



JÖNKÖPING UNIVERSITY  
*School of Education and  
Communication*

# **Ideology and Orientalism in American and Cuban news media**

Representation of the Chinese government in  
foreign media during the Umbrella Revolution

Gerard Aleñá Naval

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Supervisor:

Anders Svensson

Examiner:

Paola Sartoretto

JÖNKÖPING UNIVERSITY  
School of Education and Communication  
Box 1026, SE-551 11 Jönköping, Sweden  
+46 (0)36 101000

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## ABSTRACT

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Writer(s): Gerard Aleñá Naval

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This study aims to examine the representation of the Chinese government in foreign media during the Umbrella Revolution along 2014. Hence, this paper analyzes *The New York Times* and *Granma* by using Critical Discourse Analysis along with Multimodal Critical Discourse Analysis in order to reveal underlying ideology and Orientalism in their news discourse. Thus, this study aims to understand how influenced is their representation of the Chinese government by the ideology of their countries. In that way, ideology and Orientalism are the theories implemented in this research. Additionally, in order to understand the relationship between media and the establishment in United States and Cuba, the Liberal model and the Soviet Communist theory are respectively applied. Moreover, the Propaganda model is also implemented to study in depth the level of influence that the establishment has on the media. In this sense, the research reveals that the representation of Cuban and American media was influenced by the ideology of their countries and that both sides 'othered' each other. Hence, both constructions aimed to impose Capitalism or Communism as the most valid socio-economic system.

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Keywords: Ideology, Orientalism, Capitalism, Communism, China, United States, Cuba, Propaganda model, Umbrella revolution.

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## Introduction

This study aims to examine the representation of the Chinese government in foreign media during the Umbrella Revolution, a set of protests that took place in Hong Kong along 2014. Since Great Britain handed back Hong Kong to Chinese control in 1997, the former British colony has been governed under a particular policy known as “one country, two systems”, where China is responsible for its defense and Hong Kong enjoys limited self-governance and civil liberties, including an independent judicial system and unrestricted press. However, in the recent years China has not showed the intention of respecting this agreement anymore. For example, the election of the Hong Kong chief executive, is currently chosen by a committee of 1.200 people, most of them pro-Beijing. Despite the central government promised to Hong Kong that they would be able to elect their top leader by universal suffrage by 2017, Beijing broke its word and passed a reform where universal suffrage was accepted as an election system, but only under their conditions. Nevertheless, these conditions basically vetted all those candidates who “do not love the country”, which means that they will accept those candidates pro-Beijing that does not represent a threat to the central government. Consequently, over the next days, several organizations started a civil disobedience campaign against the top communist party in order to protest towards this reform and the progressive control over the former British colony. From that moment, the protests in Hong Kong became the center of attention of all the media, that were fully conscious about the relevance of that moment, probably the most important manifestation and pro-democracy against the top communist party since Tiananmen Square protests in 1989 (Kaiman, 2014). The fact that this event was covered worldwide, makes it really interesting to analyze how was represented by media in some countries such as United States or Cuba, countries which represent and defend Capitalism or Communism as socio-economic system.

Despite there is the conception that media should mirror the society on which they report, there are multiple ways of understanding the world and interpreting it. Although Schlesinger explains that news professionals deeply belief in their capacity of “being impartial and reflect the truth”, the role of reflectionist becomes something hard to accomplish, since nowadays “information spread in a very fast way and knowledge in most of the cases depends on mediated symbolic content” (Orgad, 1972, p.19). In the liquid times we live, these are featured by uncertainty, and the value of representation as a record of the truth is even more crucial. Nevertheless, these representations are themselves a source of anxiety and confusion, so they cannot unproblematically reflect reality. Moreover, these representations can also be affected by the “desire of some countries to establish a particular way of thinking as the most powerful, most valid, or the truth” (Orgad, 1972, p.19). Hence, it becomes

appealing to study until which point the ideology influences some of these representations and leads to “other” the object, event or person constructed.

## **Aim and research questions**

The study aims to look into foreign media representation of the Chinese government in news discourse during the Umbrella Revolution. In this sense, the research will be based on the analysis of two elite newspapers from United States and Cuba, each of them has different political approaches. In order to get findings, Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA) of media constructions will be applied to some of the articles published during that period by analyzing its texts. Additionally, Multimodal Critical Discourse Analysis (MCDA) will also be applied to “denaturalize representations on other modes of communication like pictures or videos” (Machin & Mayr, 2012, p.9). Therefore, the aim is to reveal underlying discourse of ideology and Orientalism in order to understand if media representations are influenced by the ideology of its countries. The construction of difference, or ‘othering’, is a recurrent concept of study in the field of communication studies, helping to understand how an event, object or person has been represented. Furthermore, Orientalism acts as a discourse and a way of thinking that try to settle the “inferiority of the east against the west” (Hall, Evans & Nixon, 2003 p.31). Despite the theory has been mainly used to study racial and ethnic difference, the “same concepts can be applied in many instances to other dimensions of difference” such as political ideology (Hall, Evans & Nixon, 2003 p.18). Thus, Orientalism becomes a perfect theory to examine how Western media, located in capitalist countries, represents an event where a communist country was involved negatively, in this case, the Umbrella Revolution.

Secondly, the main purpose of this research is to examine if in American and Cuban media, whose countries clearly defend Capitalism or Communism as their socio-economic system, present underlying ideology in their representation of the Chinese media during that period. Therefore, it could provide some clues about how influenced the media is by the ideology of its country and consequently its representation of the events, objects or people. In the end, as Gramsci explains, ideology is driven by the purpose of imposing a particular way of thinking as the truth. In this sense, the never ending ideological war between capitalist and communist countries are a perfect scenario to study and compare their constructions of the reality.

Finally, this paper aims to answer these questions:

1. How is American media 'othering' the Chinese government?
2. How is Cuban media defending the Chinese government?

To sum up, with this study I want to understand how influenced media is by the political ideology of its country and if its representation of the facts is distorted by it. Hence, in order to understand the relationship between media and the establishment in United States and Cuba, I will use two different models. Firstly, to examine American media I will apply the North Atlantic or Liberal model of the 'Four media systems', developed by Hallin and Mancini. Secondly, to study Cuban media I will implement the Soviet Communist theory from the 'Four theories of media', developed by Siebert, Peterson and Schramm. Additionally, to study in depth the level of influence that the establishment has on the media in both countries, I will apply the Propaganda model, developed by Edward Hermans and Noam Chomsky, implementing its set of news filters. Moreover, I want to study if American media is othering the Chinese government and how it does it, as well as examine if Cuban media is defending the Chinese government in its representation and how it does it, since both share the same political ideology.

## **Contextual frame**

During my study, two newspapers will be analyzed to understand how Cuban and American media represent the Chinese government in news discourse during the Umbrella Revolution. On one side, *Granma* will be the representative of Cuban media. This paper was created in 1965 as a result of fusing two others: *Hoy* and *Revolución*. Its principal objective is the diffusion, through its articles and commentaries, of the Revolution's work and principles, the conquests achieved by Cuban society, as well as the integrity and unity of their people with the Communist party and Fidel Castro (*Granma*). Hence, the newspaper is loyal to the party's policy and its ethical principles. Therefore, in order to understand the relationship between media and the establishment in Cuba, the Soviet Communist Theory from the 'Four theories of media' will be implemented. Developed by Siebert, Peterson and Schramm, this model explains how mass communications are used instrumentally, as a tool of the state and the party. They are used as instruments of "unity" within the state and the party, almost as exclusively tools of "propaganda and agitation" (Siebert, Peterson & Schramm, 1956, p.121). Media has to support the state, and it achieves its own goals by helping the state to accomplish their own. Moreover, Soviet systems differ from other authoritarian systems in two aspects. Under Communism, media cannot interfere with the state policies. Hence, the state has the monopoly over all the ways of reaching the masses. On the contrary, other

dictatorships allowed the mass media or a major part of it to belong to private hands, but in communist regimes “on behalf of the public”, own and control all units of the mass media. The state operates the internal media and beyond it, by imposing severe restrictions on the importation of “foreign-originated” materials (Siebert, Peterson & Schramm, 1956, p.28). In that way, the Soviet Communist Theory matches with the features of Cuba and its media. Despite it was developed in 1956, Cuba did not change in a crucial grade since the triumph of the Cuban Revolution in 1959, keeping nowadays most of the characteristics that were described by Siebert, Peterson and Schramm regarding communist regimes. Moreover, the Soviet Communist Theory is still one of the most relevant theories to understand the relationship between the establishment and media in communist countries, as it is getting ideal to give socio-political context, even if it is considered as “superficial” (Hallin & Mancini, 2004, p.6)

On the other side, *The New York Times* will be the representative of the American media. This is an American daily newspaper founded in New York City in 1851, by The New York Times Company. The goal of *The New York Times* is to cover the news as impartially as possible “without fear or favor” (The New York Times Company) and to treat readers, news sources, advertisers and others, “fairly and openly” (The New York Times Company), and to be seen to be doing so. In this case, in order to understand the relationship between American media and the establishment, the North Atlantic or Liberal model of the ‘Four media systems’ developed by Hallin and Mancini, will be applied. In this sense, United states would be a clear example of a liberal system, where there is an informational style of journalism featured by its “strong political neutrality” (Hallin & Mancini, 2004, p.198). Also, there is a strong professionalization. Hence, journalists are more oriented towards “informational and narrative styles” of writing compared with continental journalists, who consider it to be more important to comment and opine (Siebert, Peterson & Schramm, 1956, p.207). Therefore, this “fact-centered discourse” is often related to a political neutrality, as well as a strong commercial press, which means a “low level of political parallelism” (Hallin & Mancini, 2004, p.207). However, there are occasions when reporters “feel or assume pressures from management” to follow the editorial line of the media (Hallin & Mancini, 2004, p.208). Also, journalists experience another kind of pressure, not to “depart from the centrist views shared by the many papers” (Hallin & Mancini, 2004, p.208). Moreover, liberal countries are those in which the social role of the state is “relatively limited” and the role of the market and private sector “relatively large” (Hallin & Mancini, 2004, p.228).

