

Chapter IV

FINDINGS

I QUANTITY OF COVERAGE OF LEE'S VISIT

McCombs and Shaw (1972) assumed that news producers, reporters and editors contribute to how “reality” is shaped. Choosing and displaying news, these news operators affect how readers learn about a given issue and how much importance to attach to that issue from the amount of information in a news story and its position. Our findings (Table 4.1) show, as expected, that Taiwan newspapers give much more attention to Lee’s visit than Chinese papers in terms of the number of articles each paper devoted to the visit.

In total, there were 40 articles in the two Taiwan dailies, and 47 articles in the 12 China dailies. This statistic also shows that the number of articles in each Mainland China’s newspaper was very small. Six of the 12 had 5 articles each, while others had even fewer. In addition, even these few articles shared astonishing similarities. The largest number of articles concentrated on the period from May 30 to June 1, one day before and the two first days of Lee Teng-hui’s visit in Japan, June 8 when Lee visited the Yasukuni Shrine 靖國神社, and on June 11, when a Chinese engineer attacked Lee at the airport on his departure from Japan. During Lee’s six days in Japan from June 2 till June 7, there was only one article in China press, it was in the overseas *People’s Daily*. In contrast, during the same 6 days, Taiwan newspapers devoted 11 articles to detail Lee’s day-to-day activities in Japan. And on the next day of Lee’s return, June 10, as many as 4 articles. In China, *Guangzhou Daily*, *Information Times* and *Global Times*, were exceptional in their size of articles and comments given on Lee’s visit.

Table 4.1 Number of News Articles about Lee’s visit in the Selected Dailies

Newspaper	5/15	5/30	5/31	6/1	6/2	6/3	6/4	6/5	6/6	6/7	6/8	6/9	6/10	6/11	6/12	6/15	6/18	6/22	6/25	Total
Liberty Times	-	1	1	3	5	-	1	-	-	1	7	-	3	2	-	1	-	-	-	25
China Times	1	1	3	2	2	-	-	-	1	1	2	-	2	-	-	-	-	-	-	15
People’s Daily	-	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1
Global Times	-	-	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	-	-	1	-	-	1	-	-	4
China Youth Daily	-	-	-	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	2	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	3
Beijing Daily	-	1	1	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	3
GuangMing Daily	-	-	1	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	2
Nanfang Daily	-	1	1	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	-	-	1	-	-	-	-	-	5
Guangzhou Daily	-	-	-	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	-	-	1	-	-	-	1	1	5
New Express	-	2	1	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	-	-	-	-	-	5
Information Times	-	1	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	-	-	1	-	-	-	1	-	5
Shanghai Morning Post	-	1	1	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	4
Wenhui Bao	-	1	-	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	3	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	5
People’s Daily (overseas edition)	-	1	1	-	-	-	-	1	-	-	1	-	-	-	1	-	-	-	-	5

Of significance was that, the communist party organ the *People’s Daily*, had only 1 very short article that briefly mentioned Lee Teng-hui’s Japan visit. However, it is almost 4% of the total amount of articles about Taiwan appeared in *People’s Daily* during the period of our analysis. The little attention to Lee’s visit must be that during the period of our analysis China officially proclaimed her wish to forge a friendly relationship with Japan, and some meeting with the Japanese government were being convened during May and June. Considering China’s control of the media and emphasis on “guiding the public opinion”, came to be that there were internal instructions to play down Lee’s visit. On the other hand, China realizes that Lee’s visit, however

inappropriate in China government's eyes, has some degree of support in Taiwan, and China wanted to show her "non-interference" stances in Taiwan's domestic affairs.

Publishing a total of 40 articles in the two Taiwan dailies was not surprising as the former president remains a news worthy and controversial figure. The *Liberty Times* alone devoted 25 articles while the *China Times* had 15 articles. Although both newspapers provide quite detailed coverage of the visit, *China Times* did not carry report or comment after the report on the airport attack on June 10. On the other hand, *Liberty Times* was still carrying comments and articles after the incident. However, *China Times* was the only newspaper to have reported earlier on Lee's reception of Goto Shimpei award on May 15, two weeks before the Japan visit.

1. SIZE

In addition to using the number of articles to show the attention given to Lee's Japan visit, the actual sizes in square centimeters of the items, were also measured.

It comes as no surprise that, as shown in the Table 4.2, *Liberty Times*, more pro-independent paper, devoted quite a lot of space (more than 5,000 cm²) to Lee's Japan visit, while *China Times* follows behind with about 3,000 cm². In China, the overseas *People's Daily* gave 994.5cm², *Global Times* 798cm², *New Express* 511cm², *Shanghai Morning Post* 364.8cm², *Guangzhou Daily* 350.2cm², and *China Youth Daily* 326.95cm².

Measurement of the size of the article is intended to show the importance and details given to the visit.

Table 4.2 Size of Articles in the 14 Dailies.

Newspaper	N Articles	Size (cm ²) Articles	
		Total	Average
Liberty Times	25	5,127.5	205.1
China Times	15	2,975.75	198.38
People's Daily	1	28	28
People's Daily (overseas edition)	5	994.5	198.9
Wenhui Bao	5	386	77.2
Nanfang Daily	5	172.6	34.52
Guangzhou Daily	5	350.2	70.04
New Express	5	511.6	102.32
Information Times	5	382	76.4
Global Times	4	798.1	199.53
Shanghai Morning Post	4	364.8	91.2
China Youth Daily	3	326.95	108.98
Beijing Daily	3	80.1	26.7
GuangMing Daily	2	112.7	56.35

The daily that gave most details was the *Liberty Times*, with a mean size of 205.1 cm² per report. *Global Times*, the overseas *People's Daily* and *China Times* were about equal: 199.53 cm², 198.9 cm² and 198.38cm² respectively, while the total size of coverage in *Global Times* (798.1 cm²) and in the overseas *People's Daily* (994.5 cm²) was far less than that in *China Times* (2975.75 cm²). This shows that these papers did try to give as many details as possible in the few articles they published. Also it can be seen that while China's newspapers altogether gave much less coverage to Lee's Japan visit, the articles in their Taiwan counterparts were more frequent, longer and more detailed.

