarianism, her trip was framed as a successful demonstration in the eyes of the Taiwanese government, given the display of shared principles and unity with them.

9. Conclusion

In concluding this critical discursive analysis of Nancy Pelosi's visit to Taiwan in August 2022, it becomes clear that the relationships between China, Taiwan, and the U.S. form a complex web of geopolitical undercurrents and negotiations. Fairclough's three dimensional frameworks in CDA allowed for forming connections with the respective countries' press releases, analysing description, interpretation, and explanation. These entities' issues and frequently paradoxical stances inspired the focus of the triangular interactions. Taiwan's continuous quest for increased international legitimacy and a unique Taiwanese identity is in stark contrast with China's strong claims over the island. At the same time, the U.S. alternates between defending democracy and acting as a pragmatist in geopolitics, carefully planning its actions and policies in looking at cross-straits relations. This delicate societal balance between sovereignty and territorial control is a microcosm of the more significant issue that three entities face in the international system, where practical realities of global politics frequently collide with juridical sovereignty claims.

While these discourses dominate the political discussion in press releases, it is essential to point out that the domestic practices of political rhetoric within the three countries are entirely different. This is in line with Fairclough's (2013) argument that media

interviews or newspaper reports implicitly embody certain ideologies, especially knowledge and beliefs. According to van Dijk (1997), what makes a text political is its connection to political systems or shared ideologies and how it functions in the political process. This study extends the application of CDA by demonstrating through modality and presupposition. It acknowledges the communicative stances of the three countries and actively contests and redefines the perceptions of sovereignty and legitimacy in international affairs. Unlike previous studies focused on military exercises, power, and ideology, this research revealed the subtler rhetorical use of language to construct specific political strategies in the context of Cross-strait relations. This discursive analysis offers new insights into the relationships between the three countries.

Discourse from official statements represents definitive stances on ideologies and geopolitical contests. Chilton (2008) explains that political discourse shapes policies, public beliefs, and ideologies, showing how “persuasive rhetoric” plays a part. He argues that textual features, interaction, and representation are the three main perspectives of political discourse. Persuasion in politics is not just about trying to influence; it also comes through using rhetorical techniques to shape political realities and evoke emotional reactions (Filardo-Llamas & Boyd, 2017, p. 314). For instance, China’s discourses during Pelosi’s visit heavily focused on Taiwan’s legitimacy, claiming legalistic and historical events to assert a narrative of non-negotiable sovereignty. This reflects on Fairclough's (2013) CDA of how states use discourse to maintain or justify their power dynamics.

In the same way, Taiwan’s discourse in this event was designed to galvanise the international community’s attention and support by resonating with their position, support for democracy, and threats from the authoritarian regime’s aggression. Furthermore, Nancy Pelosi, representing the U.S.’ frame of mind, contributed vague and ambiguous support for

democracy that carefully navigated its official one-China policy while meticulously opposing China's hegemonic assertions. The engagement of CDA consists of various elements of discursive practices, including social subjects, social relations, and power, and how these elements play a role in practices in the world is based upon language as a primary medium, testifying how lived experiences of humans engage and decipher reality.

Each party uses communication strategies in this scenario to mold its image and sway global perspectives, showcasing an intricate mix of identity, power, and diplomatic relations. To understand why this evolving geopolitical tableau of Cross-strait relations has become a rhetorical war and would potentially engender a more escalated conflict, it is crucial to consider how Nancy Pelosi's visit impacted broader societal perceptions and interactions which encapsulated profound historical rhetorical interplay that shapes the dynamics of the three countries today.

It is also evident that the global community faces the challenge of balancing supporting democracy whilst maintaining partnerships in Cross-strait areas. How the U.S., China, and Taiwan expressed their stances and interacted has significantly changed the dynamics in the region. This triangular relationship is influenced by and reflects deeper political and historical undercurrents. This thesis sheds light on each party's approaches and shows a more subtle underlying, yet very significant vehicle of global power. Through this discussion surrounding sovereignty, democracy, territory and power and the maintenance of precarious balance. A glaring question is brought on by Nancy Pelosi's visit: How can the international community find a respectful way to acknowledge and honor Taiwan's democratic progress and its right to exist legitimately, while also accommodating the geopolitical interests and security concerns of China and the United States? The answer to

this question remains unsolved as Taiwan remains a focal point of international relations. The question of Taiwan remains unanswered in the eyes of the international community.

Summary

Návštěva Nancy Pelosiové na Tchaj-wanu v srpnu 2020 vyvolala značné geopolitické napětí v Tchajwanské úžině. Toto napětí mezi Tchaj-wanem a Čínou slouží jako klíčový moment při zkoumání dynamiky vztahů mezi Tchaj-wanem a Spojenými státy. V tomto kontextu hrají oficiální prohlášení těchto tří subjektů zásadní roli v tom, jak diskurz každého národa konstruuje nebo zpochybňuje jeho geopolitické postoje. Prostřednictvím kritické analýzy diskurzu (CDA) tato práce zkoumá složitosti jazyka, který odráží a ovlivňuje politické ideologie a dynamiku moci. Cílem kvalitativního přístupu je rozebrat strategii udržování mezinárodního uznání, suverenity a územní celistvosti. Následně bylo ke zkoumání vybráno devět tiskových zpráv z Tchaj-wanu, Číny a USA, které byly vydány v termínech 2., 3. a 4. srpna 2022. Studie odhaluje snahu Tchaj-wanu o mezinárodní uznání, asertivní územní nároky Číny a strategickou nejednoznačnost USA. Přispívá k širšímu komplexnímu pohledu na to, jak lze jazyk tiskových zpráv využít ke zprostředkování globální mocenské dynamiky, zejména s ohledem na nejisté mezinárodní postavení Tchaj-wanu.

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