In that way, the main reason of using these models is to have a complete understanding of under which socio-political contexts these newspapers, and therefore their journalists, are

working and, thus, influenced by. Hence, the analysis of their representations will be more enriched and comprehensive, since it will be clearer to identify underlying ideology in the news discourse.

## **Previous research**

The academic research of media representation is a recurrent field of study where researchers can examine several topics, as well as apply different theories to understand how media constructs an event, object or person in a particular way within news discourse. In this sense, the representation of countries from the Middle East along with China were the main actors of study in this research review. Nevertheless, studies regarding Latinos and Venezuela were also included in order to obtain a fuller picture of the field. Moreover, in the majority of the selected papers, CDA and Content analysis were the most common methods of study to reveal underlying ideology, as well as traces of Orientalism in the news discourse. However, reviewing previous researches, some difficulties were met in order to find studies that were completely related to this paper, nevertheless several articles that studied media representation and used ideology and Orientalism as theories were found. In that way, the research review was structured in three categories that embrace some of the previous studies.

## **Ideology**

For instance, Oroujlou (2012) focused on the linguistic manifestation of Iran's nuclear energy in American newspapers and networks, and how ideology was underlined in the news discourse. During the research, CDA was used as a method to analyze headlines and news reports. Also, Oroujlou applied the system of transitivity, passivization and nominalization for the analysis of headlines, and lexical one for the analysis of news reports. Hence, the results of this study were that America is due to "sabotage Iran's reputation universally" and is to "erect harsh barriers" for the advancement of Iran's atomic energy. Also, it concluded that news discourse is not neutral and is shaped ideologically in a way that can cover the agents' interests.

In that way, Pen (2004) also tried to identify traces of ideology in the coverage of China in the *New York Times* and *Los Angeles Times* between 1992 and 2001. In this case, content analysis was used in this study as a method. Therefore, different units of analysis such as the single word, symbols, the theme, the character, sentence or paragraph and the item were generally used in content analysis. Hence, findings showed that coverage of China increased significantly over time, but the overall tone remained negative. Stories presented in political

frames and ideological frames were more likely to be unfavorable. Also, no significant differences were found between the two newspapers.

In another study, Strom (2015) explored the representation of ideologies across verbal and visual modes in 15 articles and photographs from local Spanish-language print media with the goal of finding out the potential for “minoritized semiotic texts to challenge the negative semiotic treatment” of Latin immigrants in the United States. Following a critical social semiotic approach, the analysis of intersemiotic relationships demonstrated that approximately half of the semiotic texts analyzed communicate an “overall transformative message by challenging the negative representations” of Latinos in the traditional media. The strong presence of transformative ideologies in the verbal and visual modes highlights the potential for Spanish-language media to represent Latinos as powerful social actors who stand up to negative treatment through activism. Moreover, the contrast of ideologies across the verbal and visual modes may incite the audience to participate in activism that supports Latin immigrants in the United States.

Focusing on the Western representation of ideologically conflicting ideas, Shojaei, Youssefi and Hosseini (2013) examined three cases where Iran Nuclear Program, Iran Sanctions, and Syria Crisis were the main conflicting ideas, and the stances of Iranian officials and most of the Western countries strongly differed. Thus, the study aimed to understand how the presence of ideological traces in language can lead to misrepresentation of news stories as well as legitimating the ideological stances of their favorite sources. Finally, findings showed that linguistic tools were between the mainly devices through which ideological discourse can be placed in the news stories. Additionally, lexicalization and collocational patterns, presupposition, intertextuality and modality were identified as the most recurrent linguistic tools to represent the news stories.

Moving on, Yilmaz and Sinanoglu (2014) also wanted to explore if ideology has an effect on the news content in newspapers. The research specifically analyzes news about Syria in two ideologically opposed Turkish newspapers, Sabah and Cumhuriyet. Results showed that both newspapers were ideologically partial in covering news about Syria. However, Cumhuriyet covered a “respectable number of related news on the first page”, a proof that it is one of the main topics in its agenda. On the other hand, Sabah did not pay that much attention to it. In content analysis of the news, Cumhuriyet had “an even distribution according to subjects unlike Sabah, which handled the issue as foreign news”. Also, Cumhuriyet covered more “impacting, unexpected, familiar, continuing and worse event containing news according to

Sabah". Furthermore, Cumhuriyet and Sabah covered all its news "compatible with their newspaper's composition and balance".

Also, Jackson and Stanfield (2004) evaluated the ideological function of the press. Therefore, Jackson and Stanfield wondered what was interfering with the main purpose of media (informing and educating the society). Hence, they also wanted to understand which were the consequences of this intervention. The concentration of ownership in media and the suspicions regarding the veracity of the reports about the war in Iraq provoked some doubts about the independence of the media and also the viability of American democracy. In this sense, the implementation of the Propaganda model along with Karl Polanyi's perspective was relevant to answer all these questions.

### **Orientalism**

Regarding the identification of Orientalism in news discourse, Izadi & Biria (2007) employed Said's concept and van Dijk's concept of the ideological square to analyze three elite American newspapers' editorial coverage of Iran's nuclear program. In this sense, a critical discourse analysis of *The New York Times*, *The Washington Post*, and *The Wall Street Journal* editorials from 1984 to 2004 identified six Orientalist themes. The study found that *The Wall Street Journal* and *The Washington Post* more predominantly drew on Orientalist arguments than did *The New York Times*.

Moreover, Abalo (2016) studied the construction of difference in foreign media on "culturally similar but politically different non-Western subjects". In the paper, Abalo applied CDA along with a critique of Eurocentrism to examine difference in newspaper constructions of government supporters along with oppositional groups in Venezuela. Hence, the research concluded that discursive differences are evident in the strategies used for representing both groups regarding "political rationality and violence". On one hand, government supporters were associated with "social justice, Venezuela's poor, dogmatic behavior and the use of political violence". On the other hand, the opposition was constructed as following a "Western democratic rationale that stresses anti-authoritarianism". This group is primarily associated with victims of violence. While the opposition is represented as being compatible with Eurocentric values and practices.

In another study, Way (2013) analyzed traces of Orientalism in news stories about piracy off the coast of Somalia. During the study, CDA was applied to news stories from the international BBC news website to reveal underlying discourse to represent the pirates as a non-western 'other'. The results of the study revealed that several lexical and grammatical

strategies were used to construct Somali pirates as an enemy that needed to be controlled. Therefore, the aim of using these strategies was to justify the presence of Western militaries and their actions.

Focusing on how Western media represents the “other”, Cao (2011) aimed to develop a conceptual and methodological framework for analyzing Western media representation of the “other”. It started with conceptualizing complex relationships between discourse and cultural representation, followed by a critical discussion of the role of discourse in contemporary society. Drawing on Proppian, Levi-Straussian and Silverstonian narrative theories, the paper proposed a working model for the analysis of media narrative in the study of Western representations of the cultural “other”. The research concluded with an assessment of the significance of discourse analysis as a form of participation in the symbolic world of intercultural representation.

## **China**

If we review those researches that took China as the main subject to study, Xu (2013) is one example, since Xu examined the trust that Chinese citizens have in their state media and explored how the trust is influenced by viewers’ education, online news exposure, and trust in government. Hence, the aim was to answer to in which information sources does the Chinese public trust, what is the general map comparing people's trust in state media and other institutions in China. In that sense, trust and media’s credibility were the main concepts to be examined. As a method, the study conducted data analysis of the China General Social Survey (CGSS) in 2008, the latest national survey of urban and rural households investigating the social structure and quality of life in China. Therefore, there was a national representative sample of 10,151 people from 590 streets and 420 villages in 125 districts our counties in 28 of the 31 provinces in China mainland, excluding Ningxia, Qinghai and Tibet. In relation to the results, the study demonstrated a great amount of trust of the Chinese people in state media. The trust is negatively associated with education levels and online news exposure. Furthermore, the correlation between trust in state media and trust in government was higher than the correlation between trust in state media and trust in other two information sources. Furthermore, there was a significant interaction between education and evaluation of government. As education level got higher, the association between evaluation of media and evaluation of the government became weaker. Finally, the researcher concluded that a future research should use longitudinal designs and try to deal with questions of development of media trust, and causality (e.g., investigating whether mistrust leads to exposure to online media or exposure to online sources produces mistrust of mainstream news).