2. PHOTOGRAPHS

Table 4.3, shows that no photos were used to accompany the articles in Mainland China newspapers. Kenney (1993) research based on the interviews of Mainland China photographers shows, that politics strongly influence the way pictures are taken and the possibility of appearing particular photo on the pages of newspaper. As she confirms, most photojournalists are members of the Chinese Communist Party, and all attend weekly meetings with other newspaper employees and Party secretaries at which important Party documents are discussed. Their sense of what is newsworthy and their attitudes towards people band events are shaped by these meetings and long periods of political study. Our guess-work is that all the photos showing Lee Teng-hui's visit, except the June 9 airport attack, were extremely positive, while the absolute majority of China's articles were critical to Lee's actions and visit. Thus, we assume that photos of Lee Teng-hui's visit were defined by Chinese journalists and organs in control as not appropriate to be used on the pages of newspapers.

Table 4.3 The number and the size of photos

Newspaper	N Photos	Size (cm*2)	
		Total	Average
Liberty Times	15	1,322.75	88.18
China Times	6	625.5	104.25
People's Daily	0	0	0
People's Daily (overseas edition)	0	0	0
Wenhui Bao	0	0	0
People's Daily	0	0	0
Others	-	-	-

Yet, for the two Taiwan dailies carrying photos was part of the news routine in reporting an event. Among the 21 photos in total in Taiwan papers, the *Liberty Times* had 15 while *China*

Times had 6, although the mean size of the photos in *China Times* (104.25 cm²) was larger than that in the *Liberty Times* (88.18 cm²).

China Times used 5 of its 6 photos (almost 83%) to portray Lee Teng-hui himself. In contrast, the *Liberty Times*, had 9 photos (60% of total amount) of Lee Teng-hui, and 6 photos (40%) that did not contain any Lee's images, they were background photos. These kind of pictures are: pictures of Taiwanese and Japanese Shrine; Japanese people with transparencies cherishing Lee Teng-hui; Lee Tengqian's (Lee's brother's) memorial tablet; the exactly the same as the *China Times* photo of Chinese engineer, caught by police.

There is also a big difference in color of photos. All 15 photos of the *Liberty Times* are colored. While the *China Times* has 2/3 of photos are black-and-white, and just 1/3 of total amount are colored.

All five photos which are in the *China Times* appeared to be the major photos in the *Liberty Times* as well. They are almost exactly the same, maybe one-two seconds difference in shooting.

Speaking in general, photos provided by the *Liberty Times* are more multifarious, very colorful and absolute majority is positive. While the *China Times* provide more general photos, mostly black-and white, 1/3 of them are negative.

3. SOURCES IN THE NEWS

As Fishman (1980) argues that by relying on the only news source such as news agency, journalists just choose more easily way to follow political, governmental and bureaucratically way. This makes successive the political ideology (or even propaganda) which government tries to apply in society through different media. Journalists can simply change this situation by shifting from one source to several sources, or by gathering information themselves.

As Lee Teng-hui's visit took place in Japan, therefore in theory newsrooms needed more information outside their own countries. Such kind of information can be provided by

international news agencies, Japanese media, or by dispatching a special correspondents to Japan to cover Lee Teng-hui's visit. Sources mentioned in the news are presented in the Table 4.4.

Table 4.4 Sources in the News

	Correspondent		Staff		Mainland China Sources		Japan Media		Taiwan Media	
	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%
Mainland China	7	12	7	12	30	52	6	10	8	14
Taiwan	26	81	4	13	-	-	2	6	-	-

As shown, the two Taiwan dailies relied upon their own special correspondents (26 mentions) for information in covering Lee's visit. Meanwhile, the Chinese press depended on its "national" sources (52%), with Xinhua as the dominant news agency. The next interesting finding is the frequency of China newspapers mention of Taiwan media (14%). This will be analyzed further later.

Table 4.5 Sources in the 14 newspapers

Newspaper	Xinhua	Correspondents	Editors	Japan Media	Taiwan Media	Other China Sources	Total
People's Daily	-	-	100	-	-	-	100
People's Daily (overseas ed.)	25	25	50	-	-	-	100
Wenhui	75	25	-	-	-	-	100
Nanfang	83	-	-	-	-	17	100
Guangzhou	75	-	-	-	-	25	100
New Express	25	-	38	25	12	-	100
Information Times	37	-	-	13	13	37	100
Global Times	-	-	-	27	55	18	100
Shanghai Morning Post	25	75	-	-	-	-	100
China Youth	50	50	-	-	-	-	100
Beijing Daily	100	-	-	-	-	-	100

GuangMing	100	-	-	-	-	-	100
Liberty Times	-	76	18	6	-	-	100
China Times	-	84	7	9	-	-	100

Table 4.5 shows difference and similarities in referring to particular news source by each analyzed newspaper. It verifies that both the *China Times* and the *Liberty Times* newspapers regard special correspondent information as of primary importance. For the *China Times* this accounted to 93% of total number. While the *Liberty Times* used 76% of total.

Sigal (1986) argues that journalists have the “presumption of hierarchy”. That means that those at the top of news agency organization are the people in charge and that those in subordinate positions do what the superiors tell them to do. This assumption underlies the journalists’ criterion for selecting sources. Mainland China journalists prefer to blindly rely on Xinhua agency, especially in the reporting of controversial issues. According to the Table 4.5, half of the examined newspapers used Xinhua news agency reports as a main source for the articles. Such newspapers as the *Beijing Daily* and the *Guangming Daily* relayed totally on Xinhua in their reports, there were no articles where other sources were mentioned. As seen in the Table 4.5, the *Nanfang Daily* and the *Guangzhou Daily* used the information only from national sources. Among them the highest percentage was Xinhua news agency, while such sources as People Net(人民網), Southeast Express (東南快報) and Beijing News (北京消息) were also mentioned in the articles as a primary source. Both the *Wenhui Bao* and the *China Youth* use two news sources: Xinhua news agency and correspondents reports. However, the *Wenhui Bao* mostly still rely on Xinhua, while *China Youth* gives equal attention to both.

The *Shanghai Morning Post* was the only Mainland China newspapers that turned to their special correspondent in the majority of articles. Thus it seems fro us, that newspaper treats this visit as more than just ordinary news.

There were only three Mainland China newspapers which referred to international sources for better understanding of situation: the *New Express*, the *Information Times* and the

Global Times. In spite the fact that the *Information Times* provided some information form Japan and Taiwan media, still the majority (74%) of information was from the national sources.

