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The Theory and Practice of Anti-Globalization Movement

Case Studies of the Independent Media in the Chinese Societies – Hong Kong and Taiwan

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Hong Kong and Taiwan

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Section 1   The Present Situation of the World and Anti-Globalization Movement

In the twenty-first century, the situation of the world is passing through a vicissitudinous transition process. There is an advanced development of the so-called "civilization" of human society. However, social conflicts and uncertainties created by human beings are both increasing because of the dysfunctional management of global political institutions and the spreading of the value of capitalism. Those conflicts come from the imbalance distribution of economic resources, the extreme disparity between the rich and the poor, the deterioration of people's living condition and the majority feeling hopeless on governments' administration. The right of private ownership, or the so called "property", is the core concept of the theory of capitalism which allows people to practice endless accumulation of wealth. The centralization of economic resource and property to the minority of society is related to the professionalization of financial institutions and the further developments of technology, consumerism as well as extreme rationalism. The populations of richer and poorer are rising simultaneously. Because of holding huge amount of property, richers are forming their distorted values and personalities. On the other hand, poorers are unable to earn enough money for living needs. Various social problems emerge from the scene of globalization. The problems actually construct a "big picture" of the current unrest situation of human society.

The development of human society is the processes of purchasing the improvement of living standard and practicing "civilization" done by mankind. It starts from the embodiments of local custom and cultural elements based on specific original tradition. Then, the relative regulation(s) and law(s) originated from the embodiments are implemented. In the process of implementing the civilized elements, some problems would appear immediately. After that, we could do adjustment of them for tackling the problems and implement another civilized system (again and again). The development of human society is ongoing and has never ended. We believe that human beings are composing the histories of them through the approach like this.

Our living world is changing unceasingly. Meanwhile, it is also going against our faith in the better future of human society.

Globalization is a wide-spreading phenomenon including the aspects of politics, economy, social condition and cultural context. It is a social developing process which

has the characteristics of "united-as-one" and "strengthening the effect of diversification with opposition" simultaneously. The two characteristics collectively constitute the essence and influence of globalization. We are all living under the effects of globalization that are changing our lifestyles everyday.

One of the aspects of the globalization of politics, first, is the successive establishment of multinational politico-economic organizations, such as World Bank, International Monetary Fund (IMF), Asian-Pacific Economic Cooperation (APEC), European Union (EU), World Trade Organization (WTO) and the Group of Twenty Finance Ministers and Central Bank Governors (G20). Through practicing the cooperation with the organizational systems, nation-states can realize the further expansion of their political influence globally. Secondly, the globalization of politics also includes the aspect of the worldwide promotion of "democratization"[1] practiced by the Western countries, including the United States of America and the United Kingdom. Such promotion implies a kind of political "metaphor": the so-called "democracy" is a common value which should not be suspected and the political system of representative democracy, as the derivative of the value, is generally suitable for all countries around the world.[2]

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[1] American political theorist Samuel Phillips Huntington brought up a modern democratic concept called the "third wave of democratization" in his work *The Third Wave: Democratization in the Late Twentieth Century*" to distinguish it from the first and the second waves of democratization. According to his point of view, there are three "waves" of democratization in human history: The first wave is marked by the American Revolution and the French Revolution; the second wave of democratization includes the independence waves across India and other Western African countries; the third wave is related to the breaking down of the Soviet Union (the U.S.S.R.) and the democratic development of Eastern Europe. The main point is that there is a specific characteristic of the third wave of democratization compared with the first and the second. It is because the outbreaks of the revolutions in France and North America were triggered and mostly backed by the grass-root people as socio-political resistances. The revolutions were the bottom-to-top political movements striving for the realization of freedom and equality. However, the generation of the Eastern Europe's democratization after the "Cold War" between the U.S. and the U.S.S.R. had its "external" factors. For example, the U.S. government intervened in the political situation in the Eastern Europe through the operation of the foundation called "National Endowment for Democracy" to support the specific domestic political opposition organizations against the communist governments at that period. The possibility of the development of democratization in the future would be: the so-called "democratization" becomes an implement for some countries, mostly the Western countries, to get involved in the political development of other countries for controlling the world further. According to this reflection, democratization would not be a positive political phenomenon, but a negative one.

[2] Democracy, compared with aristocracy and autocracy, has its significance in the development of human society because it relatively realizes the value of "people autonomy". Today, all of the democratic countries practice democracy through the political system called "representative democracy". In this system, citizens vote for someone (a candidate) who is anticipated to represent them to express their will in the congress for the purpose of realizing "autonomy". Citizens are not the subject to make laws. Representative democracy is a kind of eclectic political system for solving the problem of all social members making political decisions together at the same time (it was impossible that all citizens participated in every lawmaking decision in the past). But this system had created the problem of cutting off the relationship between representatives and citizens because of the practice of party politics. Through the system of party politics, political and economic powers are able to affect the tendency of government's lawmaking. For example, a company can donate certain amount of money to

In the aspect of the globalization of economy, world capitalists are easier to establish their "investitive kingdom" in the field of global market than the past. Capitalism, which promotes the value of the principle of profit maximization[3], encourages investors to lend more money from international banks for investing in the developing countries for buying natural and human resources with cheaper costs, then selling the products to the world with higher prices. Moreover, global financial corporations sophisticatedly operate the system of commerce with the trading of the fictitious financial derivatives, such as "credit", "debt" and "currency". The risk of the operation has been underrated by world governments and economic analysts. Therefore, the "U.S. Sub-prime Mortgage Crisis"[4] occurred. Many countries and banks around the world have been affected by the financial crisis. In addition, the emergence of "European Sovereign Debt Crisis"[5] also proves that the economic globalization would offer opportunities for the "opportunists" to become millionaires and damage the economic foundation of the world at the same time. These crises are

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a particular political party for helping beneficial law makings. For this reason, the democratic political system is always influenced and dominated by transnational capitalists around the world nowadays.

[3] According to the thinking logic of capitalism, the main purpose of the operation of enterprises is to make profit. From the viewpoint of business studies, an enterprise can purchase the principle of "profit maximization" through calculating, analyzing and reducing the costs it pays. The aim of cost reduction has been included in the principle – capitalists have the right to claim that the increasing part of income (from depressing the costs) is a part of the profit of business. For more profit, bosses would buy materials and human resources with cheaper prices and produce the products in developing countries as well as sell the products to developed countries in the world. This kind of investitive operation has no consideration for social responsibility or morality, but creates serious social problems, such as the phenomena of "sweatshop" and environmental pollution, that are all about the core issues of the justice and equality of human society.

[4] The "U.S. Sub-prime Mortgage Crisis", which had emerged from the global market since the early 2007, was marked by the bankruptcy of the U.S. investment company "New Century Financial Corporation". The factors of the crisis were various, which included the recent recession of the U.S. economy, the poor financial policies of the government (less restrictions on the operations of banks and corporations on lending business) and the consuming habits of Americans (lending money is a main way to support their spending). The crisis affected the banks and financial institutions around the world because the investitive corporations transferred the debts to "securities" as a kind of financial product for selling them to the banks. The banks bought the securities (debts) and sold them to insurance companies or hedge funds again. After that, the value of the securities held by those related institutions disappeared when the lenders were unable to pay the debts. This process produced huge losses of the investment of the international banks. The crisis showed that there were many loopholes of the monetary policies and laws of global governments and the validity of the financial derivative products for profit making. In addition, the emergence of the crisis had shifted the basic logic of capitalist globalization that the U.S. is the most reliable and valuable economic body in the world.

[5] "European Sovereign Debt Crisis" is related to the economic issue in the late 2009 that transnational investors had lack of confidence in the financial situation of some of European countries including Greece, Ireland, Portugal and Spain whether they were able to pay off the national debts that they had issued. In the early 2010, Greece formally sought help from international community for tackling its national debt problem. Then, the "Eurozone Crisis" emerged. European Central Bank (ECB) and International Monetary Fund (IMF) offered different amounts of funds to help those countries which had the similar difficulties to pay off the debts. Also, European Union has established the European Financial Stability Facility (EFSF) and the European Stability Mechanism (ESM) as the important monetary systems for tackling the crisis and stabilizing the economy of Europe.

all connected with the premeditated commercial behaviours contributed by global investors and capitalists. They earn their wealth through operating fictitious transactions that have affected the financial markets in the world. For this issue, global governments are unable to do anything because such behaviours are accepted by the relative laws they made. Also, the governments rely on the "fruitful results" from those transactions, such as the tax income from "prosperous" financial exchange and the rise of the statistic figures, such as "Gross Domestic Product (GDP)" and "Purchasing Power Parity (PPP)", on the calculations of national economy. We are confronting the economic disturbance made by the governments that have lack of ability to resolve the ongoing global economic crisis now.

The positive phases of globalization are in the promotion of the value of establishing a "world society" or a "global village" and the realization of the communication between different nations, traditions and cultures. The current civilization of human society with the rapid development of information technology shortens the distance between man and man. We are able to connect with our friends and relatives through using e-mail or instant messaging services on the Internet. The huge amount of information floating on the net creates a new realm of human knowledge in virtual world. However, this situation also obstructs people to meditate on the essence of the content of the information thoroughly and causes the distraction of the concentration of human beings for the further refinement of knowledge.

From this thinking approach, globalization does not seem to realize its promise for human society. It is no doubt that our society has been developed as a civilized condition through the various effects of globalization. However, globalization also ossifies the development of human society and violates our original beliefs and living styles. People's living, in certain degree, is more rigid and extreme nowadays.

For this, we should have our specific stance(s) for confronting the present situation of human civilization.

It is of no reason that we must accept the negative effects of economic globalization (such as various financial crises and political turbulences) to affect our life. Therefore, anti-globalization movements[6] have been organized in different parts

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[6] "Critics of globalization claim that the global market has become too dominant as well as some players being more dominating than others in the global market, namely the multinational enterprises (Sklair, 2004). Thus, coordination efforts should be channeled into creating a new world economic order where more attention is paid to protecting the global environment and regulating financial flows (the Tobin tax initiative). The anti-globalization movement has expressed deep concern with the inequalities in the global market economy, calling for instance for debt relief for the poorest countries

of the world for giving the profound reflection on the political, economic and social issues, including the inefficient administration of global governments, the unrest of society, the violation of the rights for low-middle class, the problem of environmental pollution and the dropping-down of people's living standard.

Although anti-globalization movement opposes the negative economic and political effects of globalization, the movement itself is a part of globalization. One of the main characteristics of the movement is that it has been practiced by common people globally. Recently, there is a famous social movement across the U.S. called "Occupy Wall Street Movement"[7] which has the same position with the stance of anti-globalization movement. The participants of the U.S. social movement criticize the capitalists who work in the Wall Street's financial corporations because these people are seen to possess too much capital or economic resource compared with the majority of society. Their wealth comes from domestic and global stock markets through various operations of financial transaction and investment practiced by them. In addition, the movement supporters also condemn the U.S. government who does not do enough to curb the rapacious Wall Street capitalists through making relative laws. The participants of the movement use the Internet to connect with each other and promote relevant information about their actions. At present, the movement is spreading worldwide. The metropolises around the world have lots of activists who are organizing and practicing the "Occupy Movement" simultaneously[8]. This case, similar to the claim(s) of anti-globalization movement, actually embodies the characteristic of globalization.

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of the globe (Cavanagh and Mander, 2002; Held and McGrew, 2002; Held, 2004; Rosenberg, 2002; Meiksins Wood, 2005; Gill, 2002). The anti-globalization movement focuses upon the major meetings among governments coordinating their responses to globalization. It could be the reunions of the WTO, the G7/G8 or G20 countries, the EU or the IMF. Perhaps the most spectacular success with making the world conscious of globalization was the Seattle meeting of the WTO in 2000, where the anti-globalization movement managed to put forward its criticism of globalization and the lack of governance of globalization (Woodin and Lucas, 2004; Keane, 2003)." See: Lane, Jan-Erik (2006). *Globalization And Politics: Promises And Dangers*. England: Ashgate Publishing. p. 10.

[7] According to the movement website (http://occupywallst.org/): "Occupy Wall Street is a people-powered movement that began on September 17, 2011 in Liberty Square in Manhattan's Financial District, and has spread to over 100 cities in the United States and actions in over 1,500 cities globally. #ows is fighting back against the corrosive power of major banks and multinational corporations over the democratic process, and the role of Wall Street in creating an economic collapse that has caused the greatest recession in generations. The movement is inspired by popular uprisings in Egypt and Tunisia, and aims to fight back against the richest 1% of people that are writing the rules of an unfair global economy that is foreclosing on our future." Retrieved November 1, 2011, from Occupy Wall Street website: http://occupywallst.org/about/

[8] According to the statistic figures offered by the "Occupytogether" website, there are around one thousand five hundred cities in the world in which are burning the "occupy actions". Please refer to the relative link in the following. Retrieved November 1, 2011, from the "Occupytogether" website: http://www.occupytogether.org/actions/

Before the "Occupy Wall Street Movement", there were a lot of anti-globalization movements practiced by social activists in the world society. The "Anti-WTO Movement" in Seattle, the U.S. in 1999 was a significant example. The campaign directly caused the establishment of the independent civil media organization called "Independent Media Center, IMC"[9] which was responsible for publishing the real-time news about the progress of the campaign and rallying the campaign participants through the media platform done by the center's organizers. Nowadays, the center has many branches in the main cities of the world and takes the significant role in reporting alternative voices from grassroots and the ongoing social movements worldwide.

Section 2   What is "Independent Media"?

What is the so-called "independent media" or "alternative media"[10]? What are the main differences between independent media and mainstream media (or mass media)?

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[9] According to the website of the "IMC": "The Independent Media Center (www.indymedia.org), was established by various independent and alternative media organizations and activists in 1999 for the purpose of providing grassroots coverage of the World Trade Organization (WTO) protests in Seattle. The center acted as a clearinghouse of information for journalists, and provided up-to-the-minute reports, photos, audio and video footage through its website. Using the collected footage, the Seattle Independent Media Center (seattle.indymedia.org) produced a series of five documentaries, uplinked every day to satellite and distributed throughout the United States to public access stations.
The center also produced its own newspaper, distributed throughout Seattle and to other cities via the internet, as well as hundreds of audio segments, transmitted through the web and Studio X, a 24-hour micro and internet radio station based in Seattle. The site, which uses a democratic open-publishing system, logged more than 2 million hits, and was featured on America Online, Yahoo, CNN, BBC Online, and numerous other sites. Through a decentralized and autonomous network, hundreds of media activists setup independent media centers in London, Canada, Mexico City, Prague, Belgium, France, and Italy over the next year. IMCs have since been established on every continent, with more to come." Retrieved November 1, 2011, from the Independent Media Center website: http://www.indymedia.org/en/static/about.shtml

[10] Generally speaking, independent media and alternative media are the allied media organizations for fighting against the domination of media space practiced by mainstream media. For the meaning of alternative media, Christopher Frank Atton, a Professor of Media and Culture in the School of Arts and Creative Industries at Edinburgh Napier University, Scotland, argues that: "Chris Atton uses the term 'alternative media' to mean 'a range of media projects, interventions and networks that work against, or seek to develop different forms of, the dominant, expected (and broadly accepted) ways of "doing" media' (2004: ix). This is a useful definition as it includes projects outside a narrow definition of 'media', and allows space for consideration of, for instance, broader activities such as the open-source and anti-copyright movements that are aligned with many alternative media projects. Atton believes that alternative media must encompass all cultural forms of independent production and should display the following characteristics (Atton 2002b: 27): radical content, be it political or cultural; strong aesthetic form; employ 'reproductive innovations/adaptations' (ibid) taking full advantage of the available and cutting-edge technology; alternative means of distribution and anti-copyright ethos; transformation of social roles and relations into collective organizations and de-professionalization and; transformation of communications processes – 'horizontal linkages' (ibid)." See: Coyer, Kate, Dowmunt, Tony, Fountain, Alan (2007). *The Alternative Media Handbook*. Oxford: Roudledge. p. 3.

> "…'*independent media*', *in this context, is a kind of media which is independent from all governments, political parties and business corporations on financial and editorial issues with the non-commercial form of media.*" [11]

"Media", as an appellation for indicating the operations of radio, television, newspaper and internet media, is a kind of communication implement which helps for delivering information to people. Through the use of media, people can achieve new information and knowledge and keep in touch with society. Generally speaking, media indicates "mass media" or "mainstream media" in modern society. The contents delivered by the media could be some news or entertainment programmes. Nowadays, the majority of the media are mostly operated by commercial enterprises. Some media have their specific political stances because the incomes of them are sponsored by the foundations or the institutions with particular political background(s)[12], besides coming from advertisement. "Independent media" means there is a kind of media which is not operated by any company or organization with specific interest stance. Also, independent media are free of influence by business market and mass taste. Ip Iam Chong (Ye Yincong 葉蔭聰), one of the founders of

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[11] See: Ip, Iam-Chong (葉蔭聰) (2009). New Political Power: The Development of Hong Kong Independent Media (新政治力量:香港獨立媒體的發展). *Mass Communication Research*, 99, p. 223.

[12] To justify this statement, we need to analyze how mainstream media report the news of social movement. For example, please see the BBC News "Occupy protests disrupt ports across US West Coast" (Retrieved December 13, 2011, from the BBC News website: http://www.bbc.co.uk/news/world-us-canada-16152553). We can discover that the "BBC (British Broadcasting Corporation)" has its specific stance or judgment on the "Occupy Wall Street" movement from the news topic. The report does not mention the developing history or background of the movement. We are unable to catch the "whole picture" of the movement because the report just concentrates on the negative effects of the social movement. It shows mainstream media could do their injustice or incomplete reports based on their "needs".
This is another report related to the social movement in China: "Deal in China rebel village Wukan welcomed" (Retrieved December 22, 2011, from the BBC News website: http://www.bbc.co.uk/news/world-asia-china-16297463). From this report, we can fully catch the background, progress and other related details of the movement. It is apparent that the mainstream media has its attempt to affect the public opinion on the different social movements in the U.S. and China. The mass would be trended to be strengthened the impression that Chinese society "really" has its problem that is more serious than the U.S.'s. The main point is that the social movements have been reported unequally by the same media just because the movements broke out in different countries. These discriminative reports on the social movements show that the mainstream media has its specific political stance and purposes (the "BBC" is a national media of the United Kingdom and sponsored by British government). Therefore, independent media, which are established and developed based on the need of society for the "real fact" and alternative viewpoints and are not influenced by any company or political institution, open up an independent approach to report and discuss social issues with the opinions of common people. In addition, independent media, as a communicating platform with the website-form, has the comment-posting function which offers an approach for people to publish their comments and opinions related to various social issues and social movements for sharing the spirit of solidarity and arguing the facts in today's social situation. For this reason, independent media is different from mainstream media or mass media and has its significant role in modern society.

"Inmediahk.net"[13] who is a Teaching Fellow of the Department of Cultural Studies at Lingnan University, Hong Kong, argues that the most significant characteristic of independent media is the non-commercial form of media practice without any economic or political influence on their offered contents and organizational operation.

What are the news reports and information conveyed by independent media? The answer would be obvious if we see the practice of independent media as a kind of social movement. The information contents published by the media include the discussions of political and public issues and the related information about the practice of various social actions, such as human right campaigns and anti-government movements. The contents could also include radical and grass-root viewpoints that are totally different from the news reports and information offered by mainstream media (or mass media). The "reporters", who use independent media as social communication platforms, may not be the so-called "professional correspondents", but are the members of our society like you and me.

We can understand the forming process of an independent media report contributed by a citizen as the following:

"In January 2005, there was a report with the heading 'Easy-Get Pornography, Girls Indulge in Gay Comics' published by 'U-Beat Magazine' – a student practice journal of the School of Journalism and Communication, Chinese University of Hong Kong (CUHK). The report was cited by mainstream media and came into public notice. 'Small wolf' (nickname), one of the users of 'Inmediahk.net' website platform, read the report and focused on the interview with Dr. Benjamin Ng Wai-ming (Wu Weiming 吳偉明), a Professor at the Department of Japanese Studies, 'CUHK' in the article. The correspondent of 'U-Beat Magazine' interviewed Dr. Ng and quoted his saying that 'the comic book companies published the

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[13] "Inmediahk.net" (香港獨立媒體網, http://www.inmediahk.net/) is a representative independent media in Hong Kong (since 2004). According to the "About" page of the media website: "The main purposes of the establishment of the media are to support the development of Hong Kong democratic and social movements, to establish a 'public space' which is not controlled by governments, enterprises and political parties, to organize social members for concerning and reflecting on social, political and cultural issues collectively, to open up a citizen's sight for catching humane knowledge, deepening thinking and understanding diversified information, to communicate with the Cross-Strait and international societies, to construct a radical approach for practicing social progression. …For the purpose of realizing the independence out of the influence of governments, enterprises and political parties, we need supports from the readers (users) of 'Inmediahk.net'; the independent media would not accept any financial support from companies or political parties. The resources of 'Inmediahk.net' are all from public donation and voluntaries as well as social organizations. If there is no financial support from the readers, the independent media would not be run enduringly." Retrieved November 1, 2011, from the Inmediahk.net website: http://www.inmediahk.net/about

comics with abnormal pornographic plots for re-attracting the leaking comic readers'. Small wolf went to the 'CUHK' and interviewed Dr. Ng again. He found out that the quotation of Dr. Ng's statement in the U-Beat's report garbled Dr. Ng's meaning. After that, he wrote a report with the headline 'Comic Doctor: U-Beat Garble (about Dr. Ng's saying)' and posted it on the website platform of 'Inmediahk.net'.

The report caused enthusiastic discussions among the users of 'Inmediahk.net'. About a hundred of messages related to the report were posted on the website. The users hotly discussed the related topics of the report, such as media morality, homosexuality and the issues of journalist education in the 'CUHK'. As a 'comic-holic', Small Wolf had his specific understanding, long-term reading experience and the enthusiasm for Japanese comics. These points backed the fact that he, as a common citizen, was more 'professional' than the U-Beat's correspondent on this issue. The starting point of the posting of the Small Wolf's report (in which included his basic stance and many personal understandings of comics) was to criticize the U-Beat's report. We should not see the Small Wolf's report as a partial work because he presented lots of evidences including a new interview with Dr. Ng to justify his opinions that his report was more completed and reliable than the U-Beat's.

Moreover, his report had created a widespread feedback from social members and produced the interaction between the users of 'Inmediahk.net'. The unidirectional media, such as mass media, were unable to contribute the communication of people like this. Finally, the U-Beat Magazine published an apology statement for its report.

I believe that the case of Small Wolf's report is the earliest exemplification on the website platform of 'Inmediahk.net' to present a power of the new media (independent media)." [14]

Through the above paragraphs, we can understand the different characteristics of mainstream media and independent media. The characteristics include the following aspects:

(1) The subjectivity of the reporter – the reporter of independent media can be a citizen;
(2) Specific stance included by the report – the report would contain personal

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[14] See: Ip, Iam-Chong (2007). *Small Media, Big Issue (小媒體‧大事件)*. Hong Kong: Step forward. pp. 30-31.

opinions;

(3) The possibility of making comments – independent media is a public discussion platform, and;

(4) The definition of "professional report" – which is based on the content of the report, not based on the discipline of the "reporter".

A man would have his own opinion(s) when reading a report that interests him. The opinions probably include his personal stance, understanding and feeling with the report. The act of "Small Wolf" is a good example in the above case. He did not agree with the content of "U-Beat's report" and thought that there must be wrongness in it. For clarifying his doubt, he did another interview with Dr. Ng by himself and evidenced that the "U-Beat's report" garbled Dr. Ng's words. After that, "Small Wolf" posted his independent report in the website of "Inmediahk.net" and received positive feedback from other "netizens" (or "cybercitizens" which are the terms referred to the users of the Internet). He became a "citizen reporter" using the independent media as an interactive internet platform to practice social communication without the intervention of the Establishment.

In the meantime, the practice of the citizen reporting with the independent media also broke down the hedge of the professionalism of journalism. Independent media is a public media platform to encourage everyone to be a "reporter" to express their concerns with various social issues openly. The practice would create different discussions contributed by the followers of the independent reports in order to clarify and understand the "fact(s)" deeply. Alternative voices would be gathered as a public opinion as one of civil powers through this accumulating process of social consensus.

In addition, the practice of independent media realizes the democratic values of public comment, judgment and freedom of speech on social issues. Ip agrees with the stance of "Wikipedia.org" on the issue of the public deliberation of human knowledge:

"I am impressed by 'Wikipedia' on the stance of accepting public deliberation of knowledge. The clauses of the terms of knowledge on the website of 'Wikipedia' can be refined with enthusiastic public discussions continuously. Moreover, good-manner 'Wikipedia' users also approve that it is important to deliberate the knowledge clauses on the website platform carefully and respect cultural diversity and minorities' suggestions…
The practice of deliberation is the foundation of deliberative democracy. It

is a possibility and also a challenge of the practice of independent media in new era." [15]

We could have different feelings and ideas on the happening of social issues based on our specific background and position. The important point is how to ensure that all of the people in society can have the opportunity to express their opinions for realizing such democratic value – everyone has the right to express his/her voices for determining on the developing direction of society. The website-form independent media offer an online space for citizens to reflect on their living circumstance and express their concerns. The contributions in the media space have its progressive significance of facilitating the improvement of the civilization of human society.

Section 3　The Tendency of the Development of the Chinese Societies Nowadays

Generally speaking, the practice of independent media is seen as a "media social movement" which is originated from Western society. For instance, there were some theorists who had presented their reflection on modern mass media and their criticism of culture industry, such as Theodor Adorno, Max Horkheimer and Herbert Marcuse – who were the notable critical theorists of the "Frankfurt School" in the early-mid twentieth century[16]. On the other hand, the Chinese societies, including Hong Kong and Taiwan, have evolved the media social movements which have used the Internet as an implement to practice politico-social campaigns and promote the atmosphere of public concern since the late 1990s. Such evolvements have their specific social and historical backgrounds.

From political point of view, "China" is governed by four different governments.

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[15] *Ibid.*, p. 41.

[16] From understanding the core thoughts of the critical theorists, we can realize that there is a similar standpoint between the general position of the critical theorists and the stance of independent media on the issues of mass media or mainstream media: "The Frankfurt School's criticism of the mass communication media was that they hamper the road to such a Utopian society and that the media stand in the way of change. By *selectively* presenting reality, including aspects of culture, education and entertainment (in which bourgeois values enjoy priority) the media confirm and support dominant capitalist ideologies and thus maintain the *status quo* at the cost of the working class, which is represented by the masses. …critical theorists are concerned about the media's ideological manipulation of the mass and the utilization and exploitation of the media by capitalist considerations…" See: Fourie, Pieter J (2001). *Media Studies: Institutions, Theories and Issues*. South Africa: Juta Education. pp. 243-244.
Basically, the main purpose of practicing independent media is to break down the monopoly of the media space of mainstream media and encourage people to express their say on social issue actively. Independent media is a practical approach for people to try to disprove and criticize the abnormal development of the media ecology of mainstream media.

The Communist Party governs the Mainland China with the "single-party system"[17] – which is called "People's Republic of China". There is an island in the southeastern China called "Taiwan" which is under controlled by "Republic of China" after the end of the Chinese Civil War (1949). In the southern offshore area of Guangdong province of China, there are two cities called Hong Kong, a former British colony, and Macau, a former Portuguese colony. The cities were handed over to the Beijing government in 1997 and 1999 separately with the new name of "Special Administrative Region(s)" until now.

The Communist Party dominates the whole part of the Mainland China. For preserving the "capitalist economic form", the Party implements the policy of "One country, two systems"[18] for Hong Kong and Macau to maintain their own governances to sustain the people's living style with economic freedom. On the other side of the Cross Strait, Taiwan had evolved to be a "democratic state" after the National Party (Kuomintang, KMT 國民黨) government rescinding the martial law (解嚴) and suspending the restriction on organizing political party (黨禁) in the late 1980s.

On this political territorial map of the Greater China, we are able to find out the "seeds" for politico-social movement in which include the concrete stances of advocating democratic value and promoting anti-Establishment of Chinese people.

There is no freedom of speech in the Mainland China. The (main part of) Chinese society is dominated by the Communist Party through the approaches of high-pressure and rigid social managing with a centralized political mechanism. There

[17] See: Wu, An-Chia (Wu Anjia 吳安家) (1999). The Theory and Practice of Chinese Communist Rule in the Past Five Decades: The Role of the CCP's Leadership (中共統治五十年的理論與實際─黨的領導). *Mainland China Studies*. 42 (9).

[18] "On 1st July 1997, Hong Kong was returned to the homeland and became a part of People's Republic of China as a special administrative region, which implemented the principles of 'One country, two systems', 'high degree of autonomy', 'Hong Kong people administrating Hong Kong' based on the 'Basic Law'. Because of the historical (and other) factors, Hong Kong, Macau and Taiwan implement capitalist system while the inland China implements communist system. For this reason, 'One country, two systems' was carried out for the purpose of national unification and guaranteed the prosperity and stable situation in the regions of Hong Kong, Macau and Taiwan. 'One country, two systems' was constructed in the late 1970s for Taiwan issue but firstly implemented in Hong Kong. After 1978, Chinese government shifted its national guiding principle from practicing political movement to carrying out economic development and started to think about using the policy of 'One country, two systems' to address the issue of national unity for maintaining the political system and people's living style in Hong Kong, Macau and Taiwan with the widest range. 'One country' means the unity of the country's sovereignty and dominion and 'two systems' means the respect for those regions with high degree of autonomy. The principle of 'One country, two systems' emphasizes an unbreakable relationship between 'one country' and 'two systems'." See: Committee on the Promotion of Civic Education (1998). *Understanding the One Country Two Systems (認識一國兩制)*. Retrieved November 1, 2011, from: http://www.cpce.gov.hk/chi/learning/bl_octs_index.htm

is a specific departmental operating system, including the Ministry of Public Security (MPS 公安部) and the Ministry of State Security (MSS 國家安全部) of the People's Republic of China, for practicing internet surveillance in the Mainland. The system focuses on tackling the media platform(s) that convey the particular political views, such as "independence" and "subverting national sovereignty". Advocating "independence" is a sensitive issue which is illegal in China. For instance, if there are some discussion threads or comments related to Tibet/Taiwan independence and "Falungong (法輪功)" posted by the internet users on Chinese websites, blogs or forums, the contents will be deleted and blocked by the system immediately.[19]

Besides the Mainland China, Hong Kong and Taiwan are seen as the regions having the possibility to develop social movement practice, such as independent media movement. Macau has less influence than the two regions because of the political and historical background[20]. Based on the different political and social contexts as well as the developing levels of internet using, Hong Kong and Taiwan separately have their own social conditions and practicing approaches to develop

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[19] See: Freedom House (2011). *Freedom on the Net 2011*. Washington: Freedom House. p. 92. Also: "The enforcement of the 'Regulation of the Management for the News and Information Services on the Internet (互聯網新聞信息服務管理規定)' is the determent to prevent the civil circles [in China] to practice independent media through the use of the Internet. …According to a series of tightened legislative regulations, the system of surveillance for controlling the floating of internet information is founded in domestic region. The authorities can block the unfavorable websites and relative links on the Internet; they, inside the country, can also examine and filter published information contents and shut down the website(s) which spread information, news and criticism without possessing the media permit authorized by the government legally." See: Anonymous (n. d.). *Report on the Present Situation of the Development of Independent Media in China*. Retrieved October 6, 2013, from: http://www.scribd.com/doc/8723986/中國獨立媒體狀況

[20] Macau had been a Portuguese colony since 1887 (until 1999). After the "12.3 Incident" – a riot which broke out on 3rd December, 1966 with the political background of serious corruption and dysfunction of Macanese colonial government, the majority of Macau's people gradually tended to support the Communist Party of China because Beijing government intervened in the incident politically and pressured the colonial government of Macau to do an "appropriate treatment" for the outcome of the incident. After 1966, Macanese society mostly favoured the political stance of Chinese government. With this background, the mainstream media in Macau have their moderate attitude with less reflection and criticism on various political issues related to the interest of Chinese authorities nowadays: "The ecology of Macanese media turned favouring Beijing government after the '12.3 Incident' (Liu, 2008b) and there were less conflicts between the stances of Macau's journalists and Communist Party (Tam, Chi Keung (Tan Zhiqiang 譚志強), Lo, Koon-cheung (Lao Guanxiang 老冠祥), 1996). One senior journalist argues that 'the Macanese media mostly maintain rational and moderate attitudes to their interaction with the government (Macau Special Administrative Region Government) with the tendency of serious self-restraint' (Tang, Jo Kei (Deng Zuji 鄧祖基), 2003: 115). There are presently eight kinds of Chinese newspapers in Macau that are all sponsored by the government (Lam, Chong (Lin Chang 林昶), 2003). Some critics argue that 'the (Macanese media) speeches are too conservative and moderate that are unable to oversee the government and unveil as well as criticize social problems……Macanese print media lack a kind of reliable public credibility on reporting the important social issues, such as the administration of the government and casino issues' (Tam, Chi Keung, 2003)." See: Liu, Shih-Diing (Liu Shiding 劉世鼎), Lou, Lai-Chu (LaoLizhu 勞麗珠) (2010). The Internet as Alternative Public Field in Macau (網絡作為澳門的另類公共領域). *Mass Communication Research*, 102, p. 257.

independent media movement, including setting up websites, blogs, forums and internet radio stations with specific concern on politico-social issues. "Inmediahk.net" and "Coolloud.org"[21] are the well-known cases of independent media movement with their long-term practice histories in the Chinese societies.