The representation of China has also been analyzed from an internal approach. Wei (2012) studied the representation of the image of China by three Hong Kong newspapers: Ming Pao, Sing Tao Daily and Apple Daily in 2005, 2008 and 2010, with a brief review of national image, the social construction theory and contemporary media system in Hong Kong. In that way, a quantitative content analysis was conducted in terms of news themes and favorability differences. Thus, findings showed that coverage of China increased over time. Also, the construction of this image was the result of the interaction between political pressures and economic forces along with professionalism and commercialism of Hong Kong media.

Furthermore, the study of China and United States as main actors to analyze, was also found. The ideological war between these two countries seems to catch the attention of some researchers. In that way, Chen and Garcia (2016) aimed to fill the gap by exploring the US “media portrayal” of China in the new millennium and its implications for United States-China relations. The study of the American media coverage of China was expected to clarify the social and cultural context in which American foreign policy towards China operates. During the study a combination of content analysis and archival research were used. Thus, a sample of 85 different news reports about China in the period from 2000 to 2012 was randomly selected from a range of news outlets in United States, including *New York Times*, *Los Angeles Times*, *Christian Science Monitor*, *US News*, *World Report* and *New York Post*. The newspaper articles were selected randomly based on multiple rounds of top *Google News* search with a number of keywords about China for the time frame of 2000-2012. The list of newspapers that showed up most frequently throughout the search process accidentally reflected a full “spectrum of mainstream national newspapers, special interests newspapers, tabloids, and local newspapers”. The result of both qualitative and quantitative analyses of the article sampled seemed to support the fact that the American media is largely biased and it has been representing China negatively to the American public. The media image of China in all areas of military, foreign policy, trade, domestic governance and human rights, was mainly negative and “emotionally charged”.

Additionally, Hongmei and Lu (2009) also studied how national and local newspapers in the United States “frame Chinese product recalls in 2007”. First, it reviewed literature on international communication and framing. Second, it content analyzed the construction of the Chinese product recalls in two leading national newspapers, the *New York Times* and the *USA today*, and six major newspapers from five Southern states: Georgia, South Carolina, Louisiana, Mississippi, and Alabama. Third, it compared media representations of Chinese products in two national newspapers with those in Southern newspapers. Finally, the

conclusions were that American media is “still dominated by stories from the U.S. perspectives and not a lot of Chinese sources are cited”. Even though Southern newspapers have a relevant role in constructing local knowledge, their “limited scope of coverage and perspectives constrain their role in reporting international news”.

### **Gap of research**

To sum up, this paper aims to bring empirical knowledge about how the Chinese government is represented by foreign media. In this sense, this research will examine how it was constructed during a particular time such as the Umbrella revolution, a moment of conflict where Democracy, Authoritarianism, Communism and Capitalism became the main topics of discussion in the international media. Therefore, this study aims to examine how influenced is the representation of media by the ideology of its country. Hence, this research expects to reveal underlying ideology and traces of Orientalism in the news discourse. In that way, American and Cuban media were selected in order to analyze how they constructed the Chinese government, since their countries represent and defend Capitalism or Communism as socio-economic system. Thus, it is reliable to examine differences and similarities between both constructions and how each one tries to impose their ideas as the truth. Furthermore, this study offers a new approach regarding the study of the representation of the Chinese government, since the North Atlantic or Liberal model in American media and the Soviet Communist Theory to the Cuban will be applied to understand the relationship between media and the establishment in United States and Cuba. Additionally, the Propaganda model will be used to study in depth the level of influence that the establishment has on the media in both countries.

### **Theoretical frame and concepts**

The study focuses on how the Chinese government is represented by foreign media in news discourse. On one hand, the concept of representation is defined by Stuart Hall (1997) as a “re-presenting of some meaningful phenomena” that exists before being represented. On the other hand, Orgad conceives representations as images, descriptions, explanations, and frames for understanding “what the world is and why and how it works in particular ways” (Orgad, 1972, p.18). Concerning discourse, Foucault defined it as a “group of statements” which provides a language for talking about a “particular topic at a particular historical moment” (Hall, Evans & Nixon, 2003, p.29). Foucault also argues that discourse constructs the topic, it “defines and produces the objects of our knowledge” (Hall, Evans & Nixon, 2003, p.29).

Regarding the theoretical part, Orientalism and Ideology will be the main theories of this research in order to analyze the representation of the Chinese government in news discourse. The relationship between elite ideologies of the country of publication and the subject represented makes this case a perfect match to examine, since these differences are usually the main reason of the othering and delegitimization of different agents in the news discourse. In that way, Orientalism emphasizes the role of cultural difference in causing othering. Thus, the purpose is to predicate the superiority of European or Western identity in comparison with all the Eastern or Oriental countries (Said, 2003, p.7). Moreover, Said shows how Orientalism acts as a discourse that depends on a binary relation between Orient and Occident, a hegemonic discourse reproduced through cultural representations that keeps certain discourses and power relations. Hence, it is a discipline that allows Western culture to manage and produce the Orient. (Orgad, 2012, p.72). In this sense, political differences and economic interests are relevant to understand how the Chinese government is represented in each country. Furthermore, it will contribute to explore the representations and the hidden ideas and values that reflect particular interest of the powerful. For this reason, two concepts are relevant in order to study the “other”. Firstly, binary oppositions, used when the meaning of a concept or a word is often defined “in relation to its opposite” (Hall, Evans & Nixon, 2003, p.30). For example, some media representations of migration construct binary oppositions that represent migrants as criminals and the host society as innocent and hardworking people. In the case of my study, this concept will be used to identify and explain how American and Cuban media represent Communism, Capitalism or the Chinese government according to their political ideology. For instance, it will be expected to find how *Granma* associates American to enemies that are trying to disrupt communist governments, and how *The New York Times* relates the Chinese government to a tyranny that bans the right of free expression. Thus, by representing one actor in a negative way, the other is implicitly represented in a positive manner. Secondly would be stereotypes, a set of characteristics about a person that we use “to reduce the person to those traits, exaggerating and simplifying them” (Hall, Evans & Nixon, 2003, p.30). In this sense, stereotyping works to “maintain symbolic order and to establish a symbolic frontier between ‘us’ and ‘them’, outsiders and insiders, normal and deviant” (Hall, Evans & Nixon, 2003 p.30). For example, in this research it could be used to detect some constructions where everything will be reduced to the fact that one side is communist and the other one capitalist. Therefore, both are categorized and classified by their ideology, other features are not accounted.

Stuart Hall (1997), also explains that all forms of media are “inevitably ideological”, they “fix the meaning” of the events they represent and consequently “exclude alternative representations”. As Myra Macdonald (2003) argues, discourse always carries “latent

ideological consequences”, but the activation of these, depends on specific contexts and conditions. Furthermore, she adds that without the ability to relate discourse to ideology, these distinctions become blurred and the relative position of discourses in the range of powerfulness cannot be analyzed. However, Terry Eagleton warns that, despite it can be tempting to regard all forms of representation as ideological and to see ideology everywhere, it can be also “misleading” (Macdonald, 2003, p.28-29).

Finally, to study in depth the level of influence that the establishment has on the media in both countries, the Propaganda model, developed by Edward Hermans and Noam Chomsky will be applied. Based on news filters, the model focuses on the “inequality of wealth and power and its multilevel effects on mass-media interests and choices” (Herman & Chomsky, 2008, p.1). The first filter of the model comprises “the large size, corporate ownership and profit orientation” of the dominant mass-media firms (Herman & Chomsky, 2008, p.1-2). It refers to corporate interests that normally coincide with the ones of the political and business establishment. Secondly, the model talks about the “prioritization of advertising as the main economical source for the mass-media” (Herman & Chomsky, 2008, p.1-2). Thirdly, the fact that media mostly depends on official sources, whose information is “controlled and manipulated” by their press and public relations in order to promote “positive image of their actions” (Herman & Chomsky, 2008, p.1-2). Thus, media does not have a lot of options rather than use them since it comes from authorized and, in theory, credible sources. Fourthly, media fears “flak”, the criticism and punishment that powerful news sources inflict on media and journalist who do not inform according to the script (Herman & Chomsky, 2008, p.2). Finally, the fifth filter is the one known as “anticommunism” (Herman & Chomsky, 2008, p.2). Basically, means that media shares the same ideology than their government. Hence, the last filter of Propaganda model could be decisive to understand the representations made by the American and Cuban media. Also, the “anti-communism control mechanism” reaches through the systems to exercises a profound influence on the mass media, where it is a common and legitimate news practice to root for “our side” (Herman & Chomsky, 2008, p.29).