The *New Express* almost equally assigned information from government source (Xinhua-25%), Japan Media (25%), Staff (38%) and less, but still something, 12% from Taiwan media. More than in the half of the *Global Times*' articles it used information provided by the Taiwan media (55% of total). The number of times referred to Japan sources is also relatively high.

For the brief discussion on the sources of photos, appeared in Taiwan dailies, we provide the Table 4.6.

Table 4.6 Sources of Photos in Taiwan Newspapers

Newspaper	Special Correspondent	AFP	Reuters	Associated Press	Total
Liberty Times	8	3	2	1	15
China Times	1	2	2	1	8

Table 4.6 shows both Taiwan dailies turn to special correspondents for providing photos. For some reason the *China Times* correspondents did not always provide photos for articles, and editors chose to use more photos from foreign agencies (not even Japan). Among foreign news agencies the *China Times* prefers to choose AFP and Reuters' photos.

The majority of photos appeared on the pages of the *Liberty Times* were photos taken by the newspaper's special correspondent himself (60%). Next was Associated Press photos accounts 20% of total number of photos.

4. LOCATION OF ARTICLES

Attempts were first made to categorize the articles into news, background, commentary, editorial and others. Since both China and Taiwan media tend to mix facts with comments in one

same article. Categorization was nearly impossible. The *Liberty Times*, however, did devote 4 articles to background the Yasukuni Shrine and the Goto Shimpei Reward.

To provide more information about importance and attention given to Lee's visit, the page on which an article appeared was recorded.

For the *Liberty Times*, 44% of the articles appeared on either page 4 or 5 in the "Political News" (政治新聞) section, 36 % on the second page in the "Focus News" (焦點新聞) section, and 20% on the last page in the opinionated "Liberty Square" (自由廣場) section. On the other hand, in *China Times* 47% of the articles in appeared on pages 13 to 14 in the "Taiwan Strait Relationship" (兩岸新聞) section, 26% in the "Political news" (政治新聞) section, and, what is also important, only one article (7%) appeared in the opinionated "Public opinion square" (時論廣場) section. It could be said, that the *Liberty Times* was more opinionated toward Lee's visit, while the *China Times* mostly focused on this visit as falling within cross- Taiwan Strait relationship issue.

On the other side of the Taiwan Strait, the 12 Chinese newspapers defined Lee Teng-hui's visit as "Domestic news" before and after Lee Teng-hui's stay in Japan, from May 30 to 31 and from June 11 to 25. While during Lee's stay in Japan they define these articles in the "International" section. *Global Times* and overseas *People's Daily* are the only two China newspapers which have special sections called "Taiwan Facsimile" (台灣传真) and "Bridge with Taiwan, HongKong and Macao" (台港澳侨). Hence, all the articles in the two papers appeared in these sections. *Guangzhou Daily*, on the other hand, published all the articles in the "Comments" (评论) section, giving journalists greater leeway in expressing their subjective, sometimes not exactly the same as the official, points of view.

One interesting finding was neither of the two Taiwan newspapers front-paged any article about Lee's visit, the overseas *People's Daily* did insert one short (37.2 cm²) article on the front page.

II FRAMING OF LEE'S VISIT

1. THEMATIC STRUCTURE

A theme is an idea that connects different semantic elements of an event into a coherent whole story. It is thus intrinsically related to meaning, capable of directing attention as well as restricting the perspectives available to the audience (Hall, 1980; Tuchman, 1978). Because of this structuring function, a theme is also called a frame (Pan & Kosicki, 1993). Every news story has a theme that functions as the central organizing idea (Gamson & Modigliani, 1989). Analysis of the themes and framing in the coverage of Lee Teng-hui's visit shall inform us of the way China and Taiwan press positioned this event.

A. COVERAGE OF LEE'S VISIT IN TAIWAN DAILIES

Taiwan newspapers covered Lee Teng-hui's visit to Japan from the May 15 to June 25 2007, by presenting the following topics:

1. Lee Teng-hui to visit Japan for an 11-day visit (30/05).
2. Lee will visit Yasukuni Shrine 靖國神社 to pay obeisance to his brother (31/05).
3. Lee Teng-hui visits Okunohosomichi, writes *haiku*: "Admiring Matsuo Bashō, I came to Fukagawa- my summer's dream" ("仰慕芭蕉訪深川- 夏之夢") (01/06)
4. Japan's Ministry of Foreign Affairs insists: Lee's visit won't harm Japan-Taiwanese or Japan-Chinese relationship (01/06).
5. Mainland China government, press and people criticize Lee's visit (01/06).
6. Taiwan's Solidarity Union (台灣團結聯盟) Secretary-general Chien Chengshan (錢澄山) criticizes Lee's visit (01/06)
7. Kuomintang criticizes Lee Teng-hui's visit (02/06).
8. Lee Teng-hui receives Goto Shimpei Award 後藤新平 (02/06)
9. Lee Teng-hui holds a press conference after the award (02/06)

10. Lee Teng-hui visits Yasukuni Shrine 靖國神社 (08/06)
11. Media and people from around the world arrive at Yasukuni Shrine 靖國神社 (08/06)
12. Lee speaks at Foreign Correspondents Club of Japan (FCCJ 日本外國特派員協會) and proclaims that Taiwan has already been independent since long time ago (10/06)
13. Chinese engineer attacks Lee Teng-hui at airport in Japan (10/06)
14. Some background information about the Chinese engineer and his opposition to Lee position (10/06)

Generally speaking, Lee Teng-hui's visit in Taiwan press coverage could be divided into four main groups: 1. Announcements of his visit; 2. Event itself (including his tours and meetings); 3. Reactions (Taiwan, Japan, China); 4. Airport bottle attack on Lee.

The above topics define the kernel themes of Lee Teng-hui's visit. However, there were also topics that provided background information. There were:

1. Who is Goto Shimpei 後藤新平?
2. Comparison: Taiwan's Martyr's Shrine, which has the Martyrs' Memorial Tablets (供奉烈士牌位) with Japan's Yasukuni Shrine has a roster but without any tablets (有名冊沒牌位)
3. Projecting from the behavior of Chinese engineer at Japan airport to criticize Mainland China's people (06/10)
4. The brilliant work of hardworking Japanese police (11/06)
5. Historical reference to three important well-known figures in Taiwan: Liu Mingchuan 劉銘傳, Houteng Xinping 後藤新平 and Jiang Jieshi 蔣介石
6. The meaning of Yasukuni Shrine 靖國神社 for Japanese people?