Nowadays, Hong Kong and Taiwan bear stronger political influence from China than before. About the late 1980s, Taiwan's political circumstance was mainly controlled by the "KMT". In 1996, the first democratic presidential election was held, and this event marked the end of "party-state (黨國)" period of the Island which is a milestone in Taiwan's political development history. Before the election, the Democratic Progressive Party, DPP (民主進步黨) was formally established and developed quickly because the restriction of establishing political party was suspended by the "KMT" in 1987. Finally, the DPP's candidate for President Chen Shuei-bian (Chen Shuibian 陳水扁) won the election in 2000. This was the first time that the "DPP" became a governing party in Taiwan. Through the total eight years of Chen's presidency, various of "desinicization (去中國化)" policies, such as changing the term for describing the Mainland from "our nation (according to the constitution of Republic of China)" to "China" in high school textbooks and emending the term from "Chinese" to "Taiwan" within the names of national enterprises, had been implemented that the ideologies of Taiwan independence and localized consciousness were deepened further. After that, Ma Ying-jeou (Ma Yingjiu 馬英九), as the presidential candidate of the "KMT", defeated the DPP's Frank Hsieh Chang-ting (Xie Changting 謝長廷) to become Taiwan President in 2008. After taking his official post, Ma firstly called the tune of national political development policy of "no unification, no independence, and no use of force". Then, Ma's government started to carry out a series of the Cross-Strait politico-economic policies, such as signing the "Economic Cooperation Framework Agreement (ECFA)"[22] with China, allowing

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[21] "Coolloud.org (苦勞網)" (http://www.coolloud.org.tw/) is the most representative independent media in Taiwan. According to the website, "Coolloud.org, as a media, has its 'specific viewpoint' on social movement. This viewpoint affects the approach of discussion, the choice on news materials and the public horizon of the media directly. Anonymous reports and reviews on the front page of Coolloud's website have been accumulated as the important contents of the media these years; this fact carries out a public impression: 'there is just a "single" viewpoint of Coolloud.org'. … (So) we welcome more people to become Coolloud's writers. It means that you can write your report(s) based on the people, things and issues around you that Coolloud.org would be enriched. We will post your report(s) on the website for our visitors after discussing with you. But we have reservation about using the term 'citizen reporter' to describe our writers; Coolloud.org would be enlarged but is not unlimited; Enlargement, from our point of view, means that we hope to keep Coolloud.org as a collective body based on our condition to let it become an open publishing space. " Retrieved November 1, 2011, from "Coolloud.org" website: http://www.coolloud.org.tw/node/4715

[22] About the details of the "Economic Cooperation Framework Agreement", please refer to the following link on the official website of Republic of China (Taiwan). Retrieved November 1, 2011, from the website of Ministry of Economic Affairs, R.O.C.:
http://www.moea.gov.tw/Mns/populace/news/wHandNews_File.ashx?news_id=19723&serial_no=6

Chinese students studying in Taiwan's universities, shortening the waiting period for naturalization of Chinese partner, giving the partner working rights, allowing Chinese people traveling in Taiwan with the approach of "free-tour (自由行)" (not been restricted as "group tour") and suggesting to sign the "Cross-Strait Peace Agreement"[23] with Beijing government. These policies implied that the "KMT" government wanted to express friendly attitude to China for further economic development through relying on the rise of Chinese economy. The track of the politico-social development of Taiwan shows the role of Chinese government on the influence of the future of Taiwan society will become more important.

Before 1997, Chinese government had already got involved in Hong Kong's political, economic and social developments. The pro-Chinese government political party "Democratic Alliance for the Betterment and Progress of Hong Kong (DAB 民主建港協進聯盟)" established in 1992. After the handover of Hong Kong from the United Kingdom to China, the "DAB" had the stable percentage of votes on both the representative elections of Legislative Council and District Council. Nowadays, the "DAB" is the biggest political party with relative huge influence in Hong Kong[24]. On the other hand, Democratic Party (民主黨) and other pan-democratic party members that are popularly supported by Hong Kong people before the handover have become the "minorities" in Hong Kong political circle. In addition, Chinese authorities and Hong Kong government have collectively implemented the long-term one-way immigration policy: a fixed amount of Chinese people is allowed to hold the "one-way permit (單程通行證)" to go to Hong Kong for the purpose of permanent residency everyday[25]. This policy has incurred the population explosion and the

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[23] "Mr. Ma Ying-jeou presented the suggestion of signing the Cross-Strait Peace Agreement with China before the presidential election in 2008 as a main political promise to end the confrontation between Taiwan and China. Mr. Ma argued that the premise of signing the agreement is both China and Taiwan practicing 'no unification, no independence, and no use of force' while China must remove the missile deployments targeting on the island because Taiwan is unwilling to negotiate with China under the military threat." See: Wang, Kun-Yii (Wang Kunyi 王崑義) (2009). Cross-Strait Peace Agreement: Theory, Challenges and Discussions (兩岸和平協議：理論、問題與思考). *Review of Global Politics*, 26, p. 69.

[24] According to the newest (2012) statistics of the seats of Hong Kong Special Administrative Region's councils, the "DAB" separately holds 10 seats (total of 60 seats) in Legislative Council and 118 seats (total of 412 seats) in District Councils. The "DAB" is the single political party which is holding the greatest percentage of councils' seats in Hong Kong. See the official websites of the Councils, Retrieved November 1, 2011, from the official websites of the Legislative Council and the District Council: http://www.legco.gov.hk/general/chinese/members/yr08-12/biographies.htm , and; http://www.districtcouncils.gov.hk/

[25] According to the report "*Exploring the Hong Kong Population Policy from One-Way Permit System*", "the one-way permit scheme has had its significant role in controlling the immigratory population from the Mainland China to Hong Kong since 1980. For the purpose of the scheme, Hong Kong government agreed to obey the principle of human right responsibility to 'help family reunion based on the capacity of Hong Kong economy and social facilities'. It was very important for the immigrants from the Inland (中國內地). …According to the one-way permit scheme, Hong Kong and

influence expansion of Chinese people in Hong Kong. These results have also been reflected on the outcome of the relative high percentage of the votes of the "DAB" in the Councils' elections.

In the aspects of political and social developments, Hong Kong and Taiwan are both influenced by China, obviously. Chinese central government has its dominant consciousness to master Hong Kong and Taiwan as the "parts of China" through political and economic interventions under the background of globalization. For this, the dissentient activists in the Chinese societies are not absence from the attendance at social movement and anti-globalization movement. The establishments of "Inmediahk.net" and "Coolloud.org" have the significances of practicing independent media as a kind of social movement with realizing the respect attitude about diversified values, offering the internet platform for alternative voices, encouraging citizens to concern about political, economic and social issues and creating a social power as a new form of public consensus.

Section 4   The Chinese Independent Media – "Inmediahk.net" and "Coolloud.org"

Various social movements, including independent media movement, are developed based on different social conditions for composing their activist histories wherever in Eastern society or Western society. For example, the development of independent media is depended on the popularization of the uses of computer and the Internet as well as the development of information technology in the late 1990s. The Taiwanese independent media "Coolloud.org" has been the earliest case of the movement since 1997. And, the Hong Kong's counterpart "Inmediahk.net" formally started its activities in 2004.

As a branch of modern social movement – anti-globalization movement, the development of independent media needs to face the challenges coming from the governments and capitalists around the world. Governments always have the intention

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Chinese government both agreed to set the quota for the Chinese immigrants (to settle down in Hong Kong) at 150 persons per day. The Chinese authorities had the right to decide who could be approved to immigrate to Hong Kong however the quota would be increased or not." And, "the increase of Hong Kong population mostly relied on immigration. The immigrants from the inland contributed the huge part of the immigration population. From 1983 to 2006, over 960,000 people immigrated to Hong Kong from China through the one-way permit scheme. That figure was 70% of the total immigrant number and 14% of the total population of Hong Kong in 2006." See: Bacon-Shone, John (白景崇), Lam, Kit Chun (Lin Jiezhen 林潔珍), Yip, Siu Fai (Ye Zhaohui 葉兆輝) (2008). *Exploring the Hong Kong Population Policy from One-Way Permit System (從單程證制度探索香港的人口政策)*. Hong Kong: Bauhinia Foundation Research Centre. pp.4-5, pp. 14-15.

to make new laws to restrict the freedom of speech on the Internet. One of the reasons of this is that independent media, through establishing various network platforms, practice the advocacy of high-level democracy and accept alternative voices from grass-root citizens with wide-range capacity. Meanwhile, the non-commercial characteristic of the practice of independent media also stimulates the mainstream media's allergic nerve. Independent media, as a kind of social movement accepting the voices from workers, feminists and anti-Establishmentarians, promote public concerns and anti-monopolized value that could damage the vested interests of global capitalist[26]. Therefore, the development of independent media is not on a "straight road" in modern society.

> *"We understand that the future development of 'Inmediahk.net' (under the global and local developing contexts) is not optimistic. Nowadays, governments and enterprises have the intention to suppress the freedom culture on the Internet. For maintaining and promoting the culture of independent media, we cannot ignore the influences of the beneficial lawmaking for businesses and the following-up policies related to the development of information technology made by governments."* [27]

Ip argues that it is hard to sustain the practice of "Inmediahk.net" because there are many opposition powers, including governments and enterprises, having the intention to suppress the development of independent media on the Internet. From Ip's viewpoint, we can understand that there is a special relationship between the rulers and the bosses that they have the same interests in controlling and restraining the will and behavior of common people. Freedom of speech on the Internet could produce public opinions and social movements that would threaten the ruling power of governments. Also, the internet activities, such as doing criticisms of the quality of products or the operating policies of businesses and exchanging the "copyrighted" digital files, will decrease enterprises' profit and affect companies' reputation. Therefore, the heads of businesses would suggest global governments to make various laws to restrict such "unfavorable" internet activities while governments also have intention to do the same thing. For ensuring the source of tax income, the politicians in governments would listen to the capitalist suggestions to do the relevant legislation

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[26] For capitalists, there are several "valid" approaches to make more profit, such as increasing the worker's working hours, depressing the wage of workers and cutting down the costs for environmental protection of industries. However, these approaches are disadvantageous for laborers because it conflicts with the working classes' rights and interests. The core issue is that global governments generally accept the suggestions from the heads of businesses that they have the "right" to make such "valid" decisions for profit maximization based on the thinking logic of capitalism. This is about the issue of "property" which will be discussed in Chapter Two.

[27] See: Ip, Iam-Chong (2007). *Small Media, Big Issue*. Hong Kong: Step forward. p. 36.

for protecting their vested interests. In the meantime, the right of free communication and the situation of knowledge openness on the Internet would be violated further. In other words, basic human rights would not be respected because of the appeal from vested interest groups.[28]

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[28] There are two main issues related to the freedom of speech and the human rights on the Internet: the reflection on the intellectual property right and the "gray area" of "illegal" contents and behaviours on the Internet. First, if we recognize that the construction and accumulation of human knowledge are based on the long-term progress of the refinement, communication and development of techniques contributed by every generation of human beings universally, we would not accept the stance that it is reasonable for "protecting" the so-called "intellectual property right" through making laws. It is because the intellectual property right has generally gripped by the international enterprises and business companies in capitalist society. Moreover, the creators of the "products" have no right to claim for the property because the logic of capitalism just acknowledges the dealing relation between the buyer and the seller (the logic does not acknowledge the producing relation between the creator and the creation). The legislation of the intellectual property right always protects the enterprise interests while the legislation prohibits the free floating of human knowledge on the Internet. From this approach, it is of no foundation to accept the promotion of the intellectual property right (especially on the Internet) because all human knowledge would be handed over to the multinationals and capitalists under the current thinking logic of capitalist society.

Secondly, the uses of the Internet and computer were limited in the professional fields of information technology in the early 1990s. Nowadays, the Internet becomes the most significant and influential implement for the basic communication and information exchange of people. The effects of the Internet spread around the world and affect everyone's daily life. To deal with this situation, governments have started to research the feasibilities on making new laws to regulate the range of internet use and monitoring the information contents floating on the Internet. For instance, the government of Hong Kong Special Administrative Region had implemented the public consultation of "Copyright Protection in the Digital Environment" in 2006. The relative contents included the reflection on the legality of "peer-to-peer" networking use and sharing and downloading "MP3" music files on the Internet. After that, the government issued the "Proposals for Strengthening Copyright Protection in the Digital Environment" in 2009. (Retrieved November 1, 2011, from the Hong Kong Special Administrative Region government official websites:

http://www.ipd.gov.hk/chi/intellectual_property/copyright/digital_environment.htm)

Governments usually argue that the relative legislation aims at fighting against the "piracy behaviours", such as sharing the copyrighted products, pornography contents and the speeches against public security that the regulations would not affect the basic rights for people to use the Internet. However, there are some important points which are always being ignored in the process of lawmaking on this issue. What are the definitions of the concepts of "illegal behaviour", "public security" and "national security"? Who decide the range of the definitions? These are the "gray areas" that would accept governments to enlarge their powers, from the real world to virtual world – the Internet. If the "gray areas" are not clarified, the relevant lawmaking would directly violate the human rights and the freedom of speech of internet users. Nevertheless, the series of the legal actions of governments, such as the cases of "Stop Online Piracy Act (SOPA)" (Retrieved November 1, 2011, from the United States Congress official website: http://www.govtrack.us/congress/bill.xpd?bill=h112-3261) and "PROTECT IP Act" (Retrieved November 1, 2011, from the same website:

http://www.govtrack.us/congress/bill.xpd?bill=s112-968) drafted by the U.S. government; the online-harddrive space supplier "Megaupload" had been confiscated by Federal Bureau of Investigation (FBI) (Retrieved November 1, 2011, from the official website of Federal Bureau of Investigation of the United States:

http://www.fbi.gov/news/pressrel/press-releases/justice-department-charges-leaders-of-megaupload-with-widespread-online-copyright-infringement); the case of the compulsive real-name registration for Chinese "micro-blog (微博)" users in Beijing (Retrieved November 1, 2011, from the Beijing government official website:

http://zhengwu.beijing.gov.cn/gzdt/gggs/t1208848.htm); the "Anti-Counterfeiting Trade Agreement (ACTA)" signed by world governments (Retrieved November 1, 2011, from the European Commission official website: http://ec.europa.eu/trade/tackling-unfair-trade/acta/index_en.htm), show that there is a general tendency that the Internet, as a free online space for communication, is going to be regulated tightly in the future. More concerns on this issue are needed.

This situation is one of the social developing tendencies in which people's basic rights would be ignored. For reversing this, independent media has its main role in our society.

The Chinese independent media "Inmediahk.net" and "Coolloud.org" are both weathering the challenges from political powers and commercial bodies, but they still hold on for their stance and do not shrink back for their actions. The rise of the practices of independent media, such as "Independent Media Center" in the U.S. and "Inmediahk.net" as well as "Coolloud.org" in the Chinese societies, have proved that it is feasible to use the Internet as an implement to practice social movement based on the supports from local people and global citizens. For example, the Chinese independent media have received certain amounts of donation from citizens for supporting their movements.

Besides donating for the media organization, social members can also post their comments and opinions related to social issues on the website platforms of independent media for supporting them. Perhaps the "posters" do not have the overall concern with all topics of the issues, but they are willing to express their own will and enlarge the atmosphere of the concern on public matters even though they do not participate in social movement directly:

> *"The network (of "Inmediahk.net") is 'loose'. Most of the time, there were fewer users (of the platform of "Inmediahk.net") to participate in the social and political movements held by us. Most users did not get involved in our actions even if we did various promotions. Therefore, they are different from the traditional social movement participants. …This situation shows the characteristic of the users of network-media. On the other hand, the situation also shows the 'independence' of our users because they do not rely on the organization of independent media (to embody the social participation)…"* [29]

The anonymous characteristic of the use of the Internet causes people willing to participate in the public issue discussions on network platforms, but it is of no use to encourage them to get involved into the practical social movements and political actions, such as street protests and demonstrations[30]. The same situation is also

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[29] See: Ip, Iam-Chong (2007). *Small Media, Big Issue*. Hong Kong: Step forward. pp. 75-76.

[30] It is the fact that the speech on the Internet could not be "practical". Posting comment is just a way to declare one's stance and could have no effect on changing social situation. Anonymous discussion is

happened with the practice of "Inmediahk.net". It seems that the words of the users of "Inmediahk.net" are not in accord with their deeds when they, for example, oppose the legislation of government that violating people's rights – they are "reluctant to come to the fore". Is there any reason for their "reluctance"? Their feedback seems to be cold and detached, besides posting comments on the independent media website platform industriously.

However, it is of no doubt that the rapid development and popularization of the internet using have given a "turning point" to create a new group of "dissentient expressers" in the Chinese societies in the late 1990s. This group of people, like all of us, has their social positions and lifestyles that they are the members of our society as well. We do not know whether their voices would become a concrete power for facilitating social reform in the coming future, but they are surely the important elements of the potential driving force of various social movements. When serious socio-political problems related to the violation of human rights emerge from the scene of globalization, the "expressers" will play the role as the practitioners of social movement, such as the practices of the independent media movement in Hong Kong and Taiwan.

Section 5   The Review and Context

The typical contest of the definition of "globalization" is about whether the concept should be seen as a complete new phenomenon of human society[31]. The key

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always possible on the network field that someone is able to speak something irresponsibly. This situation shows the "instrumentality" of the Internet. Also, instrumentality is included in other artificial implements, such as "currency" and "government" in the development of human civilization. Generally speaking, the "invention" of these implements (including the Internet) is a kind of progress of human civilization because the invention relatively improves our living standard. However, the "neutrality" of instrumentality does not promise that the invention usually has a positive signification. The invention does not imply the so-called "improvement" all the time because the man-made implements open up the "better life" of human beings while the possibility of the reflection on the essence of human civilization is suppressed. The significance of the invention does not depend on the implements, but based on how we use them. It is an endless lesson for human beings to perceive the dualistic characteristics of instrumentality. We have to reflect on the "open question": how to master the implements and prevent to be mastered by the implements in the progress of human civilization.

[31] "Not everybody who writes about the contemporary world agrees that it has entered a distinctively 'global' era. Some, in fact, argue that the extent of global integration was just as comprehensive, and in some ways more encompassing, in the *belle époque* of 1890-1914 than it is today. Others claim that the nation-state remains, even today, 'the pre-eminent power container of our era' (Giddens, 1985 – he has revised his position since then). Yet others point out that a large number of people, and huge swathes of social and cultural life, are relatively untouched by transnational processes. It may be useful, following Held and McGrew (2000:38) to distinguish between globalizers and sceptics, to highlight some of the debates and the positions taken by different scholars.   According to the sceptics (see, for instance, Hirst and Thompson 1999; Gray 2005), we are witnessing a process of *internationalization* and

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concerning points of this research are on the actual effects of globalization, especially the effects of economic globalization, and its related theoretical reflections, as well as the present situation of the practices of independent media social movement as the "opposite power" of the effects from the grass-root people in Chinese society – whether the phenomenon is seen as a part of the process of "internationalization" or "regionalization" of all nations in the world. Therefore, this research is based on two premises to carry out the related discussions: (1) recognizing the actual influence of the effects of globalization on the world society; (2) approving the significance of the distinction of the societies of the East (e.g. Chinese society) and the West for comparing the differences between the two in the aspects of politics, social condition and culture.

It is of no doubt that the so-called "globalization", similar to capitalism, modernity, imperialism, democratization, post-colonialism, is an ideology which is one of the approaches for understanding the progress of the development of the civilization of human society in the past three hundred years. The ideology aims at describing the changing progress of a universal phenomenon of the world society. The effectiveness of the concept of globalization (as an ideology) is reflected on the point that the developments of the "both singularized and diversified tendencies" of human society are still ongoing. "Globalization" has appeared itself with different statuses in different periods of human civilization in the past: after the Industrial Revolution, the United Kingdom and other European countries globalized the practices of commercialism and capitalism through colonialism; After the World War II, the United States of America pushed the wave of democratization around the world that caused the globalization of representative democracy; Today, the global financial crises make the major economic powers of the world at risk. The powers are encountering the problems of the expansion of huge debts, joblessness and the disparity between the rich and the poor. To solve the economic problems, global governments tend to operate the exchange rates of currencies as the main implement

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regionalization rather that the emergence of *one integrated world* of rapid communication, transnational networks and global financial capital, which is the view of globalizers. Sceptics argue, further, that the nation-state remains the most important political entity, while globalizers claim that state sovereignty is on the wane, and that multilateralism and transnational politics are replacing it. Whereas skeptics have identified the development of regional economic blocs like NAFTA and the EU, globalizers see the world economy as 'a single playing-field' (T. Friedman 2005) with diminishing obstacles to truly global competition. Sceptics see a continuation of the classic North-South divide in terms of prosperity and power, whereas globalizers may argue that inequalities are chiefly growing *within* and not between societies. Sceptics believe in the continued or indeed increasing power of national identities and cultures, but globalizers describe hybridities and cosmopolitan orientations as an outcome of intensified interaction. The sceptics do not deny that changes are taking place but they emphasize continuities with the modern world of the nation-state whereas globalizers are concerned to show that the world is going through a series of qualitative changes." See: Eriksen, Thomas Hylland (2007). *Globalization: The Key Concepts*. Oxford: Berg. pp. 6-7.

to transfer the problems to other counterparts of them. The main purpose of the operation is to depress the rate of local currency and borrow more money through selling national debts for chasing the possibility of economic growth. This phenomenon is called the "globalization of financial crisis". The economy of the world is now threatened by this kind of "globalization".

According to the above analysis, we can understand that globalization is actually an ideology and also a kind of global phenomenon which can be used and controlled by global politico-economic careerists. Also, the name of globalization can be changed anytime based on the "demands" of the upper class in the world society. "Globalization" brings us a turbulent living circumstance with various social risks. In modernity, the productions of wealth and risk are always interrelated – we are all in the "risk society"[32] (in Beck's term). The positive aspects of globalization include the popularization of human knowledge and the appearance of the opportunity for wealth accumulation; the negative aspects of globalization are the rises of religious conflict, political contest, natural disaster (with the name "climate change") and the invasion of foreign culture in different parts of the world. Especially, the negative influence of the effects of globalization is also contributed by the economic behaviors of the followers of globalism[33] (or the so-called "neo-liberalists") who seemingly promote the advantage(s) of "globalization" but do things just for their economic interest through embracing the values of consumerism and utilitarianism actually. The negative effects of globalization gradually construct the "first image" as the main understanding of the concept of globalization in world citizen's mind.

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[32] "In advanced modernity the social production of *wealth* is systematically accompanied by the social production of *risks*. Accordingly, the problems and conflicts relating to distribution in a society of scarcity overlap with the problems and conflicts that arise from the production, definition and distribution of techno-scientifically produced risks." See: Beck, Ulrich (1992). *Risk Society: Towards a New Modernity*. London: SAGE. p. 19.

[33] According to the definition of "globalism" argued by German sociologist Ulrich Beck: "By globalism, I mean the view that the world market eliminates or supplants political action – that is, the ideology of rule by the world market, the ideology of neoliberalism." See: Beck, Ulrich (2001). *What Is Globalization?* USA: Blackwell. p. 9. "Beck argues that globalism sees everything as economically determined and determinable. Any political, social or cultural matters are subsumed under economic (and particularly neoliberal economic) paradigms." See: Mooney, Annabelle; Evans, Betsy (2007). *Globalization: The Key Concepts*. Oxon: Routledge. p. 116. "Beck rejects *globalism*, the ideology of neoliberalism which declares that the world market has eliminated the need for or possibility of political action. Globalism touts a crushingly simplistic explanation of globality, reducing the complex process of globalization to one dimension, the economic. All other domains – ecology, culture, politics, civil society – are represented as being determined by the logic of the market. Beck repeatedly characterizes globalism as a 'thought-virus' that has penetrated all the major social institutions, not least political parties and the media. Its thrust is anti-political; individual actors and social movements are simply the vehicles of the operation of the world market laws – thus conveniently ignoring the politics of the major global players, such as the World Bank, the World Trade Organization, the International Monetary Fund, the Organization for Economic Co-operation and Development, and the giant transnational corporations." See: Aldridge, Alan (2005). *The Market*. Cambridge: Polity. p. 130.

Of course, there are a lot of criticisms with the negative effects of globalization. From the history of the development of global social movement, we can find out that anti-globalization movement is an outstanding exemplification of the practice of social movement in the globalized age of human civilization. Anti-globalizationalists criticize the promotion of the ideology of globalization because it brings us an unprecedented risk for the political governance and economic development of the world society. They use the Internet as the implement to establish various website platforms to accumulate a kind of solidarity consciousness of global grass-root people and organize social actions for embodying the stances of anti-government and anti-capitalism. The main purpose of the actions is to express a common standpoint that the majority of world citizens do not welcome the negative effects of globalization. At the same time, the actions pressure global political powers to do more for protecting the people's right of economic freedom and guaranteeing the sustainability of the living circumstance of mankind – the Nature for all people around the world[34].

Here, what are the theoretical foundations of the practice of anti-globalization movement? What are the theories or thoughts as the origins that support such kind of global subversive movement in modern globalized world? Besides the "Frankfurt School" which we have mentioned in the above section, the thoughts of the traditional Left in the eighteenth century is one of the foundations of the practice of the movement[35]. In the aspect of the practice approach, the movement is somewhat affected by anarchism[36]. From the traditional Left theories (including Marxism and

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[34] "The anti-globalization movement pinpoints a crucial aspect of the global market economy, namely its in egalitarian bias as well as its tendency to thrive at the expense of the global environment and global human rights. And it calls into question the mandate of the major governments of the world to monitor globalization, as they tend to favour narrow country interests, sometimes perhaps those of their multi-national companies." See: Lane, Jan-Erik (2006). *Globalization And Politics: Promises And Dangers*. England: Ashgate Publishing. p. 10.

[35] "Some elements of the anti-globalization movement come from the traditional left. They are anti-capitalist, critical of corporations and of the states that support their interests. They attempt to advance the interests of labour and the excluded and dispossessed against such interests or classes. These elements represent the more materialist aspects of the movement as against other parts which are more about symbolic than material politics. These traditional left strands can be internationalist, but some are also domestically oriented, concerned with protecting home workforces against globalization. The latter (some in the left join the right on this issue) presents itself as fighting against globalization and for home workers' jobs. Having said this, what they are fighting is not unemployment but the movement of employment from rich countries to needy poor countries. The exploitative nature of some outsourced work is a problem, but often the work is more needed in poor countries than rich ones." See: Martell, Luke (2010). *The Sociology of Globalization*. Cambridge: Polity. p. 244.

[36] "Anti-globalization movements also sometimes share things in common with anarchism in their types of action. They sometimes use direct action, and anti-politics, meaning an opposition to established mainstream formal political institutions. Anti-globalization has grown, to some extent, through disillusionment at efforts to persuade governments to adopt policies on important global issues, turning instead to politics outside conventional political for a. Rather than try to persuade governments, or to participate in the state to change it from within, many have turned to oppositional action against

anarchism), we can easily find out a common standpoint of them which is the position of anti-capitalism. Karl Marx argues that capitalist society is the origin of the alienation of human beings[37]; Anarchism, to go further, criticizes all of the powers of domination. Besides struggling with capitalism (as the main economic system of modern society), anarchism also opposes all governments and the Establishments in the world: it argues that "government" is the root of domination of human society, whatever the form of the political system of the government (including the so-called "representative democratic government") is. In the next chapter, we will discuss the theories of French politico-economic theorist Pierre-Joseph Proudhon, who offers a complete reflection on the foundation of the practice of capitalism – the ideology of "property"; and German social critic K.H.Z. Solneman – with his criticism on representative democracy.

Also, the rise and the promotion of capitalism, which bring the common value of global consumerism, are the serious violence to the ecology of the Nature. Environmental protection becomes one of the important topics of the modern civilization of human society. However, there are some reasons to explain why political powers cannot handle the situation of the violence to the Nature. Besides the dysfunctional governance of political powers brought by the global capitalists' intervention in politics, the main reason of this issue is that most people generally have an incorrect understanding of the role of the Nature for the life of human beings. The theory of socio-natural ecology based on the standpoint of the Nature brought by Murray Bookchin – an American political theoretician – unveils the main reason why human civilization cannot facilitate a radical change or a series of systematic reforms for the realization of environmental protection when people are facing the "feedback" from the Nature, such as the "311 Earthquake" off the Pacific coast of the Tōhoku region (東北地方) of Japan which formed a huge tsunami to cause the nuclear disaster of the Fukushima Daiichi Nuclear Power Plant (福島核災) in 2011 and the flood disaster in New York, the U.S. brought by the hurricane "Sandy" in 2012.

To analyze the thoughts of the theorists we have mentioned in the above

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the state. These elements of the anti-globalization movement are less about seizing state power than delegitimizing it, dismantling mechanisms of rule and winning greater space or autonomy from it (Graeber 2002:62,68)." *ibid.*, p. 245.

[37] "In capitalism, human individuality has become an article of trade and private exchange. Here men are alienated at every level of society, the proletariat suffering 'a total loss of humanity.' Social alienation in capitalist society is characterized by contradictions between poverty and wealth, labor and capital, suffering and enjoyment, workers and non-workers….Marx condemns capitalism as a system in which men are treated as mere means in the service of things. He regards the capitalist as the most ruthless of exploiters, entirely indifferent to the misery and suffering of those living in poverty." See: Churchich, Nicholas (1990). *Marxism and Alienation*. USA: Associated University. p. 318.

paragraphs would help us to understand the core problems of the "dilemma" of the present situation of the world society. Through reviewing the thoughts, we are able to catch the outline of the theoretical foundations of the practice of anti-globalization movement.

Because of the popularizations of information technology and internet using, there is a new approach to the practice of anti-globalization movement. The global social movement relies on the world-wide promotion of public action and the practice of international connection, which is called the "globalization of social movement". How do global social activists accomplish the purpose of spreading the influence of the social movement? They use the Internet as the communicating implement with the features of low-cost, openness and no-border to realize such purpose. "Independent Media Center, IMC", which is the independent media for carrying out the Anti-WTO Movement in Seattle, the U.S. in 1999, is an outstanding exemplification of the practice of anti-globalization movement with the use of the Internet.

We have analyzed the meaning of independent media in Section 2. The media which differs from mass media or commercial media is not operated for business purpose, but is established as an alternative information platform and a new form of news productive approach for all people to understand the "fact(s)" related to their living circumstances and the core(s) of various social problems, including political conflict, economic invasion, cultural difference and racial discrimination, without the influence of the Establishment. The practice of the media suggests that the power for the construction of the situation of "real world" should not be dominated by the upper class of society, but ought to open for common people: we all have the right to have our voices to facilitate the establishment of a diversified world society collectively. Therefore, the aim of the practice of independent media is to carry out an alternative approach to practice a social movement through specific media operation to express a common standpoint to "say no" to the Establishment (including political and economic powers) based on the spontaneous union of global citizens.

We discover that the global social movements against the phenomena of economic inequality and political monopolization are spreading from strength to strength continuously wherever the movements are in the East or in the West. As a concept, "independent media" possibly starts to be promoted in Western society (e.g. the U.S.). Through this research, we find out that there are many people in the world who are using the Internet as the approach to carry out social movement, not just in the West. Actually, the internet social activists are both active in the West and the East

(including Chinese society). Here is a question: is there any different attitude or understanding of the practice of anti-globalization movement between Western society and Chinese society (with their distinct historical and cultural contexts)? For example, "Independent Media Center" generally receives many supports from social activists in Western society and the branches of the media organization are easily to be found in the developed regions and cities of the world[38].

In the East – Chinese society, there are also the practices of the independent media social movement as well, such as "Inmediahk.net" in Hong Kong and "Coolloud.org" in Taiwan. However, they do not develop themselves as the U.S. "Independent Media Center" which becomes the representative of the international independent media organization. Moreover, most of the people in Western society generally have the positive attitude and respect for the practices of social movement and civil independent groups (compared with the people in Chinese society). The form of this specific social atmosphere (of respecting the human right for all people) in the West is related to the spirits of the Age of Enlightenment and the French Revolution in Europe as well as the history of independent wars in Americas in the eighteenth century as the important elements of the civilization of Western society. On the other hand, there is lack of public understanding of "independent media" as a kind of social movement in Chinese society. Under this background, the development of the Chinese independent media is encountering the challenge which is bigger than the independent media in the West. Therefore, it can be sure that various developing forms and practice approaches to carrying out the movement of independent media are to be tried in different parts of the world (including the Chinese societies – the Mainland China, Taiwan and Hong Kong). Besides the factor of different social climate compared with the West, the Chinese societies have not got an open attitude to reflect on the significance of the practice of social movement generally. This point probably relates to the deep influences with the political consciousness of the centralization of power and the thoughts of Confucianism in the long history of the development of China. To discuss this issue, the recognition of the differences of the factors of cultural context and politico-historical background between the Chinese societies and the West would be considered expediently. The further analyses will be presented in the chapter "Conclusion".

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[38] "There are currently over one hundred and fifty Independent Media Centers around the world. Each IMC is an autonomous group that has its own mission statement, manages its own finances and makes its own decisions through its own processes. To learn more about each IMC, visit its web page. You will find links to IMC web sites on the left column of the main page 'Indymedia' page." Retrieved February 4, 2013, from the International Media Center website:
http://docs.indymedia.org/view/Global/FrequentlyAskedQuestions

However many difficulties there are, the Chinese independent media practice their social actions with their own approaches with local cultural characteristics that are significant and suitable for the present situation of the socio-political development of the societies of Hong Kong and Taiwan under the background of the rapid growth of China's economy nowadays. It is hard to do with such political climate and socio-cultural context that the situation of the Chinese independent media is different from the counterparts in the West. We believe that the Chinese independent media would become a social power to stimulate the socio-political reform of the Chinese societies in the future.

In this research, we will firstly review the concepts of globalization and anti-globalization. Then, the theories and thoughts related to anti-globalization movement will also be analyzed further. The practices of independent media movement are spreading globally, but this research will focus on the practice of Chinese independent media with the case studies on "Inmediahk.net" and "Coolloud.org". Through the case studies, we can understand the general situation of the practices of the independent media movement in Hong Kong and Taiwan under the background of the "rise of China" in the context of globalization. Also, the questions – what is the Chinese traditional spiritual characteristic with the practices? What are the important points that would help us to construct a relationship between the practices and the new interpretation of the Chinese traditional thought in the present situation of the modern development of Chinese society – will be analyzed and answered in the chapter "Conclusion" of this research.

Section 6   The Research Purposes and Methods – The New Approach to Understand the Development of the Chinese Societies

The main purposes of this research are to analyze the core problems of the negative influence of "globalization" – economic globalization, including the aspects of the rise of global capitalism and the dysfunction of representative democracy[39] – these are the critical discussions of the standpoint of anti-globalization; and present

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[39] We have an argument to justify that capitalism and representative democracy are the two main factors of the rise of economic globalization. It is because capitalism promotes a kind of problematic value as a ground for people to fulfill their greed unlimitedly. This fact creates the phenomenon of economic globalization directly. Also, representative democracy, as a modern political system promoted by the West, is a "conductor" to carry out the value of capitalism – rich men can control the trend of the lawmaking of parliaments through funding the political parties of democratic nation-states. Most of the nation-states in the world that have the huge influence on the globalized development of the world society are practicing such kind of political system, including the so-called "world superpower" – the United States of America.

the case studies of the Chinese independent media as the parts of anti-globalization movement. Through the case studies, we will discover that the practices of the media movement have the spiritual characteristics of the Chinese traditional thought – Daoism. The practices of the independent media movement in the Chinese societies not only embody the spirit of Daoism, but also bring out a new approach to understand the Chinese traditional thought in the context of the contemporary politico-economic development of Chinese society in globalized world.