## **Method**

CDA was chosen as a method of analysis by its particular ability to offer a detailed analysis that allows to reveal, in a more precisely way, how people use language and grammar to represent something in the way they want it to be seen or understood. Thus, it is the perfect method to examine two articles that represent the same subject or event in a different way. Moreover, the analysis obtained throughout CDA can reveal underlying ideology in the news, essential in my study to detect traces of Capitalism and Communism in the news discourses.

Also, CDA assumes that power relations are discursive; in other words, power is transmitted and practiced through discourse (Machin & Mayr, 2012, p.4). Therefore, we can study “how power relations are exercised and negotiated in discourse” (Machin & Mayr, 2012, p.4). Hence, CDA is the “single most authoritative line of research regarding the study of mediadiscourse”, since it shows how language and grammar can be also used as ideological instruments (Carvalho, 2008, p.162). However, meanings are not always communicated directly in the text, thus, they can be revealed “by looking for absences” (Machin & Mayr, 2012, p.2). Additionally, next to CDA, MCDA will be also applied “to denaturalize representations” on other modes of communication like pictures or videos, since meaning can be also communicated not just through language, but through visual language (Machin & Mayr, 2012, p.9).

Furthermore, along with CDA, I will apply Orientalism and its two main concepts, binary oppositions and stereotypes, to identify “othering” in the news discourse. The political disagreements and economic interests between the countries involved, become the perfect scenario for causing difference between communists and capitalists. Hence, Orientalism will contribute to explore the representations and the hidden ideas and values that reflect particular interest of the powerful, in this case Cuba as a representative of Communism and United States from Capitalism.

### **Material and selection**

In that way, this paper will qualitatively examine a total of two articles from American and Cuban media that reported about the Umbrella Revolution along 2014. The fact that just two texts will be analyzed can be justified by Machin and Mayr (2012), who argues that CDA involves the analysis “of only a small number of texts, even of just one or two”. Regarding the chosen newspapers, *The New York Times* (United States) and *Granma* (Cuba) will be the ones studied. Concerning the articles, both were selected by its ideal features, since they reflect the ideological differences between both countries. Furthermore, the construction of the event made by both newspapers, goes beyond the manifestation itself, involving conflicts between supporters and oppositional actors towards Communism. Hence, these articles become an excellent sample of what both countries represent and defend as their values. In addition, *The New York Times* and *Granma* were selected by their importance and influence in their countries.

In relation to the period of selection, the purpose was to select articles written between September and November of 2014, when the situation was more critical and recent. In this sense, in the case of *The New York Times*, an article published on the 9th of October was

chosen in order to be analyzed. Concretely, this article reports about how the manifestations are perceived in China by interviewing a group of young Chinese living in Beijing. Moreover, the paper also offers a reflection about the relevance of the protests in Hong Kong regarding the repercussion and importance. Thus, the aim was to pick an article that could offer a general picture of what occurred but also that offered elements to analyze. On the other side, in the case of Cuban media, an article published on the 9th of October was selected. In this report, Cuban media stood out from the protests, all that happened and represented, and focused more on reporting about the possibility that United States could be behind the manifestations.

### **Analytical tool box**

During the analysis, some analytical tools to interpret the set of articles selected will be applied. First, a denotative analysis of the words chosen will be done to explain what and how was communicated. This will be followed by a connotative analysis to interpret the meaning of the denotative part. In this way, it will be important to pay especial attention to the chosen words, trying to understand the motivated reasons why the newspaper used them. In each culture, words carry particular connotations, helping to place this event into “particular frameworks of reference or discourses” (Machin & Mayr, 2012, p.32). For this reason, the cultural and political differences between Cuba and America will reveal distinct words with particular meaning, or even more, similar terms but with different meanings to express ideas and values. In this sense, lexical absence or suppression can also help to understand how the event is represented by finding which words are missing. Since texts with underlying ideology will be analyzed, structural oppositions theory is expected to be essential. Opposing concepts such as Democracy vs Communism or pro-democracy demonstrations vs media campaigns of opposition, are example of “ideological squaring”, which means that concepts, values and ideas are built up around participants throughout oppositions, giving context to the representation (Machin & Mayr, 2012, p.40). Moreover, the choices of quoting verbs will allow me to examine in detail how someone is represented by the way he or she speaks. This will contribute to this study by giving a better understanding of how Chinese sources are cited by Cuban media and which verbs *The New York Times* uses to construct its Chinese interviewees along with other informers. Also, it will help to understand the point of view of the newspaper towards the event or person. In that way, we can reveal if they are trying to look neutral or show a clear stance. In this sense, the study of the classification of social actors will be relevant as well as to reveal underlying ideology in the way participants are classified. Therefore, during the analysis, it will be possible to understand how each actor of the articles is represented by the newspaper and if

ideology is involved in it. For instance, those who participate in the movement or might be related with United States, will be negatively constructed.

Once we have analyzed how participants are represented through the words, it is time to study how actors are constructed as “acting or not overtly stated” throughout transitivity (Machin & Mayr, 2012, p.102). This will allow to reveal who plays an important role and who receives the consequences of that action. Moreover, transitivity will be important for the analysis of confrontation between actors (agent/affected). For example, in this paper that confrontation could be translated to Chinese government vs protestants or Communism vs Democracy.

### **Visual tools**

Regarding MCDA, along with transitivity, some specific tools for the study of visual contents will be applied in the images of the selected articles. As in the analysis of the texts, here the concept of iconography was applied to examine how images denote and connote ideas and concepts. In that way, Saliency will be used to interpret certain features of the images, such as size or focus. Depending on how big the selected picture is we can understand the importance of this event for the newspaper. Also, there is the possibility that the paper wants us to empathize to what is happening, complete the information in the text or showing us a particular and relevant aspect by using the focus. On the contrary, a small or meaningless picture that does not offer any extra information could mean that the newspaper wants to avoid offering visual information that could not match with the one in the text. Furthermore, representational strategies in visual communication will be studied. For example, distance is one of them. The size of frame (close, medium or long shot) also represents how the photographer wanted us to perceive the event. From reaching out to how the protestants were feeling, to distance the audience from what was happening. For example, because he did not agree or wanted to show us a general picture. Next to distance, the angle would be another strategy to represent an event in a particular way. Additionally, according to Barthes, poses are one important realm of connotation in images that can represent wider values, ideas and identities (Machin & Mayr, 2012, p.74). Therefore, photographers can shape how we will perceive the event, people or object constructed. Moreover, pose also suggests bodily control and discipline or the opposite. In that sense, this physical control and discipline metaphorically represents conformity and obedience, while the opposite could represent insurgency (Machin & Mayr, 2012, p.75).

## **Quality of research**

In relation to the strengths and weaknesses of the study, United States and Cuba were the countries chosen to analyze how their media represented the Chinese government during the Umbrella Revolution. The fact that both have opposite political ideologies was perfect to compare and thus, understand in a better way how each one constructed the protests. Since US and Cuba defend Capitalism and Communism respectively as their socio-economic system, it became ideal to find traces of ideology in their representations. Hence, these ideological traces brought this study to find underlying Orientalism through the negative construction of the Chinese government, United States and their respective ideologies. In this sense, the quality of the material selected was essential to get the findings. Furthermore, it was interesting to study the relationship between media and the establishment in both countries and compare differences and similarities. In this sense, the fact that both countries were previously studied in depth through theories and media models, was helpful to understand how influenced the representations of media are by the ideology of its country. However, some difficulties were found during the research. For instance, it was hard to justify or explain which countries were capitalist and communist. Thus, the application of the Soviet Communist Theory and the Liberal model were relevant to give a socio-political context to this paper. Moreover, at the moment of finding articles covering the manifestations some obstacles were found. First, since the aim was to analyze those papers published during 2014, it was not easy to find them, especially in the case of Cuban media. Its digital versions of the newspapers are not developed enough, hence, it was a challenge to find news from that time. Furthermore, finding valid articles to analyze became a problem, since CDA demands articles where you really can study and interpret the discourse. Additionally, in some moments it was difficult to remain partial and objective. In this kind of research, it becomes imperative to leave behind your ideas and values so they do not influence your criteria when analyzing the material. Finally, we could say that the study was effective and the research questions were answered. However, in a future, next studies should increase the sample by analyzing more countries, newspapers and articles, so the findings could be more complete and precise.