Nearly all these backgrounds were covered in both *China Times* and *Liberty Times*. However, the two newspapers differed in their treatments. Headlines in the two papers reflected the respective themes of the text (van Dijk, 1988, Tuchman, 1978).

Liberty Times

While covering all themes in its 25 articles or news, commentaries and backgrounds, *Liberty Times* did not report on Lee's visit until Lee's departure and arrival in Japan. It stressed several times the importance of Lee's visit not just for Taiwanese media, but also for Japanese and Chinese media. Several times it repeated the comments given by Chinese, Japanese and Taiwanese governments (such headlines as "Japan Ministry of Foreign Affairs: If Lee wants to go and worship at Yasukuni Shrine, it won't harm Taiwan-Japanese relations"- "外交部: 李若參拜神社 無損台日關係").

The huge amount of coverage by this newspaper mainly focused on three major topics:

1. Visit to Yasukuni Shrine (3 long articles- ¾ of the whole page): "Lee Teng-hui prays for brother's soul"- "李參拜靖國神社. 哥可享冥福了", "Lee Teng-qin's memorial tablet"- "李登欽牌位", "Expert discusses the existence of hero soles in Martyrs Shrine"- "專家: 忠烈祠內 英靈存在".
2. Lee's speech at press conference and reception of the Goto Shimpei 後藤新平 award (3 articles- 1/3 of the whole page): "Lee: most Proud of Taiwan democracy without bloodshed."- "李: 台灣不流血建立民主 最感自傲", "Teng-hui's Summer Dream"- "登輝: 夏之夢", "Goto Shimpei- a founder of Taiwan's modernization"- "後藤新平 台灣現代化奠基者".
3. The events on June 9: speech at FCCJ and incident at airport (2 long articles - more than half of the whole page): "Taiwan is already an independent country"- "台灣已是獨立國家", "Bottle attack at Lee Teng-hui, Chinese male arrested by Japanese police"- "瓶攻李登輝 中國男子被日警逮捕".

Liberty Times devoted about one fourth of its background information in the format of either "glossary" or stand-alone articles. *Liberty Times* also touched the human interest side, such as

thoughts of a Japanese girl about the Yasukuni Shrine, this was copied by Taiwan journalist and retold in an article with the headline “The Protectors of Taiwan”- “臺灣護國者”).

China Times

On May 15, two weeks before Lee’s visit, *China Times* already started to report on the purpose and length of this visit. Furthermore, it viewed the visit as controversial, as shown in the headlines “To raise international attention, Lee paves way for Hsieh’s visit to Japan”- “拉抬國際聲勢 李幫謝訪日鋪路”). *China Times*, in contrast with the *Liberty Times* also mentioned that Lee’s possible second visit to Japan in middle of June (May 31 headline “Lee Teng-hui flies to Japan today. Japanese media: visit Japan again in mid-June”- “李登輝今赴日 日媒: 6月中再訪”).

China Times published in the same edition two more articles: Lee Teng-hui’s speech at the press conference after receiving Goto Shimpei award on June 2 (“Lee Teng-hui: once in power- his whole family cashed in”- “李登輝: 有人掌權 全家撈錢”). Next to above article was another titled “Lee granted with Goto Shimpei award in Japan” (李獲日頒 “後藤新平獎”). The two articles occupied almost 2/5 of the whole page.

More than 1/3 of the whole page was given to Lee’s visit to Yasukuni Shrine in a report titled “Praying for brother at Shrine, Lee fulfills wish” “靖國祭兄祈冥福 李登輝了心願”). Next to the long article on the visit was a shorter article about Beijing’s criticism of Lee’s visit (“Beijing criticizes Lee. Official softness, but media harshness”- “北京批李 官方軟媒體硬”).

About the June 9 attack at the airport, *China Times* had a long article headlined “Attacked with bottle at airport. Lee Teng-hui frightened” (“機場遭擲保特瓶 李登輝驚魂”). Another article next to it told about Lee’s speech earlier the same day, “Lee criticizes China and Korea for deliberately creating the Yasukuni Shrine issue” (李批中韓刻意製造靖國神社問題).

Interesting to note is how the two Taiwan newspapers covered the same Lee's speeches on June 2 and June 9, the headlines were totally different. On Lee's reception of the Goto Shimpei award and the press conference afterwards, *Liberty Times* headlined its story "Lee: Proud Taiwan democracy without bloodshed", while *China Times* stressed in the headline Lee's statement: "Lee Teng-hui: once in power- his whole family cashed in on the man", pointing at the corruption cases of President Chen Shuibian, his wife and his relatives. Covering the other press conference, *Liberty Time* highlighted in the headline "Taiwan is already an independent country", while *China Times* stressed in the headline "Lee criticizes China and Korea, for deliberately creating the Yasukuni Shrine issue". The former's pro-Lee and pro-DPP stances and the latter's dislike of Lee appear to be obvious in these headlines.

China Times usually announced an event at least one or two days in advance and then repeated it with more details when it actually took place. On the other hand, *Liberty Times* reported an event only after it had already taken place. However, *Liberty Times* gave much more comprehensive information, usually several articles on the same topic, than *China Times*.

B. COVERAGE OF LEE'S VISIT IN MAINLAND CHINA DAILIES

To discuss the thematic structure in articles in Chinese newspapers is much simpler because the context and the headlines of the 5 to 7 articles that appeared the same day in different newspapers were literally word by word the same. The following part provides a brief day-by-day introduction to the themes and sub-themes of articles in Chinese newspapers.

On May 30, the day when Lee departed for Japan, 8 of the 12 Chinese newspapers published the same China's Ministry of Foreign Affairs' spokesman's statement. The headline was "Ministry of Foreign Affairs holds routine press conference" ("外交部舉行例行記者會") to announce the Chinese government's negative point of view on this visit. 6 of 8 articles were the same. The two different articles were mixing straight news and analysis, they appeared in the *New Express* and the *Information Times*. Articles were quite long (189cm² and 175 cm² each)

and headlined “Lee Teng-hui visits Japan, Japan “sets no check” (ed.: on the content of Lee Teng-hui’s meetings with press)” (“李登輝訪日, 日本 “不設防””) and “Lee Teng-hui began Japan visit today, China lodged solemn negotiations with Japan” (“李登輝今起訪日中方向日提出嚴正交涉”).