Therefore, we will use two research methods for the main purposes of the research: (1) The method of text research (for reviewing the historical context and the related theories of anti-globalization movement); (2) The method of interview analysis. This qualitative research method includes: (a) to interview with the founders of the Chinese independent media – "Inmediahk.net" and "Coolloud.org"; (b) to obtain the first-hand information that would help us to analyze the spiritual characteristics of the media that are related to Daoism.

The method of text research will be mainly used in Chapter Two and Conclusion. The form of anti-globalization movement is connected with the present situation of the politico-economic development of the world society which is unfavorable to the basic living needs of the majority of common people around the world. Representative democracy with the system of party politics can be easily controlled by global consortiums and big businesses. They try to carry out interventions to affect the legislative tendency of world governments for adjusting the global economic order to benefit them. At the same time, the false strategies of financial institutions and the greed of bankers make the emergence of a series of global financial crises. However, the makers of the crises do not want to pay for the "aftermath" of the crises, but transfer all negative results to the others, including the political heads and all common people in the world. Here is a serious moral flaw that why the majority of tax payers have no right to decide "to pay or not", but are to be decided by the will of political powers (to help the debt makers to clear the bills) passively. In fact, world citizens are bearing the pressure from various economic austerity policies that have been carried out by most of nation-states because they have sunken into the mire of national debt after saving the bankers. On the other hand, the life of wealthy men, the debt makers, has no change. They are still able to do many financial operations with the purpose of wealth accumulation as usual globally.

So, there is a globalized background for the form of anti-globalization movement. And, the form of the movement is surely inspired by some historical radical theories

and thoughts that are related to the spirits of anti-government and anti-capitalism. It is necessary to research and analyze the relative contents for understanding the theoretical origins of anti-globalization movement. Through the process of the analysis, we can find out some hints that would help us to realize the relationship between the present situation of globalized world and the relevant theories, as well as the practice of anti-globalization movement.

In "Conclusion", the method of text research with the practices of theory analysis and dialectic reflection will be used again. For analyzing the characteristics of the significant Chinese independent media which are influenced by Daoism that are different from the practice of the media movement in other regions of the world, we will give some thinking approaches to explore what thoughts of Daoism relate to the characteristics of the practices of the Chinese independent media. After the above research steps, we will be able to open up a new approach to understand the present development and the possible tendency of the socio-political condition of China with the modern interpretation of Daoism under the background of globalization.

The method of interview analysis is also the main research method which will be used in the case studies of Chinese independent media in Chapter Three and Four. The method generally includes two steps: first, we do the interview with the founders of "Inmediahk.net" and "Coolloud.org" and obtain the first-hand information of the practices of the Chinese independent media social movement from them. The contents of the information mainly include three dimensions of their practices: (1) the foundation of "independence" of the independent media; (2) the practice approaches of the media movements; (3) the spiritual core values of the practices.

Second, we will discuss the three-dimension information contents with the text analysis method to carry the case studies out. After doing the text analysis of the contents of the information, we will obtain the useful thinking approaches to access the focus of this research: the Daoist characteristics of the practices of the Chinese independent media. The characteristics of the practices suggest that anti-globalization movement itself is always developing with the approach of "global-localization". Moreover, the practices of Chinese independent media prove the fact that the Chinese societies have "their feedback" for the development of globalized world through embodying the local traditional spiritual element that the essence of the movement practices is totally different from the practice of the media social movement in the West.

For researching on media, most researchers generally get used to approach their researches with the methodology of social science. The main operating form of the methodology is to do varied statistic works on the research object for obtaining useful data, such as – using a "media" as an example – the statistic figures of the media members, the production of the media news, the "PV (page view)" of the media website pages, the audience of the media…etc., for establishing the validity and the reliability of the research. Through analyzing, calculating and comparing the related data, the researchers are able to make a conclusion of the research, and then the significance and the social role of the media would be found out and clarified. This is a quantified research approach to various social phenomena, including media research. This kind of approach puts the research object – the media – at the position of the "others" or an "objective body" of the context of human knowledge[40].

We have a reason that we do not use the quantificational methodology as the above paragraph mentioned: our perspective on this research is not similar to the general social science research. Here, we see our research objects, the Chinese independent media, as the existences in the "sphere where we are". Anti-globalization movement is not the "happening" which appears in "other places", but in "our living world". The claims of the movement are closely related to our daily life because we, in certain degree, live in an unequal and injustice society. It is a becoming process of human civilization: the "members" of the world society have their point of view(s) for the development of globalization. To hear and understand their say(s) is our basic responsibility that human civilization would be improved further and further based on our positive attitude. Therefore, this research has a basic standpoint: to do the research "with" anti-globalization movement and the Chinese independent media, not to research "on" the movement and the media as the "others". To follow this context of the research, we do not consider using the quantificational research method because it could derail the original standpoint and the main purpose of this research.

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[40] Undoubtedly, the research methodology of social science has its significance because it contributes to the aspects of knowledge management, theory construction and the development of interdisciplinary integration. The research method of quantificational analysis helps us to construct a system of "science". It makes the realization of the present situation of human civilization. However, the methodology also lets people overvalue the importance of the practice of quantification statistics and pragmatism. It would create some difficulties if we only use the method to research some kinds of social phenomena, including the practice of independent media. It is because most of the social phenomena are changing with different space-time conditions of the development of human civilization continuously. It is meaningless to conclude the status of the phenomena with a "fixed theory" which is proven by some statistic data that just reflect the still status of the phenomena in a specific space-time condition. Therefore, we now need to use another understanding approach to analyze the characteristics of anti-globalization movement. For researching the Chinese independent media and its vicissitudinous effects, we should focus on its various social roles and keep an eye on the practice process of them whether it would become a kind of social power in the Chinese societies under the background of globalization.

Moreover, we are trying to understand a kind of substantial social power here – anti-globalization movement, which has its own spirit and distinctive characteristics. The social power would shift its practice approach or strategy based on the specific social condition and politico-economic climate in different regions of the world. We, of course, can follow the general social science research method to produce a lot of statistic data related to the social power. However, the data could only reflect a fixed state of the power in a particular period of time. The production of the data of the social power is helpless to let us build up a qualitative understanding of it.

Here is another understanding approach to the research of the Chinese independent media as a social power.

The approach starts with analyzing the developing process and the characteristics of the practices of Chinese independent media as a part of anti-globalization movement. Comparing the characteristics of the practices of the media with the essence of Daoism and clarifying the relationship between the two are the next steps. Modern Chinese society has been influenced by the spirit of capitalist economy and Western culture undoubtedly. However, the development of China has its own distinctive historical developing context compared with other countries around the world. The evidence of this is that we find out a kind of "dualist logic" in the history of the politico-economic development of Chinese society. The logic is produced by the long-term monarchal history and the modern colonized history of China contributed by the West. This logic would also be found in the process of the practices of the Chinese independent media.

"Open Structure", which is a new concept that this research attempts to present and justify, is an ideological configuration to explain the relationship between Chinese society and the characteristics of the practices of the Chinese independent media as well as Daoism. Also, the ideological configuration would open up a possibility for understanding the tendency of the next stage of human civilization in the coming future.

Chapter Two   The Theories Inspiring Anti-Globalization Movement –
Anti-Capitalism and the Reflection on Democracy

Section 1   The Meaning of Globalization: From Ulrich Beck's Vision and the Rise of
Anti-Globalization

What is globalization? Globalization is a constructive phenomenon, which has the characteristics of infectiousness and diffusibility, influencing the aspects of politics, economy, and culture in human society and also affecting the change of the Nature as an ecosystem for all beings. This phenomenon has been researched by many scholars in the academic field of social science around the world.[41]

Generally speaking, the form of the development of globalization has its own particularity in human history. The phenomenon started its elementary development in the Age of Discovery in fifteenth century. In eighteenth century, the Industrial Revolution bred the rise of commercialism and the development of international free trading based on the spirit of capitalism which indirectly caused the outbreaks of the World War I and II with the attempt of the realization of global colonialism as well as imperialism. After that, the Western colonialism broke down because of the development of the change of the world's situation, the rise of nationalism and the waves of democratization in Asia and Africa at the time. However, the upcoming development of world economy was again controlled by the Western countries (such as the United States and the United Kingdom) through emphasizing the role of

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[41] For example, British sociologist Anthony Giddens has defined the term "globalization" as the following: "Giddens argues that we are living 'through a major period of historical transformation' (Giddens 1999:1). He suggests that we feel 'out of control' in a 'runaway world' where many of the influences that were meant to make life feel more predictable such as science and technology have had the opposite effect. Globalization, he argues, is thus 'restructuring the ways in which we live' in 'a very profound manner' (ibid.:4). As his theoretical conception suggests, since globalization is affecting everyday life as well as economies and states, this runaway world has implications for virtually everyone on the planet. The major implication of contemporary globalization is thus that it is an unavoidable reality." See: Jones, Andrew (2010). *Globalization - Key Thinkers*. Cambridge: Polity. p. 45. Besides, Professor Jan Aart Scholte, University of Warick, also has his critical point of view on globalization: "Much if not most existing analysis of globalization is flawed because it is redundant…Four main definitions have led into this cul-de-sac: globalization as internationalization; globalization as liberalization; globalization as universalization; and globalization as westernization. …Fortunately, the four definitions critiqued above do not exhaust the possible conceptions of globalization. Important new insight into historically relatively new conditions is available from a fifth notion. This approach identifies globalization as the spread of transplanetary – and in recent times also more particularly supraterritorial – connections between people.   A global (in the sense of transplanetary) social relation is one that (like an internet chat room and certain communicable diseases) can link persons situated at any inhabitable points on the earth. Globalization involves reductions of barriers to such transworld social contacts. With globalization people become more able – physically, legally, linguistically, culturally and psychologically – to engage with each other wherever on planet Earth they might be." See: Scholte, Jan Aart (2005). *Globalization – A Critical Introduction*. New York: Palgrave Macmillan. pp. 50-51.

capitalism, or the so-called "neo-liberalism", which was the starting point of the present situation of economic globalization that caused serious imbalance of wealth distribution and the monopolization of natural resource in the world. Although some of the countries, including the former colonies under controlled by Western countries, have earned certain commercial interests through economic globalization, the development of global capitalism has constructed an unprecedented global market based on the principle of arbitrage maximization in the world. Different countries are playing different roles in the market, just like different departments in an enterprise: the developed countries are responsible for designing the prototype of products and researching the possibility of customization; the developing countries are in charge of selling cheaper labour power for product manufacturing. Economic globalization makes all nations of the world "play their appropriate roles" based on different economic social conditions. Therefore, the old order of international politics needs to be adjusted for tackling the problems brought by the current economic situation of the world society in the age of globalization.

German sociologist Ulrich Beck argues that globalization includes the effects of "the-border-vanished" and "no-distance"[42]. Nowadays, these effects are continuing and deepened further. Globalization has its influence on different dimensions of human society, especially on the dimension of economy. This is a metaphor: economic globalization is a "train" in which brings full of rich men. It asks each of the stationmasters (the heads of the countries) to allow the train to stop at the platforms and promises that the arrival of the train will benefit all of the people living beside the area of the stations because the passengers of the train have the power to create "prosperity".

Economic globalization actually reveals a "possible result", but conceals the negative side effects of that from us.

The untold truth is that the train's passengers not only include rich men, but also contain rogues and hypocrites. Or, the passengers are not "a crowd of people" – they

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[42] Beck argues that: "Globalization means that borders become markedly less relevant to everyday behaviour in the various dimensions of economics, information, ecology, technology, cross-cultural conflict and civil society. It points to something not understood and hard to understand yet at the same time familiar, which is changing everyday life with considerable force and compelling everyone to adapt and respond in various ways. Money, technologies, commodities, information and toxins 'cross' frontiers as if they did not exist. Even things, people and ideas that governments would like to keep out (for example, drugs, illegal immigrants or criticisms of human rights abuses) find their way into new territories. So does globalization conjure away distance. It means that people are thrown into transnational lifestyles that they often neither want nor understand…" See: Beck, Ulrich (2001). *What Is Globalization?* USA: Blackwell. p. 20.

are "a person" with different names, positions and roles. At present, there is no stationmaster to refuse the train's coming. This means that "every stationmaster" is willing to chase the economic development brought by the "passengers" even though there are lots of negative effects with their coming.

The meaning of the effect of "the-border-vanished" is that the border, as a kind of political distinct line, seems "meaningless" when the governments of the world (as the "stationmasters") abandon the defensive responsibility for external threat. If the border has no function on the distinction, the existence of nation-states would lose its significant position as a permanent political establishment. The setting of border is a kind of political installation, but the development of economic globalization has eroded the power of the installation of politics. Under globalization, politics still has its role in stimulating economic growth, managing the operation of financial market, creating more jobs and tackling the problems of debt crises. However, politics loses its traditional position in protecting morality, justice, equality and human right. Nowadays, economic globalization burdens the managing role of political powers with its side effects around the world. The main tasks of the political leaders are to strengthen the performance of states' economy and increase the wide-ranging influence of them on various economic issues. It is a typical situation that the leaders get used to solve the problems of financial crisis through attending various economic conferences or summits to try to find out the source of external capital to ease the shortage of money of the governments and banks.

Global governments are so busy on tackling the side effects of economic globalization. It is because the "stationmasters" have given the "green light" for the "train". The border of nation-states is generally dysfunctional because political powers make concessions with rich men in order to open up the possibilities of the further development of economy and the settlement of economic problems.

When the border "disappears", the distance among nation-states also become meaningless, too. There is an unbroken relationship between the concepts of political border and distance. Usually, the so-called "distance" would cause separation and prevent the free communication among people. Separation, which is the embodiment of political border, aims at controlling the free floating of population among different regions. Distance could be a protection for political bodies. If the borders among countries are dysfunctional, various risks, such as "terrorism" and infectious diseases, would spread easier and rapider than before.

There is another approach to understand the concept of "no-distance", which is related to the communication among human beings based on the rapid development of information technology nowadays. Many internet services realize the breaking-down of the real distance of space-time condition and the people's separation that hinder the communication between man and man. People could achieve the real-time connection with their foreign friends and relatives in different countries through the use of the Internet with their handy gadgets (e.g. mobile phone). This phenomenon does not eliminate the actual distance between you and me, but realizes the "no-distance" connection and communication that links up all of us in the world. The positive aspect of "no-distance" is cracking up the natural space-time restriction on human beings. However, the characteristic of "no-distance" also causes the alienation of the original relationship between man and man simultaneously. When communication is too easy to reach, people would not value the significance of it with their lives and the solidarity of human beings would also be eroded. We can find out the evidence that the unconcerned and passive attitudes about political and social issues are held by the people they fully believe in the "reality of no-distance" in modern society – "It is unnecessary to put an eye on social issues now because we can forever click (check) it out 'in the next second'."

Whatever the effects of "the-border-vanished" or "no-distance", globalization has its coercive character for all people in the world. The phenomenon does not take the notice of particular traditions or customs of the people in different regions even if some social conflicts have broken out because of it. Globalization seems to be "accepted" by the majority of people even though they have never approved it. Though Globalization has other aspects (such as cultural globalization, which has its important role in the facilitations of national interaction and fusion), it is generally defined by the development of economic globalization. On the other hand, the participants of anti-globalization movement are the dissidents who oppose to accept the negative effects of economic globalization, including the problems of inflation, financial crisis and social unrest.

In conclusion, globalization has three main characteristics as the following descriptions:

(1) Through globalization, political powers can expand their dominance while human rights are violated;

(2) The opposition between different religions and social values has been further radicalized – the rise of "terrorism";

(3) Socio-political movements are also globalizing worldwide – such as the "Arab Spring"[43].

For the first point, we can focus on the present situation of the changing world. Globalization wears the influence of political power away through breaking down the traditional restriction of border and shortening the distance between man and man. Governments are tired with running around for the side effects of economic globalization. Since the end of twentieth century, a series of financial crises have broken out continually. Those are the Asia Financial Crisis[44] in 1998, American Sub-prime Mortgage Crisis and European Debt Crisis. Political powers are unable to stop the expansions of the crises and their related negative effects obviously.

What is the point that "political powers expand their dominance through globalization"? The answer is related to another aspect of global phenomenon: when

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[43] The "Arab Spring" is the term used by Western media and scholars to describe a series of anti-government movements and protests breaking out in the Arab countries in the regions of the Middle East and North Africa (since 2010): "Far from being a sudden awakening, the Arab Spring capped a decade of protest, political activism and media criticism that had laid the ground for more open political systems. Movements against rising prices and unemployment, against corruption and political stagnation, had gained traction in Tunisia and Egypt in the five years before the uprisings. Strikes posed serious challenges to governments struggling to maintain the economic growth that was so vital to creating jobs and mollifying the angry and unemployed youth. In Syria, big business was booming but years of drought had wrought havoc in the rural hinterlands. A web of struggles for power had already destabilized Yemen and a decade of political reform in Bahrain had ended in disappointment and pushed protesters back out onto the streets." See: Noueihed, Lin and Warren, Alex (2012). *The Battle For The Arab Spring: Revolution, Counter-Revolution And The Making Of A New Era*. Great Britain: Yale University. p. 4. It should be noted that the waves of the anti-government movement practiced by world citizens not only spread in the Arab World, but also stretch out in Western countries: the "Occupy Wall Street" movement in the U.S., the "Youth Outbreak" (triggered by the shot-dead of Mark Duggan in London, 2011) in the U.K. and a series of anti-government protests against the austerity economic policies implemented by the authorities in Europe. The effects of capitalist economic globalization are spreading globally. It means the revolutionary social movements are not only the particular localized cases in developing regions, but also the common phenomena in developed countries.

[44] The "Asian Financial Crisis" refers to a series abnormal fluctuations of the financial and stock markets in the Asian regions from 1997 to 1998: "…the Asian financial crisis that was set off when the Bank of Thailand devalued the baht on July 2, 1997. The unexpected meltdown of the Thai economy and the contagion (the so-called Asian flu) spread with unprecedented ferocity, and , by the end of August 1997, The currencies of three of Thailand's neighbors, Malaysia, Indonesia and the Philippines, had all been devalued substantially, despite vigorous efforts by these governments to stop their currencies from falling. During September and October, the currencies of Taiwan and Singapore came under intense pressure. While both countries managed to avoid full-blown financial crises, both were, nevertheless, forced to engage in competitive devaluations by floating their currencies rather than losing reserves by trying to stabilize the exchange rate. …In the week beginning October 20, hedge funds and other speculators mounted a massive onslaught on the Hong Kong dollar. To pre-empt an all-out assault on the Hong Kong dollar, the HKMA (Hong Kong Monetary Authority) raised its interest rate. By October 23, the HIBOR (Hong Kong Inter-Bank Offered Rate) was pushed to an unprecedented intra-day high of 280 per cent, while the three-month inter-bank rate shot up to 37 per cent (Tam 1998). …This caused the Hang Seng Index to plunge 1,700 points, or 14.6 per cent – the largest point drop and the third largest percentage loss in its history." See: Sharma, Shalendra D. (2003). *The Asian Financial Crisis: Crisis, reform and recovery*. The UK: Manchester University. pp. 1-3.

governments are inefficient in curbing the problems of capitalist society, they persuade people to sacrifice more rights and freedom to authorize them with more powers to tackle the problems instead. For example, there are more rigid measures or policies for the custom inspection for border-crossing travelers regulated by the authorities. For the reason of deterring "terrorism", governments record the biometric information of the travelers, including their fingerprints and irises, when they cross the border of countries. Furthermore, people are more difficult to practice emigration/immigration than before because some of the governments, especially the Western powers, claim that immigrants from other countries may increase the costs of social management and welfare service. The common value of interracial fusion promoted by the West after the World War II has been reflected, or denied by some political figures[45]. To tackle the problems brought by globalization, governments make even more relative policies and rules for the negative effects but useless. It is because global capitalists, bosses and international investors can also "move in and out" freely on the scene of economic globalization, besides the common people around the world. Through the effect(s) of globalization, the wealthy men can dominate the distribution of the economic resources (such as capital and natural resources) of the world and practice their transference of the properties, further. Practically, governments have more powers over people, but they are still unable to curb the financial activities of wealthy men through legislative approach because political powers recognize the legality and effectiveness of the property of the people in capitalist society. Although we have sacrificed our rights and freedom for national security and personal safety, the economic and social problems have not been solved. We are now confronting a high-risk social condition compared with the past even if the dominance of global governments has been expanded. This kind of characteristic of the wrestling between the protection of human right and the expansion of political power is brought by globalization, which is a "deadlock" of the political development of global society nowadays.

We may ask: why have we accepted the expanding of the power of authorities but the social problems or conflicts are not being solved? What is the core factor of the wrestling situation in the globalized world? The answer would be related to the second point of the characteristics of globalization: the radicalization of the

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[45] For example: "In Germany, Chancellor Angela Merkel has stated that the attempts to build a multicultural society have 'utterly failed' (BBC News, 17th Oct 2010), a statement that was analyzed to 'stir the anti-immigration debate' (Guardian, 17th Oct 2010)." See: Schweitzer, Friedrich; Edelbrock, Anke; Biesinger, Albert (2011). *Interreligiöse und Interkulturelle bildung in der Kita*. Germany: Waxmann. p.112. British Prime Minister David Cameron had also expressed a similar statement in 2011. Please see the BBC News: "State multiculturalism has failed, says David Cameron". (2011, 5 February) Retrieved November 1, 2011, from the BBC News website: http://www.bbc.co.uk/news/uk-politics-12371994

opposition between different religions and social values – the rise of "terrorism". For this point, we have two aspects to analyze it: first, the extreme disparity between the rich and the poor brought by global capitalism; second, the myth of "terrorism" and its religious historical background.

Capitalism does not take notice of the negative effects of the practice of wealth accumulation and the process of mechanical production. However, the practical outcome of capital benefits the people who conform to the principle of profit maximization[46]. When the principle is accepted by them, all approaches to the purpose of wealth accumulation would be considered. The main point is how to do the impartial evaluations of the justification of the principle of capitalism and the behavior for chasing profit when these two violate the spirit of humanitarian value. There are many ways to make profit. It is important that we need to beware of the serious problems brought by the process of profit maximization that would profoundly affect the conditions of human society and the Nature. The process of profit maximization would also produce the so-called "Karma" (業)[47] – a complex

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[46] In the classic "*The Wealth of Nations*", capitalist theorist Adam Smith argues that the basic principle of capitalist society is: "*As every individual, therefore, endeavours as much as he can both to employ his capital in the support of domestic industry, and so to direct that industry that its produce may be of the greatest value; every individual necessarily labours to render the annual revenue of society as great as he can. He generally, indeed, neither intends to promote the public interest, nor knows how much he is promoting it...he intends only his own gain, and he is in this, as in many other cases, led by an invisible hand to promote an end which was no part of his intention.* (Smith 1973: 423) Smith believed there was a harmony of interests among consumers and producers and among workers, landlords, and capitalists and other groups in society which the competitive market capitalist system mediates to the benefit of all. The purely self-interested, even selfish and greedy behavior of consumers and producers of goods is not an evil to be despised or a lamentable flaw of the capitalist, market system. Such self-interested behavior is functional and in fact virtuous, since it leads an economy to higher levels of economic welfare. One of Smith's most famous quotations says it best: *It is not from the benevolence of the butcher, the brewer, or the baker, that we expect our dinner, but from their regard to their regard to their own interest. We address ourselves, not to their humanity, but to their self-love, and never talk to them of our own necessities but of their advantages.* (Smith 1973: 14) " See: Cypher, James M., Dietz, James L. (2009). *The Process of Economic Development*. Oxon: Routledge. pp. 111-112.

[47] Karma is an important Buddhist term which means an unavoidable effect of "causal relationship" which is coming from human thinking and action: "業 Karman, Karma, 'action, work, deed'; 'moral duty'; 'product, result, effect.' M. W. The doctrine of the act; deeds and their effects on the character, especially in their relation to succeeding forms of transmigration. The 三業（three karmas）are thought, word, and deed, each as good bad, or indifferent. Karma from former lives is 宿, from present conduct 現. Karma is moral action which causes future retribution, and either good or evil transmigration. It is also that moral kernel in each being which survives death for further rebirth or metempsychosis." See: Soothill, William Edward; Iodous, Lewis (1937). *A Dictionary of Chinese Buddhist Terms (最新漢英佛學大辭典)*. New Delhi: Motilal Banarsidass. p.403. "Karma is a law, more precisely a doctrine, of cause and effect, of moral intelligibility. There is inequality and suffering in life. The doctrine of karma seeks to explain these phenomena in a 'rational' manner, that they are not the result of blind functioning of the universe, of arbitrary fate. The doctrine of karma is evolved as a parallel to and on the pattern of the general law of causation, cause and effect, which we notice in the physical universe. Hence the doctrine is based on the maxim – as you sow, so shall you reap: the inequality and suffering, which a man has to face or undergo, are the consequence of his own earlier acts. It is a law of retributive justice. Thus it is the doctrine of karma which makes the world of sentient creation morally

concept which explains the relationship between cause and effect in Buddhist theory. For example, it is enough to spend just five hours per day on work for one's daily living needs. If someone who has the attempt to spend more time for more earning, he/she would need to create a new efficient method to increase his/her work achievement. The core point is what the "efficient method and its influence" are.

To answer this question, we must firstly reflect on the concept of "universal value" and its effects on human society as well as the phenomenon of the scramble for natural resource as the common strategy of the development of global politics and economy in international community. The unequal or injustice society would be constructed if we just use the capitalist thinking logic as the main principle to live our life. The conflicts between different classes of society would be deepened when a society has a (small) group of people who keenly practice the capitalist principle and other groups of people accept their behaviour with no reflection on it. There is a causal relationship with the social phenomena of joblessness, the unbalance of social wealth and the increase of criminal rate. The so-called "criminaloids" are also the members of human society. Why are they going to do criminal act(s)? It is because their life is in deep distress and doing criminal act is the only way for "earning" their living. The so-called "crime" is brought by the system of capitalist society in which the phenomena of the extreme disparity between the rich and the poor and the practice of irresponsible profit maximization are commonly accepted. The "sacrifice of the social poorers" becomes a part of richers' wealth through the operation of capitalist economic system. For tackling this problem, it is of no use to make tougher laws to curb the situation because the setting of the role of society for everyone has been confirmed under the structure of modern society. The development of the extreme society forces the lower class and disadvantaged minorities to play the role of "villain" in globalized world.

"We have nothing to lose because we have lost all that can lose."

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intelligible." See: Krishan, Yuvraj (1997). *The Doctrine of Karma: Its Origin and Development in Brāhmaṇical, Buddhist, and Jaina Traditions*. Delhi: Motilal Banarsidass. p. 195. The theory of "Karma" interprets the logic relationship between cause and effect: for example, the never-ending accumulation of wealth done by the vested interests in capitalist society is based on the further conquest of the Nature and the squeeze of the labor force offered by common people with the name of "property". Besides, the concept of the retribution of "Karma" is not being restricted by the space-time condition of human civilization. According to the theory of kāma-dhātu (the desire realm), the present action – the accumulation of wealth – of someone (cause) would directly affect the conditions of his/her afterlife as well as the future of his/her descendant(s) (effect). Nowadays, the form of globalized risk society with the operation of capitalist system based on the desire exploitation practiced by humankind is an evidence to justify the existence of the trans-space-time causal influential force interpreted by the theory of "Karma".

In 2001, the "911 Attack" in New York, the United States of America suggested the position of "world police" of the U.S. had been challenged and "terrorism" became the main role in affecting the developing trend of the world situation[48]. After that, a series of global anti-terrorist movement rose. Western nation-states commonly agreed with the U.S.'s claim that they needed to pay heed to the underground activities of particular religious organizations that were seen as the "terrorist groups"[49] and inform the world society of their common standpoint for the issue through mainstream media. Here, we do not prepare to comment on the "911 Attack" or to give a moral judgment on the incident[50], but offer an alternative viewpoint to review the real purpose of the West which used the name "fighting terrorism" to justify their war actions for the huge benefit of economic resources in different

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[48] "Countering terrorism has become, beyond a doubt, the top national security priority for the United States. This shift has occurred with the full support of the Congress, both major political parties, the media and the American people. …In the post-9/11 world, threats are defined more by the fault lines within societies than by the territorial boundaries between them. From terrorism to global disease or environmental degradation, the challenges have become transnational rather than international. That is the defining quality of world politics in the twenty-first century." See: National Commission on Terrorist Attacks upon The United States (2004). *The 9/11 Commission Report*. New York: W. W. Norton & Company. pp. 361-362.

[49] "In this sense, 9/11 has taught us that terrorism against American interests 'over there' should be regarded just as we regard terrorism against America 'over here.' In this same sense, the American homeland is the planet.   But the enemy is not just 'terrorism,' some generic evil. This vagueness blurs the strategy. The catastrophic threat at this moment in history is more specific. It is the threat posed by Islamist terrorism – especially the al Qaeda network, its affiliates, and its ideology. …Usama Bin Ladin and other Islamist terrorist leaders draw on a long tradition of extreme intolerance within one stream of Islam (a minority tradition), from at least Ibn Taimiyyah, through the founders of Wahhabism, Through the Muslim Brotherhood, to Sayyid Qutb. That stream is motivated by religion and does not distinguish politics from religion, thus distorting both. It is further fed by grievances stressed by Bin Ladin and widely felt throughout the Muslim world – against the U.S. military presence in the Middle East, policies perceived as anti-Arab and anti-Muslim, and support of Israel. Bin Ladin and Islamist terrorists mean exactly what they say: to them America is the font of all evil, the 'head of the snake,' and it must be converted or destroyed." *Ibid.*, p. 362.

[50] Western society generally recognizes the U.S. standpoint on the "911 Attack" which is an "evil assaulted action" violating the national security of the country. This opinion actually blurs the focus that the real factors of the happening of the incident cannot be clarified when adding a moral judgment on it. What is the exact definition of the so-called "evil"? Who has the power to judge it? According to the "principle of revenge" from the Roman Law, the Al Qaeda's "911 Attack" is an action which conforms to "justice". In the other aspect, we can find out the long history of the conflict between the U.S. and the Muslim world: "According to widespread belief among Muslims, American policy has always been one-sided in the Arab-Israeli conflict,…"See: Khan, Arschad (2003). *Islam, Muslims, and America: understanding the basis of their conflict*. New York: Algora. p. 43. "Following the Gulf War, the US established military bases in Saudi Arabia….That decision has caused considerable resentment among a large segment of the Saudi population, who consider the presence of American troops a sacrilege." *Ibid.,* p. 46. "September 11, 2001, is a day of infamy when the terrorist group al-Qaeda, led by Osama bin Laden, hijacked Islam. On that day a devastating, concerted terrorist attack was launched on America in the name of Islam. Suicide pilots flew hijacked commercial aircraft into the World Trade Center in New York City and the Pentagon. The attack resulted in the death of thousands of innocent civilians, including more than two hundred Muslims.   The successful attacks, apparently driven by hatred for the United States, were the latest attempt by the al-Qaeda organization to hit American targets. It had previously engaged in terrorist attacks against American interests in many parts of the world. The attacks were ascribed to bin Laden's bitter resentment of the presence of American troops in Saudi Arabia as well as American foreign policy, which he viewed as anti-Islamic." *Ibid.*, p. 55.

continents and the attempt on political influence expansion in the world[51].

What is "terrorism"? The answer seems to imply that there is a kind of activity related to the so-called "terror actions", including the threat, the menace, and the act for spreading scare without reason practiced by the people who believe in a "specific religion". "Terrorists" have made a negative impression for civil society that they would do irrational attacks, such as the practices of car bombing and suicide assault for "specific purpose". If we consider the factors of the rise of "terrorism" in the contexts of the historical religious conflict between Christian and Muslim[52] and the political disputes in the regions of the Middle East and the Middle Asia, we would understand why the so-called "terrorists" do want to express their will through the "extreme approaches". Their acts are connected with the ultimate achievement of the condition of human being: living for the belief of self-preservation based on desire, like all of us.

We may have a moral premise as a common value like this: everyone has the

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[51] American linguist Noam Chomsky (who is also a well-known dissenter in American society) has written a lot of works to review the main purposes of the U.S. for triggering the wars, such as the Gulf War and the Afghan War after the World War II and analyze the relationship between the wars and the U.S. politics/economy and the so-called "terrorism". He argues that: "I am asked 'to address the subject of U.S. defense responsibility for the rest of the world and why America need not perpetuate this role.' The question is unanswerable; there is no such role. States use their power to defend 'the national interest,' a mystification devised to conceal the special interests of those with domestic power." See: Chomsky, Noam (2004). *Language and Politics*. USA: AK Press. p. 273. "The term 'interests' does not refer to the interests of the domestic U.S. population but rather the 'national interest' – the interests of the concentrations of power that dominate the domestic society. …In a rare and unusually careful analysis of the domestic influences on U.S. foreign policy, published in the *American Political Science Review* a year ago, two prominent political scientists find, unsurprisingly, that the major influence on policy is 'internationally oriented business corporations,'…One will search in vain for evidence of the superior understanding and abilities of those who have the major influence on policy, apart from protecting their own interests – Adam Smith's neglected truism." See: Bricmont, Jean; Franck, Julie (2010). *Chomsky Notebook*. New York: Columbia University. pp. 43-44.

[52] "The relationship between Christianity and Islam is nearly as old and nearly as violent as that between Christianity and Judaism. Some would argue that it is even more violent. Islam arose in the Arabian peninsula in the seventh century, and it quickly spread through formerly Christian lands at the hands of conquering Arab tribes. Muslims entered Europe in Spain, and they advanced as far as the Pyrenees before being stopped by Charles Martel, ruler of the Franks. The on-again, off-again wars in the Iberian peninsula paled in comparison to the massive undertakings in the East known as the Crusades, starting in 1096. Armies of Christians and Muslims fought each other many times, and countless people were slaughtered. Eventually the Muslims prevailed in the East, though they were driven from Spain and Portugal in the West at about the same time as the Turks captured the city of Constantinople." See: Adair, James (2007). *Christianty – The Ebook*. USA: Journal of Buddhist Ethics Online Books. p. 737. There is a typical example of contemporary religious conflict which is related to the establishment of the state of "Israel" which has a provocative meaning for other Arab nations. "The Ottoman Empire, the last true Muslim empire, fell to the Allied Powers in World War I, and its territory was divided among the victors of the war though the intention was that the newly created states – Iraq, Syria, Jordan, Lebanon – would soon become independent. Creation of the State of Israel in 1948 set off a series of wars between Israel and its neighbors, and the Muslim inhabitants of Palestine, along with many of their Muslim neighbors in surrounding countries saw the Western support of Israel as indicative of the larger, historical Christian-Muslim conflict." *Ibid.*, p. 738.

right to reflect on his/her living circumstance whether the reflection is "reasonable". The extreme approaches practiced by "terrorists" would be used to express the stance of discontent of them and attract public attention when they have no hope for their lives. The circle of Islam has its traditional religious beliefs and its distinctive politico-historical development in particular regions of the world. "Jihad" is a kind of duty which is practicable and acceptable when Muslims are threatened in specific condition[53]. According to the belief of the doctrine, the action of the so-called "terrorism" is not incomprehensible or unreasonable when we follow the thinking logic of Muslims. It is the "feedback" for the lack of the respect for their traditional belief. The name "terrorism" is made by the West, especially the U.S., for the purpose of dirtying Islam[54]. This religious conflict between Christian and Islamic nations has had its long history since the seventh century (the milestone of the historic conflict was the "Crusades" started from 1095). The "911 Attack" was a clear and definite outbreak of the conflict which crossed the border and firstly occurred in the territory of the United States of America in the twenty-first century.