## Analysis

### **The Cuban example: Hong Kong and the non-conventional war methods of United States**

This article was written by Claudia Fonseca Sosa and published on the 9th of October of 2014 by the Cuban newspaper *Granma*. The report basically informs about the possibility that United States could be behind the protests that took place in Hong Kong. Hence, through the study of transitivity, we can establish that China, United States and Hong Kong are the main actors. Therefore, according to this article, from these three countries, United States would be the agent and Hong Kong, next to China, the subjects affected by the actions of the Americans. For example, the headline entitles: “Hong Kong and the non-conventional war methods of United States”. From the beginning of the paper we can clearly notice how the article stands out of what is happening during the protests to focus on United States, what could be interpreted as a way of deflecting the attention to North America. Moreover, it points United States as the agent and Hong Kong the affected of the American unconventional war methods. However, it does not state which are these methods, therefore, the lexical absence leaves much room for the imagination and interpretation of their processes. Along the article, the presence of words and sentences carrying connotation is constant. For instance, the use of the words “war methods” can be interpreted as a declaration of war as well as an intention of the American government of imposing Capitalism in Hong Kong. Nevertheless, in the subtitle the journalist clarifies that, “Chinese media, links non-governmental American organizations to the student protests in Hong Kong”. Despite that in the subtitle tries to untie the White House to the manifestations, in the headline generalizes by pointing United States as the perpetrator of the situation lived in the former British colony. Hence, it can be interpreted as all the American institutions are involved in the “pro-democracy” movement. Also, we can appreciate how along the text the journalist cites official sources like the Chinese media and the Chinese government. However, the journalist does not quote other sources that could have a different approach, such as leaders from the movement, the government of Hong Kong or foreign sources, what limits the representation of the conflict, since we cannot understand how is seen by the rest of the actors involved. Regarding the sources, the journalist uses particular verbs when representing how the sources have spoken. In this sense, we can notice the use of metapositional verbs such as “claim” or “stated”, that are expressive and assertive respectively. Additionally, the journalist also uses neutral structuring verbs like “said”, that sound more neutral and could be chosen in order to hide the traces of ideology in the discourse.

If we continue reading, in the main lead we find traces of ideology when the article starts underlying that United States was behind the recent student protests in Hong Kong, being the “destabilization of the Government the main goal of its actions”. Further on, it mentions again that this information comes from the Chinese media, as a way of proving that all the information in the article comes from legitimate sources. However, we do not observe more sources other than Chinese that support this version of the conflict. In the second paragraph, it keeps highlighting that “several” Chinese media “have investigated” the main leaders of the ‘Occupy Central’, finding “links between manifestants and American entities”. Furthermore, it adds that, these institutions have a “long record in the region of Hong Kong, under Chinese sovereignty”. From these phrases, we interpret that the information gotten by the Chinese media is completely true and verified, since several Chinese media, not only one, have investigated it and, therefore, they have proofs. Apart from that, from the connotations we understand that this is not the first time that Americans are trying to disrupt the government in Chinese area. Hence, we could also conclude that United States is trying to attack the communist regime by manipulating the people from Hong Kong. Furthermore, the fact that underlines that Hong Kong is under Chinese “sovereignty”, is a reminder that belongs to the Republic of China and thus, North America should not interfere in its local conflicts. In addition, here and further down we can appreciate how United States and everything considered as American is negatively represented, also known as negative other-representation. Hence, traces of Orientalism are identified.

The article proceeds offering an example of one of the organizations that participates in the protests, *Hong Kong-America Center* (HKAC), whose purpose is to “promote the understanding between Chinese and Americans”. Nevertheless, the journalist argues that according to the newspaper *Huanqiu Shibao*, this entity is looking for encouraging people to “promote democratic changes”. In this part, the journalist specifies the actor by saying exactly which institution is involved in the protests. This will be a recurring practice that the journalist will use to point out those actors that are involved in the protests or against the Chinese government. Hence, there is a negative intention behind these specifications. Also, we can notice the negative connotation that the word “democratic” carries in this sentence, as something against the unity of China and the communist party. Additionally, *Huanqiu Shibao* “claims” that this entity “organizes events where shows tactics of protest and strategies of negotiation with the authorities during manifestations, where they have to exaggerate the political requirements and under any circumstance refuse to them”. First, in this phrase we can see how “claim” is used to represent the citation of the Chinese newspaper. In this way, here we identify a metapositional verb. Moreover, the phrase carries some connotations, since they clearly want to send the message that Americans are

behind the protests and that they are organizing and preparing the people to face the Chinese authorities. Also, through the lexical absence, the fact that they have to teach them how to protest and negotiate, give the perception that they are not used to do it because the lack of free expression.

The article continues explaining that according to the Chinese newspaper, “the American intelligence agencies are trying to export the experience of the Colour Revolution and the non-conventional war to Hong Kong”. In this paragraph, the newspaper connects again United States to the manifestations, but this time point directly to governmental organizations as the responsible of inciting the revolution. As we have seen until now, there are some moments where this article contradicts itself when pointing who is responsible for the protests. In some occasions, we can notice how United States is generally blamed and non-governmental organizations or governmental institutions are linked to the manifestations. Hence, we could say that in general everything that is American is stereotyped as an actor against Communism, whose aim is to conspire towards the regime. Besides that, through the study of transitivity we can identify the American intelligence agencies as the agent, and Hong Kong as the affected, although China is also affected in an implicit way. In addition, another part of the study of transitivity is throughout material processes, that describe processes of doing. These are concrete actions that have a consequence. Thus, in this case, the American intelligence agencies would be the actor, the one who performs the action, and Hong Kong would be the goal, the participant at whom the process is directed. Furthermore, when it mentions that “American intelligence agencies are trying to export the experience of the Colour Revolution”, it refers to the set of movements that took place during the 2000s in the former Soviet Union and the Balkans. These movements consisted of protests against those governments considered as corrupt or authoritarian as well as a way to stand for democracy. In that way, from these sentences carried of connotations and ideological traces, we can interpret that United States is trying to convert Hong Kong in a democratic and capitalist region out of the sovereignty of China, and therefore, of its communist control.

Related to HKAC, the journalist argues that its director is “an important spy who worked for several intelligence agencies for 30 years, especially the CIA”. Hence, we could understand that this organization is deeply influenced by the Americans or even a cover through which the White House operates and manipulates the people of Hong Kong. Moreover, we can observe that the journalist classifies the director of HKAC by his function. Despite in some occasions functionalization connotes legitimacy or is used to positively evaluate people, in this case we can see how the purpose is to distance us from this actor. After that, the article

keeps offering more examples of “famous American political organizations” that have a “long record of subversion in South America, where they worked for bringing down progressive governments like Venezuela”. In these declarations, as we previously analyzed, the article is specifying which entities are subversive to highlight the negative connotation. Furthermore, we can also notice the negative connotation of the words used and the hostility or antagonism towards United States, particularly with the use of terms such as “bring down” or “subversion”. These words express actions of revolution, intolerance and violence regarding communist policies. Also, the fact that the newspaper gives so many examples and evidences, are a way of proving that there would not be a conflict between China and Hong Kong but for United States, that is constantly trying to overthrow those governments that are in opposition to its political ideology. In this sense, along the text we can interpret that United States is the enemy and Hong Kong, next to China, are the victims of this conflict. In order to represent it in this way, the journalist uses structural oppositions as well as binary oppositions, so we perceive that if United States, a capitalist country, is using several non-conventional methods of war to disrupt the Chinese government, then, China, a communist country, acts in the opposite manner.

Afterwards, the journalist gives a little bit of context about the conflict by explaining the policy in Hong Kong of “one country, two systems”, a concept carried of ideological traces that is represented as “basic to solve the process of national reunification”. This last concept is a common word in the communist countries, where the unity of the nation is a main aspect. This means that all the country has to go as one, including media, that cannot interfere with the state policies. As we have seen in the Soviet Communist Theory, media has to support the state and it achieves its own goals by helping the state to accomplish their own. Further on, the journalist creates a new heading dedicated to the non-conventional war methods practiced by United States. The text starts explaining that “it is not a secret that China is one of the annoying countries for United States, because it is ruled by a communist party and it threatens to overcome their economic supremacy”. In this case, we clearly find traces of ideology and a way of arguing why United States is trying to disrupt China by inciting the citizens of Hong Kong to protest. Thus, we understand that United States is afraid of how China is evolving and expanding. Therefore, from the lexical absence we could say that Communism is proving that is also a successful socio-economic system, what can disrupt the idea that Capitalism is the only one that is valid. In this sense, the text continues by saying that China is “getting stronger from a military point of view and it is in the forefront, along with Russia, in the construction of a multipolar world”. These lines confirm the previous interpretation and also shows us an evidence of the brotherhood between

Russia and China. Also, through the study of transitivity we can appreciate how the roles have changed in the last two sentences. Now, China and Russia are the agents and actors, the ones who perform the action, and United States is the goal, the participant at whom the process is directed. In other words, China and Russia are getting stronger and North America feels threatened by their growth.