On May 31, the main theme in the Chinese press was: “At Taiwan Affairs Office press conference (国台办), spokesman Lee Wei-yi (李維一) reiterated the Chinese government’s opposition to Lee’s visit”. Using different headlines, five Chinese newspapers published exactly the same information without comments. There were, however, three interesting articles in the *New Express*, the *Information Times* and the *Global Times*. The *New Express*’ headline was “Lee Teng-hui suspected to visit Yasukuni Shrine to worship the “ghosts” (李登輝疑赴靖國神社 “拜鬼”), and the *Information Times*’ article “Lee Tang-hui wants to worship Yasukuni Shrine” (李登輝欲參拜靖國神社) briefly discussed the personal meaning of Yasukuni Shrine to Lee, and the Lee’s brother’s life. Some words in the context were changed; several sentences were mentioned in one newspaper and downplayed in the other. Nonetheless, it is clear that the articles came from the same source.

In comparison with the other articles on May 31, the *Global Times* had a long article (273cm²) with the headline “Lee to worship the Yasukuni Shrine, his speech’s also sensitive. Lee Teng-hui’s Japan visit brings a lot of troubles” “要去參拜靖國神社演說內容也很敏感 李登輝訪日麻煩少不了”. The *Global Times* was reporting on Lee Teng-hui’s visit for the first time, its news included all the information about the May 29 Chinese government’s statements the May 30 Lee Wei-yi’s statement and a detailed, day-by-day itinerary of Lee’s visit.

On June 1, the majority of Chinese newspaper reported the official statement of Chinese Ministry of Foreign Affairs about Lee’s “real goal” (breaking relations between China and Japan, and promoting Taiwan independence). Five newspapers carried the same brief quote, while 3 newspapers were much more detailed: the *China Youth Daily*, the *Shanghai Morning Post* and

the *News Express*. The *China Youth Daily*'s article "Hoping that Japan will appropriately handle history and Taiwan issues" (希望日本妥善處理歷史和臺灣問題) and *Shanghai Morning Post*'s article "Hope Japan to treat China's solemn negotiations seriously" (希望日方認真對待中方嚴正交涉) gave more detailed and longer quote of what has been said in the Chinese government's statement. They repeated and emphasized China's position on Taiwan independence issue and its solutions, stressing also that it is already very clear for everyone "who Lee Teng-hui really is". Furthermore, the *China Youth Daily* gave some background information on Lee Teng-hui and his brother, and more clearly expressed the position of newspaper on this issue. The most significant report was the *New Express*' story "Anbei and Lee Teng-hui appeared in same hotel" (安倍李登輝現身同一酒店). That day, it was the only newspaper that did not carry the government view, but quoted Japan Prime Minister's comments that it was Lee Tang-hui's personal visit to Japan, that everyone had the right to make one's own decisions, and that Japan government is sure that the purpose of this visit is traveling and academic/culture exchange (學術文化交流).

On June 5, there was only one article in the overseas *People's Daily*. It was quite long (173.8 cm²) and headlined "How useful was Lee Teng-hui's performance in Tokyo" (李登輝東京演出有多大用处). This article reported the Yasukuni Shrine visit and the story of his brother's life. It emphasizes that according to Taiwan's media reports there is no memorial tablet of his brother in Yasukuni Shrine. It had been transported and reinstalled in Beipu Xinzhu in Taiwan. The paper insisted that Lee Teng-hui had never gone there. It also criticized his receiving of the Goto Shimpei award, suggesting that Lee was supporting colonial and imperialistic Japan. This article was quite aggressive.

On June 8, eight of Chinese newspapers carried 1 or 2 reports about Lee's visit. Six articles quoted Xinhua news agency, talked about Lee's visit to Yasukuni Shrine, and discussed some historical background. The most interesting is that the *Nanfang Daily* (42cm²), the *China Youth Daily* (53cm²), the *Information Times* (56cm²), the *Guangzhou Daily* (70cm²), the

Shanghai Morning Post (98cm²), the *Wenhui Bao* (110cm²), each just repeated the same Xinhua's information with just few different details. The *Global Times* article "Claimed to worship his brother, he visited Yasukuni. Japan police on high alert" (宣稱爲了悼念兄日本警方高度緊張 李登輝竟參拜靖國神社), not only giving very detailed information about Lee's Shrine visit and his brother's death, but also the change of his original purposes of the visit. It also twice quoted Taiwan's *United Daily's* (聯合報) and once the *China Times'* reports, talking about the stances of Taiwan people on Lee's visit, or using some information on Lee and his brother as given in Taiwan's media.

On June 11, 5 of 12 of Chinese dailies reported the "bottle attack" incident at the Japan airport. The *News Express*, the *Nanfagn Daily*, the *Guangzhou Daily* and the *Information Times* reported the incident without any comment. While the *Global Times* headlined its article "To visit Yasukuni, Lee attacks China and Korea, and calling for resuscitation of Taiwan souls. Taiwan people criticize Lee for betraying ancestors and nation"- (爲參拜攻擊中韓公然替“台灣”招魂 台民眾批李登輝忘族背宗). Again in their articles, the *Global Times* quoted Taiwan newspapers, the *China Times* and the *China Daily* (中華日報). In referring to *China Times*, *Global Times* quoted words of one (ed.: no named) politician, who harsh critiqued Lee's visit, gave some details about the meeting which Lee Teng-hui held on the morning on June 9. *Global Times* in referring to Taiwan dailies said that "300 journalists from different countries took part in this conference, and asked Lee Teng-hui some questions on the Taiwan independent issue". Referring to Taiwan media for such information, could only mean that in Mainland China was no source which provided information on Lee's press conferences and topics that were discussed there.

On June 12 only the overseas *People's Daily* had an article headlined "May I ask: Is Chen a foreigner?" ("請問陳是外國人嗎?"). This article criticized actions taken by Chen and

Lee, while discussing Lee's visit, it focused on the "incorrect behavior" of the two Taiwanese "leaders".

On June 22, almost two weeks after Lee returned to Taiwan, the *Guangzhou Daily* and *News Times* each published one article about the fine imposed on the Chinese engineer who had attacked Lee Teng-hui at the Japanese airport on June 9. Both articles had the same headline "200,000 Japanese yen fine for smashing bottle on Lee Teng-hui" (用瓶砸李登輝被罰 20 萬日元). Both newspapers also reported the engineer's hate toward Lee. However, the *Guangzhou Daily* article's length 14cm² was only half of the *News Times* article's length 28cm².