The rise of "terrorism" increases social unrest and violates our living condition directly. In this present situation of human civilization, people generally doubt whether global governments can play an active role in ensuring the positive development of society in the future. Political powers and transnational enterprises do

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[53] According to the religious doctrines of Muslim, "…for instance the verse 'Slay them wherever you find them' (2:191), thus translated by Dawood and taken out of context, has been interpreted to mean that Muslims may kill non-Muslims wherever they find them. In fact the only situations where the Qur'an allows Muslims to fight are in self-defence and to defend the oppressed who call for help (4: 75), but even in the latter case this is restricted to those with whom the Muslims do not have treaty obligations (8:72). …the six verses that concern war (2: 190-5) contain many restrictions and are couched in restraining language that appeals strongly to the Muslims' conscience. In six verses we find four prohibitions; seven restrictions (one 'until', four 'if', two 'who fight you'); as well as such cautious as 'in God's cause', 'be mindful of God', 'God does not love those who overstep the limits', 'He is with those who are mindful of Him', loves 'those who do good', and 'God is most forgiving and merciful'. The prevalent message of the Qur'an is one of peace and tolerance but it allows self-defence." See: Haleem, M. A. Abdel (2005). *The Qur'an*. New York: Oxford University. pp. xxii-xxiii.

[54] For maintaining the smooth operation of vested interests' system, all kinds of contests and conflicts of modern civilization must be kept or agitated as the reason(s) for war, and the relative businesses, such as the American manufacturing industries, would be benefited. "The interrelationship between the U.S. government and big business in international relations became evident when the United States and Britain joined forces in attacking targets in Afghanistan on October 7, 2001, in the aftermath of terrorist attacks on the World Trade Center in New York City. The twin towers housed thousands of employees of big businesses, including Morgan Stanley. …" See: Clark, Cynthia L.. Northrup, Cynthia Clark (2011). *The American Economy: A Historical Encyclopedia: Band 1*. California: ABC-CLIO. p. 552. Therefore, "terrorism" is actually an ideology created by the U.S.. The role of "terrorists" is played by misunderstood religionists, economic disadvantaged minorities and criminals. The existence of "terrorism" makes us rely on the "protection" of the superpower and capitalist economic system. This is a closed circulative power structure: the producers of "terrorism" are the global governments and capitalists in the world who give the bad name to the "unknown people" to spread "terror" for scaring us "to do what benefit the politico-economic powers" for serving the "civilized" system of human greed.

not have the intention to take the responsibility for the progress of civil society after reaping the economic benefits through the promotion of globalization. According to the "trickle-down theory"[55], capitalists should improve the working condition for employees, create more job opportunities and increase the level of salary that all measures would facilitate the floating of capital and the economic development of the world further. On the other side, governments should make relative laws to help the positive development of economy and restrict the irrational economic behaviours practiced by the heads of international enterprises based on the principle of profit maximization of capitalism.

Regretfully, global governments, whatever they are the so-called "democratic" or "dictatorial" governments, choose to serve the vested interest groups under the background of economic globalization.

From reviewing the development of human history, we understand that political dictators could do anything like the ancient emperors in feudal society in the past age of human civilization. They had the actual political powers to claim their interests and did not consider common people's voice. They fully handled the political mechanism of states, including police force and troops, which could be used for suppressing social dissidents when political challenge or unrest broke out. Today, the majority of developed countries in the world are generally practicing "democracy" based on the operation of the political institution called "representative democratic system". The design of the political system is for embodying the political right of common people that the people have a legal approach to participate in politics through electing the representatives, such as lawmakers, presidents, chancellors, and so on. There is a progressive meaning of the generation of the system of representative democracy because the will of citizenry is able to link up with the exercise of political power through this approach compared with dictatorial politics. People can "govern themselves" through electing an authorized representative to express their opinions in government. The design of the periodical political election for the representatives is a kind of system to avoid the monopolization and ossification of political power[56].

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[55] Please refer to the footnote No. 57.

[56] It is still an open question whether the electoral system of representative democracy can avoid the monopoly of political power. The regular replacement of a power owner is seen to be effective to prevent the form of the political situation of "dictatorial government". However, careerists and vested interest groups can still keep their interest through the operation of the function of political party in the circle of modern democratic politics. Individual could have his political intention or opinion, so do the political organization of democratic state – political party. In the democratic governmental system, it is impossible to produce a "dictator", but the government is easy to be directed by a single political party when the party is coming into power (as a governing party). The system of democratic multi-party politics is just the configuration to categorize the social groups or classes of people with different

However, the modern practice of democracy with the operation of party politics is an "alternative approach" which is opened for capitalists and wealthy men to participate in politics. Capitalists, like common citizens of a state, have the right to elect representatives. But, they have another path to "participate" in politics here: capitalists could fund specific political party or a group of representative candidates "under table". The candidates who participate in political elections need a lot of money to do promotive activities and get in with the important figures of society. The financial demand of them gives wealthy men an opportunity to intervene in politics. This is an effective and advantaged approach for the "political investors" to control the will of government and lawmakers because the "political deals" are concluded when they both reach a common consensus: the investors will receive the "concrete reward(s)" of the supported party or candidates when they exercise political power. The power relationship between government and capitalist would be shifted that politicians would serve, but not govern the operation of the businesses of their investors. Nowadays, the investors and politicians are the core members of interest community in human society and they would not consider people's stance and will at all. They just focus on their own advantages and think about how to maintain their vested interests.

Modern democratic politics has no reply to this typical political flaw all the time because the flaw was used to be acceptable as the side-effect of representative democracy. The flaw is existent, but our focus is always diverted from the "prosperity" of society brought by economic globalization. When the development of capitalist society seriously nibble the role of political power and cause the common phenomenon of the extreme disparity between the rich and the poor, we should pay attention to and reflect on the factor of this present situation – the dysfunction of the administration of the governmental institutions around the world.

In the first decade of the twenty-first century, there were lots of anti-governmental demonstrations and protests which are seen as the rise of global social movement. The acts aim at expressing the people's stances for opposing the trends of the cutting of the national expenditure for social welfare practiced by global governments, the worsening working condition of lower class and the waves of economic crises in Europe, East Asia and North America. Most of the citizens of the

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interests which is of no use to avoid the possibility of power abuse of the authorities (as the "de facto dictatorship" by a specific political party) in a term of office. Therefore, the difference between dictatorial and democratic politics is only in the length of period of time of the governance of power, but the essence of the dominative of political power (on common people) is still the same.

main cities in the regions participate in the practice of global social movements. They communicate with each other for organizing collective social actions through internet using. In other words, the anti-governmental movements are now spreading which is also a part of the phenomenon of globalization. The movements succeed to a humanitarian spirit with the stances of anti-government and anti-capitalism. They also concern with the hard situation of social minorities and respect the values of different cultures, and so on.

The organizers and participators of the movements believe that our living standard is deteriorated and we should have responsibility to express our discontent for this situation publicly. Why do we need to burden with the deterioration? It is because the deteriorated living standard is a part of the side effect of economic globalization that is contributed by the politico-economic operation of global governments and capitalists. Through the above analysis of the "ecology" of modern democratic politics, we can understand the reasons why the democratic system loses its political function under the background of globalization and how the governments and the richers become the "community of vested interest". There are many people opposing the negative side effects of (economic) globalization. They are generally called "anti-globalizationalists" and have a radical position in concerning the future development of global society. Their political and social actions (with varied understandings and radical standpoints on the present situation of the modern world) are seen as the main part of the practice of anti-globalization movement.

Anti-globalization movement aims at criticizing the negative effects of globalization. The noteworthy point is that the position of anti-globalization is not the exclusion outside the phenomenon of globalization, but is a part of globalization. The development of economic globalization, which is accepted by global governments, not only ignores its promise of distributing the economic benefits for all classes of society from top to toe[57], but deepens the social conflict between the rich and the poor. Globalization, as a global phenomenon itself, has no duty to do anything, but has been used by the upper class for the purposes of making profit, expanding their political

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[57] In the 1980s, the former U.S. president Ronald Wilson Reagan brought up a series of economic policies based on the so-called "trickle-down theory". The purposes of the bringing-up were to improve the economy of the U.S. at the time through decreasing the governmental interference in financial market and implementing the strategy of "laisser-faire" economy. The supporters of the "trickle-down theory" argue that all classes of people in society would be benefited economically when we allow the upper classes to become richer first: "Trickle-down economies posits that if the upper classes became richer, they would use new wealth to provide more funds for research and development, make new capital investments, and create new jobs. Productivity would increase, unemployment would drop, and middle class and lower class workers would benefit. Thus, any new wealth the upper classes gained would ultimately 'trickle down' and benefit all classes in society." See: Social Studies School Service (2005). *Big Ideas in U.S. History*. USA: Social Studies School Service. p. 116.

influence and seizing global natural resources further. Actually, anti-globalization movement does not resist globalization, but opposes the political and economic powers that are manipulating the effects of globalization from behind the scene.

Therefore, we now have two logical approaches for understanding the concept of globalization. Globalization includes the effects on the civilized aspects of politics, economy and culture of human society. In the aspects, for each, have their positive and negative parts of effects. The movement of anti-globalization is included in the forming process of the whole phenomenon of globalization which is not an external thing of it; also, the movement is practicing the spirit of globalization actually. Anti-globalization movement does not oppose "globalization", but has the discontent with some of the effects of globalization brought by the vested interests in the world. The following is a lineal graph for explaining the relationship between the concepts of globalization and anti-globalization:

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                        ┌──────────────────────┐
                        │    Globalization     │
                        └──────────────────────┘
          ┌──────────────────────────┐     ┌──────────────────────────┐
          │ Globalization (controlled │     │ Anti-Globalization Movement│
          │ by political and economic │     │ (anti-government and       │
          │ powers)                   │     │ anti-capitalism)           │
          └──────────────────────────┘     └──────────────────────────┘
   ┌──────────────────────────┐               ┌──────────────────────────┐
   │ Suppressing the possibility│               │ Re-emphasizing the common │
   │ of development of human    │               │ value of humanity         │
   │ society                    │               │                           │
   └──────────────────────────┘               └──────────────────────────┘
          ┌──────────────────────────┐     ┌──────────────────────────┐
          │ Actual "anti-globalization"│     │  Actual "globalization"  │
          └──────────────────────────┘     └──────────────────────────┘
                    ┌──────────────────────────┐
                    │  The two opposing and    │
                    │  wrestling with each other│
                    └──────────────────────────┘
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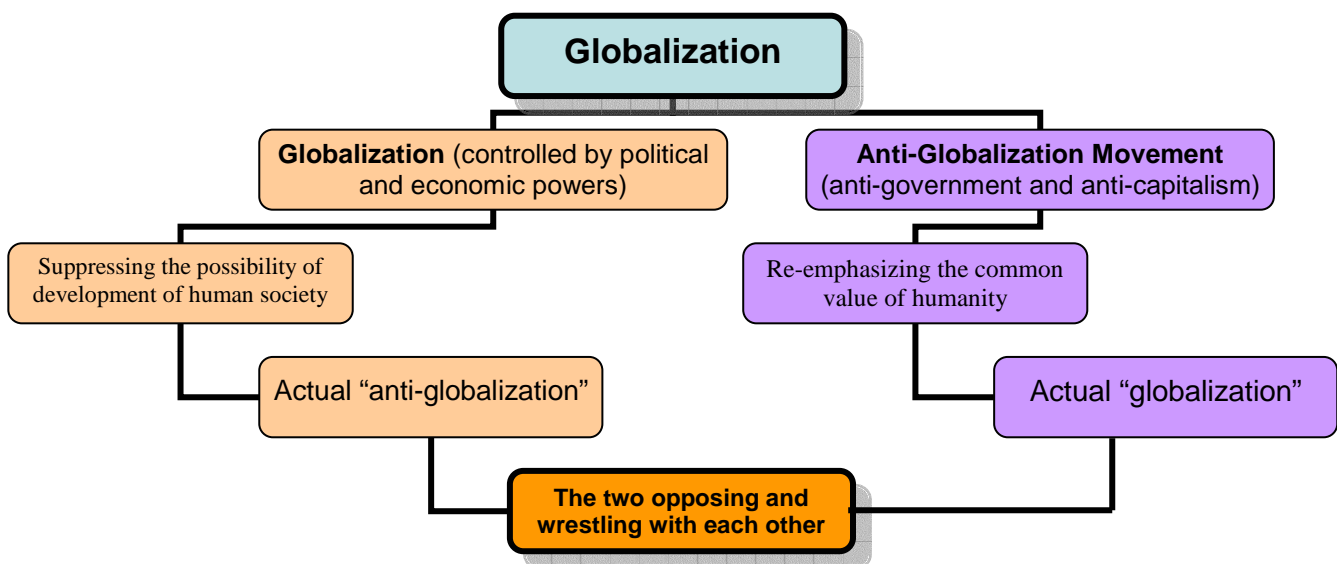
Figure 1: The relationship between the concepts of globalization and anti-globalization

From the above graph, we can understand that globalization is an integrated concept which is used to describe the developing processes of intercommunication, assimilation and interchange between different societies that include various cultural context systems in modern world. Global citizens, who have different values, have opened up a new form of life and a better living condition collectively through the developments of modern industry and commerce, as well as the progress of information technology in the past decades. Human civilization, which includes the progress and the developments, has its serious problems on provoking the conflict of

human society and causing the desolation of the Nature. Some argue that capitalism generally guarantees the present achievement of global economy. However, there are many social activists and dissidents who oppose the contemporary global politico-economic structure of human society. They want to reform our living world through organizing global actions and participating in social collective movements with the practice of the common values, such as freedom, equality and fairness for all people around the world.

The background of the form of anti-globalization movement is related to two observational points: one, globalization has been "hijacked" by vested interests; two, economic globalization becomes the major aspect of globalization that people have the intention to do further reflection on it.

The meaning of the term "hijacked" implies that global governments approve "globalization" and its auxiliary advantages through the acts of signing international treaties or economic compacts with other counterparts and joining into trade unions in the term of office, but have never explained the negative effects of "(their) globalization" to common people and have never obtained a formal agreement from global citizens for their acts. They use "globalization" as a "shield" to avoid criticism from the public of their powerlessness with tackling social and economic problems. It seems that "globalization" has the responsibility to deal with the problems "it makes". According to this situation, the authorities would say: "that is not my responsibility, but the globalization's." Therefore, anti-globalizationalists argue that globalization now is being used or "hijacked" by the political and economic powers. Under this background, "globalization" not only indicates the phenomenon of the inter-infusion between different cultures and regions, but also means the practical effect as an "implement" for the vested interests to realize their particular purposes.

This kind of "globalization", of course, would be opposed by common people. Ulrich Beck calls it "globalism"[58] which means the functionalized globalization directed by global governments and multi-national businesses (like the new name of capitalism – "neo-liberalism"). The characteristics of "the-border-vanished" and "no-distance" of globalization realize the present situation of freedom movement and real-time communication of people. "Another world" has been built by the development of information technology on the Internet. The anarchistic feature of the

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[58] According to the definition of "globalism" brought by German sociologist Ulrich Beck: "By globalism, I mean the view that the world market eliminates or supplants political action – that is, the ideology of rule by the world market, the ideology of neoliberalism." See: Beck, Ulrich (2001). *What Is Globalization?* USA: Blackwell. p. 9.

field of the Internet supports the interflow of different cultures, the possibility of the open sharing of human knowledge with no discrimination and the reduction of the intervention from political power. According to these points, the further development of "another world" may violate the vested interest of the upper class of capitalist society because the complete system for controlling the "world" has not been fully established yet.

Thus global governments and capitalists try to work together to consolidate their positions in human society. For the development of internet using, international businesses and enterprises do more actions to claim their "rights", such as to claim the copyright – intellectual property right on "their properties" when they are used or publicized on the Internet. Also, the authorities tend to make more laws to protect their "rights" for responding to their actions. There is a general tendency that inclines to suppress internet activities whether the activities are related to the vested interests of global businesses[59]. For this tendency, expressing a dissent position for the majority of the users of the Internet – common people, especially for the practitioners of anti-globalization movement who rely on the use of the Internet to expand their influence, is necessary nowadays. The movement does not oppose the positive aspect of globalization (with the characteristics of "the-border-vanished" and "no-distance") but the negative one – the functionalized globalization. Here, anti-globalization movement mainly has two features: one, it realizes the fact of the globalization of social movement; two, it has the clear position on embodying the spirits of anti-government and anti-capitalism.

Firstly, anti-globalization movement, which is still globalizing at the moment, is a part of globalization. The movement is continuously spreading that which is not a kind of regional or local phenomenon of human society. As a global social movement, anti-globalization movement is now promoted by the participators of the movement who are the "transnational players of the world society"[60]. The local and international

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[59] Please refer to the footnote No. 28.

[60] According to Beck's thinking approach, "world society means 'society' that is not territorially fixed, not integrated, not exclusive. But it does not mean that this kind of social diversity and cultural difference knows *no local ties at all*. Rather, the type of local tie *cancels the equation of spatial and social distance* implicit in the national picture of society, so that 'transnational lifeworlds' come into being. These transnational phenomena should not be thought of as being the same as 'inter-state' phenomena. Transnational coexistence means social proximity *in spite of* geographical distance – or, social distance *in spite of* geographical proximity." See: Beck, Ulrich (2001). *What Is Globalization?* USA: Blackwell. pp. 104-105. "'World society' must be theorized and empirically investigated as the horizon within which capital, culture, technology and politics merrily come together to roam *beyond* the regulatory power of the national state." *Ibid.*, p. 107. And, "These players (the transnational players) have the following key features: (a) They act across borders, even transnationally, and thereby annul the territorial principle of the national state. (b) Their activity is in many respects more inclusive, less exclusive, than that of state players. (Thus transnational corporations and Greenpeace activists are

supporters of the movement express their opposing position together actively wherever the effects of the functionalized globalization reach to. The voices from the social grass-root groups pressure the authorities and vested interests to consider that their actions for private interest would cause the negative development of human society. Their considerations of the distribution of social resource need to include the purpose of fulfilling public interest and they have to face criticisms when they proceed to do the distribution falsely.

There are various voices from world citizens in the process of the practice of anti-globalization movement. The anti-globalizationalists include workers, unionists, environmentalists, feminists, and also anarchists. Although they have different claims on different social issues, they have a common target: to criticize global governments and capitalists who are the subjects to bring us the present situation of unrest society and the deterioration of human life.

Because of carrying through the capitalist principle of profit maximization, global manufacturing industries are moving to the developing countries in Asia, Latin America and Africa for the reason of decreasing the cost of production. The workers in the developed countries are facing the "dilemma" of this situation: either accepting wage reducing or being jobless people. Here, the role of government is important. Government, as the political supervisor of a state, has the power to protect workers' basic right and interest. But, it is regret that it, in fact, does not generally take charge of such political responsibility.

In the situation of globalization, there is another "dilemma" on the issue of environmental protection for human society. The development of the extremeness of climate change implies that the environmental pollution brought by human activities is destroying the original ecosystem of the Nature[61]. The inhabitable areas of the

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active *in several states at once*, their players belong to different nations, and so on.) (c) They are often more effective than the authorities of national states, as measured by key criteria of the success of state action (for example, lower unemployment and security of well-being, but also the recovery of basic rights.)… (d) Non-state transnational players create their own 'inclusive sovereignty', as it were, by playing off the exclusive territorial states against one another." *Ibid.*, p. 103.

[61] "…the United Nations reported that 11 of the last 12 years ranked among the warmest years in global surface temperature since 1850. This report underscores the critical level of climate change faced on the planet. Indeed, Climate change is shaping up to be the biggest environmental issue that business has ever faced.　Climate change refers to a change in climate attributed directly or indirectly to human activity that alters the composition of the global atmosphere and that is in addition to natural climate variability over comparable periods of time. …Climate change has several critical influences on the environment that include the following: a) Higher temperatures and increased risk…; b) Decline in the quantity and quality of freshwater…; c) Increased health risk…; d) Rising sea levels…; e) Threats to biodiversity…; f) Affects the most vulnerable…; g) Displaced people and environmental refugee…" See: Dahlstorm, Robert (2011). *Green Marketing Management*. USA: Cengage Learning.

world for the living of human beings become smaller and smaller. The sea level is rising because of the melting-down of glacier in the North Pole brought by the man-made phenomenon of global warming, which is a serious environmental problem for the people who are living in coastal areas and low-lying lands around the world. Global governments seem to have no interest on tackling the problem with tightened tactics, but still do the conquest of the natural resource on the Earth for the purpose of maintaining the economic growth of human society.

For example, there is a possibility to open up new waterways in the Arctic Ocean forecasted by some Western climatic scientists because of the happening of serious Arctic shrinkage in the past decades[62]. The sea area of Arctic Ocean would become a new economic region for the countries nearby the area. The countries, including Canada, Russia, the United States, Norway, and Denmark, now strengthen their dominance over the Ocean in succession[63]. This is an obvious case that the exploitation on the Nature brought by human beings is ongoing. The political and economic powers do not concern about the problem of the potential pollution for the sea area which would endanger the ecology of the Ocean. Climate change brought by human activities is a trans-regional natural phenomenon which affects all people living on the Earth. Therefore, environmental protection is also one of the humanitarian issues in the context of the development of globalization.

And, the issue of freedom is also the main focus of the claim of

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pp. 37-38.

[62] "While the drifting polar pack ice exists year round in the center of the ocean, the warming climate has contributed to both a general thinning of the ice throughout the ocean and to increased periods of ice-free open water. If the warming trend continues, the number of months available for arctic transit, as well as the area of navigable waters, will increase." See: Zumerchik, John; Danver, Steven L. (2010). *Seas and Waterways of the World: An Encyclopedia of History, Uses and Issues, Volume 1*. California: ABC-CLIO. p. 28.

[63] "Symbolism is everywhere in the great Arctic resources struggle. In July-August 2007, the Russian nuclear-powered icebreaker *Possiya* crashed its way through the Arctic Ocean icepack, providing a passage to the North Pole for the research ship *Akademik Federov*. There, as part of its Arktika 2007 expedition, two bathyscaphes descended from the *Akademik Federov* to the seabed 4,200 metres (13,800 feet) below the pole, where one of them, MIR 1, left a titanium Russian flag. In the words of Russian Foreign Minister Sergey Lavrov, the aim of this exercise was not to stake Russia's claim but to show 'that our shelf reaches to the North Pole'…" See: Hiscock, Geoff (2012). *Earth Wars – The Battle for Global Resources*. Singapore: John Wiley & Sons. p. 33. "The Russian expedition to the North Pole highlighted the uncertain legal status of the Arctic region…Just days after the Russian explorers planted a flag on the Arctic seabed, the United States government launched its own expedition. On 6 August, the U.S. Coast Guard icebreaker Healy left Seattle for the Bering Sea." See: Yenikeyeff, Shamil Midkhatovich; Krysiek, Timothy Fenton (2007). *The Battle for the Next Energy Frontier: The Russian Polar Expedition and the Future of Arctic Hydrocarbons*. Oxford Energy Comment. p. 4. According to international law, no country owns the North Pole and its surrounding region/ocean. Although the "Ilulissat Declaration" was announced by Canada, Denmark, Norway, Russia and the United States in 2008 for the purpose of blocking any sovereignty to govern the Arctic Ocean, the countries still have the ambition to expand their political influence in that region for potential economic interest.

anti-globalization movement, especially economic freedom[64] – people have the rights to choose a suitable job and receive reasonable pay for their living needs; and, political freedom – people have the rights to participate in politics directly and discuss laws and related issues with an effective political system, which is an approach for people to make collective decisions for political reform (when governments are unable to "fill the bills"). The voices about the freedoms are not novel, but have never been responded. Anti-globalization movement, which is spreading in different regions of the world, reminds everyone ought to concern with and strive for their rights further. Also, the movement has the main position for opposing the "globalization controlled by vested interests" of the world.

According to this understanding context, there is an interested logical relationship between the concepts of globalization and anti-globalization – the concept of anti-globalization is a part of globalization which does not oppose globalization. The globalized characteristic of anti-globalization movement conforms to the core spirit of globalization. On the other hand, "globalization", which has been "hijacked" by international political and economic powers, loses its original characteristic and position nowadays. The powers have no interest in embodying the spirit of globalization, but have the concern about whether the effect of globalization can benefit them. The powers would use another theory, phenomenon or ideology to justify their actions for economic interests if "globalization" is of no use to help them to reach the purpose of profit maximization.

Therefore, we can have an innovative viewpoint to understand the relationship between the concepts of globalization and anti-globalization: the concept of anti-globalization and the relative movements correspond to globalization because they embody the spirit of globalization – global citizens, with different cultural backgrounds, religions and nationalities, reach mutual understanding through the possibility of the real-time communication offered by the form of the world society that the beliefs of common value, such as the spirit of solidarity and the expectation of an ideal society, can be shared promptly that are depended on the attitudes of

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[64] Chomsky argues that the theorists of classical liberalism did not offer a complete interpretation for the concept of freedom and did not understand that the capitalist society is the exact economic system to let people lose their economic freedom: "These thinkers (Jean-Jacques Rousseau, Wilhelm von Humboldt, and John Stuart Mill) were concerned to protect individual freedom from the ever-increasing power of the state. What they did not understand, in Chomsky's view, is that capitalist economic relations were basically unfree, especially now that huge multinational companies wield huge power (RS, 180-1). Reducing state power over the individual is now not enough: we must also 'dissolve the authoritarian control over production and resources which … drastically limits human freedom' (IC, 192; also cited in RP, 31). Political and economic freedom are inseparable…" See: Salkie, Raphael (1990). *The Chomsky Update: Linguistics and Politics*. London: Unwin Hyman. p. 189.

openness and respect with the nature of human mind – this phenomenon can be called "humanitarian globalization". On the other hand, the so-called "hijacked globalization" (or "globalism", in Beck's term) is actually opposed to the spirit of globalization because the "globalization" has been used as an instrument which is operated by global vested interest groups for producing political and economic interests. According to this analysis, we can find out many conflicts between the "two globalizations" on the scene of globalized world: there are a lot of protests, demonstrations and social actions organized by anti-globalizationalists, when the members of the upper class, including presidents, chancellors and "bosses", participate in the so-called "summit conferences" (such as the summits of "WTO", "G20" and "APEC") in different regions or cities around the world. Such global protested actions, as a part of anti-globalization movement, become a kind of concrete social power for demanding political, economic and social reforms and deterring global governments from ignoring the interest of the majority of common people. The conflicts between them are still ongoing through the effect(s) of globalization that have never been stopped.

There are some scholars and social activists, who identify with the standpoints of anti-globalization movement – such as opposing the negative effects of economic globalization and promoting human rights, have different opinion for the issue of using the term "anti-globalization" to describe the social power against the "hijacked globalization". They prefer to use another term – "alter-globalization" instead of "anti-globalization" to describe their stance[65]. Here are two controversial points of the issue of the terms' using with "alter-globalization" and "anti-globalization".

Part 1   The Connotation of the Terms: Anti-/Alter-Globalization

The "alter-globalizationalists" are not willing to use the term "anti-globalization" even though their understanding on globalization and activist standpoints are similar to anti-globalizationalists. They argue that the meaning of "anti-globalization" is "ambiguous". According to the denotation of the term, anti-globalization means "to oppose globalization". In fact, the stance of the movement of anti-globalization does not oppose globalization, but disagrees with the situation of the political and economic powers using "globalization" as an instrument to dig their interests.

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[65] For example, Susan George, the vice-chairwoman of the "Association pour la taxation des transactions pour l'aide aux citoyens (the Association for the Taxation of financial Transactions and Aid to Citizens, ATTAC)", argues that: "Actually, I refuse the term 'anti-globalization' that the media have lumbered us with. This combat is really between those who want inclusive globalization based on cooperation and solidarity and those who want the market to make all decision." See: Keane, John (2006). *Civil society: Berlin perspectives*. Berlin: Berghahn Books. p. 207.

Moreover, the development of anti-globalization movement relies on the positive aspects of the influence of globalization, such as the realization of the global connection of common people and the diversified cultural interaction in world community. The prefix "anti-" could make a misunderstanding of the essence of the global movement[66].

Therefore, using the term "alter-globalization" has been promoted by the relative non-governmental organizations (NGOs), including the Association for the Taxation of financial Transactions and Aid to Citizens (ATTAC). From the viewpoint of the association, "alter-globalization" is another phrase which is clearer than the term "anti-globalization" to indicate the standpoint of opposing to the effects of "hijacked globalization". Different from the position of "hijacked globalization", alter-globalizationalists emphasize an alternative understanding approach of globalization in the globalized context that they concern with the issues of economic hegemony and human right. They oppose the so-called "neo-liberalism"[67] promoted by the U.S. which uses the names of "freedom" and "democracy" to practice economic imperialism for the purpose of "protecting their national interest". Alter-globalizationalists argue that we have another approach to build up the economic order of modern world through the effects of globalization.

Part 2　Alter-Globalization Movement Promoted by "WSF" & "ATTAC"

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[66] Nobel Prize winner (on economics) Joseph Stiglitz argues that: "The anti-globalization movement developed in opposition to the perceived negative aspects of globalization. The term 'anti-globalization' is in many ways a misnomer, since the group represents a wide range of interests and issues and many of the people involved in the anti-globalization movement do support closer ties between the various peoples and cultures of the world through, for example, aid, assistance for refugees, and global environmental issues." See: Stiglitz, Joseph & Charlton, Andrew (2005). *Fair Trade for All: How Trade Can Promote Development*. New York: Oxford. p. 54. In the work *Social Movements Challenging Neo-liberal Globalization*, German sociologist Dieter Rucht also mentions that: "… 'Anti-globalization' is, as an official reports states, "a spreading phenomenon" (Canadian Security Intelligence Service 2000). However, labels such as "anti-globalization movement" are misleading. Those who are associated with such labels do promote globalization in some ways, e.g. promoting solidarity, justice, and democracy at the global level (Smith 2000a)." See: Keane, John (2006). *Civil society: Berlin perspectives*. Berlin: Berghahn Books. p. 201.

[67] "The term 'neoliberalism' suggests a system of principles that is both new and based on classical liberal ideas: Adam Smith is revered as the patron saint. The doctrinal system is also known as the 'Washington consensus',…The neoliberal Washington consensus is an array of market oriented principles designed by the government of the United States and the international financial institutions that is largely dominates, and implemented by them in various ways – for the more vulnerable societies, often as stringent structural adjustment programs. The basic rules, in brief, are: liberalize trade and finance, let markets set price ('get prices right'), end inflation ('macroeconomic stability'), privatize. The government should 'get out of the way'-hence the population too, insofar as the government is democratic, though the conclusion remains implicit." See: Chomsky, Noam (1999). *Profits over people: neoliberalism and global order*. New York: Seven Stories. pp. 19-20.

Alter-globalizationalists advocate that "another world is possible"[68]. This opinion recognizes that the present situation of globalization has its positive aspects in molding our lifestyle and facilitating the development of modern society, but doing adjustments for "globalization" is still necessary at the same time. Alter-globalizationalists focus on how to change the status quo of "globalization", how to offer possible approaches to decrease the negative effects of economic globalization and how to awake people's concern with humanitarian values that are different from the practice approach of anti-globalizationalists who usually make people have a negative image of their radical social actions. Nowadays, World Social Forum (WSF) and "ATTAC" are the main advocators of the practice of "alter-globalization movement".

The "NGOs" criticize productivism and consumerism and promote economic and social reforms in different regions of the world. The "NGOs" also organize social actions and hold the conferences or workshops for discussing the issue of tackling the economic problems of globalization. For example, the main work of "ATTAC" is to promote "Tobin Tax"[69] for balancing the wealth of human society and neutralizing

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[68] Konrad Raiser, a former Secretary General of the World Council of Churches (WCC), has his own opinion on the concept of "alter-globalization": "Particular attention has been focused on the impact of economic globalization in the form of global capitalism on the disadvantaged sectors of the population, especially in the countries of the global South. Increasingly the discussion has moved from critical analysis to the exploration of alternatives. The World Social Forum has become the framework that enables the diverse approaches in searching for alternatives to join forces. Its slogan, 'Another world is possible', marks the transition from an anti-globalization movement to an 'alter-globalization' stance." See: Hinkelammert, Franz Josef; Duchrow, Ulrich (2004). *Property for People, Not for Profit: Alternatives to the Global Tyranny of Capital*. London: Zed Books. p. vii. Besides World Social Forum, the "ATTAC" is also the non-governmental organization for promoting the practice of alter-globalization movement: "ATTAC is an international organization involved in the alter-globalization movement. We oppose neo-liberal globalization and develop social, ecological, and democratic alternatives so as to guarantee fundamental rights for all. Specifically, we fight for the regulation of financial markets, the closure of tax havens, the introduction of global taxes to finance global public goods, the cancellation of the debt of developing countries, fair trade, and the implementation of limits to free trade and capital flows. ...In 1999, ATTAC was present in Seattle during the demonstrations that led to the failure of the WTO negotiations. It was one of the organizations that initiated the first World Social Forum in Porto Allegre in 2001. Over the past 10 years, it has participated in counter summits and demonstrations against the G8, the G20, the WTO, and the war in Iraq... It also mobilized, along with the alter-globalization movement, to demand true climate justice at the UN climate summit in Copenhagen." Retrieved November 1, 2011, from the ATTAC official website: http://www.attac.org/en/overview
[69] "Tobin Tax" was brought up by American economist James Tobin, aiming at levying the tax on financial exchange for the purpose of increasing national income: "The proposal for taxing foreign exchange transactions to hamper speculative exchange rate movements dates back to 1978. It was formulated for the first time by James Tobin (1978) and is now referred to as *Tobin tax*. The rationale of a Tobin tax seems to be simple and convincing as first sight. Taxing all foreign exchange transactions with a proportional tax lowers the yield of foreign financial assets the more the shorter the maturity of the investment. If one assumes that speculative capital movements are more short-term orientated than other capital movements (e.g. FDIs and portfolio-investments) the tax builds up a restriction that hinders speculative capital movements more than other capital movements." See: Kolck, Gregor; Rübesamen, Dirk (2000). Tobin Tax and Exchange Rate Volatility. *Real and Monetary Issue of*

the "shock-wave" of world economy from global financial market. Compared with some radical actions (such as damaging stores and public facilities) in the process of the protests or demonstrations practiced by anti-globalizationalists, the stance and the practice approach of alter-globalizationalists are seen to be more positive, significant and effective for reaching their purpose: "another (possible) world".