The article continues explaining that the “formation, of so-called natural leaders, is part of the interventionist policy of the Pentagon, whose main goal is to bring down those governments that are not geared to the geopolitical and transnational interests of United States, if it is possible, at the lowest cost possible and without the direct participation of their traditional troops”. This paragraph carries several connotations as well as traces of ideology. From the beginning, it directly accuses the American government of training people in order to influence the public opinion of those countries ruled by communist governments, an interpretation based by the lexical absence when saying: “to bring down those governments that are not geared to the geopolitical and transnational interests of United States”. Also, it represents all the communist countries as victims of the actions of North America. Furthermore, once again, through structural oppositions, as well as binary oppositions, we perceive United States, a capitalist country, as intolerant and authoritarian, especially when the journalist uses the word “interventionist”, carried with negative connotations. On the contrary, China and Communism are perceived as something positive, that, next to other communist countries, act in the opposite manner. In that way, the article continues by adding that this strategy elaborated by the American government includes “the organization of media campaigns of questioning or opposition to the governments considered unwanted”. Also, it says that protestants are often “infiltrated by elements trained from abroad or through NGOs to generate some level of violence that awakens the hard reaction of governments and thus provoke even more tension”. In the first sentence, from the lexical absence and the underlying ideology in the text, we can interpret that the American government organizes media campaigns to disrupt communist governments. Regarding the second one, from the lexical absence and the carried connotations we can understand that United States uses NGOs to infiltrate protestants that are trained by them. Also, the journalist implies that these governments are forced to react in a hard way because of the violence generated by these protestants. Apart from that, the journalist affirms that media manipulates the information, transforming a minority of citizens against the communist governments to majorities, with the main goal of bringing down “legitimated rulers”. For this reason, the article gives China as an example of a country where the communist party is strong and has “the support of the overwhelming majority of its people”. In this case, we can observe traces of ideology when the paper wants to prove the “overwhelming” support of the

people to the Chinese government and Communism. Also, we can see how there is the intention of denying the representation made by the Western media, where the Chinese government is negatively constructed.

Finally, the paper concludes by offering a couple of declarations from, apparently, two official sources, where the journalist uses neutral structuring verbs like 'say' to represent how the first source spoke, and a transcript verb as "conclude" to mark the development of the discourse. Moreover, the journalist also classifies these two actors by using honorifics, in other words, they are represented through what they do. In this case, their function reflects their importance, authority and legitimacy.

Regarding the picture chosen for this article, its analysis would be more based on its absence rather than its features, since it does not offer any kind of extra information. In this way, the newspaper chose a picture of a map where we can see the frontier between China and Hong Kong. The Chinese side is painted in grey and the part from Hong Kong in yellow. Furthermore, in the same map, the picture offers a small image of the localization of Hong Kong by zooming out and locating it with a yellow point. The rest of countries are painted in dark grey. About the size, the picture is small comparing to the large of the text, this indicates that for the newspaper it did not have that much importance. Despite this picture does not give us a lot of elements to study, from the absence of them we can interpret that the newspaper did not want to offer extra information by showing visual content of the protests, so in exchange it decided to use a picture that does not leave much room for the interpretation. Therefore, there is no risk of contradicting its representation of the conflict. However, since Cuba is ruled by a communist government could be that, as we have seen in the contextual frame, according to the Soviet Communist Theory, under Communism, media cannot interfere with the state policies. Hence, the state has the monopoly over all the ways of reaching the masses and imposes severe restrictions on the importation of "foreign-originated" materials (Siebert, Peterson & Schramm, 1956, p.28).

### **The American example: Support for protesters is hard to find on the streets of Beijing**

This article was written by Andrew Jacobs and published on the 9th of October in 2014 by the American newspaper *The New York Times*. This paper offers a reflection about the relevance of the protests in Hong Kong regarding the repercussion and importance, especially for what represents. Moreover, the article is focused on how the manifestations are perceived by the Chinese. For this reason, the journalist decides to interview some people in Beijing, the capital of China. However, throughout these interviews, he also represents the

Chinese government along with Communism. Specifically, the journalist analyzes how the new Chinese generations, who are between 20 and 30 years old, perceive the Umbrella revolution. The reason why he sampled this age range, is because in theory these generations are highly educated, some of them even studied abroad and were the “greatest beneficiaries of China’s opening up to the West”. Therefore, the journalist expected them to share ideas of democracy and free expression. However, according to the journalist, they are deeply nationalistic and have fully faith in the Chinese government, a conclusion reached from the declarations of some of these youths. Regarding the stand of the paper, it gives a critical point of view, talking about a theoretical censure from the Chinese government to control the public opinion and affirms that some Chinese support the protests but are afraid of making it public. In this sense, it gives especial relevance to the efficiency of the propagandistic speech from the Chinese government, that has been integrated in the Chinese public opinion.

From the beginning, even if it is not very explicit, in the headline we can observe that the paper has a stand regarding the conflict between China and Hong Kong. “Support for protesters is hard to find on the streets of Beijing”. Despite it is apparently partial and informative, this sentence carries some connotations. For instance, by using the word “support” the reader understands that protesters are right about the conflict and is the Chinese government the one who should rectify. In this sense, it is even more clear when we analyze the first paragraph: “The pro-democracy demonstrations in Hong Kong would seem to have universal appeal, a David and Goliath tale starring young idealists, polite and considerate in their defiance, standing up to a mighty authoritarian government with a history of mercilessly crushing dissent”. First, the journalist uses the concept “pro-democracy demonstrations” to talk about the protesters, representing it in a positive way and giving a purpose and a meaning to their movement. Also, by using “pro-democracy” the reader understands that China is not democratic, ergo, authoritarian. Later, the journalist takes the biblical story of David and Goliath to represent the two actors of this conflict, China as Goliath and Hong Kong as David. This metaphor can be represented of several manners. On one side, Goliath as a powerful giant represents China, a world power and stronger from a military point of view than Hong Kong. On the other side, this one is represented as David, smaller than Goliath but the one who gets the victory. In that sense, we could interpret that China is abusing of Hong Kong thanks to its difference of power, but also that Hong Kong could win this battle by using the democracy as David used the stone. Moreover, in the end of this first paragraph we can detect traces of ideology when the Chinese government is represented in a negative way, by calling it authoritarian and accusing it of acting aggressively towards those who are against them. As in the first article, here and further down we can appreciate how the Chinese government and Communism is negatively

represented. Hence, traces of Orientalism are identified again through negative other-representations.

In the second paragraph, the Chinese government is represented as a tyranny by saying: “on the streets of China’s capital, where the ruling communist party’s heavy hand is most keenly felt”. If we continue the paragraph we can find new negative representations of the communist party, accusing it of censoring the “voices of protest supporters”. Furthermore, through the study of transitivity, and having the previous sentences as examples, we can identify China as the agent and Hong Kong as the affected. In addition, throughout material processes, we can recognize China as the actor, the one who performs the action, and Hong Kong as the goal, the participant at whom the process is directed.

Along the text we can appreciate how the journalist also reports about how the protests are perceived in China, unlike the first article where it was just giving one version of the conflict. In that way, the journalist talks about how Chinese blame “Western governments”, “parroting government propaganda”. Hence, in this sentence we can find underlying ideology, when saying that the Chinese government is brainwashing its citizens by making them believe that the Western governments are the main problem. For instance, one of the youth says that “if necessary, the protesters should be removed by force”. Regarding the words chosen to represent how this youth has spoken, the journalist uses neutral structuring verbs, in this case “said”, what makes him look more neutral. In this sense, the North Atlantic or Liberal model emphasizes how American media is an informational style of journalism featured by its “strong political neutrality” (Hallin & Mancini, 2004, p.198). Nevertheless, as we have previously analyzed and we will see later, American media also presents underlying ideology in its texts. Furthermore, he uses functional honorifics to represent this youth through his degrees in economics and psychology, but, in this case, the main purpose is to highlight how the new generations, who are highly educated, are also influenced by the propaganda of the Chinese government. In this sense, the journalist keeps constructing negatively the communist party, informing about how after two weeks, an “aggressive censorship” has left many Chinese with a “vague and unfavorable” impressions of the protests in Hong Kong. Hence, we interpret that the Chinese public opinion has been manipulated by the communist party.

Further on, the journalist talks about the lack of sympathy in the Chinese towards the main goal of the protests, “greater democracy”. In that way, from the lexical absence we can interpret that Chinese do not conceive democracy as a positive thing, therefore, they do not understand why some citizens of Hong Kong are not satisfied with their current political

situation. Moreover, according to the journalist, some interviewees “warned about the dangers of truly open elections”. In this sense, the communist party is pointed as the responsible of this way of thinking and fear towards Democracy, adding that China is “promoting its model at home and abroad”, which is constructed again as authoritarian. Hence, from these words we can interpret that the communist party is trying to expand its ideology in those countries ruled by capitalist governments. Therefore, in these sentences we identify underlying ideology as well as negative connotations regarding the Chinese government. Additionally, through structural and binary oppositions we understand that Western countries are completely different compared to the communist ones. Capitalist countries represent something positive where citizens have free expression, there are open elections and people are not controlled or influenced by the propaganda of the government.