The last article in Mainland China's newspapers during the period of our analysis was the long article on June 25, 16 days after Lee returns to Taiwan, in the *Guangzhou Daily* with the headline "Can't comprehend Lee Teng-hui's visit to Japan" (讀不懂李登輝日本之行). This article is particularly significant, as it shows how, Lee's visit was treated as an important topic in the newspapers raising repercussions. This article was a brief inspection of the whole Lee Teng-hui's visit to Japan with some comments. Specifically, it discussed the controversial goals of Lee's visit to Yasukuni Shrine (as Lee's brother tablet has been already reinstalled in Taiwan), excoriated the fine on the Chinese engineer attacker and Lee's criticism in overseas media. Moreover, the article noted that Lee repeatedly mentioned his Taiwan independence stand at different press conferences. It also castigated Lee for receiving the Goto Shimpei award. In the last part of the article, it has been reminded that Goto Shimpei was nothing but a "Japanese colonizer of Taiwan", and recalls the numbers of deaths of Taiwan people he was responsible for. Indeed, this review summarized well the Chinese press' coverage of the whole Lee Teng-hui visit to Japan.

To provide more details about the inclusion of themes in Taiwan and Mainland China newspapers, Table 5.1 has been compiled.

Table 5.1 Themes (N) in China's and Taiwan's Newspapers

Themes	Taiwan	China
Lee Teng-hui to visit Japan for 11 days	2	3*
“No discussion of political issues, just culture exchange purposes”	4	5
Lee is going to visit Yasukuni Shrine to pay obeisance to brother	2	7
Interview with Japanese media on the plane	1	2
Chinese government criticizes Lee's Japan visit	4	34
Japan Ministry of Foreign Affairs insists: Lee's visit won't harm Japan-Taiwanese or Japan-Chinese relations	3	1
Lee visits Okunohosomichi, and writes haiku	4	1
Taiwan secretary-general Qian Chengshan criticize Lee's visit	1	-
“Pan Blue” (泛藍) criticize Lee Teng-hui's visit	5	-
Lee Teng-hui receives the Goto Shimpei award	4	1
Lee Teng-hui holds a journalist conference after award	3	-
Lee Teng-hui visits Yasukuni Shrine 靖國神社	5	8
Media and people around the world arrive at Yasukuni Shrine	2	-
Conference in the hotel after visiting Yasukuni Shrine	2	1
Lee spoke at Japan FCCJ proclaiming Taiwan is already independent for a long time	3	1
Chinese engineer attacks Lee Teng-hui at the Japan airport	4	5
Background information about Chinese engineer and his opposing to Lee Teng-hui	3	4
Chinese engineer has been punished by fine of two hundred thousand Japanese yen	-	3

* We did not count the articles on May 30, which reported only the Chinese government's critique of Lee. There was not even one sentence on Lee's visit itself.

As can be seen, frequency differences between China newspapers and Taiwan newspapers coverage of themes are spectacularly different. From the above thematic comparison

of 14 Taiwan and Mainland China newspapers about the Lee Teng-hui visit to Japan, the following general observations can be made:

1. In Taiwanese newspapers there were two most frequent topics: Lee's visit to Yasukuni Shrine and the criticism of his visit by "Pan Blue" parties critique. While China newspapers gave only brief information on these topics, and paid most of the attention to the Chinese government's critic of Lee's visit.
2. Receiving of Goto Shimpei award was a topic of little interest to Mainland China readers. Only one article in *Guangzhou Daily* on June 25 briefly reported it. With 4 long articles specially devoted to this issue in Taiwan newspapers.
3. Most newspapers of both regions provide background information on Lee Teng-hui and his brother, while Taiwan newspapers also give some historical references to Lee's visit and the Goto Shimpei award.
4. The presence or absence of certain comments on topics appeared to be the main difference between Chinese and Taiwanese newspapers. China dailies prefer to play down some themes which appeared in Taiwan dailies. The best example here would be Lee's press conferences, which China papers, on the exception of *Global Times*, preferred not to report.
5. Taiwanese newspapers were frequently more opinioned on Lee's visit, while Chinese newspapers preferred to quote official Chinese sources, such as Xinhua news agency or Ministry of Foreign Affairs' conference materials. However, in China newspapers such as the *New Express*, the *Global Times* and the *China Youth Daily*, in their articles based as all China's articles on government's official position, still felt the presence of low but still some degree of editor's stances.
6. Chinese newspapers use far more limited news sources. On the exception of *Global Times*, there was no Mainland China newspaper which referred to Taiwan media for the information. The *Global Times* frequently quotes Taiwanese newspapers to represent

views of the “pan-blue’s” criticism of Lee’s visit and to provide background information. Taiwanese press, on the other hand, frequently referred to Japanese media as sources and never mentioned Mainland China’s media or information agency as a source.

7. While China and Taiwan newspapers usually reported the event the following day after it occurrence, the topic on the June 9 attack at the airport did not appear the following day in Chinese newspapers, while it was in the two Taiwanese dailies. Instead, the attack was reported two days later, on June 11, in all Chinese newspapers. What makes us suspect, that during this period “right” directions were given by the organs in control.
8. Taiwan newspapers seemed to have forgotten about Lee’s visit soon after he returned to Taiwan, and did not ever report the fine on the Chinese engineer attacker. On the contrary, three Chinese newspapers followed up the event’s development. Even 16 days after Lee’s return to Taiwan, *Guangzhou Daily* was still commenting on the visit. This was rather an unexpected finding.

C. ACTORS IN TAIWAN AND CHINESE NEWS

Van Dijk’s (1988, pp.89) states that macropositions consist of predicates and arguments. For news discourse, such arguments are often persons, groups, institutions or countries. Table 5.2 is implied to enumerate the most frequent thematic actors, whether individuals, groups or institutions, in Taiwan and Mainland China’s articles.

As expected, Lee Teng-hui was the most frequently mentioned actor, criticized in China newspapers, but more neutrally treated in Taiwan newspapers. The second was the head of the Chinese Foreign Affairs Ministry or spokesmen, who was quoted to reflect the official reaction of China.