According to the above paragraphs, we can understand that there are some differences between the practice approaches of alter-globalizationalists and anti-globalizationalists with the global social movement. However, the important point is that the two sides have the similar stance for changing the present situation of "globalization" (especially in the aspect of economy). The two both agree that globalization has been hijacked by global governments and international enterprise bosses for their specific political and economic interests. What are the acts of the vested interest groups which are used for persuading (or, to speak directly, forcing) people to accept the negative effects of economic globalization? The answer is: the political and economic powers recentralize their domination over human society, open up the new possibility of multi-national cooperation and reemphasize the power on governing the other developing aspect of globalization (including the humanitarian characteristics of "the-border-vanished" and "no-distance") through the effects of globalization.

For further analyzing, we have to discuss the related contents, theories and ideologies of the so-called "hijacked globalization" or "globalism" to approach and understand the core problem of globalization in the next section.

Section 2   Anti-Globalization on the Economic Issue: Capitalism and Its Problems

From the above discussion, we can realize the etymology of the terms related to the concept of anti-globalization and catch a first image of anti-globalization movement, which is coming from the position of opposing the negative effects of economic globalization. The main effects of the phenomenon include the minimization of political governance, the radicalization of social conflict, the deepening of capitalist value and the subordinating of the significances of humanitarian position and cultural interaction. These negative effects directly cause the majority of world citizens to have a discontented attitude about "globalization" that make the enlargement of the practice of anti-globalization movement worldwide.

International Economic Integration. Band 28. Berlin: Duncker & Humblot. p. 139.

If we trace back to the historical origin of the modern civilization of human society, we can find out that the generation of the negative effects of globalization are related to the development of the spirit of natural science and the rise of scientism in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries.

> *"The spectacular advances of the natural sciences in the age of Newton had suggested that no problem was impenetrable to human reason, and the eighteenth century saw the beginning of the attempt to extend the triumphant empirical method to the study of man and society. Just as the physical sciences had unveiled the true principles of nature, so the social sciences, constructed on the same methodological model, would reveal the true principles of morals and politics."* [70]

Since the age of Isaac Newton, the unalterable status of scientism has been established by many successful stories of understanding and dominating the Nature that has facilitated the rises of rationalism and positivism and became a common attitude or approach to construct the system of human knowledge (including the humanities) in history. Knowledge, as a cognitive structural system created by human beings, must be justified by the scientific methods, such as the practices of quantitative statistics and mass calculated measurement. After that, the authoritativeness of human knowledge would be accepted under the principle of scientism.

The system of human knowledge has been dominated by the spirit of scientism which has offered an undoubted persuasion for human beings to construct a fixed image on understanding the "others" (such as the Nature) since the eighteenth century. The development of the system significantly affects the contemporary developing tendency of the academic fields of humanities and social sciences, including anthropology, psychology, politics, economics and sociology. These humanities tend to construct or to describe their research results with the so-called "scientific approaches" to establish their knowledge systems which are similar to the framework of natural science. This situation reflects a positive expectation which is holding by many theorists and researchers who focus on the problems of modernization and human civilization that the methodology of science would help them to clarify the principles of various phenomena of human society.

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[70] See: Crowder, George (1991). *Classical Anarchism*. New York: Clarendon. p. 29.

The expectation of the positive role of scientism is still being held by global academia nowadays. The spirit of positivism of natural science actually opens up the practical approach to understand the Nature. However, the methodology of natural science is directed to the purpose of controlling over the condition of the Nature after human beings analyze that with scientific approaches. This purpose is far from the original (or the positive) aim of the establishment and the development of human knowledge system – for discovering and understanding the "essence of 'others'". Furthermore, the purpose includes many potential problems that are veiled by the authorities: who has the power to possess the new findings of scientific research? Who are the persons to be accepted to apply them? How about the interest produced by the new findings? Who has the right to "commercialize" the findings? Who will be benefited by them? Finally, who have the duty to answer these questions and have the courage to promise that the application of scientific methodology would not create any negative effect for human society?

Of course, it is no doubt that the spirit of positivism of natural science has its positive aspect that is significant in the history of human civilization. But the most important point is that the so-called "scientism" realizes the instrumentalization of the civilization of human beings and the dominative relationship between mankind and the Nature. For example, all principles and related phenomena of beings are "clarified" by specific approach through the practices of comparison, calculation and definition under the scientific methodology for the purpose of utilization. Perhaps the starting point of natural science is "curiosity" – a neutral purpose for the accomplishment of knowledge construction, but there are other factors that would influence the neutrality of science in the progress of the unexpected historical development of human society. What are the other factors? Those are: "power" and "economic interest".

They just unveil the brightness part, but have never shown the "whole picture" of it.

What is the origin of the modern politico-economic situation of civilized society which is established by the upper class for maintaining and succeeding their powers and interests that are supported by the spirit of scientism and the concept of "instrumental rationality"[71]? From the "micro-economy" in the Middle Ages to the

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[71] "Instrumental reason appeals to knowable facts about the world, and in particular to the causal relationships that can be established between means and ends. The most appropriate means are therefore those actions and resources that are judged to realize the desired goals most efficiently (be this in terms of the least use of resources, the lowest cost, or the speed of the achievement).

form of industrialized production of human society, the European Industrial Revolution[72] in the eighteenth century was a notable milestone which brought up the wide-range utilization of the technic of natural science in human history. The space-time condition of human society, which certainly restricted the living style of human beings in the past era, was reversed by the improvement of the productive techniques of modern industry profoundly. After that, a lot of economic goods produced by the productive industries in Europe (especially in the countries that have long colonial histories, such as the United Kingdom and the Netherlands…etc.) could not be digested by Europeans. The demand of discovering "new market(s)" outside the Continent for trading and selling the redundant goods produced by the industrialized businesses was urgent at that time. And then, Western colonialism, imperialism and commercialism rose rapidly. Finally, capitalism, as the central ideology for realizing the common practice of value calculation and promoting the value of unlimited consuming, becomes a "compromise" for solving the economic problems brought up by the industrial development of the application of scientific methodology of human knowledge.

Part 1   The Base of the Economic Inequality of Society: Pierre-Joseph Proudhon

Instrumental reason is fundamental to the development and application of technology, and thus to the control of the natural world. In so far as the social world can be understood to be shaped by causal relationships between social facts, instrumental reason can be used in social administration and the formation of social and economic policies." See: Edgar, Andrew (2006). *Habermas – The Key Concepts*. Oxon: Routledge. p. 74. Jürgen Habemas, one of the Frankfurt School theorists, also criticizes that: "Habermas believes that the notion of instrumental rationality is insufficient to capture either the nature of *cultural evolution*, which is not governed merely by instrumental thinking, or the nature of economic and administrative systems, whose organization is too complex to be characterized as the product of instrumental planning…economic and administrative systems in modern welfare states are characterized by *functional rationality*, which holds of these systems independently of the intentions of the instrumentally acting agents within them. Thus, the functional rationality of a system is decided on the basis of its ability to achieve goals such as economic and political stability, whereas the instrumental rationality of agents' actions is determined by their ability to maximize (those agents') utility." See: Braaten, Jane (1991). *Habermas's Critical Theory of Society*. New York: State University of New York. pp. 12-13.

[72] "By the Industrial Revolution we mean that great transformation which has been brought about during the past one hundred and fifty years, by discoveries and inventions which have altered fundamentally all the methods of production and distribution of the means of life, and consequently revolutionized all the economic functions of society." See: Beard, Charles Austin (2006). *The Industrial Revolution*. Oxon: Routledge. p. 1. "*Before the Industrial Revolution the communities were more self-sufficing, and competition among the home workers was very limited*. Vast fortunes accumulated from manufacturing industries were unknown, and there was little demand for capital before the rise of the factory system. In the old domestic system little machinery was required, but the factory system altered the situation. Capital became relatively more important than labour. Machinery, vast quantities of raw materials, and funds to meet large running expenses were necessary to meet the demands of competition in the new industrial system" *Ibid.*, p. 48. "The new order was also marked by the rise of capitalism, which brought with it the destruction of the old mediaeval policy of trade restriction and regulation, and ushered in an age of unrestrained individualism in industry." *Ibid.*, p. 47. Thus it can be seen that the Industrial Revolution in the eighteenth century ended the economic form of agricultural society and catalyzed the further development of capitalism and the form of the phenomenon of economic globalization.

Criticizes the Core of Capitalism: "Property"

Under the background of economic globalization, people are generally not willing to criticize capitalism even if it has its problems in human society. Some scholars argue that the core problem of capitalism is related to the structural imbalance of the distribution of social wealth and the dysfunction of global governments[73]. Mainstream media would do the news reports related to the happenings of various social conflicts, but they do not analyze the core factor(s) of the negative social phenomena brought by the imbalanced distribution of public wealth or social resource. We now have a clear picture of modern society: human beings have constructed a problematic society in which the majority of people do not intend to face or to tackle the problems of capitalism, but choose to wait for help from political powers, or ignore them straightforwardly. They seem to be afraid to lose the present living condition and change such problematic social situation at the moment.

However, the social problems brought by the practice of capitalism would not disappear automatically. On the contrary, the problems would affect human's way of life gradually when people ignore their influence. Today, it is necessary to practice a whole review on capitalism once again – this is one of the main standpoints of the supporters of anti-globalization movement.

Actually, capitalism is not only a substantial economic system or a socio-economic structure, but an ideology to direct people's activities and influence the developing tendency of human society[74]. The core spirit of capitalism includes the

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[73] "We have now reached the point where the destructive effects of capitalism are outstripping its material gains… With the pressures of competition, accumulation, and exploitation imposed by more developed capitalist economies, and with the inevitable crises of overcapacity engendered by capitalist competition, the attempt to achieve material prosperity according to capitalist principles is increasingly likely to bring with it the negative side of the capitalist contradiction, its dispossession and destruction, more than its material benefits – certainly for the vast majority. There is, if anything, a growing disparity between the material capacities created by capitalism and the quality of life it can deliver. This is visible not only in the growing gap between rich and poor but also, for instance, in the deterioration of public services in the very countries – such as the US and UK – where the principles of the capitalist market are most uninhibited." See: Wood, Ellen Meiksins (2002). *The Origin of Capitalism: A Longer View*. New York: Verso. p. 197.

[74] "Capitalism refers both to an economic system and to an ideology. As an economic system, capitalism may be defined by its reliance on *economic exchange* and private ownership to allocate society's resources. A capitalist system is one in which profit-seeking behaviour, not governmental decision making, determines what happens in the economy. Capitalist ideology provides philosophical and analytical support for such a system. Capitalism, like liberalism and conservatism, is not a complete ideology. It does not contain an explicit view of human history, it does not identify a specific adversary, and it does not present a picture of some future state of perfect human development…Nevertheless, capitalism is a powerful ideology, one that continues to exert considerable influence on political movements and on policy making." See: Ethridge, Marcus E., Handelman, Howard (2008). *Politics in a Changing World: A Comparative Introduction to Political Science*. USA:

practice of the principle of "evaluation" or the setting of a unified calculated standard for the "value" of all beings. "Capital" is a "pronoun", which indicates an implement created by mankind for the attempt to unite the calculated standard on "value" in human society. The evaluative method of capitalist principle includes several mathematical formulas to reckon the value of things based on a specific space-time condition of someone's ownership of things, including natural resource, raw material and capital. In the past two centuries, the rise of international trading and business transaction around the world (brought by the Industrial Revolution) facilitated the demand of an "integrated implement" to accommodate the calculation of the value of beings. This is the origin of the rise of capitalism.

One of the forms of capital is "currency (money)"[75]. Currency is an expediential measure to help people for proceeding exchange and calculating the value of things in human society. In the early age, the evaluation or value calculation with different metal coins (made by gold, silver, copper…and the so-called "paper currencies" coming after) authorized by political powers was the main approach to be applied to the trade of various natural resources, such as wood, water and energy resources (including natural gas, mineral oil and coal). This is the past situation of the early period of the development of capitalism. Afterward the approach of value calculation is also applied to all lives, including human beings. How does the value calculation on human beings work? The answer is: seeing human beings as a kind of "labor force" – to reckon the labor of people. The historical development of human society relies on human activities that "labor" is one of the significant activities, which helps a family evolving into a community, and then comprising a nation as well as a state. In this process, labor is a kind of necessity for people's daily life. Everyone needs to offer his/her labor to transform or to re-create various natural resources for their living needs. In the modern society with the high degree of the division of labor, different kinds of labors would have different levels of "values". And, different kinds of laborers have different standards of wages. Today, labor is the activity that all of social members have to participate in.

It is still an open question whether different labors should be paid by different levels of wages in human society. Why should the doctors' reward be higher than the workers'? How do we justify the general social phenomenon that the "value" of

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Wadsworth. Cengage Learning. pp. 41-42.

[75] "…in such cases money-capital is confounded with moneyed capital in the sense of interest-bearing capital, while in the first named sense money-capital is but a transient form of capital as distinguished from the other forms of capital, commodity-capital and productive capital." See: Marx, Karl (2007). *Capital: A Critique of Political Economy. Vol. III – Part I, The Process of Capitalist Production as a Whole*. New York: Cosimo. p. 545.

manual workers is lower than the other type of workers' if the foundation of the "value" is based on social needs, not related to the so-called "specialty" or the cost of study (for specific skills)? Before answering these questions, we, perhaps, have had a basic understanding of the thinking logic of capitalist society: capitalist society has practiced the principle of the evaluation of the labor of human beings for a long time. In the nineteenth century, Karl Marx, the forerunner of communist economic theory, had composed his great work "*The Capital*" to analyze the effects of capitalist value (one of his significant analyses in the work is the theory of "alienation") on human society.

Nowadays, the development of economic globalization helps capitalism and its influence spreading around the world. The present situation of world economy becomes more complex: global citizens are not only evaluated by the value of capitalism, but deluded by the abstract economic concepts, such as "debt", "stock" and "insurance". Through approving the value of such abstract capital concepts, people can enlarge the scale of their wealth further and differentiate others. Here is a noteworthy point: the value of the concepts is based on the so-called "credibility". That is to say, the abstract economic concepts have certain "value" because most people believe that the "concepts are worthy to credit". Also, doing the transaction of those conceptual capitals could produce "extra values" (such as "interest") in capitalist banking system[76]. However, such practice of financial transaction actually produces no substantial value for human society compared with labor.

From a moral viewpoint, it is necessary to reflect whether the credibility can become a substantial unit for the purpose of business operation. The development of commerce relies on the credit of "traders" (the so-called "traders" could be all of the people in the world when they participate in a deal relationship with others): who guarantee the quality of products (e.g. goods, labor force…etc.) and have a good trading history. The most important point is whether such "credit" can become an

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[76] "Any stream of revenue, whether or not it arises from the appropriation of surplus value in capitalist production, will command a price – its *capitalized value* – that depends on the interest rate.   Take for example a State bond. The State creates an income stream by promising to pay $100 a year to the holder of its bond. If the interest rate is 10% and the stream is expected to continue indefinitely (as in the case of a 'consol' – a bond without maturity), an investor will be willing to pay $1,000 for the bond. This $1,000 looks like a capital to the investor because he pays it out in return for the stream of interest payments from the State; but it corresponds to no value actually invested in capitalist production because the interest is being paid out of the revenues of the State. Marx refers to this capitalized value as a *fictitious capital* because it appears to its owner to be a capital value but in fact represents no real part of the social productive capital…The vicissitudes of fictitious capital provide some of the most dramatic episodes in finance. If the interest rate rises, for example, tremendous amounts of fictitious capital may simply disappear, despite the fact that the capital actually invested in production may have changed not at all or only a little." See: Foley, Duncan K. (1986). *Understanding Capital: Marx's Economic Theory*. USA: Harvard University Press. p. 115.

independent product for the purpose of trading. Here, a series of questions appear: what is the "credibility of the credit"? Is the credit reliable for business? Is it reasonable that the credit is always being believed? Is it any risk when people play with it widespread in global financial market?

In fact, the "U.S. Sub-prime Mortgage Crisis" and "European Debt Crises" are the notable cases which prove that there is a high risk when we undoubtedly see the credit as a kind of "product". Credit is not a rock-steady object for guaranteeing the responsibility of payment in a healthy economy because it is too easy to be violated – credit, as a "product" (with the risk of the so-called "liquidation"), could be sold to the "others" (including insurance companies, banks, and also foreign governments). When people have an anticipation that everyone has the intention to shift the risk of credit, the "credibility" of credit would become a fake guarantee which would produce lots of "economic bubbles" – the inflation of fake value which could be directly reflected on the phenomenon of the fluctuation of global stock market, land market and real estate market – that could erode the substantial economy of the world. This is the serious negative effect of the fabricated value of capital: the fake value of credit can be used to consume the real products (e.g. land, energy, food…etc.) as the main contents of people's basic living needs. When most people tend to rely on the appreciation of the abstract capital to increase their wealth and do not practice substantial labor to support social consumption, the crisis of global economy would not be terminated.

Capitalism, as an ideology, promotes the principle of profit maximization and encourages people to use all kinds of possible approaches to achieving the purpose of making huge amount of money (capital). After the late nineteenth century, there were many theorists who did their reflections on the relative economic issues connected with capitalism. The contents of the reflections are worthy to be reviewed again and we can make a comparison between the reflections and the present situation of the development of economic globalization. The practice of the comparison will help us to understand why anti-globalization movement has so many supporters around the world today.

Besides the theory of alienation [77] brought by Karl Marx, French

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[77] "Marx uses the notion of alienation to identify or characterize a certain sort of human ill or dysfunction which is especially prevalent in modern society. This ill is one to which all the various phenomena exemplifying the images or metaphors of 'unnatural separation' or 'domination by one's own creations' contribute in one way or another…Further, a central application of his image of 'unnatural separation' is that alienated individuals are in some sense separated from, at odds with, or hostile to themselves. These considerations motivate a provisional suggestion that alienation might be

politico-economic theorist Pierre-Joseph Proudhon[78] also offers his notable point of view on the criticism of "property", which mainly reflects on the system of capitalist economy:

> *"One author teaches that property is a civil right, based on occupation and sanctioned by law; another holds that it is a natural right, arising from labour; and these doctrines, though they seem opposed, are both encouraged and applauded. I contend that neither occupation nor labour nor law can create property, which is rather an effect without a cause... 'Property is theft!'"* [79]

"Property" is the core concept of the private ownership of human society, which is practiced by all governments in the world. Property means a man who has the right to claim that he is (lawfully) allowed to own his wealth and enjoy the use of his wealth based on his will freely[80]. Generally speaking, the economic system of modern society entirely recognizes the position of property. Also, political powers are willing to protect this kind of "right" through making related laws to achieve the protective act of it. Property, from a general observation, is the foundation of private ownership in a general economic system.

What is the essence of the so-called "property"? We can take a look at the answer offered by Proudhon with his analysis of the origin of the concept: the property on

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seen as the condition of a person who experiences life as empty, meaningless and absurd, or who fails to sustain a sense of self-worth…alienation in this sense is more systematically prevalent and more serious in modern bourgeois society than in any other; and this fact makes it worthwhile to investigate whether there is something about bourgeois social forms which systematically produces it." See: Wood, Allen W. (2004). *Karl Marx*. New York: Routledge. pp. 7-8.

[78] "Proudhon was one of the few great revolutionary leaders of genuinely plebian origin, his father having been a barrel-make…In 1840, in Paris, his pamphlet *What is Property?* was published and created a sensation with the thesis that property is theft and an impossibility. His further publications gave him a wide reputation as a radical Involved with radical politics and in his contact with the Marxists…Marx first admired this enemy of property, then attacked him, thereby undermining his prestige and virtually eclipsing him until the syndicalist Fernand Pelloutier revived interest in his theories by falling back on his work." See: Horowitz, Irving Louis (2005). *The Anarchists*. New Jersey: AldineTransaction. pp. 86-87. As a famous anarchist thought at the time, the Proudhon's economic theory was not valued by the mainstream academic circle in France in the nineteenth century. Also, the significances of Proudhon's career and theory were overwhelmed by the power struggle and controversy of the Left between communism and anarchism in European political circle at the moment.

[79] See: Proudhon, Pierre-Joseph (1994). *What is Property?* New York: Cambridge University. p. 13.

[80] "'A property right is the liberty or permit to enjoy benefits of wealth while assuming the costs which those benefits entail….property rights are not physical things or events, but are abstract social relations. A property right is not a thing.' (I. Fisher, Elementary Principles of Economics, New York: Macmillan, 1923, p. 27) Instead, property rights are relations among men that arise from the existence of scarce goods and pertain to their use. This definition of property rights is consistent with Roman law, common law, Karl Marx's writings, and the new institutional (property rights) economics." See: Pejovich, Svetozar (1990). *The Economics of Property Rights: Towards a Theory of Comparative Systems*. Netherlands: Kluwer Academic Publishers. p. 27.

land. Proudhon argues that "*property is theft*" because he is unable to find out any substantial relationship between the land and the owners of the land. He suspects whether the owners have the basis of argument to possess the land and it can also be allowed to be inherited by their descendents[81]. This opinion is opposite to the public view that property is one of the main concepts related to one of basic human rights.

Most economists argue that the origin of property is from the fact or situation of first-possession of the Nature and the recognition of someone who has done his/her labor on the Nature, for example on the land, then he would automatically become the "owner (with property)" of the land. Proudhon does not agree with this point of view. Such argument is insufficient for constructing the validity of "property". The property based on the fact of first-possession, from Proudhon's viewpoint, is an "on-the-spot expediency" because it is only a kind of recognition or respect for the fact which is not related to the generation of the "right" and the guarantee of common good. For example, we can ask why we must recognize a man's property on the land when he just possesses and uses the land earlier than other people. The main point is: what are the "whys" of the law protection on land property (including the "rights" of buying, selling and inheriting the land – as a part of the Nature)?

Proudhon analyzes the "origins" of land property, including the practices of labor, first-possession and producing new value of the land by the owner(s), for reviewing the foundation of the justifications of land property in his research. We can get a reasonable answer for replying the issue of the validity of property with Proudhon's thinking approach like this: it is acceptable that the production from the land (such as "crops") should undoubtedly belong to the land's user (as the occupant or the laborer of the land) because there is a productive relation between the user and the production. The value of the production is produced by the user of the land, so he should be

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[81] "Proudhon argues that it is reasonable and acceptable that someone occupies a land for his living needs because he is the man who carries out the first occupation of the land. Also, the man offers his labor to create the value of the land that is the foundation to construct a kind of 'social agreement' and let people recognize his ownership on the land. These facts are sufficient to support that he has the right to 'occupy' the land. However, the facts cannot be the reasons to justify him to own the 'property' of the land. Why? It is because the facts can only be the justifications of a kind of reasonable occupation (of the land). The foundation of the reasonable occupation is based on **the existence of the occupant**. …After the 'occupant' of the land died, the existence and the skill of him for creating the value of the land, at the same time, would disappear. Why do we undoubtedly recognize the man's property on the land and his descendants' right on the inheritance of the land? Do the descendants have the excellent skills as the same as the man for creating the land's value? Here, the 'occupant' has died, but the 'right' – property does exist forever (based on the 'right' of inheritance). The main issue of the origin of property is still not being clarified on this stage." See: Kwok, Lai On (2003). Anarchy and Globalization: The Significance of Anarchy in the Contemporary Development of Global Politics, Economy and Society. *Master Thesis of Department of Philosophy, National Chengchi University*. Taipei. pp. 61-62.

reasonably recognized to have the right to possess the production created by him. However, how about the land? Should we give the land to the user based on the same logic? How does the land property appear? Why does the user (who is seen as the land's "owner") have the right to claim the so-called "land tax (e.g. the rental)" from other people?

Here are some noteworthy points that should be considered particularly. The core problem of the issue of land property is: this is the fact that the land is not "created" by the user of the land. The "owner" of the land, based on the logic of the relation between the production from the land and the user of the land, is the "Nature", or the "God". According to this thinking approach, no one has the right to claim the so-called "land property"[82].

From feudalist society to modern capitalist society, the establishment of a state is fundamentally based on the recognition of land property (a state or the head of state has the ultimate property of land). Nowadays, the system of modern law is also used for ensuring the status of property held by political and economic powers. The existence of property becomes the main justification for the powers to dominate the Nature and control the practice of the distribution of various natural resources of human society.

On the Earth, the "natural resources", including land, water, wood and energy material, are not "created" by human beings. The resources do exist themselves and no one creates them (people just discover them). Therefore, we can understand the core problem related to property through Proudhon's theory and also realize the fact that the existence of property itself has its irrational aspect. Property is a concept or an ideology which makes a "right" out of nothing that creates an unequal economic situation of human society. Today, capitalist society intensifies the unequal situation which becomes the common social phenomenon of economic globalization. The property holders, including transnational enterprise bosses, global capitalists and investors, promote the protection on the property right because they can get more and more economic interests through such claim. The fact of the creation of value is the core supported by the practice of labor, which makes the occupation (of the fruit of

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[82] "…we should still want to know who has a right to exact payment for the use of the soil, of this wealth which has not been created by anyone. Who is entitled to the rent of the land? The producer of the land, no doubt. But who made the land? God. Therefore, proprietor, retire.　But the creator of the land does not sell it, he gives it; and in giving it, he is no respecter of persons. Why, then, are some of his children regarded as legitimate and others as bastards? If the equality of shares was an original right, how is it that the inequality of conditions is a posthumous right?" See: Proudhon, Pierre-Joseph (1994). *What is Property?* New York: Cambridge University. p. 71.

labor) reasonable that must be accomplished by human beings with their dedications of endeavor, spirit and time. This fact is an important base for everyone to claim a thing which should belong to him/her (based on his/her labor) and produce a common consensus with the fact. However, the vested interest groups, from Proudhon's point of view, create a fictitious right called "property" to justify their conquest of the Nature with no reasonable foundation (such as labor, or other basis of argument). The present situation of the economic inequality of modern society made by the concept of property, of course, should be criticized.

The vested interests have never created the Nature. They just use the name of "property" as an "unreasonable reason" to persuade people to accept that they have the monopolistic right to exploit the Nature. This situation directly causes the extreme imbalance of wealth and the class polarization of human society. As a result, the minority of society – the property holders – therefore has held the majority of wealth of the world. How to use the wealth and maintain the value of the wealth become the main focuses of the property operation of the holders.

> *"'The capitalist,' they say, 'has paid the labourers their "daily wages"'; more precisely, it should be said that the capitalist has paid as many times 'one day's wage' as he has employed labourers each day, which is not at all the same thing. For (that) he had paid nothing for that immense power which results from the union and harmony of labourers and the convergence and simultaneity of their efforts. …The smallest fortune, the slightest establishment, the beginning of the lowest industry all demand the combination of so many different kinds of labour and skill that one man could not possibly execute them all. It is astonishing that the economists never have noticed this fact."* [83]

In capitalist society, the holders of "property" have many ways to increase or to enlarge their wealth. One of the ways is to invest a part of their wealth (that is possessed from the Nature with the name "property") in various business markets for the purpose of profit seeking. For this, they could do the investment on the industries for natural resource exploitation. After that, capitalists could also invest their capital in labor market for manufacturing the raw materials from the Nature to create new value of their investment further. This is a typical tactic of capitalist economy – using capital to produce more capital. Under the principle of profit maximization, it could be no terminal point for the accumulation of private wealth because the logic of

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[83] *Ibid.*, p. 91.

capitalism does not care about the deterioration of human life brought by it. From a legal viewpoint, the holders of property have no absolute responsibility for tackling the negative results (such as the phenomena of the joblessness and environmental despoliation) of their economic activities.

Besides the action for broadening the source of income, reducing the expenditure of business is also the useful way, which is always used by capitalists to achieve the purpose of wealth accumulation. It is an important point to do business well in commercialistic society that investors have to control the leverage of cost and profit with their economic activities. This can be fulfilled by the arrangements of setting a profitable price and controlling the production cost of product.

Here, cost, itself, has two main parts which include material cost and labor cost. Especially, labor cost is an important part which would affect the level of income and the living standard of workers that could directly influence the stability and sustainability of human society. On the other hand, labor cost is just one of the costs for running a factory from the viewpoint of manufacturer. Proudhon argues that the main problem of capitalist society is on the conflict between the standpoints of bosses (the investors) and workers. The increase or decrease of labor cost is not a decisive part in the whole structure of the cost of manufacturing business for capitalists; however, the adjustment of the cost is influential for workers. It is because the adjustment would directly affect the quality of daily life of laborers. (The so-called "labor cost" here has another name – "salary".)

The core problem of the capitalist economic system is on, again, the existence of "property". Proudhon argues that the labor cost, which is paid by capitalists, is "partial" for workers. It is because the investors just pay for the value of the "individual labor" of them (as the cost of labor), but have never paid for the other part of the value of labor – which is called "collective labor". And, capitalists use the name "property" to grab at the collective labor and its substantial value in society. The production of product and its improvement are not only based on the individual labor but also relied on the collective labor of workers through laborers' automatic coordination and their unprompted cooperation. Here, the foundation of the theory of "collective labor" argued by Proudhon is based on the observation on the historical progress of human civilization: every generation endeavors to develop and refine all fields of human knowledge or technical skills, including the developments of natural science, information technology, and medical science…etc.. The progress, which establishes the whole system of human knowledge, is pushed by all members of the

world who work together with the spirits of cooperation and altruism that constructs a substantial social power to run up the economy of human society. The power of this is the so-called "collective labor".

According to the recognition of the above observation, we should not, by common sense, accept somebody who uses the name "property" to usurp the achievement of human knowledge and related productive skills created and refined by all human beings (collectively) as his/her own property and prevent the sharing of the achievement just for his private purpose of endless accumulation of wealth. In capitalist society, "collective labor" is generally not valued by people because they think the practice of the labor is a "matter of course" with their work (just like the situation of the recognition of land property). However, we in fact cannot imagine that, for instance, the members of a work team all work individually and then accomplish their purpose of production without the practices of communication and cooperation. This proves the important role of "collective labor" that is exactly the significant power to facilitate the development of human society and the progress of human civilization. Today, the capitalist economic system gives no right for working class to own their product, but the investors have the "right" – property, which is recognized by all governments around the world, to claim the harvest of "collective labor". Workers have no right to do the same claim and they have just "one road" for earning their basic living needs – to sell off their "individual labor" continually. The analysis of the essence of the concept of labor with the distinction between "individual labor" and "collective labor" helps us to clarify the core problem of capitalist economic system. The whole economic achievement of human society is mainly supported by workers' labor, including the individual and the collective. However, capitalists are just willing to pay for the individual one. On the other hand, they use "property" as a reason to grab the fruit of the collective labor of workers. That is why Proudhon argues that "*property is theft*". No one, except Proudhon, harbours a suspicion of the existence of "property" whether it can be a justification for justifying the validity of the "right" (the same logic appears in the case of land property that we have analyzed in the above paragraphs). Such problematic situation is the origin of the economic inequality of human society. Also, this unequal economic situation caused by the recognition of property becomes more serious on the scene of economic globalization nowadays.

Proudhon's analysis and criticism on property strike home for the core problem of capitalism. Property, from the feudal age to the modern age of human society, establishes a rigid foundation of human's unequal economy and offers a basis for

political and economic powers to justify their domination and exploitation on the Nature and human life. Today, the living of the majority of people is in an unprecedented situation with the socio-economic problems, such as the imbalance distribution of public wealth, joblessness and the establishment of unequal right(s) for different classes of society brought by the spirit of capitalism. However, the recognition of property still has its stable position in human civilization. Capitalists have the "right" to rob various natural resources in the world. They are able to do investments in global market for producing new products with profitable price for the purpose of profit maximization freely. The "winners of the money game" become richer and the majority of world citizens have no freedom to decide whether they want to play the "game". In fact, they are set to play the role of the "losers of the game".

There is no ending for the money game. On the scene of economic globalization, everything could be the "goods" for the purpose of trading, including "sovereignty", "risk", "war" and "terrorism".

The situation of contemporary economic globalization is still strengthening. The promotion of capitalist value is spreading to different parts of the world. The promotion uses the slogan "to improve our quality of life; be richer and developed" to persuade world citizens to accept various capitalist effects. However, the effects of capitalism have brought us the unexampled problems in the aspects of politics, economy, society and environment in human society. We should not ignore the present situation of globalization like this:

> *"These capitalist aspects of globalization are an international class war rooted in capitalism, and its current crisis of profitability. Notwithstanding the hype about the 'new economy' and the 'new prosperity', capitalism has been in crisis since around 1973. Average growth rates in the West in the 1950s were around 5% per year; by the 1970s, they fell to 2%; by the 1980s, the figure was closer to 1%. And so, big business has been trying to restructure itself for survival and renewed profit through the implementation of neo-liberalism: casualization, privatization, subcontracting, welfare cutbacks, regressive tax reform, and the deregulation of trade and money movements. All of these policies are in the interest of the dominant sections of the capitalist class - the giant transnational corporations."* [84]

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[84] Retrieved November 1, 2011, from the "Struggle Site" website: http://struggle.ws/wsm/pdf/pamphlet/globalcap.html

According to the above citation, anti-globalizationalists have their clear observation and understanding on the problems of global capitalist society. Based on the position of opposing the problematic economic situation and its negative effects on the living of common people, they organize lots of social movements and carry out tons of political actions to express their social concerns. For instance, publishing booklets or leaflets and doing the promotion with their viewpoints on the Internet are the main works of them. The above citation objectively states the "dilemma" of the contemporary development of capitalist society. The risk of capitalism, described by the paragraph, is that capitalism in fact does not promise the profitability of doing business with the principle of profit maximization (within a single country or region). Therefore, it seems to be implied that it is necessary to expand the trading market beyond the political border around the world for promising the profitability further. Such acts, to establish new markets and find out new natural/human resources "outside a specific region", are more effective for achieving the purpose of money-making than just doing the adjustment in the leverage between the income and cost expenditure of business[85]. Because of this capitalist thinking logic, the so-called "economic globalization" was born in the twenty-first century.