The article proceeds with some declarations which, as the previous one, helps to represent the communist party negatively. In that way, the journalist transcripts those who reflect the brainwashing of the Chinese government through its propagandistic speech. For instance, this youth says that “we have to be wary of democracy turning into anarchy”. In this case, it is very clear how this youth relates democracy to anarchy, thus, something negative. Therefore, as the journalist reflects, Chinese have integrated the idea that just only through control, order and authoritarianism a country of 1.3 billion can be ruled and protected from Capitalism, hence, chaos; a thought supported by the declaration of this interviewee, who says that there is “nothing wrong with Beijing’s insistence that party leaders have the final say over the candidates for Hong Kong’s leader, a main grievance of the protesters. That’s how the government can look out for everyone’s interests”. As we can see, in both declarations we can detect traces of ideology representing negatively the communist party, especially through the last one, where we can notice the efficiency of the propagandistic speech made by the Chinese government. Regarding to the words chosen to represent how these youths have spoken, as in the previous declarations, the journalist uses neutral structuring verbs, “said” in both cases, which makes him look more neutral. Furthermore, he also uses again functional honorifics to represent both interviewees through what they do, with the same intention as before.

However, further down, the journalist cites some analysts to accuse the Chinese government of manipulating social media by using “online censors” in order to just allow those comments that were critical and against the protests. In this case, the journalist describes these analysts as part of a collectivity, which does not give us much information about who they are. Also, he uses an expressive metapositional verb like “cautioned” to represent how they spoke. Furthermore, he also adds the declaration of a relevant and authoritarian voice as Qiao Mu,

director of the Center for International Communications at Beijing Foreign Studies University, to support his representation of the Chinese government and how the conflict is perceived by the Chinese. In this sense, Qiao Mu says that “many mainland Chinese were probably silently cheering the protests but afraid to make their voices heard. It is very sensitive to take a stand”. Throughout this declaration we can detect traces of ideology as well as negative connotations that represent the Chinese government as a tyranny and authoritarian, whose citizens are afraid of express their thoughts. Regarding how Qiao Mu is classified, the journalist uses once again functional honorifics to represent him through what he does, with the intention of proving that his representation is supported by an authoritarian voice. Finally, the journalist insists in reporting about how some Chinese are scared of expressing their thoughts and therefore collaborating with Western media by highlighting this phrase: “safer to stay silent”.

Regarding the picture of this article, unlike the first article, in this case we have much more to analyze. First of all, the newspaper chose a picture where the protests are reflected, giving us visual information of what happened. Also, the current image has a bigger size, which reflects the importance of it in the article. In relation to the tone of the picture, we can notice that it is not bright, what helps to transmit the feeling of tension. In that way, this picture shows us a moment of conflict between “pro-democracy” protesters and opponents to the movement. Furthermore, we can notice how the photographer tries to take us closer to the conflict and therefore to feel the tension that these people were living in that moment.

Through the poses of the actors in the picture we can feel a situation of tension between two groups with different points of views. Additionally, the physical contact between actors transmits a feeling of violence and discord. Hence, the newspaper wanted to emphasize intensity, for this reason it chose an image where the elements are in action, facing each other. Also, if we analyze in depth, the “pro-democracy” group has more members than the one of opponents, a perception that could have been manipulated by the angle from where this picture was taken, since apart from the man we see, there seems to be more people on the right side. Moreover, the several cameras and journalists in the picture reflects the universal appeal that these manifestations had in that moment. Moreover, in the photo we have several elements, but if we pay attention we will see that the main ones are the youth with a cap and the man on the right side who is facing and pointing at youth. Hence, these two actors are the ones who carry the main meaning of the conflict. Besides that, in the foreground we also have all the media covering the event and two more people who are facing each other, however, even though it is not that clear, we still can appreciate how the third man on the left, wearing a grey t-shirt, is having physical contact with someone in front

of him. Also, a man situated in the middle of both groups seems to try to calm the situation. Finally, if we analyze this picture through the visual representation of transitivity, we could conclude that it is difficult to identify which one is the agent and which one is the passive or affected by the actions. However, if we read the text under the picture, we understand that the “pro-democracy” demonstrators are the agent and the man on the right side is the affected, since he is stopped by one of the protesters.

## Results

The analysis showed that Cuban and American media represented the Chinese government according to the political ideologies of their countries. Hence, traces of Orientalism along with underlying ideology were detected in their news discourses. On one side, Cuban media stood out of what was happening during the protests and deflected the attention to United States. In this way, *Granma* represented the Chinese government next to Hong Kong as victims of the Americans, constructed as the main responsible of the conflict between China and Hong Kong, being the destabilization of the Chinese government their main goal. Thus, Cuban media aimed to represent United States as an authoritarian country that is constantly trying to overthrow those governments that are in opposition to its political ideology. In order to construct North America in a negative way, some strategies of negative other-presentation through structural oppositions, lexical absence, stereotypes and negative connotations were detected. For instance, citations from the Chinese media and the government were used to emphasize this negative construction of United States. Furthermore, the analysis showed how the newspaper tried to look partial by using neutral structuring verbs like “said” to represent how most the sources expressed. Additionally, the use of honorifics to classify the sources were also found. In this sense, the point was to reflect their importance, authority and legitimacy, so their declarations were more relevant, since afterwards they were used to support its representation of the Chinese government as well as constructing negatively United States.

Regarding the visual content, the newspaper selected a small picture of a map where we could see the frontier between China and Hong Kong. In this sense, based on the picture selected, it was concluded that the newspaper did not want to offer extra information by showing visual content of the protests. Therefore, the risk of contradicting its representation of the conflict was very low. However, another theory about why this picture was chosen was discussed in the analysis. The fact that *Granma* is located in a country ruled by a communist party, reduced its chances of accessing to visual material of the manifestations, since according to the Soviet Communist Theory, communist regimes impose severe restrictions on the importation of foreign-originated materials.

On the other side, American media represented China as the agent and Hong Kong, along with the Chinese, as the actors affected by the actions of China. In this sense, *The New York Times* gave a critical point of view, talking about a possible censure from the Chinese government to control the public opinion. Moreover, the newspaper affirmed that some Chinese supported the protests but were afraid of making it public. In that way, the newspaper offered a version more focused on the protests and the conflict between China and Hong Kong through a reflection about the relevance of the manifestations and its repercussion and importance. Moreover, the article paid special attention to how the demonstrations were perceived by the Chinese. For this reason, the journalist decided to interview some people in Beijing, which was also used to represent the Chinese government next to Communism negatively. Hence, *The New York Times* related the communist party and its ideology with aggression, authoritarianism, lack of freedom and rigid ideas. Additionally, the analysis showed how the newspaper used honorifics to classify the interviewees. In this sense, the point was to reflect how the new Chinese generations, who are highly educated and even studied abroad, are deeply nationalistic and have fully faith in the Chinese government. Thus, the paper tried to prove how the Chinese society is constantly brainwashed by the communist party in different ways such as propaganda or censorship.

Regarding the photo selected by the paper, unlike the first article, this one reflected the protests. In this case, the photographer tried to take us closer to the picture, that comparing to the one from *Granma* has a bigger size, reflecting the amount of information present in it. Moreover, the picture transmitted the feeling of tension between two small groups of people with different approaches, the protesters and the opponents. However, by the angle from where this picture was taken it gives the effect that there are more people on the left side than in the right one, what could be a strategy from the paper to make believe the audience that the demonstrations had more supporters than critics. Finally, if we analyze this picture through the visual representation of transitivity, we could conclude that it is difficult to identify which one is the agent and which one is the passive or affected by the actions. However, through reading of the text under the picture, we understand that the “pro-democracy” demonstrators are the agent and the man on the right side is the affected, since he is stopped by one of the protesters.

## Conclusion

The results of the analysis support the theory that the representation of the Chinese government made by the Cuban and American media was influenced by the ideology of their countries. Therefore, during the study of the articles published by *Granma* and *The New York Times*, traces of ideology were found in their news discourse. In this sense, the underlying ideology in the news discourse was detected through the negative representation of the Chinese government and Communism, in the case of American media, and through the negative representation of United States and Capitalism in the case of Cuban media. Hence, both constructions aimed to impose Capitalism or Communism as the most valid socio-economic system. However, the analysis of these representations also revealed a negative other-representation (Orientalism) from both sides. Hence, answering to the first research question, American media “othered” the Chinese government when reporting about the Umbrella revolution as a way of imposing Capitalism as ideology. Moreover, *The New York Times* also represented negatively the communist party, as well as Communism. Nevertheless, as commented before, the results of the analysis also revealed that Cuban media “othered” United States by representing negatively Capitalism and all that was considered as American.

Regarding the second research question, the results of the analysis showed that Cuban media was defending the Chinese government during the Umbrella revolution by representing it positively and as a victim of North America. In this sense, Cuban media stood out from the protests and deflected all the attention to United States, whose was represented negatively through different strategies along the article. Hence, by this strategy of negative other-representation, the Chinese government was constructed positively in an implicit way. Moreover, the study of underlying ideology in the news discourse of the Cuban media demonstrated that the fact of sharing Communism as ideology and socio-economic system was essential to represent the Chinese government positively.