Table 5.2 Main Actors (N) in Taiwan and Mainland China's Articles

Actors	Taiwan	Mainland China	Total
Lee Teng-hui 李登輝	37	47	84
The head or spokesmen of Chinese Foreign Affairs Ministry	5	28	33
Other Chinese authorities	2	9	11
Japanese Foreign Affairs Ministry	4	1	5
Japanese government (used in general)	-	6	6
Japanese police	3	-	3
Japanese Mass-media	5	5	10
Japanese ordinary people's expressions	2	-	2
“Pan Blue” (“泛藍”)	5	-	5
Democratic Progressive Party 民進黨 (particularly Hsieh Changting 謝長廷)	2	3	5
Taiwan analysts (no names were provided)	-	3	3
Taiwan newspapers		4	4
Chinese engineer Xue Yi 薛義	4	8	12

What we found interesting was in references to Japanese politicians or the overall state of public opinion: First of all, while Taiwan newspapers identified the source as Japan's Foreign Affairs Ministry, China's papers chose to use the more general reference to “Japanese government”. At least three articles in Taiwanese newspapers praised the job of Japanese police, while no China paper devoted any article to this topic. Taiwan dailies mentioned several times not just Japan government's official position on Lee's visit, but also statements of ordinary Japan people, such as “It is Lee Teng-hui's right to visit Japan. He is no longer a president of Taiwan”

or “Japan people admire Lee Teng-hui and welcome him in our country”. In China’s papers, no such reference were made.

Table 5.2 shows that Taiwan papers prefer to mention the Pan-blue group’s position on the Lee visit, while China newspapers frequently mentioned DPP in the same articles about Lee Teng-hui’s visit. It was of no surprise that there were 8 mentions of the Chinese engineer attacker in China’s papers, while the incident was generally positively portrayed as a patriotic act by the Mainland Chinese.

2. LEXICAL STYLE AND RHETORIC

For analysis of the style and rhetoric of the reports a total of 27 articles were chosen. That is, the 2 articles that first appeared in each daily about Lee’s visit. Exception was the domestic *People’s Daily* that had only one article on the visit.

Pan and Kosicki (1993) argue that lexical choice constitutes an important aspect of news discourse construction and that it is often made in conformity with structural rules. Reporters have a large repertoire of designators to choose from. This process of choosing influenced by such factors as journalistic professional considerations (Gans, 1979), news routines, and organizational routine (Tuchman, 1978). They noted that editors’ ideology plays an important role on variations around the style.

A political event or political news always has its own special lexical style. Not only are the words used in accordance with the formal style of news writing in general but also requires typical political jargon. Thus, Lee Teng-hui may be portrayed as an ordinary individual free to visit any country any time, or as a “Taiwan independence element” (“台獨”份子). At the same time, his visit to Japan can be portrayed as a “politically and morally” incorrect action, or ordinary visit for “cultural and intellectual” exchange. Hence, stylistic description of Lee Teng-hui and the description of purposes of visit itself are of primary importance because such analysis can exploit implicit evaluations of Lee across the Taiwan Strait. Table 3.1 lists the

words and sentences used in describing Lee Teng-hui and the visit in the selected 27 articles in the 14 newspapers.

Table 6.1 Stylistic Descriptions of Lee Teng-hui

Liberty Times	<p><i>Lee Teng-hui</i>: Taiwan ex-president</p> <p><i>Visit</i>: the third visit to Japan, private visit, the right of every person, “his freedom to choose, make his own decision”, absolutely private visit for sightseeing goals, the desire to visit Yasukuni Shrine is nothing more than “The way things should be” (人之常情).</p> <p>China commentaries: visit provides political arena for promoting “Taiwan independence” activities.</p>
China Times	<p><i>Lee Teng-hui</i>: Taiwan ex-president, or “Representative of the Taiwan independence force” (台灣獨立勢力代表人物) as designated in Japan media.</p> <p><i>Visit</i>: 11-day visit for the purpose of Okunohosomichi cultural and intellectual exchange (學術文化交流), purely private visit, the last visit to Japan in his life, no meeting with any Japan politicians.</p>
People’s Daily	<p><i>Lee Teng-hui</i>: “Force for Taiwan independence movement” (“台獨”勢力)</p> <p><i>Visit</i>: providing political arena for promoting “Taiwan independence” activities.</p>
People’s Daily (overseas)	<p><i>Lee Teng-hui</i>: “We all are very clear about what kind of man Lee Teng-hui is, his words and actions for the past many years confirm that he is a Taiwan independence element for dividing China”</p> <p><i>Visit</i>: visit provides political arena for promoting “Taiwan independence” activities.</p>
Wenhui Bao	<p><i>Lee Teng-hui</i>: Taiwan independence element, force for Taiwan independence movement (“台獨”份子和勢力)</p> <p><i>Visit</i>: visit provides political arena for promoting “Taiwan independence” activities, “everyone can clearly see the real purpose of this visit, thus China express dissatisfaction with Japan government’s decisions”, visit to Yasukuni Shrine once more revealed his ugly countenance (醜惡嘴臉) as a political element struggling for “Taiwan independence”.</p>
Nanfang Daily	<p><i>Lee Teng-hui</i>: Taiwan independent element</p> <p><i>Visit</i>: visit provides political arena for promoting “Taiwan independence” activities.</p>
Information Times	<p><i>Lee Teng-hui</i>: 84-years old, Taiwan independent element, force for Taiwan Independent movement</p> <p><i>Visit: as Lee proclaims</i>: 11-days visit, private visit, probably the last in his life visit to Japan, for “academic and culture exchange” goals, as a politician in Taiwan he has no real power for efforts (two reasons: age and retirement from the presidency).</p> <p><i>Real purpose</i>: visit provides political arena for promoting “Taiwan independence” activities.</p>
Shanghai Morning Post	<p><i>Lee Teng-hui</i>: Taiwan independence element</p> <p><i>Visit</i>: engaged in activities in dividing China (從事分裂中國的活動), visit provides political arena for promoting “Taiwan independence” activities.</p>
Guangzhou Daily	<p><i>Lee Teng-hui</i>: Taiwan independence element</p> <p><i>Visit</i>: 11-day visit to promote “Taiwan independence” and attempt to</p>