For promoting the capitalist value further, global businessmen and politicians have created a new term – "neo-liberalism" to justify and support the present development of economic globalization collectively. The connotation of the term

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[85] In human history, colonialism and imperialism were generally exercised by the Western countries, especially the U.K. and the U.S., through the practice of warring and the use of armed forces around the world for the purposes of discovering and exploiting new trading market: "Colonialism is the extension of a country's rule to lands beyond its own borders. These 'new' lands established by the parent country are called colonies. The colonies may be either settler colonies, to which colonists move permanently, or dependencies, which are governed by the parent country but to which few colonists actually move. In settler colonies, the native populations and their cultures often are displaced or, sometimes, eliminated. Colonizing nations generally control the natural resources, the labor force, and the markets of a colony." See: Kozlowski, Darrel J.; Weber, Jennifer L. (2010). *Colonialism*. New York: Infobase. p. 1. However, market, no matter its scale, always has its capacity. When a country establishes its colonies overseas, it means that the scale of the trading market is expanded simultaneously. What is the next when the market is saturated? For the purpose of maintaining the profitability of business, capitalists promote various fictitious needs of human life through the operation of mass media and produce new products for people to fulfill that needs. The palm gadgets such as "iPad" and "PadFone" (which are produced by the well-known electronic manufacturers "Apple" and "Asus") are the good examples of the practices – the necessity of the gadgets for human life is obviously an "open question". Also, the global financial derivatives, such as stock and debenture, are the other notable examples. All of the things are just for the stimulation of the consumption of human society. If this tactic is not enough for capitalists to enlarge the scale of their business, they would cooperate with political powers and use other radical tactics to stimulate the demand of the goods they produced – creating economic panic and financial crisis as well as triggering wars around the world (e.g. the Asian Financial Crisis in 1998, the European Sovereign Debt Crisis; the Iraq War, Afghan War, Libyan War…etc.). Therefore, we can see that the contemporary capitalist society on the scene of globalization is more turbulent than the past ages of the history of human society because of the chase of the sustainability of the unlimited development of world economy held by the vested interests.

suggests that global political powers should consider making more policies to facilitate the free-floating of global capital, such as to realize the increase of the quota of the positions of temporary work for business, the privatization of public service, the decrease of taxes and the removal of the restriction on free commercial investment. These policies which suggested by the promoters of the ideology are related to the protection of the vested interest of transnational enterprises. This is an "old story" about the operation of the "money game" of capitalism: the main purposes of the promotion of "neo-liberalism" are to give a convenience to all capitalists to realize the attempt on cutting down the cost of production, to avoid bearing social responsibility and expand the freedom of the operation of business. All of that, though they use a new term to embellish it, are equal to the principle of profit maximization – the essence of the practice of capitalism.

Ironically, the ideology of "neo-liberalism" has been accepted and adopted by some of global governments (especially the U.S.) gradually. The laissez-faire economic opinion deepens the negative effects of capitalism and causes many economic problems, such as the disappearance of middle class, the less tax income of government, the deterioration of public security, the rise of product price, and the depreciation of currency. Global capitalists are the only who are benefited by "neo-liberalism" because they are able to distribute their properties among different regions in the world freely and transfer the economic risks (the negative effects of capitalism) to common people legally under the policies made by governments based on the principle of the ideology of "neo-liberalism".

Anti-globalizationalists profoundly understand the problems of capitalist society nowadays. They express their concerns about the problems and criticize the global governments that connive with capitalists who use the name "neo-liberalism" as a persuaded term to justify their practice of boundless wealth accumulation and violate the political and economic freedom of the common people around the world. Therefore, we can see that the wave of anti-globalization movement (e.g. the movement of independent media) is spreading in the rest of the world and it would be seen as an endless social phenomenon if the present situation of economic globalization does not change.

Part 2　　The Principle of the Quantification of Capitalism Violating the Nature –
　　　　　Murray Bookchin's Reflection on "Environmentalism"

The principle of capitalist economy, which promotes the value of making huge

amounts of product, consumption and profit, not only violates the common values of freedom and equality of human society, but also damages the ecological system of the Nature. The prosperous developments of the commerce and manufacture of globalized society have caused the serious negative effects on the Nature, such as "Green-house Effect" and the disappearance of glacier in the Antarctic and Arctic regions, which are to be seen as the present situation of extreme climate change because of the unlimited emission of carbon dioxide and other pollutant materials brought by human activities. Murray Bookchin, a contemporary American ecological theorist, has his noteworthy opinions on this issue:

> *"Bookchin's starting point is that modern technology (or technics, as he calls it) has created a new stage in history by enabling humanity to pass from a realm of material scarcity to one of abundance."* [86]

Bookchin argues that the present situation of human society, compared with any past period of history, has become the abundant circumstance for people to carry out their living because of the unduplicated development of modern technology. This point of view is trustworthy because the technics used by human beings for exploiting natural resource and producing goods are both improved that are totally different from the skills of handmade industry in the early period (such as in the Middle Age) of human society. From the eighteenth to nineteenth century, the development of the Industrial Revolution opened up the mechanization of production which economized the use of time and labor for manufacturing industries, as well as expanded the volume of production. Most of the people in modern age, according to this historical progress, are seemed to have a better living condition than the previous generations of human civilization.

However, the progress of production technics brought by the Industrial Revolution, actually, has its negative aspects. In capitalist society, it is acceptable that plenty of economic resources are unfairly distributed and wasted by the minority – the richers of the society. Meanwhile, the life of poorers is more difficult because the majority have no right to share the fruitful economic results contributed by the progress. In the society, it is easier for the richers to accumulate their wealth and this social situation would cause them to depreciate the value of economic resource because all things can be bought up by "capital" readily. At the same time, the operation of mechanized production has caused many ecological risks with the serious

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[86] See: Marshall, Peter (1992). *Demanding the Impossible — A History of Anarchism*. Great Britain: Fontana. p. 609.

problems of environmental pollution:

> *"But while the conditions of post-scarcity provide a real possibility, the recent thrust to increase production in both capitalist societies and communist States has led to a new crisis, the threat of ecological disaster. Bookchin argues however that the roots of the present ecological crisis do not lie in technology, overpopulation, or industrial growth alone but rather in the practice of domination and hierarchy."* [87]

In the age of post-scarcity, the increase of production of human society brings the unprecedented economic development of the world. However, the increase also produces a series of ecological risks for human life simultaneously. The main purpose of the mechanization of production is to raise the volume of production of economy. Also, the increase of the productive volume means the boost of profit. Nevertheless, the principle of capitalist value does not consider the capacity of the Nature whether it can bear the exercises of the profit-lead human activities, including the acts of the endless exploitation and squander of the resources of natural environment – for example, to exploit the new oil fields and mineral resources; to exhaust groundwater; to cut the trees in rainforest for product package; and to allow the further development of heavy polluting industries that pollutes rivers, seas and air around the world. All of that are just for the unnecessary needs of human greed. However, the natural resources, in fact, are limited.

Besides, Bookchin argues that the origin of the risk of global climate change is not only related to the factors of the overpopulation in developing countries and the rapid developments of information technology, industry and commerce, but connected with the domination over the Nature practiced by the upper class of human society. This point of view directs us back to the Proudhon's theory – all natural resources are under controlled by global political powers, transnational enterprises and capitalists with the name "property". The dominators occupy the property of natural resources and see the Nature as an "implement" just for profit making. Common people are unable to change this situation because only the upper class has the dominative power to decide whether it can be changed. According to the logic of capitalism, all people in the world are seen to have the intention to practice the occupation or exploitation on the Nature (as the main body of profit-making resource) because the economic act can accumulate lots of wealth. Before others having the chance to do the same thing, they are seen as the "blind followers" who do not care about the possibility of the

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[87] *Ibid..*

exhaustion of all natural resources. This capitalist idea has been the main reason of the outbreak of a series of global energy crises since 1970s. The dominators have had the property right to exploit the Nature and their acts have caused lots of disastrous environmental crises. Therefore, we in fact have endured the negative effects of them (e.g. the high-priced cost of energy use, the exhaustion of water resource…etc.) for a long time.

> *"As such, Bookchin distinguishes social ecology from environmentalism which merely reflects an instrumental sensibility, views nature as a passive habitat composed of objects, and is principally concerned with conversation and pollution control. Environmentalism dose not question the most basic premises of our society based on domination and hierarchy."* [88]

At first, we need to construct a general understanding and an opposite position on property if we want to stop the situation of the dominance over the Nature and change the relationship between human beings and the Nature from the viewpoint of ecology. It is necessary to re-evaluate the role of the Nature in human life as an organic ecological system without the stances of human egoism and selfish departmentalism. For this purpose, the necessity of the distinction between the positions of social ecology and "environmentalism" is indispensable because "environmentalism" is a kind of standpoint based on the logic of human egoism which sees the Nature as an inorganic passive body which should not be seen as a subject with the status or characteristic of intersubjectivity[89]. Environmentalists do not criticize the main contributors of the phenomena of climate change and environmental pollution: the politico-economic powers, including global governments and capitalists, directly. The powers are killing the sustainability of the Nature only for their vested interests with the name "property". On the one hand environmentalists recognize the property of them on the Nature and do not review the core of environmental problems (capitalist economic system allows their acts), and on the other they just promote the

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[88] *Ibid.*, p. 611.

[89] Intersubjectivity is an important concept of phenomenology brought up by German philosopher Edmund Husserl: "Intersubjectivity is an aspect of the life-world, the core of the life-world. So, intersubjectivity is a condition of the possibility of Objectively valid knowledge (even if sometimes only tacitly). A sort of intersubjectivity is also a condition of the possibility of empathy…intersubjectivity underlies empathy as a sort of original or tacit awareness of Others, as a sort of empathy-horizon which makes possible the conscious experience empathy: 'within the vitally flowing intentionality in which the life of an ego-subject consists, every other ego is already intentionally implied in advance by way of empathy and the empathy-horizon' (C255)." See: Hermberg, Kevin (2006). *Husserl's Phenomenology: Knowledge, Objectivity And Others*. New York: Continuum International. p. 79. "The life-world is the realm of the pregiven in relation to which we live and are conscious; it also provides that against which objects of perception or investigation attain harmony and thus validity." *Ibid.*. Husserl's theory indicates there is a close relationship between the concepts of "life-world" and "intersubjectivity".

void idea of environmental protection. It is clear that the interest of the upper class would be violated if human society carries through the known measures (e.g. the reduction of carbon emission) of environmental protection. This is a contradictory that they claim for protecting natural environment based on the premise of the recognition of the natural exploitation of the powers. Therefore, when we try to discuss or to reflect on the problems of environmental pollution and the possibility of sustainability of human society with the Nature, we, first, need to discard the general standpoint of environmentalism and see the Nature as a "life" – an ecological subject. The Nature is an organism which has given much feedback, such as the phenomena of global warming and glacial melting[90] in Polar Regions, for the expansion of human activities in the world. Those natural phenomena are the hints of a necessary change of the dominative logic of human civilization with the Nature.

However, the logic of capitalism facilitates the non-natural-consideration characteristics of human society. Besides forcing the people who are living in capitalist society to accept consumerism, the logic is also spread around the world through the effect of globalization. Capitalism causes the expansion of global consumerist market, lots of the natural disasters and the imbalance development of global ecology that are affecting the existent condition of the Nature and the life of human beings[91].

As an ideology, capitalism is the core concept directed by the desire of

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[90] "…The IPCC (Intergovernmental Panel on Climate Change) has issued increasingly strong statements about the scientific basis for anthropogenic climate change. In its second assessment report, the IPCC (1995) concluded rather cautiously that it is unlikely that this rise in global temperatures is entirely due to natural causes, noting that 'the balance of evidence suggests a discernible human influence on global climate.' …In its fourth assessment report, the IPCC (2007) concluded that 'the understanding of anthropogenic warming and cooling influences on climate has improved since the third assessment report, leading to very high (greater than 90 percent) confidence that the global average net effect of human activities since 1750 has been one of warming, with an estimated net radiative forcing of +1.6 [+0.6 to +2.4] Watts per square meter'." See: Hackett, Steven C. (2011). *Environmental and Natural Resources Economics: Theory, Policy, and the Sustainable Society*. New York: M.E.Sharpe. p. 267.

[91] The discourse of the endless growth of economy is a "ghost" of modern society which actually has no substantial theoretical foundation in human civilization: "The gurus of the myth of development, who measure everything, have virtually a quantitative vision of the world. They pay no heed to qualitative historical and cultural processes, to the nonlinear progress of society, to the ethical point of view, and they even disregard the environmental impacts." See: Rivero, Oswaldo De (2001). *The Myth of Development: Non-viable Economies of the 21st Century*. Bangladesh: The University. p. 117. Transnational enterprise bosses and capitalists earn huge amount of money through economic globalization. But, they just want to expand their own interests further and have no interest in improving the remuneration of the people working for them. This practice is "legal" in capitalist society because they own the "property" of their wealth which is protected by political powers and need not consider "social responsibility". They have the full power to adjust the percentage of the costs and profits of their businesses based on their greedy instinct. On the other hand, world governments are playing the role in the "men clearing up the mess" for global financial companies, banks and investors as well as capitalists who produce social unrests and economic crises around the world.

"insubstantialism" in human consciousness. One can be easily directed by others when he/she does not know whether they really need to do "such thing" (for fulfilling his/her desires). We can accept the fulfillment for the (raw) desire with substantial character because it is controlled by the functional restriction of human body (based on natural basic needs). However, our body, in fact, cannot bear the overindulgence of desire fulfillment with the idea of "insubstantialism". It is rational that we seek to fulfill the (raw) desire substantially because this attempt conforms to the spirit of the "ecosystem" of the Nature: the existence of human beings is a part of the Nature.

However, the desire fulfillment with "insubstantialism" has its important position in capitalist society. The society promotes consumerism and does not care about the importance of the profound relationship between the substantial desire and human behaviour. It just focuses on the facilitation of consumption: capitalism supports the endless exploitation of human desire even if the act of "insubstantialism" violates people's common values, beliefs and health. In other words, capitalism is an ideology which directs people to change the original consciousness of human beings for creating new possibilities for product consuming. Because of the influence of the character of insubstantialism of capitalism, people work for the exploitation of the possibility of "consuming things" which is not related to the fulfillment of the (raw) desire (which links to basic living needs). Capitalism promotes the value of having a "better life". But, what is the true meaning of "better life"? In capitalist thinking logic, to be a "richer" is the way to have a "better life" because richer can buy anything to fulfill "his needs". What are the exact contents of "his needs"? Are "his needs" equal to "our needs"? In fact, "his needs" are not our needs (but the "needs" are deeply related to capitalists' interest) because global capitalists produce "untrue" needs for people to believe in. The untrue needs are not based on our basic needs of life that have no relation with the substantial desire in human consciousness.

In contemporary globalized world, it seems that we are unable to distinguish the substantial desire which is based on our basic needs of life from the insubstantial desire produced by capitalist society. Capitalism does not encourage us to reflect on the distinction of the desires because their interests would be violated if all people realize their real needs and decrease the unnecessary consumption for desire fulfillment in their everyday life.

Nowadays, the widespread recession of global economy is an evidence to prove that the untrue needs of capitalist society based on the desire of "insubstantialism" are unable to facilitate the further development of human civilization. Capitalism has

become a popular ideology in the West since 1980s and seems to reach its end in the age of globalization. The serious negative effects of it (such as various natural disasters) imply a "dilemma" of contemporary human society. For this present global situation, anti-globalization movement has play a main role that it brings a reflective aspect for people to meditate on their problematic daily lives and criticizes the vested interests of capitalism. Through Proudhon's theory of the reflection on "property" and Bookchin's viewpoint of social ecology, we can understand the origins of the theoretical foundation of anti-globalization movement that the related arguments offered by the theorists are worthy to be reviewed for analyzing the essential context of the situation of human civilization on the scene of globalization further.

Section 3   Anti-Globalization on the Political Issue: the Reflection on Representative Democracy

Part 1   From the Beginning of Democracy: The Viewpoints from K.H.Z. Solneman and the Weakness of Global Governmental Power

In political aspect, capitalist economic globalization has caused the weakening of the governance of global states. For Western nation-states, there are some objective conditions for practicing international trade and free-market economy that one of the conditions: political condition is the most important aspect of it. Free economy with the achievements of stability and prosperity is based on practicing a "suitable political system" that would ensure the sustainability of the economic development of nation-states. The propaganda of this opinion in fact has its political purposes. One of the purposes is for the further promotion of "democracy". Generally speaking, the so-called "representative democracy" is the main form of the democratic system in Western societies. The United States of America, one of the representative democratic countries, attempts to link up the relationship between the achievements of free-market economy and the practice of democratic political system. The U.S. argues the two are always interdependent.[92]

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[92] For the purpose of expanding political influence and economic interest, Western countries, especially the U.S., are willing to link up the relation between the necessity of the establishment of the political system of democracy with capitalist economy: "…he (George W. Bush) is the most fully developed neoliberal of the presidents studied here – for him, the global marketplace is of singular significance, and the connection between democratic forms of government, capitalistic modes of economic organization, and the protection of <human rights> is clear." See: Stuckey, Mary E. (2008). *Jimmy Carter, Human Rights and the National Agenda*. USA: Texas A & M University. p. 82. Modern democratic politics attempts to realize the core value of "democracy" – people can (have the right to) rule themselves. However, the performance of the governance of democratic states around the world is deteriorated and dysfunctional under the effect of globalization. This issue and relative reflection will

Since the last century, the U.S. had experienced the rapid economic developments through getting involved into the World War I and II[93]. Besides benefited from the demands of the belligerent states for energy, arms, economic goods and materials, the U.S. also had a lot of chances to promote its political value and develop its economic influence around the world. After the wars, it strongly emphasized its prior position in international community as a "successful example" of political body for promoting the necessity of global democratization and argued that the representative democracy can realize and guarantee the common values, such as freedom, equality and justice. Today, the U.S., as the main promoter of the waves of democratization, is willing to help the people or the political organizations around the world that have the attempt to establish a (new) state with a democratic political system. Through electing representatives, the relation between the political institution with "validity" and the will of citizenry would be built up (based on the idea of the political promotion held by the U.S.). Obviously, the U.S., at this point, has its political purposes to promote democratization in the world.[94]

According to the developing history of the concept of democracy, we can find out the earliest democratic system was appeared in Athens in the fifth century B.C.. At that period, the city-state had developed a kind of political system which allowed the

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be discussed in the following paragraphs further.

[93] "The immense cost of World Wars I and II shattered European economies, fomented revolution, and in the ensuring economic shambles, shifted the mantle of premier world power to the United States. A nation in debt to the Old World through-out the nineteenth century, America for the first time became a creditor nation. By 1915 its economy boomed based on the huge demand for goods to fight the European war. The credit American industry had extended to Britain and France spiraled to levels that made U.S. bankers nervous; by 1917 it had reached $2 billion. What if the allies lost the war and couldn't pay their debts? It was suggested by American socialists that the United States declared war on Germany for precisely this reason, a war not for civilization and democracy, but for capitalism and greed. While historians tend to discount this as a major reason, the obvious financial structure under the country's war declaration served to perpetuate the economic good times that paradoxically benefited America during World War I." See: Collins, Ross F. (2008). *World War One*. California: ABC-CLIO. p. 69. "War resulted commonly in increased collaboration between business leaders and government. Business leaders played a role in planning U.S. deployments in both World War I and World War II. Charles Erwin 'Engine Charlie' Wilson left his position as president of General Motors to serve as U.S. Secretary of Defense in the Eisenhower administration, during which legislation beneficial to big business was passed, including the Interstate Highway and Defense Act of 1956." See: Clark, Cynthia L.. Northrup, Cynthia Clark (2011). *The American Economy: A Historical Encyclopedia: Band 1*. California: ABC-CLIO. p. 552.

[94] "No country has had a greater impact on global democratization, for better and for worse, than the United States during the twentieth century…The U.S. pursuit of global democratization historically has served an ambiguous combination of altruistic aspirations and concrete national self-interests. Unfortunately, the subordination of U.S. democratic ideals to geopolitical concerns during the Cold War, combined with the tendency to impose its own democratic model on foreign countries, fueled ideological polarization within many developing countries and left a legacy of mistrust and resentment that has yet to be overcome more than a decade after the Cold War's collapse." See: Schraeder, Peter J. (2002). *Exporting Democracy: Rhetoric Vs. Reality*. UK: Lynne Rienner. p. 109.

"citizens" of the state to participate in the process of decision-making on various political issues, such as making laws and doing a declaration of war with other states, which is called the system of "direct democracy". However, here is a question: who were the "citizens" in the city-state? In the age of Ancient Greece, the so-called "citizens" were not the majority of the people in Athens. If a man was not (to be seen as) a citizen, he would have no right to participate in such political commitment. The political system of ancient Athens is a "model of democracy" which has been recognized as the origin of democratic politics in human history. Unfortunately, we can discover that there is a kind of class consciousness in the political system of the city-state. In fact, the "citizens" of the city-state had the right to practice the "direct democracy", but they were not the majority of the state:

> *"Among the ancient Greeks, who are considered the inventors of democracy, there was no talk at all about equal freedom or, at least, about equal rights for all. Even political rights were possessed by only a tiny minority of about 3% of the total population. Otherwise, the population consisted of unfree persons, slaves and those politically disfranchised."* [95]

K.H.Z. Solneman (Kurt Helmut Zube), a German socio-political critic, has his original opinions on the reflection of contemporary democratic politics in his work "*The Manifesto of Peace and Freedom*". From his point of view, Athens, which is seen as a "democratic city-state", was not democratic because the basic human rights, such as freedom and equality, were not available to all members of the state and the political rights were only shared by the upper class of Athens on the specific social condition in the age of Ancient Greece. The majority of the social members in the state, including slaves and women, had no political right at all. In other words, the "democratic city-state" – Athens, the so-called "originated place of democracy", was established based on an unequal and classified social structure of human civilization. Therefore, we can find out that the politics of ancient Athens actually had its oligarchy and elitist features.

> *"The concept of 'democracy' is also affected by the conservatism of habits characteristic for the development of human thinking."* [96]

From Solneman's point of view, political right had never conferred to common people under the practice of democratic political system in human history. Democracy

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[95] See: Solneman, K.H.Z. (1983). *The Manifesto of Peace and Freedom*. New York: Mackay-Gesellschaft. p. 109.
[96] *Ibid.*, pp. 107-108.

follows the developmental tendency of human society based on the principle of elitism to realize its political purpose – the implement of power. Someone would be elected to be a representative if he or she is seen to be "competent" or has the "talent" or "specialized skill(s)" to exercise political power on the scene of democratic politics. There are lots of questions related to the element of democracy (including the practice of democratic system): what is the so-called "competence" of a democratic political figure? How does it come? How do we evaluate the "competence"? What are the standards about it? For example, how do we justify a man (as a representative in democratic government) with the professional background of "agro-ecology" who has enough intelligence to determine the volume of the budget of a state? Is it reasonable to call such political system based on the spirit of elitism as a "democratic system"? From this approach, we can understand the practice of democracy has its feature of the recognition of social elitism.

The main difference between the politics of ancient Athens and the practice of contemporary democratic politics is on the status of "power-exerciser" of the system. For instance, "citizens" (as a status of social class) who are the only group of people had the right to join in the official discussion in the parliament of the state and other classes of people had no right to do so in the ancient Athens. Modern democratic nation-states generally recognize their nationals (or citizens, besides foreigners or criminals), who are the majority of state, have the political right to elect the representatives to represent them to express their voices in parliament through the practice of voting behaviour at national election day. According to this fact, we can discover a noteworthy point of the modern practice of democracy that the political right, through democratic system, has been universalized to the common people of state in the progress of the historical development of human society. The value of democracy is based on the realization of equality of the same political right for all classes of people[97]. Democratic states realize the value of democracy through granting the right of voting for all their nationals.

Is it adequate for practicing the universal political commitment of common people through using the voting approach to realize the democratic value? To answer this question, we need to proceed an on-the-spot investigation on the source of the representatives of democratic system and review the process of how do they become

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[97] "The democratic values of equality and liberty may be enhanced by participation in decision-making in the workplace…In a participatory workplace, an individual could learn about the value of political equality, provided that participation 'refers to (equal) participation in the making of decisions, and "political equality" refers to equality of power in determining the outcome of decisions'." See: Gallian, Brian (1997). *Rethinking Human Rights*. Sydney: Federation. p. 109.

representatives. In the process of the practice of democratic politics, the representatives, including the councilors, legislators, chancellor and president of state, could have no professional capacity or sagacity (as common people) but elected by the citizens or nationals in democratic states because they are just the well-known figures of local society[98].

Nowadays, the most important condition of being a candidate of representative for national election is to hold a huge amount of capital for paying various expenditures, including registration fee, earnest money of the elections and lots of advertisement for promoting personal political viewpoints, for participating in the "political electoral game". In the countries with the short history for practicing democratic system, it is easy to find out the corruptive cases of buying vote for getting elected and the interest-tunneling practice done by electoral candidate. It is because the common people in those countries do not fully understand the significance of the behaviour of voting in the political system which includes the implication of the transference of political right. They may see the behaviour of voting as a kind of "interest exchange". In developed democratic states, the majority of nationals realize the meaning of voting and they would compare the differences of the political views of candidates and elect a "suitable candidate" who can be believed in as their representative working in parliament. Wherever the political system is practiced, the "players" of the system need a lot of capital to pay off the expenditures of their promotion works. Therefore, the first mission of being a candidate of democratic election is to solve the funding issue.

Here, transnational businessmen, bosses and investors who have plenty of wealth play an important role in the practice of democratic politics. They themselves have the economic condition to become the electoral candidates, or to support other persons to become the candidates for participating in national political election legally. Vote, for them, is not the main implement for influencing the climate of democratic politics. They can directly buy up the future political figures before election through offering capital for the players of the democratic system. Of course, this is a "business deal". The candidate who supported by the wealthy men would give an "appropriate feedback" for their "sponsors" when they successfully become the officials of the

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[98] "Most of the time, the people are not acquainted with the relevant political, juridical, and administrative measures; those are beyond their immediate concern and almost always escape their control. The men in charge of local and regional governments live in a different environment, far removed from the people, who know very little about them. They do not know these leaders' characters personally, and judge them only by their public speeches, which are packed with lies to trick the people into supporting them..." Retrieved June 1, 2013, from the "Works of Mikhail Bakunin 1870" website: http://www.marxists.org/reference/archive/bakunin/works/1870/on-elections.htm

government of the democratic nation-states[99].

The core issue of capitalist economic globalization which deteriorates the governance of democratic states is: the representatives of democratic government are always influenced by the "sponsors" when they exercise the governmental power in the system. Political figures are unable to realize their political promises for common people because they have contacted with the "sponsors" and have accepted their substantial material supports before taking their positions: such "promises" are just the "instrument" to make people vote for them. Can we expect the figures that have the intention to solve plenty of social problems? Contemporary democratic system generally popularizes the political right to common people to let them participate in politics in state through holding regular election(s), but this approach of the political system, in fact, is still an oligarchy politics: democracy is a "political game" for a small group of "representatives" who are sponsored by the people in the upper class of society (e.g. global capitalists, entrepreneurs…etc.) to exercise political power in the situation.

Today, this kind of restrictive and conservative political system is still being promoted by the U.S. and some Western states on the scene of globalized world.

"It should be noted that in a democracy the rule of the elected 'representatives of the people' (or rather a majority of them) in no way ends when they leave parliament. For many of the legal provisions and institutions created by them during their legislative period continue to exist far into the future." [100]

Solneman argues that the practice of representative democratic system in modern political society fundamentally has its constructive problem. Basically, there is a significance of democratic politics compared with the practices of autocracy and imperialism in the past ages of human history because it can avoid the long-term monopoly of political power. Democratic system gives out the right to nationals to

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[99] "Politics costs money, and some claim that money distorts political equality and work from the premise that greater financial means will lead to greater political influence (Adamany and Agree 1975, 2-3; Ewing 1992)…The reality is, however, that wealthy groups are often represented beyond the proportion of their number. As a result, inequalities in money are greater than any other inequalities of the resources that go into political life, because money can buy virtually any of the resources that are given directly by citizens (Adamany and Agree 1975; Paltial 1981)." See: Young, Lisa; Jansen, Harold J. (2011). *Money, Politics, and Democracy: Canada's Party Finance Reforms*. Canada: UBC. pp. 21-22.
[100] See: Solneman, K.H.Z. (1983). *The Manifesto of Peace and Freedom*. New York: Mackay-Gesellschaft. pp. 115-116.

check on or to review the governance of regime regularly. If the democratic government does not fulfill the expectation of the common people in the state, they can use the vote as an implement to express their dissidence and "designate" other persons who are seem to be suitable on the work to represent their will for exercising the political power (right) in government.

The core problem is: the so-called "representative democratic system" deprives the responsibility of politics of common people[101]. In such system, people believe that unsuited officials or delinquent politicians would be "punished" when they are forced to leave their positions in the government and the negative effects of their political decisions would be terminated immediately. In fact, every political decision and legislation made by the representatives in the system would influence the future development of democratic state continuously. For example, the "improper laws" would be enforced until the successors of the former lawmakers abolish them. This fact proves that the act of "stepping-down" or "dismissing-from-office" should not be seen as a "responsible political behaviour" in the practice process of democratic politics. It is possible that political figures cooperate or deal with interest groups in the term of service, and common people have no "effective legal approach" to tackle the corruptive situation promptly. They need to wait the next election day(s) to use their votes to weed the figures out. Moreover, the problematic policies and laws with the negative effects for the development of the state would continue to be operated. This political situation is the most serious defect of the practice of modern democratic

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[101] "A misconceived representative system robs citizens of their opinions, their sense of responsibility and their activity, and afterwards legitimizes itself by pointing to the lack of these things. If citizens lose their opinions, they also lose their sense of community and their community life. If you have opinions, you naturally want to convince other people of your opinions, you create communities and you guarantee not only an important human value but also one of the major prerequisites of democratic politics. This is another way in which representative democracy cuts off the branch it is sitting on. 'One of the mischiefs of representative government, which insists on governing for a citizenry to which it promises to be accountable, is that it robs individuals of common activities that could form a citizenry into a community. Even if a representative regime governs on behalf of its clients with efficiency, equitability, and due respect for popular liberty, it will impair rather than enhance the people's capacity for lateral public ties and community affection' (Barber 1984:244). And therefore, it will destroy one of the foundations of democracy, namely community feeling." See: Spagnoli, Filip (2003). *Homo Democraticus: On the Universal Desirability and the Not So Universal Possibility of Democracy and Human Rights*. UK: Cambridge Scholars. p. 150. "Most of the public affairs and laws, especially those dealing with the well-being and material interests of the local communities and associations are settled in ways beyond the grasp of the people, without their knowledge or concern, and without their intervention. The people are committed to ruinous policies, all without noticing. They have neither the experience nor the time to study all these laws and so they leave everything to their elected representatives. These naturally promote the interests of their class rather than the prosperity of the people, and their greatest talent is to sugarcoat their bitter measures, to render them more palatable to the populace. Representative government is a system of hypocrisy and perpetual falsehood. Its success rests on the stupidity of the people and the corruption of the public mind." Retrieved June 1, 2013, from the "Works of Mikhail Bakunin 1870" website:
http://www.marxists.org/reference/archive/bakunin/works/1870/on-elections.htm

system.

> *"Governments and parties are to a large extent dependent upon special interest groups, and the selection of their representatives, which is manipulated by a small clique, is usually even more of a comedy than that of the 'representatives of the people.' The latter, to the extent that they do not fight bitterly among themselves for positions and ministerial portfolios, exercise 'party discipline' and vote 'yes' or 'no,' mostly without knowing what they are doing, in accordance with whatever the 'experts' of the bureaucracy and the committees, or the party leadership, recommend."* [102]

The structural problems of contemporary democratic politics not only include the above point, but also contain the issue of the general practice of "party politics". In a democratic government, we can discover that most of the representatives elected by common people are subordinated to different political parties. Political party is a kind of organized structural unit which is a group of political figures who have the same political faith or interest that they can achieve their political purposes through cooperating with each other in legislative process and also sharing the financial support contributed by other non-governmental circles for the party. Generally speaking, political party has its own political ideological value(s) and specific position(s) on various social issues. Through political propaganda, the party would receive supports from the people who have the same point of view of the particular ideological values or social concerns. Political figures can exercise an effective power in government through the operation of the function of political party[103]. The positive aspect of party politics includes facilitating the efficiency of democratic system, centralizing the political power of representatives and increasing the potency of the governance of democratic state.

Of course, there are also negative aspects of the practice of party politics. Political party firstly weakens the representation and independency of the representatives in democratic government. Theoretically, representatives who are

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[102] See: Solneman, K.H.Z. (1983). *The Manifesto of Peace and Freedom*. New York: Mackay-Gesellschaft. p. 116.

[103] In November 2011, Vladimir Putin, the (former) Russian Prime Minister, was nominated again as the candidate of the President of Russian Federation through the manipulation of the nomination of the political party "United Russia". After that, he (who had already taken the office from 2000 to 2008) was success in becoming the Russian President in 2012 and was congratulated by the counterparts of the main Western countries. Although Russia is not generally seen as a democratic state, from this case we can understand the fact that party politics is easy to be controlled by careerists for achieving particular political interest. At any rate, common people have no right to influence or to affect such kind of political manipulation because the "party" is the second power centre of a state (besides the government as the first one) which could be operated out of the supervision of the majority of people.

elected by the common people in a state have the responsibility to express the people's voices in parliament. The spirit of democracy is hereby embodied: when a man vote on someone, it means a man uses his political right to authorize someone to represent him to perform his political will in government. Here, the role of political party breaks the pure relationship between representative and voter. Nowadays, the party, as another centre of political power, can directly influence the will or intention of its representatives (as the members of the party) besides voters (through voting in the process of election). For example, the chieftain of political party can direct all of the party members to obey his/her political order or unite them for specific legislative action for particular political purpose or interest.

This is also a "deal" in a political party: representatives need to give a "good intention" for or to support their colleagues' drafts of laws before they are supported by their colleagues in other lawmaking processes. Voters have their "interests", so do political parties. If there is an interest conflict between voters and political parties, the first would be sacrificed usually. In this common situation, the practice of party politics is not parallel with the spirit of democracy – people rule themselves with their own will – which in fact weakens the original political relationship between representative(s) and voter(s).

Secondly, party politics ignores the professional judgment of representatives. One more example here: according to the judgment of a group of representatives with financial profession background, a bill of weaponry investment of government ought not to be passed because the state has its difficulty with a huge amount of national debt. However, the "boss" of the party orders that the representatives must support the bill because the party has received a tunnel funding support from weaponry businesses. What should the representatives do?

Finally, party politics could be an implement for transnational entrepreneurs, investors and capitalists to control the economic developing tendency of democratic state. There are lots of chances for the economic players to intervene in the practice of democratic politics. They can fund a specific political party or a group of representatives to help them to express their opinions in the process of policymaking and realize their vested interests through controlling the will of the party members to make beneficial laws for them. Buying up a political party (or a group of the parties or the parties in other countries) is more convenient to control the parliament of government. Also, it seems political figures need not to have professional knowledge and be responsible to voters because the policymaking of government would be based

on the "parties' interest", not the common people's interest. Through this analysis of the essence of party politics, it is easy for us to understand the Solneman's criticism on the practice of representative democracy.