Finally, in relation to the level of influence that the establishment has on the media in both countries, the Soviet Communist Theory and the Liberal model were applied on Cuban and American media respectively. Moreover, the Propaganda model was also used to evaluate this influence from a general perspective. Hence, on one side, Cuban media presented some signals of influence by the establishment, since *Granma* is presented itself as the official voice of the Cuban communist party. Furthermore, this paper aims to disseminate, through its articles and commentaries, the Revolution’s work and principles, the conquests achieved by Cuban society, as well as the integrity and unity of their people with the communist party

and Fidel Castro. Hence, as the Soviet Communist Theory explains, this is a perfect example of how mass communications are used by the state as instruments of propaganda in order to achieve the unity of the nation and impose its ideology. Furthermore, Cuban media does not belong to a corporate ownership or prioritize advertising as the main economical source. Also, since the Cuban communist party has the monopoly over all the mass media, there is no fear to “flak” (Herman & Chomsky, 2008, p.2), since all Cuban media report in the same way and it mostly depends on official sources, whose information is often controlled and manipulated. Finally, Cuban media obviously presents the same ideology that its government and tends to root for Communism.

On the other side, according to the Liberal model, American media presents a “strong politically neutrality” (Hallin & Mancini, 2004, p.198) and has a “fact-centered discourse” (Hallin & Mancini, 2004, p.207). However, when reporting international news where ideological conflicts are involved, Capitalism versus Communism, these features become blurred. In this sense, despite the social role of the state is relatively limited, American media is still influenced by the ideology of its country. Additionally, despite *The New York Times* presents itself as politically neutral, it belongs to a large corporate ownership with a clear profit orientation. Also, it prioritizes advertising as its main economical source, hence, the relationship between media and the economical establishment is quite close. However, American media does not depend as much on official sources as the Cuban media, since it does not belong to the government, hence the level of censorship is lower and has access to more resources. Moreover, the general rejection of Communism from the Americans provokes a fear to “flak” (Herman & Chomsky, 2008, p.2). Finally, the results of the analysis show that when reporting about international events, American media share the same ideology than its country and therefore roots for United States and Capitalism.

In conclusion, both showed a high level of influence with the establishment. However, each media is influenced by different agents. On one side, Cuban media is controlled by the Cuban communist party, which influences its representations of objects, events and people, since it has to be loyal to the party’s policy and its ethical principles. In this sense, this paper believes that this is the worst scenario for the media, since it becomes an instrument of the state, losing its original purpose of existence. On the other side, American media is controlled by the economic establishment, what means that it belongs to a large corporate ownership with a clear profit orientation. Thus, it prioritizes advertising as its main economical source but also makes it politically neutral. Nevertheless, in some situations a conflict of interests can affect the work of the media.

Finally, regarding this study, it would have been ideal to increase the sample by analyzing more countries, newspapers and articles, making the findings more completed and precise. Moreover, a future study related to the representation of the Chinese government could be the analysis of social media discussions in order to understand how people construct the communist party in comparison to media. Therefore, it could be also interesting to explore if they are influenced by the ideology of their country as well as identify traces of Orientalism. In this sense, the study offers the possibility to examine it from an external or internal approach. On one side, it is appealing to explore how foreign societies represent the Chinese government, especially those ruled by capitalist governments, but even more to analyze how is constructed by the citizens of China, Hong Kong or Taiwan.

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## Appendix

### Translation of the Cuban example:

#### **Hong Kong and the unconventional war methods of the United States**

Behind the recent student protests in the Hong Kong Special Administrative Region of China was the hand of United States. So says the press of the Asian nation, that blames the US non-governmental organizations to promote destabilizing actions against the Government.

According to several Chinese media that have investigated the leaders of the movement called "Occupy Central," there are links between protesters and US entities that have a long record in that region under China's sovereignty.

One of those organizations is Hong Kong-America Center (HKAC), whose stated goal is "to promote mutual understanding between the Chinese and the Americans."

However, according to the newspaper "Huanqiu Shibao", what is really looking for is to incite those who come to him to "promote democratic change" in the region, promising Washington support and even the opportunity to study and live in the United States.

The Chinese newspaper also says that the events convened by the HKAC are attended by members of the US Consulate General. During the meetings, tactics of protest actions and strategies of negotiation with the authorities during demonstrations are taught, accentuating the political exigencies that in no case must be resigned, it adds.

According to "Huanqiu Shibao," US intelligence agencies are trying to export the experience of "color revolutions" and the unconventional war to Hong Kong.

The director of the HKAC, Morton Holbrook, named for this post at the end of last year, is "a major spy" who worked for about 30 years in US intelligence agencies, essentially for the CIA.

As the Chinese newspaper notes, Holbrook, like the magnate Jimmy Lai, who funds the Hong Kong opposition, is close to former US Secretary of Defense Paul Wolfowitz.

"One has the impression that the US-funded HKAC center is trying to apply the experience of 'Colour revolutions' in Hong Kong in order to influence the internal situation," the paper said.

Other media outlets noted that famous US political organizations such as the National Endowment for Democracy (NED) and the Democratic National Institute for International

Affairs (NDI) have been present in Hong Kong since the end of British rule in 1997. Both have a history of subversion in Latin America, where they have worked to overthrow progressive governments, as in the case of Venezuela.

In addition, they point out that there is "US supervision on the leaders of the protests. "

Remember that the family of one of the most prominent organizers, the young man of 17 years old, Joshua Wong, was invited to Macao by the US Chamber of Commerce in 2011.

From that moment, Wong, who already enjoyed a certain fame for his protest actions organized at the student level, began to expand his political experience, Chinese media indicate.

Last second of October, Chinese Foreign Minister, Wang Yi, made clear that the events in Hong Kong are an internal matter and that the Asian country does not want Washington to interfere.

Before meeting with US Secretary of State John Kerry, the Chinese Foreign Minister stated: "Hong Kong affairs are China's internal affairs. All countries must respect China's sovereignty. And this is also a basic principle governing international relations. "

This comment came after the head of US diplomacy voiced Washington's support for Occupy Central's demands for alleged democratic demands in Hong Kong, and also urged Beijing to grant the province "the highest possible degree of autonomy".

Hong Kong, like Macau, is a special administrative region of China, in which the principle known as "One country, two systems" is applied.

This concept has been instrumental in resolving the process of national reunification and is part of the theory about the establishment of a socialism with Chinese characteristics. In essence, it refers to the continuity in those territories of economic policies proper to capitalism.

### **Methods of non-conventional war**

It is no secret to anyone that China is one of the "annoying" countries for the United States, because it is ruled by a Communist Party, because it threatens to overcome its economic supremacy and is strengthened from the military point of view, and Because it is in the vanguard - along with Russia - in the construction of a multipolar world. Nor is it surprising that unconventional methods of war are being used there to promote internal destabilization and regime change.

The formation of so-called "natural leaders" is part of the interventionist scheme outlined in the Pentagon's TC 18-01 Training Circular, whose main goal is to bring down those governments that are not geared to US geopolitical and transnational interests, at the lowest possible cost and, preferably, without the direct participation of their (traditional) troops.

This strategy includes the organization of media campaigns of questioning or opposing to the governments considered "unwanted", that soon provoke popular response. Demonstrators are often infiltrated by elements trained from abroad or through NGOs to generate some level of violence that awakens the hard reaction of governments and thus provoke even more tension.

Then, media seek to transform the minority into the streets in a majority, and in that way to justify an intervention of the more conservative institutions, like the judicial power or of the parliaments, to remove legitimate rulers.

In each case the specific vulnerabilities of each country are studied, identifying aspects that for historical, ethnic or religious reasons contribute to the polarization of the population and labeling the government as a promoter of this polarization.

Priority is given to the identification and preparation of "natural leaders" who contribute to the organization of a "troop of shock", generally recruited in the student sector and other middle class, culturally influenced by American values or educational training in that country.

Cases such as Libya, Ukraine and Venezuela are examples of this new strategy of the White House, which does not take into account the social, political and economic costs of subversion.

China, however, is known for the strength of its Communist Party and its institutions of government and for the support of the overwhelming majority of its people to the successful economic transformations that the country has carried out during the last 30 years.

"The 'Occupy Central' movement is obviously being manipulated by certain political forces," said Zhang Nianchi, director of the Shanghai Institute of East Asian Studies.

"I think," he added, "that most people in Hong Kong, including young students, will not be used by these forces. I hope they can differentiate good from evil and value the interests of the Hong Kong society. "

Since the policy of "One country, two systems" was implemented in Hong Kong 17 years ago, the city has been one of the most important business hubs in the world, said Zhou Hanmin, a national political advisor in Shanghai.

"The people of Hong Kong and their economy will be the first to suffer uneasiness. No place with close trade links with Hong Kong will want to see that", he concluded.