	undermine relations between Japan and China, visit once more revealed his ugly countenance as a political element struggling for “Taiwan independence”.
Global Times	<p><i>Lee Teng-hui</i>: Taiwan ex-president. As Taiwan special representative in Japan express: “Among all Taiwan people, Lee Teng-hui has the biggest influence on Japan”. The leader of “Taiwan Solidarity Party” (台聯黨) who lost his political power in Taiwan already. Taiwan independence element</p> <p><i>Visit</i>: 11-day so-called “cultural and intellectual exchange” visit, Lee’s third visit to Japan, visiting Yasukuni Shrine to worship his brother, Japan Prime Minister said: “the right of every person, his freedom to choose, make his own decision, and can not affect China-Japan relationships”, as Taiwan analysts say: “This visit accomplishes many breakthroughs”, but journalist thinks that Lee is not capable of bringing serious damages to China-Japan relationships, visit provides political arena for promoting “Taiwan independence” activities, visit to Yasukuni Shrine is unreasonable because there is no memorial tablet of his brother.</p>
New Express	<p><i>Lee Teng-hui</i>: 84-years old, Taiwan ex-president. Taiwan independence element. The strongest representative of Taiwan independent movement, but he already lost his political power inside Taiwan because of retirement and age.</p> <p><i>Visit</i>: third visit to Japan, 11-day visit; this visit has no political goals, however, the content of upcoming press conferences is a big question; main purposes are to visit Okunohosomichi and receive Goto Shimpei award and “cultural and intellectual exchange”; as China insists the main purpose still is “visit provides political arena for promoting “Taiwan independence” activities”; everything what Lee will talk about during the conference is absolutely unrestricted by Japan government.</p>
China Youth Daily	<p><i>Lee Teng-hui</i>: Taiwan independence element, “We all are very clear about what kind of man Lee Teng-hui is”.</p> <p><i>Visit</i>: the third visit to Japan; the goal is promoting “Taiwan independence” and attempt to undermine relations between Japan and China; visit to Yasukuni Shrine is unreasonable because it has no memorial tablet of his brother; everything what Lee will talk about during the conference is absolutely unrestricted by Japan government; visit provides political arena for Lee Teng-hui.</p>
Beijing Daily	<p><i>Lee Teng-hui</i>: Taiwan independence element.</p> <p><i>Visit</i>: visit provides political arena for promoting “Taiwan independence” activities; the main goal is the attempt to divide one China.</p>
Guangming Daily	<p><i>Lee Teng-hui</i>: Taiwan independence element.</p> <p><i>Visit</i>: the goal is promoting “Taiwan independence” and attempt to break relations between Japan and China; visit provides political arena for promoting “Taiwan independence” activities.</p>

Table 3.1 shows there were differences and similarities not just between Taiwan Straight newspapers, but also among China’s newspapers. First of all, the Taiwan press coverage referred to Lee Teng-hui by using three variants: Lee Teng-hui, he, or Taiwan ex-president Lee Teng-hui.

Only once did the *China Times* quote Japan media in calling Lee Teng-hui “A representative figure of the Taiwan independence movement” (台灣獨立勢力代表人物).

Unanimously, all Mainland China newspapers’ identified Lee Teng-hui as a “Taiwan independence element” (“台獨”份子) or “political element struggling for Taiwan independence”, which was essential and usually placed in the very beginning and repeated in the end of a report. Only *Global Times* and the *New Express* mentioned Lee’s position as Taiwan ex-president, even though Lee’s official position as Taiwan’s ex-president is a known fact in China. The overall negative slant in referring to this politician obviously testifies China’s negative perception about Lee and his Japan visit. Besides, by calling Lee Teng-hui “A Taiwan independent element”, the media reaffirmed China’s official stands.

On the purpose of Lee’s visit to Japan, each and every analyzed Chinese newspaper was unanimous in saying that real purpose was to “get the political arena for promoting Taiwan independence activities”. Two other goals were frequently repeated: “To support dividing China” and to “attempt to sabotage relations between China and Japan”.

China Youth Daily and the overseas *People’s Daily* also said that it was “very clear what kind of person Lee Teng-hui is”. The *Information Times* and the *New Express* were the only newspapers to have underlined that Lee’s age is 84-years old. Although these two papers, also acknowledged him as an important and influential player in the international arena, they highlighted his retirement, his age and his declined influence in Taiwan.

Wenhui Bao and *Guangzhou Daily* were harsh in their choice of words. They referred to the Yasukuni Shrine visit as disclosing once again Lee Teng-hui’s “ugly countenance” (醜惡嘴臉) as a “Taiwan independence element”. Only four newspapers, *Global Times*, *New Express*, *Information Times* and *Guangzhou Daily* briefly mentioned the itinerary of Lee’s Japan visit.

It is worth noting that *Information Times*, *China Youth Daily*, *New Express* and *Global Times* had more details about Lee’s visit and mentioned that Lee Teng-hui himself did not consider the visit political. On the other hand, *New Express* and *China Youth Daily* reported that

they were not bothered by the “real” purpose of the visit, but more by the content of what he had to say at the press conference after Goto Shimpei award. Since Japan government set no limit on the topics that could be discussed, the two newspapers could be taken to suggest that Lee’s visit could carry some consequences. In reporting Lee’s visit, *China Youth Daily* reported that Lee brother’s memorial tablet was not in the Yasukuni Shrine, suggesting inappropriateness of Lee’s visit.

Among the 12 China newspapers, *Global Times* carried more details, long discourse about the purpose and reasons of Lee’s visit. This was also the only newspaper to have used the words of Japan’s Prime Minister that “it is the right of every person, his freedom to choose, make his own decision, and this visit can not harm China-Japan relationships”. It was also the only newspaper that argued that this visit actually could not do much harm to Japan-China relations.

While China newspapers were nearly unanimous in their coverage and comments on Lee Teng-hui visit, the two Taiwan newspapers’ difference was obvious. *Liberty Times* supported Lee Teng-hui’s decision to visit Japan with the all inevitable negative consequences after the visit. On the other hand, *China Times* was not so extreme in its expressions, it had both criticism and support, it said the idea that paying private visits is the right of every man, but criticized receiving the Goto Shimpei award and visiting the Yasukuni Shrine. In discoursing the nature of Lee Teng-hui’s visit, both *Liberty Times* and *China Times*, referred to the visit as “private” with no political purposes, but for “cultural and intellectual exchange”. Nevertheless, *China Times* was consistent in its usage of neutral words and phrases, while *Liberty Times* was liberal in using such phrases as: “it’s the right of every person”, “his freedom to choose, his own decision”, there is nothing abnormal just “The way things should be”.