> *"Democracy is the unsuccessful attempt to obscure the fact that the State uses aggressive force by making a 'right' out of this (i.e. by attempting to feign such a right). For rights can only arise out of free agreements, and no one can maintain that all those subjugated to the State's authority consent to this condition."* [104]

According to Solneman's point of view, the so-called "democracy" is a kind of political system which includes an attempt to cover up the fact that the government of a state is actually a political framework for exercising absolute "power politics". Solneman argues that this attempt is not successful because we generally understand that human right is unable to be guaranteed by any coercive power through the establishment of governmental power. The construction of the right can only be ensured by the practice of free agreement with no pressure from any dominative power. According to this understanding, no one can link up the carrying-through of the spirit of human right with the exercise of political power, including the practice of democratic politics.

Through the above analysis, we can realize the relative problems of the system of democratic politics. The politics could be controlled by financial supporters in globalized world easily. "Democracy" can be a kind of common value of politics because it suggests people have the right to rule themselves. The right of them ought to be respected. However, the practice of democracy with the operations of representative system and party politics is unable to realize the spirit (or value) of democracy. It is because there is a huge distance between the intentions of voter and representative which is related to the functionality of political party. In other words, party politics makes democracy "not to be democratic". In addition, democracy, in the age of globalization, is just a political system for the upper class to maintain their vested interests. Although the rule of the "political game" is changed (compared with the past imperialistic or dictatorial politics), the essence of politics is the same: a man or a group of men dominates the life of the common people in a particular region of the world.

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[104] See: Solneman, K.H.Z. (1983). *The Manifesto of Peace and Freedom*. New York: Mackay-Gesellschaft. p. 122.

Thus it can be seen that "democracy" is an ideal value used by the men of ambition to persuade people to believe in. The representative democratic system, as the main approach to practice democracy, seems "democratic", but the name of it falls short of the reality. Some global politicians package such kind of political authoritarianism up with the "glace icing" (called "democracy") to realize the maintenance of the domination of political power around the world.

For example, the U.S. and the U.K. promote a point of view that the situation of economic prosperity and the powerful of the West are both based on their mixed practices of the political and economic systems – representative democracy and global capitalism. The occurrence of the series of contemporary economic crises proves that such propagation of the systems is false and has its particular political and economic machinations[105].

From the viewpoint of economy, the field of the world society can be seen as a huge business market. In the last two centuries, the U.K. had developed its "British Empire" worldwide with global imperialism and colonialism for fulfilling the economic demand of British businessmen for new markets because of the influence of the Industrial Revolution. This fact is a good exemplification to explain why Western countries (that draw close with the value of capitalism) usually have the attempt to expand their market economies globally. After the World War I and II, the U.S. was the representative nation which did the same thing like the U.K. did. The country propagated the values of democracy and economic freedom to Asia and the Middle East and aroused the common people in those regions to overthrow their governments (or to participate in the civil wars of their countries). The purpose of the promotion of democratization around the world practiced by the U.S. was fully for the so-called "national interest".[106]

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[105] Please refer to the footnote No. 43.

[106] There is a notable case to reflect the relation between U.S.'s economic interest and many global wars: the Muammar Gaddafi's government of Libya was collectively overthrown by domestic rebels and the North Atlantic Treaty Organization, NATO with the name of "overpowering dictatorship" of the regime: "Indeed, the Libya intervention seems to embody 'globalized' characteristics to an even greater extent than the one in Kosovo:…the Libya intervention gained at least initial authorization from the UN security Council (as well as the Arab League). It would appear that the Libya case is an archetypal 'post-national' intervention, for a truly globalized world, one that is based on humanitarian motives, instead of national or material interests.   Under scrutiny, however, the humanitarian explanation for this intervention appears quite weak…there is enough evidence to show that the military-industrial complexes of the participating states – notably those of Britain and France – had an interest in this intervention. The first interest was to use the Libya intervention as a means to showcase European weaponry, and thus to increase overseas arms sales…Another factor in the Libyan intervention was the budgetary dilemmas associated with the European militaries. Due to reduced revenues resulting from the recession, several European states have experienced revenue shortfalls, and their governments have responded with massive budget cutting, most notably in Britain…Shortly after the Libya bombing campaign commenced, there was open discussion in the British press that the naval

The Western nations acknowledge that the representative democratic system has its deficiencies that the system is probably not applicable everywhere (besides the problem of party politics, the practice of democratic system always causes the phenomenon of political corruption in rising countries [107]). As we can see, representative democracy itself is a controversial political system which can be easily penetrated by the upper class of society. The reason why the Western nations want to promote democracy and capitalism to different regions of the world is mainly for expanding their interest because the West would have the opportunities to participate in the process of the economic development of other countries and establish their priorities in the politico-economic bodies. Therefore, they firstly provoke and support the people in the regions to start the practice of political revolution(s) through the propagandized systems, such as the Internet, mainstream media and the operation of non-governmental organizations (to produce the social atmosphere of the political change). After the revolution(s), they would rationalize their intervention in the processes of the establishment of the new governments and their policymaking in the regions with the high-sounding reason of "encouraging democracy and freedom"[108]. At this moment, global businesses would be benefited by the outcome of the political change because they are probably, for example, being authorized by the figure-head governments controlled by the Western nations (because of the previous support from the West for their power exercise) to exploit various natural resources there[109]. This

cuts had been a mistake and needed to be reconsidered (Kirkup 2011)…And finally, there is the question of oil. It should not be forgotten that the military-industrial complex has often aligned itself with overseas investors, who seek military protection for their investments – and the oil industry has clearly been one such ally…Several of the world's major oil companies have invested in Libya, including ENI of Italy, Total of France, Conoco-Philips of the US, and BP of Britain, among many others. …And more generally, there was anxiety about the political unrest sweeping across the Arab world, including the very valuable Persian Gulf, and the dangers that these events posed for Western oil supplies. It seems likely that the oil companies welcomed the Western military intervention as a stabilizing factor for Libyan oil; and also as a show of force for the whole Arab world, to demonstrate that Western powers could still exert control." See: Cox, Ronald W. (2012). *Corporate Power and Globalization in Us Foreign Policy*. Oxon: Routledge. pp. 108-109.

[107] "This 'global corruption epidemic' is the result of two trends: (1) the end of the Cold War and the emergence of civil societies have contributed to the disclosure of corruption scandals in many countries, and (2) the trend toward democracy and markets, which has paradoxically 'increased both the opportunities for graft and the likelihood of exposure' (Leiken, 1996/1997, p.58). In addition to these trends, Hess and Dunfee (2000, p.9) contend that the high-profile corruption scandals in South Korea, Italy, Brazil, Venezuela, Mexico, Spain, and Ecuador in the 1990s also 'increased the attention placed on corruption.'" See: Quah, Jon S. T. (2011). *Curbing Corruption in Asian Countries: An Impossible Dream?* UK: Emerald books. p. 8.

[108] For example: "US and EU consider bilateral trade talks" on 29 Nov. 2011 with the contents that "The statement from Monday's summit also touched on issues on which the US and EU broadly agree – such as concerns over Iran's nuclear programme, nurturing clean energy technology and encouraging democracy in the wake of the Arab Spring." Retrieved November 29, 2011, from the BBC News website: http://www.bbc.co.uk/news/world-us-canada-15932221

[109] For example, the monopoly of the exploitation of the oil in Iraq was held by the U.S. government after the Gulf War: "Occupation authorities attempted to control the oil industry without destroying it.

kind of "political trick" is constructed by the thinking logic of selfish departmentalism based on the general operation of global politico-economic strategy on the scene of globalization which seriously obstructs the progress of the civilization of human society.

As a kind of political system, representative democracy is unable to effectively tackle the problems of economic globalization. The governance of democratic nation-states is being eroded by world capitalists. However, it does not mean that political power would collapse in the future because most capitalists still need a "setting" of political implement (e.g. the world governments) to protect their acts for interest exploitation. Hence, the relationship between political powers and global capitalists would be tighter and the two camps would integrate with each other as a huge interest group of the world if there is nobody to fight against the present situation of the developments of world politics and global economy.

As we can see, there are some theorists, such as Proudhon, Bookchin and Solneman, who are enthusiastic at researching the political and economic as well as social problems brought by the practices of capitalism and representative democracy. Their theories and thoughts are absorbed and promoted by anti-globalizationalists that the spiritual elements have become the theoretical foundations of anti-globalization movement since the twenty-first century.

Part 2   Constructing a New Form of Political Power: The Games between Governments

Whatever the form of government is, all political powers are subsumed within the effect of capitalist economic globalization and become the permanent setting for solving the socio-economic problems brought by the effect. The original purpose of politics is to ensure the practices of basic human rights, including freedom, equality, and safety, of people in the world. However, the authorities – political powers are now

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This included security provision and attempts to enfranchise foreign companies and personnel. More significantly, the US ensured policy oversight by placing senior international oil company executives and others in 'advisory' roles to the Ministry of Oil (Iraq), with the intent to restructure the Ministry and develop strategic policy options. A key figure in US policy appears to have been Phillip Carroll, advisor to the Ministry of Oil until October 2003, and a former Chief Executive Officer at Shell Oil USA. Carroll apparently fought off early plans by American neoconservatives and their Iraqi allies to quickly privatize Iraq's oil, fearing that this would freeze out major international oil companies from deals, as local warlords and oligarchs would take charge. The relatively cautious US oil policy persisted through two consecutive government administrations. This caution is consistent with major oil companies' preference for a stable and firm fiscal and legal framework for long-term involvement in the country." See: Mazeel, Muhammed Abed (2011). *Iraq Oil and Gas Papers 2010*. Hamburg: disserta Verlag. p. 68.

serving the upper class in human society, such as global capitalists, international investors, transnational enterprises, banks, financial institutions and land businesses. The economic players create "lots of wealth" through the operations of the factitious transaction and interest reaping of capital. At the same time, their economic activities for wealth accumulation profoundly influence the calculated results of the statistic figures of national economy. The "increase" of the figures (proved by particular statistic methods) that reflect the situation of the economy of nation-states can help political powers to evidence their effective governance on economy and persuade people into accepting their dominance. The interests of the powers and the economic players are hereby integrated.

Therefore, the main works of global nation-states now are to tackle the economic problems of the world which include: maintaining the growth of economy, creating jobs, investing in the banks that have the shortage of capital to avoid their bankruptcy[110]. The works are aimed at dealing with the negative effects of economic globalization and the "dilemma" of capitalist society. Political authorities are no longer the institutions for promising the basic security of society and welfare of people's life, but the "hierarchies" for the new approach of the cooperative relationship between nation-states and economic powers at international level.

From the above argument, we can realize that the shift of the teleology of politics evidences the invalidation of the theory and practice of democracy. Nowadays, the presidents of global governments are willing to participate in the summits or conferences of economic cooperative organizations for the purposes of realizing the

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[110] For tackling the problems of economic recession and the capital shortage of banks and financial corporations, the Board of Governors of the Federal Reserve System of the U.S. has carried out the economic policy of "quantitative easing" since 2000: "This involves an aggressive version of open-market operations, where the central banks buys up a range of assets, such as securitised mortgage debt and long-term government bonds. The effect is to pump large amounts of additional cash into the economy in the hope if stimulating demand and, through the process of credit creation, to boost broad money too…In the USA, in December 2008, at the same time as the federal funds rate was cut to a range of 0 to 0.25 percent, the Fed embarked on large-scale quantitative easing. It began buying hundreds of billions of dollars worth of mortgage-backed securities on the open market and planned also to buy large quantities of long-term government debt. The Federal Open Market Committee (the interest ate setting body in the USA) said that, 'The focus of the committee's policy going forward will be to support the functioning of financial markets and stimulate the economy through open-market operations and other measures that sustain the size of the Federal Reserve's balance sheet at a high level.' The result was that considerable quantities of new money were injected into the system. This also had the effect of reducing interest rates on the assets purchased by the Fed, thereby stimulating aggregate demand…The danger of this approach is that in the short run little credit creation may take place. People need to have the confidence to borrow…There is also the danger that if this policy us conducted for too long, the growth in money supply may then prove to be excessive, resulting in inflation rising above the target level. It would thus be important for central banks to foresee this and turn the monetary 'tap' off in time." See: Sloman, John; Wride, Alison (2009). *Economics*. England: Pearson Education. p. 588.

sustainability of economic growth and tackling economic crises. In the process of the participations, the heads also have another purpose for expanding their political influence in international community. Compared with some traditional political organizations (e.g. the United Nations), global political bodies have stronger intention to join the international economic organizations, such as "G20", "APEC", "Association of Southeast Asian Nations, ASEAN", "WTO" and, the new economic allies for the developing countries, the "BRIC economies"[111] and the "Trans-Pacific Strategic Economic Partnership, TPP", as the power platforms for claiming more political and economic interests.

Therefore, global nation-states are practicing the transformation of the role of political power through the process of the development of capitalist economic globalization. Under this background, the effect of economic globalization mainly contributes two kinds of power integration to the transformation: (1) within a state, economic globalization causes the integration of the interests of political power and businessmen. The result of this is: the expenditure of state for common people, such as social service and welfare, would be decreased for paying the debts made by financial institutions; (2) political powers tend to concern with and serve in various economic interests in global field with other counterparts (not just focus on the economic affairs within the border of country), such as exploiting new markets and more natural resources with other political powers which have the similar attempt of the acts around the world.

For the first point, we can find out the hint from the popularization of the value of capitalism and the rapid development of rich-man-friendly atmosphere of human society. From a philosophical reflective approach, the essence of human life could be diversified without any fixed standard or model. This kind of basic understanding of human life, as a common value, is not parallel with the thinking logic of modern capitalist society. In the process of living, there could be many goals of life that are worthy to be accomplished that are more significant than just "making money". This is an important point that everyone, as an individual, should take the responsibility to find out the "ultimate answer" for his/her life. For example, working for human society for the purposes of spiritual perfection and the fulfillment of basic living

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[111] The "BRIC" is a term brought by the American investment corporation "Goldman Sachs" in 2001 which is being used for mentioning the four rising economic powers, including Brazil, Russia, India and China: "As we have seen, the BRIC countries of Brazil, Russia, India and China interact with the West in the different ways. China is the manufacturing powerhouse, while India has created a niche for itself in service. Brazil and Russia are suppliers of key commodities like agricultural products and oil." See: Casali, Daniel (2008). *New Empires: The Challenge to America's global dominance*. USA: Lulu.com. p. 55. The countries have collectively held a series of summit conferences for the purpose of expanding their political and economic influences in international community further since 2008.

needs is one of the significances of human life.

The value of capitalism does not respect the essence of the diversity of human life. The value promotes another inclination: a unitary ideology of "better life" which means to earn more and more money to realize the "better life" like wealthy men's do. When most people believe in the capitalist value and make lots of money to support their consumption, the economic situation of human society would become "prosperous" and relative economic statistic figures would grow up at the same time. It seems that the situation actually reflects a "positive development" of the civilization of human society. In fact, the practice of capitalism based on the calculation of statistic methodology for analyzing the situation of modern economy ignores the distinction and the differences between "labor (substantial) economy" (e.g. agriculture, manufacture, building, mining, petroleum, telecommunication and service industries) and "non-labor (insubstantial) economy" (e.g. real estate, financial and bank industries). The two economies are usually merged into an "overall economy" which is calculated with some simplex economic statistics (e.g. the "GDP" and the "PPP") by global economists for reviewing the situation of the economic bodies around the world. The core problem is: the "non-labor economy" violates the "labor economy" which causes global economy to lose its balance under the globalization of capitalist economy gradually. The fundamental principle of the balance of economy is that the production of "labor economy" can fully cover the consumption of the whole economic body (including the consumption of "non-labor economy") of human society. However, there are many people who earn lots of money from the "non-labor economy" (which actually produces nothing for society) and use "their earnings" to consume the production of "labor economy". The present global economic problems we are facing today are all related to the inflation of "non-labor economy" which continually consumes the production of human society and natural resources with no limitation. The economy of a state would go into "bankruptcy" when the "labor economy" no longer props up the consumption of the "non-labor economy" at all.

Nowadays, the power of governance of the world is held by global governments and the majority of economic resources are gripped by capitalists around the world. If political powers play their active role as a positive management force to facilitate and ensure the social welfare and human rights of society, the powers ought to curb the acts of global capitalists for their endless greed and open up the possibility of sharing all economic resources for common people in the world. On the contrary, the interests of political powers and global capitalists are fully integrated under the background of the development of globalization. The globalized economic crises, such as the "Asian

Financial Crisis (1997-98)", "U.S. Sub-prime Mortgage Crisis" and "European Sovereign Debt Crisis" brought by the capitalist "bubble economy", have become the widespread economic problems that cannot be resolved by any single nation-state separately. The transnational economic players, including company bosses, international investors and capitalists, fully understand that the core factors and negative side effects of the crises are produced by their economic activities, but they still go on and attempt to transfer the responsibility of solving the problems to global governments. The common opinion of the players is clear: if global governments do not help them to tackle the problems, the negative side effects of their economic activities, including joblessness, social unrest and the deterioration of public security, would directly violate the sovereignty of the governance of political power. Therefore, political powers have no alternative for this "deadlock", but carry out various economic policies, such as offering huge amount of capital for the banks with financial difficulties to avoid their bankruptcy (such as the case of the national debt crisis of Greece in the Eurozone), subsidizing business companies to hire more workers for easing the problem of joblessness (such as the policy of "￡1 Billion Youth Contract"[112] brought into force by the government of the U.K.), and providing the "consumption vouchers" for citizens to stimulate the growth of national economy[113] for tackling the economic crises made by the vested interests.

Since the first decade of the millennium, world governments have tended to cut the main expenditures of public service and welfare for people generally. Also, the authorities have reviewed the current tax structure of nation for increasing tax income[114]. The main purpose of these austerity policies carried out by political powers

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[112] Please refer to the U.K. policy of "Helping people to find and stay in work". Retrieved May 10, 2013, from the official website of GOV.UK:
https://www.gov.uk/government/policies/helping-people-to-find-and-stay-in-work
[113] Please refer to the news "Consumption voucher (消費券) program to boost economic growth". Retrieved November 1, 2011, from the Taiwan News website:
http://www.taiwannews.com.tw/etn/news_content.php?id=791403&lang=eng_news&cate_img=83.jpg&cate_rss=news_Politics
[114] For instance, the European governments have tried to carry out a series of economic policies to tackle the "European Debt Crisis": "Following the rising public indebtedness that emerged as a direct result of the financial crisis of 2007-2008 and which ensued in a sovereign debt crisis in 2009 in countries such as Greece, Spain, Portugal, coalitions of forces in favours of austerity got stronger. The major intervention package introduced within Eurozone countries in May 2010 aiming to rescue banks and stabilize financial markets was accompanied by imposition of austerity packages not only in countries suffering from sovereign debt crisis but also in major Eurozone governments (Lapavitsas et al. 2010). …According to some accounts, however, under the current circumstances reversal to austerity measures could compress aggregate demand through reductions they would trigger in public expenditures, consumption, and wages, and thus result in deeper recession within the Eurozone (Lapavitsas et al. 2010b).…As Holman in this volume argues even when austerity measures can be successful to generate monetary stability, they would in no doubt deepen social inequality, exclusion and segregation." See: Vural, Ipek Eren (2011). *Converging Europe: Transformation of Social Policy in the Enlarged European Union and in Turkey*. England: Ashgate. p. 260.

is to decrease the national deficits and debt burdens of nation. Why do global governments become poorer in these decades? The answer should be: the authorities have used the national budget or the income from taxation to fill up the huge losses of the problematic banks and financial institutions. The fact is seen as the origin of global economic crises. The form of the losses is from the acts of international economic players who are playing the "money game" of factitious transaction and doing false investments in their businesses worldwide.[115]

The loan decision for transnational "money-game" players is made by the heads of risk banks and financial institutions. From common sense, the heads of the institutions have the responsibility for tackling the crises they made. Why does the public have the idea that governments should give the false decision makers help? Here is a moral issue that needs to be reviewed further. For world governments, it would be dangerous if they do not give the banks with the shortage of capital support because the banks would go into bankruptcy when they are unable to pay off their debts they guarantee. This is a typical chain reaction of global financial system: the governments of global nation-states would mire in the difficulties of national credit crunch, bear public pressure and confront possible social unrest when most of citizens are unable to withdraw their money savings from the banks. Also, transnational investors would also withdraw their capital or cancel their investment plans in the collapsing trend of the economic situation of the state. No government is willing to face the negative developing situation of national economy like the above description. Therefore, political powers have only "one road": to help for tackling the series of

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[115] The main reason to explain why the "U.S. Sub-prime Mortgage Crisis" becomes a global economic crisis is that the U.S. government is seen as the political body to have a moral responsibility to tackle the "too big to fail" crisis which may cause a series of economic panics and social unrest in the U.S. society that would threaten the leadership of the global/local governance of the U.S. authorities. The only measure for this difficult situation is to use taxpayer's money to fill the "economic bubble" (through producing factitious extra money – a huge amount of U.S. dollar – to buy up the debts which is the policy of "quantitative easing", QE). The "myth" of the moral responsibility of political power indulges global capitalists and investors in transferring their debts through banking system to governments: "The 'too big to fail' problem magnifies the so-called 'moral hazard' problem of the government safety net: banks which expect to be protected by deposit insurance Fed lending, and Treasury – Fed bailouts, and which believe that they are beyond discipline, will tend to take on excessive risk, since the taxpayers share the costs of that excessive risk on the downside. The moral hazard of the 'too big to fail' problem was clearly visible in the behavior of the large investment banks in 2009. After Bear Stearns was rescued by a treasury-Fed bailout in March 2008, Lehman Brothers, Merrill Lynch, Morgan Stanley, and Goldman Sachs sat on their hands for six months awaiting further developments (i.e., either an improvement in the market environment or a handout from Uncle Sam). In particular, Lehman did little to raise capital or shore up its position. However, when conditions deteriorated and the anticipated bailout failed to materialize for Lehman in September 2008 – showing that there were limits to Treasury-Fed generosity – the other major investment banks immediately either became acquired or transformed themselves into commercial bank holding companies to increase their access to government support." See: Demirgüç-Kunt, Asli; Evanoff, Douglas D.; Kaufman, George G. (2011). *The International Financial Crisis: Have the Rules of Finance Changed?* Singapore: World Scientific. p. 87.

financial crises and cooperate with global economic players around the world. If not, the "political/money game" will end immediately. That is why we argue that the globalization of capitalist economy facilitates the interest integration of political powers and global capitalists.

Moreover, the globalization also encourages political powers to reconstruct their governance or dominance through exploiting the possibilities of the facilitation of political cooperation and the obtainment of economic assistance with other counterparts. The case of the British Industrial Revolution in the seventeenth century (and the following developments of colonialism and imperialism) is a notable example to help us to understand why a nation-state has to expand its political influence to fulfill the demand of new market in the process of the development of human history. Nowadays, global governments are practicing the same operation (for serving the demand of the development of world economy), including clearing up the debts of global financial institutions.

In the twenty-first century, global political powers are more enthusiastic at establishing new bilateral or multilateral strategic cooperative allies and signing new economic agreements with other counterparts. The purposes of these acts are to open up the field of new market, to increase the volume of trading, to cut the taxes for product import and export, to facilitate the floating of capital and fill up their debt holes. On the other hand, the income of world citizens is generally reduced because most transnational enterprises and businesses have cut the salaries of workers for pressing down the cost of business operation. This present economic tendency of the world society directly causes the decrease of the tax income of many countries worldwide[116]. The serious imbalance of tax burden between the rich and the poor which deteriorates the economic constitution of global political bodies directs world governments to exploit more "extra incomes" through various politico-economic tactics to maintain and stabilize the conditions of national economy further. One of the "extra incomes" is to practice the exploitation through occupying new spots of natural resource in the world. The concrete measures to realize the exploitation are to occupy the oil fields and mines in other countries through triggering wars (e.g. the Gulf War in the Middle East in 1990-91, the Afghan War since 2001 and the Libyan War in

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[116] "The direct effects of globalization include: erosion of the tax base, as in the case of loss of revenue from tariffs, with a weakening of administrative abilities to collect information about global revenue, tax loopholes, e-commerce, intracompany trade, offshore financial centers, derivatives and hedge funds, growing foreign activities, and foreign shopping;…Economic globalization also affects the public budget indirectly, imposing on national governments to provide: additional resources for firms, such as tax investment incentives for firms that localize their activities in a given place, financial aids, and subsidies to business;..." See: Vaidya, Ashish K. (2006). *Globalization: Encyclopedia of trade, Labor, And Politics Band 1*. USA: ABC-CLIO. p. 85.

2011) and step in the global resourceful regions (e.g. the Middle East and Artic region) for potential natural resource. The industrial-commercial development of human civilization and various human activities cause the extreme phenomena of climate change in the world, such as "Green-house Effect" and the melting-down of glacier in the North Pole area. Because of the extreme climate in the Polar Regions, human beings were hard to discover and exploit the potential deposits of natural resource in the regions in the past. The recent glacial melting there helps careerists to exploit new potential interest in the areas. According to Proudhon's theory, global political powers (and capitalist economic players) are practicing the power of "property" – which constitutes the right out of nothing – over the Nature.

Furthermore, producing tensions in international community, such as making conflicts with "moral/legal reason(s)", is also the typical political tactic practiced by some Western countries to expand their political influence and maintain their economic interest worldwide[117]. For example, the U.S. has carried out a serial economic sanction to Iran and North Korea which are the countries against the "national interest" of the Western nation (the U.S. calls the two countries as the "evil/rogue states").

War would radically destroy the civilization of a country. The countries joining into a war also needs a lot of raw materials and natural/human resources to rebuild all public facilities and systems after warring. From economic point of view, making war is an effective approach to benefit the rise of global munition industries and create a substantial field to test the performances of new weapons. The consumption of armies and weapons in a war implies the possible increase of the national defense budget of the war-participated states. During a war, the price of goods or products in war regions would rise rapidly because of the huge demand of the necessities for people's basic needs in the regions and global foodstuff suppliers would be benefited. The fact is clear that making war is a "profitable business deal" for Western countries as the

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[117] "One of the earliest U.S. interventions came in 1953 in oil-rich Iran, which was governed by a nationalist but noncommunist regime that had angered the Americans and British by nationalizing British – and U.S. – owned oil companies that sent most of their huge profits aboard and paid their Iranian workers lass than fifty cents a day. Britain and the United States imposed an economic boycott, making it hard for Iran to sell its oil abroad." See: Lockard, Craig A. (2011). *Societies, Networks, and Transitions: Since 1450*. USA: Wadsworth, Cengage Learning. p. 742. "The United States and North Korea have also been enemies since the end of World War II. The Korean War brought the United States and Communist North Korea face-to-face in direct military combat. Following the collapse of the Soviet Union, the Communist government's dogged pursuit of nuclear weapons continually antagonized Washington. In 1994, the U.S. government seriously considered a preventive military strike against North Korea's nuclear facilities. Indeed, in the 2002 State of the Union Address, President Bush…labeling Iran and North Korea as part of an 'axis of evil.'" See: Kroenig, Matthew (2010). *Exporting the Bomb: Technology Transfer and the Spread of Nuclear Weapons*. New York: Cornell University. p. 141.

main weapon and food producers in the world, such as the U.S., to expand their economic interest. The reasons for war, including tackling "terrorism", promoting the "common values" of "democracy" and "freedom", and maintaining the "security of international community", are just the pretexts to justify their political attempts to protect the vested interest of them and dominate the future development of the civilization of human society. Such attempts, which rely on the operation of producing conflicts between states or religions for the purposes of stimulating economic needs and consumption, are unjust that should be called "terror globalization". Why do we have to accept the attempts and relative actions of the political powers? War not only produces economic interests but kills innocent people around the world indiscriminately. Should not the situation be doubted? What is the important value for the sustainability of human society, except "capitalism"?

Therefore, anti-globalization movement, which has the clear standpoints in opposing global capitalism, war-terrorism, and the international operation of power politics, is expanding on the scene of globalization nowadays. The approaches of the practice of the movement include: organizing demonstrations or protest actions, printing publications/leaflets and setting up internet websites as the alternative media for the relative purposes of propaganda and information communication for promoting the movement. This research would like to follow one of the approaches to the practice of the movement in the Chinese societies: that is related to setting up a "media" on the Internet for promoting people's voice (and carrying out the universal resistance to "power globalization") which is called "independent media". The media is founded by the people who have a clear intention to pay attention to particular topics related to international/local socio-political issues. The practitioners of the media also report the news through the media with their point of views which are totally different from the news content offered by mainstream media.

There is a general impression that the practice of independent media, as a part of anti-globalization movement, is originated from Western society. The establishment of "Independent Media Center" (for the "Anti-WTO Movement" in Seattle, the U.S. in 1999) is a notable example of the practice which gives the impression for the public. However, there are also the practices of the independent media in the Chinese societies. The media are "Coolloud.org" in Taiwan and "Inmediahk.net" in Hong Kong. They have started their works since 1997 and 2004 separately. In the next chapters, we would do the researches on the frameworks, the working approaches and the core values of the two Chinese independent media. The work of the researches on the two media would help us to understand the role of the Chinese independent media

in the development of Greater China under the challenge of globalization.

Chapter Three   Independent Media as the Anti-Globalization Movement in Hong Kong: "Inmediahk.net"

Section 1   Introduction: From Globalization to the Development of the Chinese Independent Media

This is the present globalizational background of the world society we have analyzed in the last chapter: capitalist economic globalization stimulates the rapid change of the development of modern world. Under the background, we can see that political powers generally focus on tackling the issues of economy; the governance of world governments is dysfunctional; global capitalists see the world as a "free market" for producing economic interest. The frequent transactions of businesses practiced by global economic players are usual; such economic actions are considerately protected by the political powers in the world. In the age of globalization, world governments also help the players to exploit new natural resource and expand their global business market further through signing various economic pacts with other counterparts, or directly go to war. In this power relationship between political and economic powers, the two sides are both "successful" in realizing the purpose of maintaining their vested interests in the rest of the world (at the moment).

For carrying out the aim of profit maximization, the two powers ignore the negative effects of their acts on common people's living when they practice their politico-economic cooperative strategies. From an ideal political viewpoint, civilian is not the "object" who governed by the "governors", but the "subject" to authorize representative(s) to practice political rights based on the theory of modern democracy. The value and spirit of democracy are embodied in the realization of the common people's expectation of the good governance of society promised by democratic governments. The practice of the spirit of democracy should not have an end after the establishment of representative democratic system. However, we, through the analysis of democracy in the last chapter, discover that the modern practice of democratic politics in the world is not only a political system which is helpless for managing our society and improving our life, but the Establishment for global economic players to protect their interest. Obviously, we cannot expect the system of democracy as a "cure-all" for tackling the problems of globalized world nowadays.

For the bosses of transnational enterprises, all human beings in the world are the "human resource suppliers" as the "elements of a social machine". From the bosses' viewpoint, human beings are not the organisms of human society, but the cost of labor

for the operation of production. If the bosses want to decrease the cost of manpower, they can adjust the wage of workers and the number of laborers. The calculation on the cost of manpower is a typical exercise of global capitalists. However, the decrease of the cost means the degradation of the standard of daily life of workers and employees which implies the violation of economic freedom for the majority of society.

Today, we can see global governments do not really concern with the serious situations of the disparity between the rich and the poor and the turbulence of the world economy brought by the act of global capitalists who play the "money game" of fictitious transaction around the world. Although the political figures of world governments are participating in various international summit conferences for the purpose of economic growth that proves "they are doing something"[118] for maintaining economic stability and tackling joblessness propagandized by global mainstream media, the economic problems are still in attendance which are deteriorating people's daily life.

From the moral viewpoint of journalism, media, correspondents and journalists should help all social members to understand the "truth" of politico-economic social issues, to create their own judgment, and assemble public opinion(s) for supervising the governance of nation-states[119]. If media or journalists do not take the responsibilities of journalism for society, they would become the "advertising agencies" that work for the vested interests – to avoid reporting the negative news or information about the upper class and practice the so-called "self-censorship"[120]. Under the background of globalization, the well-known mainstream media in the world, including the national media (e.g. British Broadcasting Corporation, BBC; Xinhua News Agency 新華社) and other profit-seeking media (e.g. Cable News Network, CNN; Fox News Channel, FNC), are seemed to have the similar tendency to

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[118] Please refer to the BBC News "Asian markets up on central banks' move to help lending". Retrieved 1 December, 2011, from the BBC News website:
http://www.bbc.co.uk/news/business-15978303

[119] "…A good frame of reference (of the mechanisms of media responsibility and accountability) is provided by Denis McQuail (1997:518). Accordingly, even the freest media have responsibilities and they are accountable either in the sense of liability or answerability…The idea that the media are responsible for the general public made up of citizens is widely accepted, not least among journalists. Journalists see themselves as using freedom of speech as the representatives of the citizens, and the professional ideal of the journalist typically embodies the roles of both a watchdog and an educator." See: Pattyn, Bart (2000). *Media Ethics: Opening Social Dialogue*. Leuven: Peeters. pp. 76-78.

[120] "Self-censorship is defined as a set of editorial actions ranging from omission, dilution, distortion, and change of emphasis to choice of rhetoric devices by journalists, their organizations, and even the entire media community in anticipation of currying reward or avoiding punishment from the power structure (Lee C.C., 1998, p.57)." See: Ma, Ngok (2007). *Political Development in Hong Kong: State, Political Society, and Civil Society*. Hong Kong: Hong Kong University. p. 175.

pledge their loyalty to their financial supporters and fit in with the requirement of political correctness[121].

Therefore, the practice of independent media has been realized and demanded by the people around the world. For the purpose of keeping away from the influence of the Establishment like the situation of mainstream media, the founders of independent media, who are the common people concerned with social and political issues, generally seek support and material resource from the multitude of local society, not from the Establishment. Also, they voluntarily establish the media to report the news independently and criticize various public issues and social problems from the point of view of the majority of society:

"Independent media is not just a uni-dimensional institution. Ip Iam Chong argues that we can call the media, which are practically financial independent from governments or business groups, as 'independent media'. However, the definition of 'independent media' is not so strict because there are some public media that need to rely on the funding from political or commercial groups. We need to pay attention to the degree of the intervention of the financial supporting groups of media, and then do the differentiation of them. About the news contents on the platform of independent media, those are not only related to the discussions of the practices of political and social movements, but also connected with the topics of the issues of community-concern, environmental protection, the rights of animals, homosexuality, and the restriction on pornography." [122]

Ip Iam Chong argues that the "independent" of media is based on the fact that the media is not subordinate to any specific political or commercial group financially. In

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[121] For this, we can take a look at the common attitude of the American mainstream media in the cases of reporting the "War on Terror" and the "9/11 Attack" in the U.S. society: "The mainstream media is now admitting the extent to which they failed in their coverage of the war on terror. As early as 2002, veteran broadcaster Dan Rather told BBC Television that fear of being labeled unpatriotic had caused American journalists to engage in 'a form of self-censorship.'" See: Steuter, Erin; Wills, Deborah (2009). *At War With Metaphor: media, Propaganda, and Racism in the War on Terror*. United Kingdom: Lexington Books. p. 176. "In the aftermath of 9/11, the media failed to ask the necessary hard questions, engaging instead in a competition to outdo each other in showing the flag, or the flag pin. 'That's not what journalists should be doing,' says Amy Goodman, 'we should be independent,' not just 'the megaphone for officialdom.' Robert Jensen of the University of Texas School of Journalism raises further concerns about the relationship between patriotism and journalism. He argues that an ideology rooted in patriotism prevents many American journalists from clearly seeing their government's war agenda; it is precisely in times of war, he states, 'when a democracy most desperately needs a critical, independent journalism working outside the ideological constraints of the culture,' that commercial mainstream news media is most likely to 'fail profoundly.'" *Ibid.*, p. 178
[122] See: Hsiung, Pei Ling (Xiong Peiling 熊培伶) (2009). Hong Kong Society and Independent Media (香港社會與獨立媒體). *Communication Research Newsletter*, 57, p. 9.

other words, it is important that the media's finance is independent from the relative groups with a high degree. If there are the media, whatever with the forms of newspaper, magazine, or internet website, that rely on financial supports from the Establishment, we should not call them as "independent media" with the above definition[123]. Also, independent media is not an exclusive social movement practice just for political issues, but an alternative communicated platform for concerning about the public issues, such as the problems of environmental pollution and human right, and so on. The main point is that the practice of independent media is voluntarily organized by the common people who care for the development of society with the condition of self-sustainability (financial independence).

> *"Independent media is a kind of collective networking media with idealism in our society. Grace Leung[124] argues that the 'hierarchy' of modern society now makes disadvantaged minorities and alternative voices have no space to promote their ideas. Therefore, we must strive for our rights and create our own space by ourselves for expressing our voices. There are many 'media checkers' and journal traditions in traditional press companies. Some independent media practitioners are working for the traditional presses. However, traditional media do not have the interest to report social actions and relative grass-root movements because there is 'no space (of a whole page of print media)' for such news reports. So, Leung agrees that independent media (should) embody the attempt to create 'our (media) space' by ourselves (for promoting our opinions). If we do not do that, no one cares about us. The action, to practice independent media, has its subversive characteristic for challenging the governance of the authorities in modern society."* [125]

Grace Leung points out that the characteristics of independent media should

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[123] Ip does not deny that there is a "gray-area" to differentiate the independent media which are supported by "NGOs" or civil foundations because the fact of the funding may not cause the absolute influence on the news contents and opinions of the media's report. However, the same logic with this point of view for defining the media should not be used on the mainstream media supported by the vested interest groups. It is because we should note that it is hard to see a media, which is funded by governments or other interest groups, reports the news against its financial supporters in the process of media operation. The vested interest groups, which are the accomplices with each other as a firm interest structure, do not allow any detrimental news about them spreading in society because it would affect the profit of their businesses negatively.

[124] Leung L.K., Grace (Liang Lijuan 梁麗娟), a PhD of the Chinese University of Hong Kong, CUHK (香港中文大學), is an instructor of the School of Journalism and Communication at CUHK. She teaches the courses of "media history" and "governmental regulation and policies in social contexts" at the School.

[125] See: Hsiung, Pei Ling (2009). Hong Kong Society and Independent Media. *Communication Research Newsletter*, 57, p. 11.

include the fact of the realization of public value of grass-root social movement, besides the self-sustainability of the media. The so-called "idealism" means a group of people who are the members of society believe in the same perspective for common people's living: the majority of the people in society should have a "better life" and all people have the responsibility to change the present style of life and fight against the unequal capitalist system of human society. They promote/practice the media social movement for the purposes of facilitating the improvement in the conditions of people's living and basic needs, reminding people to concern with public issues, reflecting the "dilemma" of mainstream media, and overseeing the governance of political power. To establish a self-owning media based on the popularization of internet application is an effective approach to create an alternative media and construct a kind of civil power "to have our say". In capitalist society, the "masses" have been seen as a group of passive audience who have no specific idea, opinion or position on social issues, but accept information fed by the media unidirectionally. Also, public media space in society (authorized by the authorities) is mostly monopolized by commercial mainstream media nowadays. For opposing this situation, the practice of independent media movement aims at breaking down the monopolization of the media space and challenging or subverting the positions of the political authorities and economic groups in modern society.

Therefore, it is worthy to research on the independent media in the Chinese societies today. Chinese independent media obtain the spiritual support from the theories of anti-globalization and become the participants of anti-globalization movement. Their social actions respond to the needs of the common people in the societies and become the milestone of the media social movement under the rigorous political climate of China.

China now is under controlled by a single political party – the Communist Party – in the country people have no freedom of speech and all public voices are monitored by the authorities for the reason of "social stability". In the Mainland China, it is hard to find out the social practice of independent media publicly, or even underground. However, the practice of independent media is still possible in Hong Kong and Taiwan. The social situation of the two Chinese societies has their particular historical backgrounds that are different from the Mainland's.

After the abolishment of the martial law practiced by the Government of National Party (Kuomingtang, KMT) in 1987, Taiwan started to become a "free society" gradually. On the other side, Hong Kong is a former British colony, which

had been ceded from China since 1842 (after the First Opium War; based on the "Treaty of Nanjing (南京條約)"). After 1997, the year of the handover of the colony from the United Kingdom to China, Hong Kong society still had a relative high degree of freedom of speech with the political promise made by Deng Xiaoping (鄧小平): (the way of life of) Hong Kong (people) would "*remain unchanged for fifty years (五十年不變)*" under the principle of "One country, two systems". Besides the situation of the high degree of freedom compared with the Mainland China, both of the Chinese societies, Hong Kong and Taiwan, have the same social characteristics, such as the imbalanced distribution of social resource and the operation of the domination of social developing tendency exercised by economic powers. The characteristics cause the generation of the demand of the practice of independent media in the Chinese societies.

Nowadays, the Communist China tries to control the socio-political development of the two societies further through many economic tactics, including increasing the volume of the investments in the business companies in Hong Kong and Taiwan[126] and adding the quota of the Chinese inland tourists traveling to the places[127]. The acts

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[126] For example: "TAIPEI, Taiwan (AP) — A Taiwanese tycoon with big business interests in China is causing alarm as he tries to expand his media empire on the democratic island. Want Want Group (旺旺集團) chairman Tsai Eng-meng (Cai Yanming 蔡衍明) is trying to purchase a cable TV network system in a $2.4 billion deal that would significantly bolster his influence in Taiwan. But regulators have held up approval for almost 18 months amid concerns that Want Want's China Times subsidiary is becoming too powerful. Tsai purchased the China Times stable of media outlets for $650 million in 2008. It includes the flagship China Times daily newspaper, China TV, and the CTI cable news station. Adding to the deal's controversy, a rival media mogul is attacking Tsai over his close ties to China. Jimmy Lai (Li Zhiying 黎智英), publisher of the Apple Daily (蘋果日報) newspaper, says Want Want's China business interests — the company's fortune originated with food sales on the mainland — and his pronounced pro-Beijing views should scuttle his application to acquire Taiwan's China Network Systems. The broadcaster provides cable service to 1.18 million TV households, or a quarter of the island's total." Retrieved 1 March, 2012, from the Sulekha.com website:
http://smehorizon.sulekha.com/taiwan-media-fight-highlights-china-ties-concern_international-business-newsitem_1333944
For this, the protest against the development of the media monopoly in Taiwan rose: "…Several media reform groups and their supporters took to the streets in Taipei yesterday (Sept. 1 is otherwise known Journalists' Day), protesting against media monopolization. The march was jointly initiated by the Association of Taiwan Journalists, Campaign for Media Reform and Anti-Media Monster Youth Alliance. Their members and supporters marched along a 3.9-kilometer route, from Mengjia Boulevard (艋舺大道) in Wanhua District (萬華區) to the National Communications Commission (NCC) on Renai Road (仁愛路). The protesters handed a petition to the NCC, calling for the nation's highest media regulator to bar a bid by the China-friendly Want Want China Times Group to purchase the island's largest cable system, and to more closely supervise the group." Retrieved 2 September, 2012, from the China Post website:
http://www.chinapost.com.tw/taiwan/national/national-news/2012/09/02/352936/Groups-protest.htm
[127] "Beijing: China plans to let more individual travellers visit Hong Kong as the two governments seek stronger economic and trade ties. The number of regions where individuals are allowed to visit the city will be expanded steadily in the near future, China National Tourism Administration official Ren Jiayan (任佳燕) said yesterday, according to the official Xinhua News Agency. ...Retail sales in Hong Kong rose 11 per cent from a year earlier in April, even as Chinese visitors cut spending amidst the nation's slowing economy. While the rising number of mainland Chinese travelling to the city has

of Chinese government prompt the common people in the societies to find an alternative approach to express their opinion and stance on the related socio-political issues (because mainstream media in the societies are mostly bought up and controlled by Communist China). Independent media, as the approach for people to have their say, is a substantial media space to facilitate social concerns, accumulate civilian viewpoints for realizing the construction of public power for supervising the governance of the authorities, and claim political and economic rights for common people in the societies.

Region	Name	Website
Mainland China	my1510[128]	http://www.my1510.cn/
	ibeidou.net	http://www.ibeidou.net/
Hong Kong	Inmediahk.net	http://www.inmediahk.net/
	SocREC.org	http://socrec.org/web/
Taiwan	Coolloud.org	http://www.coolloud.org.tw/

Table 1: The non-Establishmental internet independent media in the Chinese societies (in operation)

"Inmediahk.net" and "Coolloud.org" both use the form of internet website forum as the main framework of independent media. Also, they have their particular backgrounds, approaches, and values of their practices. The practices of the two

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brought economic benefits, it also spurred tension between the city's residents amid surging property prices from an influx of investments and a shortage of hospital beds as Chinese mothers enter the city to give birth." Retrieved 4 July, 2012, from the Gulf News.com website: http://gulfnews.com/business/tourism/china-to-allow-more-travellers-to-hong-kong-1.1044073

[128] "my1510" is one of the independent media established by Chinese (not Hongkongese or Taiwanese) internet users. Compared with "Inmediahk.net" and "Coolloud.org", the characteristics of "my1510" are more personal and quiescent (because of the high-pressure dominative social control practiced by Communist China) that it mainly works on offering the web links and the news from other independent media, but does not operate as a kind of "media social movement" (so do the case of "ibeidou.net"). According to the "About" webpage of "my1510": "About half year ago (in the late 2006), 'Rose', who studied in Boston at the time, decided to build up an independent blog space for doing internet things more independently. He contacted with 'Tomato', who had met him only once, for seeking technical help for this idea. After discussions, they all believed that the form of blog (compared with a 'public media') could not completely fulfill the needs for accumulating the social concerns of the people who have similar beliefs. Therefore, 'my1510' had finally established by them with 'Seekyes', another netizen from the other side of the Pacific Ocean who had never been met with them before…At present, all members of the media use their spare time and money to run the media voluntarily. We understand that it is necessary to invest more financial resource and labor in the media operation for the purpose of improving the quality of the news contents of the media. We hope to receive your suggestion. We will consider your suggestion and do not avoid the possible difficulties when operating the media at the same time. We hope to reach the balance of the revenue and expenditure of the media operation and share our achievements with all internet users. Our purposes are to offer independent viewpoints and share the information which is worthy to be read. We are in the age of information explosion and need a media space for trustworthy news. We will put more effort for this media practice." Retrieved 1 November, 2011, from the my1510 website: http://www.my1510.cn/about.php

media depict the particular characteristics of the social movement in the Chinese societies which open up a new approach to understand the possible future development of China. Through doing researches on the two independent media, we can obtain the meaningful points of the media practices, including their social roles and effects on the societies. Moreover, we can also find out the significances of the media movements in the Chinese societies which are the "important two" of the anti-globalization movements in the world.

Section 2   The History of Independent Media in Hong Kong

The development of Hong Kong independent media has its specific historical background. For the majority of Hong Kong people, the influence of independent media seems weaker than the commercial media (or mass media) in the high-degree capitalist society today. However, Hong Kong independent media have started their practices in the colonial period of the city that have caused certain influence on the development of the local society since 1970. Of course, the main form of the independent media practice, at that period, is not operating a website or an internet forum, but publishing a biweekly magazine:

> *"From observing the history of independent media (of Hong Kong), it is*
> *untrue that independent media had no chance for its development in the*
> *past. For example, there was a radical biweekly magazine called 'The 70s*
> *(70 年代雙周刊)' published in Hong Kong. 'Long-hair' (Leung Kwok*
> *Hung)[129] was one of the readers of the publication at the time. The editors*
> *of the biweekly included Mok Chiu Yu[130], Ng Wan Man[131]…etc.. At the*

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[129] Leung Kwok Hung (Liang Guoxiong 梁國雄), who has the nickname "Long-hair (長毛)", is a social movement activist who believes in Marxism in Hong Kong. He had participated in the socio-political organizations, such as "The Union of Revolutionary Marxism (革命馬克思主義聯盟)" and "April Fifth Action (四五行動)" in the city. Also, he has won a seat in the Legislative Council of Hong Kong since 2004.

[130] Mok Chiu Yu (Mo Zhaoru 莫昭如), one of the founders of the biweekly "The 70s", is a theatre practitioner in Hong Kong. He worked actively in the field of people's theatre in the 1980s and founded "The Theatre Community for People (民眾劇社)" to participate in the practice of social movement with the form of theatre. He also worked with other theatre counterparts in Asian countries. Now, Mok is the Chair of Asian People's Theatre Festival Society (亞洲民眾戲劇節協會) and the Chief Executive of the Centre for Community Cultural Development in Hong Kong (香港社區文化發展中心).

[131] Ng Wan Man (Wu Hongwen 吳宏文；吳萱人) is an author, a poet and also an activist in Hong Kong socio-cultural circle. He had actively participated in the grass-root social movement in Hong Kong since the 1960s. He founded and edited various local literature publications, such as "The Weeds (quarterly) (野草)", "Ground-Breaking (破土)" and "The Studies of Hong Kong Literature Community Movement in the 1960s and 1970s (香港六七十年代文社運動整理及研究)". "The 70s" was one of

highest peak of the sales record of the publication, the sales of the biweekly were about ten thousand copies. The case proved that there was a public (media) space (for practicing independent media in Hong Kong)..." [132]

Ip says that there was a Hong Kong independent media with the form of biweekly magazine called "The 70s"[133]. Because of the political standpoint of the editors of the biweekly, the publication mainly concerned about the promotion of the radical thoughts of the Left, the report for the news about the local socio-political movements for anti-Establishment and anti-government and the participation of the movements with the characteristics of activist idealism and financial independence. This case proves that "independent media" was not a new approach for the practice of socio-political movement which had been realized by some grass-root activists in Hong Kong in the past few decades.

The publishing of the biweekly established a kind of independent spirit in media practice which affected the subsequent grass-root social movements in the history of Hong Kong society. After that, the website-form independent media firstly appeared

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the famous publications he edited at the time.

[132] The article is based on the sound recording of the interview with Ip Iam Chong, one of the founders of "Inmediahk.net", in 26/9/2011 (2:30 p.m.) at the Department of Cultural Studies, Lingnan University, Hong Kong. The following footnotes with the content of the interview recording will be labeled as "Ip's interview".

[133] Chan Chi Tak (Chen Zhide 陳智德；陳滅) is a poet and also an Assistant Professor at the Department of Literature and Cultural Studies, The Hong Kong Institute of Education (香港教育學院 文學與文化研究系). He wrote an article for reviewing the biweekly "The 70s": "'The 70s' was the one of the youth independent publications in the 1970s which inherited the tradition of Hong Kong literature community with the characteristics of practicing spontaneousness and self-publishing. At the time, there was some reflections on the cultural ideology of mid-late 60s youths and the waking-up of political sense with the global climate of the anti-Establishment movements triggered by world youths, including the student movements in France, the Anti-Vietnam War Movement in the U.S., the 'Prague Spring' in Czecho-Slovakia, the 'Incident of Yasuda Hall (安田講堂)' at the University of Tokyo, Japan and the 'Kowloon Riot in 1966' as well as the 'Leftist Riots in 1967' in Hong Kong. …In 1969, there were lots of students of Chu Hai College (珠海書院) opposing the control over the student union from the authorities of the college. The students boycotted classes, but were expelled from the college by the authorities after the action. The case was called the 'Chu Hai Incident (珠海事件)' in the history of Hong Kong student movement. Ng Chung Yin (Wu Zhongxian 吳仲賢), one of the organizers of the boycott who was a student of the Department of Mathematics at the college, founded 'The 70s' with Mok Chiu Yu and other friends at the time. The biweekly became one of the media platforms for the voices of student and social movement in Hong Kong in the 1970s including the contents of the promotion of the consciousnesses of youth independence, the waking-up of the stances of cultural identification, anti-Establishment and anti-colonialism. 'The 70s' had its brightness characteristic which actively participated in the establishment of Hong Kong youth culture in the 1970s." (The complete article is included in the work edited by Howard Hou (Hou Wanyun 侯萬雲): Hou, Howard (2009). *1970s – A Cultural Political Revisiting Not For Nostalgia (1970s—不爲懷舊的文化政治重訪)*. Hong Kong: Step forward.) Retrieved 1 November, 2011, from the Mingpao official website: http://reading.mingpao.com/cfm/BookSharingFocus.cfm?mode=details&iid=166

after 1997 (which is the end of the year of the colonial age of Hong Kong):

"Some website-forum-form independent media with political consciousness were formally started their operations in 2003. In the year, there were over five hundred thousand people joined in the '7.1 Demonstration' in Hong Kong. The media on the Internet became more politicized and there was a wave of independent media practice at the time. The remote causes of the '7.1 Demonstration' were the recession of Hong Kong economy, the burst of the economic bubbles of real estate market and technology industry, the fault economic policies made by the government, and the crisis of 'SARS'. The atmosphere of the discontent for the social situations was continuously accumulated in the society. When the political dispute of the legislation of the Article 23[134] of Hong Kong Basic Law for ensuring 'Chinese national security' appeared, a lot of Hong Kong people could not endure the attitude of the authorities for replying the demands of the public and participated in street protest for expressing their discontents together. The demonstration aimed at opposing the legislation which was seen as the act threatening the journalistic freedom and freedom of speech of Hong Kong seriously that was criticized by the journalists of the mainstream media in the city. Before the demonstration, many local citizens had communicated with each other through internet using spontaneously and produced video footages publicizing on the Internet for criticizing the legislative attempt of Hong Kong government that directly caused a wave of independent media movement. The internet media 'Anti-23 News Group (反廿三新聞組)' was founded after the demonstration and had regrouped with the new title 'E-Politics21 (網政廿一)' afterwards. (The media ended its operation in 2006)" [135]

The rise of independent media movement is generally related to the social

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[134] After the handover of Hong Kong in 1997, Chinese government started to pressure the Hong Kong authorities to obey the "Article 23" of the Basic Law of Hong Kong to legislate formal laws for the purpose of ensuring the "national security" of China. According the "Article 23": "The Hong Kong Special Administrative Region shall enact laws on its own to prohibit any act of treason, secession, sedition, subversion against the Central People's Government, or theft of state secrets, to prohibit foreign political organizations or bodies from conducting political activities in the Region, and to prohibit political organizations or bodies of the Region from establishing ties with foreign political organizations or bodies." Retrieved 1 November, 2011, from the Basic Law of Hong Kong Special Administrative Region of the People's Republic of China official website: http://www.basiclaw.gov.hk/en/basiclawtext/chapter_2.html
Chinese government was generally seen to have the attempt to use political pressure to violate the right of freedom of speech of the common people living in Hong Kong at the time.
[135] See: Ip, Iam-Chong (2009). New Political Power: The Development of Hong Kong Independent Media. *Mass Communication Research*, 99, p. 229.

situation in which lots of people concern with specific political or social issue and find out an approach to connect with others for the purposes of constructing a public voice and expressing their opinions collectively. Because of the rapid popularization of internet using at the time, most of the people in Hong Kong used the functions of "WWW (World Wide Web)" offered by various internet service providers to communicate with the others with similar stance and establish social media organizations with website-form for promoting the position against the legislative attempt of the government actively. "Anti-23 News Group/E-Politics21" was founded in 2003 after the "7.1 Demonstration". The media was seen to be the first famous case of the practice of internet independent media in Hong Kong.

Section 3   The Beginning of "Inmediahk.net"

Nowadays, there is a website-form independent media still operating in Hong Kong, which is called "Inmediahk.net (香港獨立媒體網)". Ip describes the founding process of the media as the following:

> *"'Inmediahk.net' is the website-form independent media in Hong Kong which is different from other personal blogs, collective news groups or public commentary internet forums. The media was founded in the late 2004 with the idea of 'media activism[136]' and worked with Hong Kong citizen reporters (民間記者) who were participated in the 'Anti-WTO Movement' in 2005 and the 'Anti-Pulling Down the Star Ferry Pier & Queen's Pier Movement (反對拆除天星及皇后碼頭運動)' in 2007. In the two movements, the media experimented with a specific approach to practice social movement with the reporters. Nowadays, our media platform has about 7000 visitors per day, including local people and the visitors from Macau, Taiwan and other overseas Chinese communities around the world." [137]*

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[136] "Similar to any social movement, media activism is a heterogeneous movement drawing on a range of skills and agendas, uniting people across the social and political spectrum…media activism embodies a diverse mix of people and approaches focused around confronting and critiquing the consolidated media conglomerates that dominate the global landscape at the turn of the millennium." See: Opel, Andy (2004). *Micro Radio and the Fcc: Media Activism and the Struggle Over Broadcast Policy*. USA: Greenwood. p. 23. "Media activism is a growth industry. From media literacy to independent media production, individuals and groups are using new technology to create, critique, and communicate about media. A typical Internet search for 'media activism' yields hundreds of viable web sites for groups and individuals interested in the broad topic." *Ibid.*, p. 24.

[137] See: Ip, Iam-Chong (2009). New Political Power: The Development of Hong Kong Independent Media. *Mass Communication Research*, 99, p. 230.

Through the above paragraph, we can understand the general situation of the practice of "Inmediahk.net". The practice approach of the media, which is different from other counterparts with the website forms (such as "blog (web log)" and news group…etc.) that the "manager(s)" of the website-form media may sift and delete the "inappropriate contents" posted by netizens in the web space of the media, promotes the participation of the common people in the local society to do their reports freely through using the media platform on the Internet. That is to say, the media encourages people to report the news with their opinions or viewpoints publicly. In the media's opinion, all people can be the "reporters" whether they have the professional discipline on journalism. The contents of the news or criticisms posted by "citizen reporters" do not have the problem of the "neutrality of journalism" because the aim of the media itself is to facilitate the diversity of the news reports contributed by common people to break down the monopolization of mainstream media.

As an alternative news information "carrier", independent media also encourages the realization of the spirit of "self-practicing" and promotes the widespread participation of common people on the media platform. The specific approach to accomplish the purposes of the practice of the media is to maintain the following-up discussion and ongoing concerns of the public with various social issues. The media tries to create a social influence through the above approach. Therefore, the idea of the practice of "Inmediahk.net" can be linked up with the concept of "media activism". As the main players of social movement, the members of "Inmediahk.net" also participated in the "Anti-WTO and Anti-Pulling Down the Star Ferry Pier & Queen's Pier Movements" in Hong Kong who used the media platform to appeal to common citizens for public support, to share the real-time information of the two movements, to promote the public opinions of local people and give rise to social concerns. They used the media as an instrument to lead and influence the progress of the movements.

Today, the range of the influence of "Inmediahk.net" is mainly in the Chinese societies, including Hong Kong, Taiwan, Macau and the Chinese communities around the world.

"In 2004, Beijing government promoted 'patriotism' in Hong Kong strongly. At that time, the radio program hosts, such as Cheng Jing han[138] *and Wong*

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[138] Cheng Jing han (Zheng Jinghan 鄭經翰) is a famous TV/radio host in Hong Kong. As a well-known commentator, he impresses people with the hosting style of doing direct criticism of derelict officials of Hong Kong government. In 2004, he was dismissed by Commercial Radio Hong Kong, CRHK (香港商業電台). The incident is seen as the so-called "Pundit Disturbance (名嘴風波)". He had the experience of being elected as a lawmaker in the Legislative Council of the government of Hong Kong

Yuk Man[139] *who appealed people to join into the '7.1 Demonstration', 'resigned' successively. We do not completely agree with their political stances, but the atmosphere of Hong Kong society at the moment was suppressed and the independence and freedom of local media were being doubtful....we felt that such developing tendency of the media circumstance in Hong Kong was unacceptable for us. So, we did not rely on mainstream media for this issue, but tried to work it out (through the practice of independent media) by ourselves."* [140]

From general understanding, Hong Kong people are seemed to be chilly on the issues of local politics and social change.[141] This kind of public impression is not true because we obtain a "disproof" for it after doing a thorough review on the history of Hong Kong politico-social movement.

In the summer of 1989, there were a series of student movements for mourning Hu Yaobang (胡耀邦) and pleading for democracy and freedom in Tiananmen Square (天安門廣場), Beijing supported by the majority of Hong Kong people. Eventually, Chinese government decided to suppress the movements that caused a historical tragedy which is commonly called "June Fourth Incident (六四事件)" or "Tiananmen Massacre (天安門屠殺)". Since then, a series of memorial assemblies for the incident have been held every year in Hong Kong. The social phenomenon showed that most of the common people in Hong Kong have a clear sensitiveness on the socio-political

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(2004-2008).

[139] Wong Yuk Man (Huang Yumin 黃毓民) is also a famous commentator/media host in Hong Kong. He graduated from the Research Institute of Chinese History at Chu Hai College, Hong Kong (香港珠海書院歷史研究所) and started his commentator career from the 1990s with the hosting style of radical criticism of local political and social issues. In 2005, the radio programme he hosted at "CRHK" was halted which is also seen as another case of "Pundit Disturbance". After that, he became a candidate of the Legislative Council of Hong Kong in 2008 and won the election afterwards.

[140] The article is based on the "Ip's interview".

[141] "Hong Kong was a colony of the United Kingdom in the past. There were lots of people escaped from the mainland to Hong Kong for coming off the Communist China. For them, Hong Kong, as a 'lifeboat', was not the best but better than the mainland that they were not willing to see any huge change in the city. ...In fact, some investigations on political and cultural phenomena in Hong Kong show that the characteristics of Hong Kong people are lack of power, lack of hope and lack of interest in democratization. They tend to solve living problems through personal approach (Lau and Kuan, 1998; Kuan and Lau, 2000; Lau, 2000) and value the stability of Hong Kong society (Wong and Lui, 2000; Lau, 1982). According to the arguments of these researches, Hong Kong people pay much attention to obtaining substantial interest and they are lack of public and moral consciousnesses and are either unmoved or participate in social actions that are not directly related to substantial interest. For the purpose of solving problems or improving living standard, they mostly rely on their own hands and strive for more economic resources in their living circumstances but do not prefer to join into political or collective action. To sum up, 'fever on economy, coolness on politics' has become the general image as the main character of Hong Kong people." See: Ng, Chun Hung (Wu Junxiong 吳俊雄); Ma, Eric (Ma Jiewei 馬傑偉); Lui, Tai-lok (Lu Dale 呂大樂) (2006) *Hong Kong. Culture. Research (香港・文化・研究)*. Hong Kong: Hong Kong University. pp. 197-198.

issue for seeking the realization of the values of democracy and freedom in Chinese society.

After the handover, Hong Kong started to be governed by the People's Republic of China. In 2003, Chinese government "reminded" Hong Kong authority to make the formal laws derived from the "Article 23" of Hong Kong Basic Law for protecting the so-called "national security" of China. The political figures of pan-democracy camp in Hong Kong believed that such "reminding" aimed at suppressing the freedom of speech in the city that violated the spirits of the Basic Law of "One country, two systems" and "Hong Kong people ruling Hong Kong (港人治港)". Also, the famous radio programme hosts (Cheng and Wong), who had the stance to oppose the Chinese government, "resigned" at the time. The incident caused Ip and his friends to have strong motivation to establish a new media organization independently.

> *"…we have a friend called Huang Sunquan*[142]*, who is an assistant professor at a university in Kaohsiung (高雄). One of my colleagues invited Huang to teach a course introducing the global situation of the practice of independent media for the graduate students in our department in a past semester. My friends and I also joined into the course. Huang introduced a lot of independent media practice cases around the world, including the commercial and non-commercial cases, such as 'Independent Media Center, IMC' and 'OhmyNews'*[143]*. Our ideas on practicing independent media mostly came from his course and we founded an independent media by ourselves after that."* [144]

Because of the encouragement of Huang's course, Ip and his friends tried to start

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[142] Huang Sunquan (黃孫權) is a PhD of the Graduate Institute of Building and Planning at National Taiwan University (國立臺灣大學建築與城鄉研究所). He now teaches as an Assistant Professor of the Graduate School of Interdisciplinary Arts at National Kaohsiung Normal University (國立高雄師範大學跨領域藝術研究所). Also, He has been the chief editor of the "POTS (破報)" newspaper since 1994.

[143] "OhmyNews" (http://international.ohmynews.com/) is an independent media located in Seoul, Korea which is to be seen as a "commercialized independent media" because the media works as a "company-like" institution. The news on the website platform of "OhmyNews" comes from the citizen reporters around the world. One of the media participators Munish Nagar has written an article "Citizen Journalism – A Great Platform" for describing the aims of "OhmyNews": "'OhmyNews' by promoting citizen journalism has also given the chance to every individual scattered throughout the world to work on a common platform with immediate feedback, which is somewhat difficult to find in the traditional media. Citizen Journalism is a platform that makes people around the world united and turns their point of view towards the global level instead of being confined to their local boundaries." Retrieved 1 November, 2011, from "OhmyNews" official website:
http://english.ohmynews.com/articleview/article_view.asp?article_class=8&no=366655&rel_no=1

[144] The article is based on the "Ip's interview".

their practice of independent media in Hong Kong. The idea of practicing independent media is the "software" of the media social movement. Besides, the "hardware" of the movement is also important in the stage of the beginning of the practice. It is necessary to own an independent server system or a "workstation" (a computer host) for setting up an independent media website:

> *"Now the content management system (CMS) of the website of 'Inmediahk.net' is being operated in a stable situation. We have a group of voluntary engineers (as the third-party technical supporters) to refine and tackle the potential technical problems of the system continuously. We can call them to help us if any problem occurs. The stable operation of the media website started from about 2009 because 'Coolloud.org' offered the present system to us at the time…there are lots of mutual aids happening in the process of the practice of independent media between different regions. The help from 'Coolloud.org' was practical for us."* [145]

Besides avoiding the influence from political or business institutions, embodying the spirit of independence of the media social movement is also important for the practice of independent media. The embodiment of the spirit implies that the practice of the media can be supported by non-governmental circles that have no monopoly attempt on controlling the operative form and the information content of the media. This approach of the practice should also be seen as an "independent road" for the media movement. For example, the server system of "Inmediahk.net" is from the donation of "Coolloud.org". It is because "Coolloud.org" has the hardware resource to offer the support for other counterparts. This kind of mutual aid between social movement organizations in different regions of the world is meaningful because it breaks down the social situation of the monopolies of professional knowledge and social resource in capitalist society. The significance of the spirit of independence is hereby established: independent media, as a kind of social movement, does not rely on the financial resource from vested interests or commercial groups, but develops itself based on the mutual support from civil circles or other counterparts with the realization of the value of humanitarianism worldwide. For all anti-Establishment movements, it is necessary to embody the spirit of independence with this approach.

Section 4   The Funding Issue of the Media

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[145] *Ibid..*

It is possible that some of the Establishments attempt to intervene in the practice of independent media through offering financial support to influence the operation of the media. At this point, to stick with the spirit of independence is the most important key for the practice of the media. Therefore, funding issue is a sensitive topic for the discussion of the practice of the socio-political movement. For this, Ip has the opinion that:

> *"We need to focus on the source of the funding (for supporting the practice of the media). There was no foundation or socio-political organization wanting to fund 'Inmediahk.net' in the past. We hope that the donations for the media are all from individuals, especially from the local people in Hong Kong. Nowadays the sources of the donation of 'Inmediahk.net' are: one, regular small amount of contribution (monthly); two, irregular contribution (lump-sum donation). Sometimes we would raise funds in the processes of social action, demonstration and street protest activities. We have never accepted the funding from government. For getting the money from the authorities, you need to finish a specific procedure of application for governmental funding but we have never done that before. Also, we have never applied for the funding from commercial groups because we do not want to be influenced by businessmen. For the purpose of connecting with local community, it is necessary to let the media practice be (financially) supported by the local people here. I think that social groups and 'NGOs' (Non-Governmental Organization) should run their works with this approach and do not rely on the funding from the Establishment."* [146]

Here, Ip explains the main reason why independent media should be financially "independent". According to his description, the income of "Inmediahk.net" is mostly from the common people's regular and irregular donations (in Hong Kong). He realizes that the foundation of the practice of the media social movement is based on the need of society. Therefore, voluntary (financial) supports from the public are very important because the development of the social movement relies on people's identification with the spirit and practice of the media movement. Through the above paragraphs, we can understand that "Inmediahk.net", as the subject of the media social movement which has its significance of promoting the spirits of independence, has a clear consciousness to integrate with the development of the civil/local society of Hong Kong.

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[146] *Ibid.*.

Of course, for the purpose of obtaining funding resource there are some different approaches in Hong Kong society. One of the approaches is to apply for the resource from the Establishment. There are some particular procedures or regulations made by funding authorities or foundations that relative social organizations need to fulfill and obey if they have the intention to get the money from the institutions. The procedures for funding applying include filling up application forms, submitting a proposal and a budget description of project plan to the institutions for explaining the "whys" and "hows" with the funding. After the completion of the project (if the plan is approved), the funded organization has to submit a formal report to the funding bodies and finish the checkup of the expenditures of the project[147] with the bodies' accountant(s). The process of this approach to gain funding resource from the Establishment, as we can see, is fully under controlled by the funding bodies that the funded social group or organization is not playing the role of independence for their practice.

For example, there is a foundation which plans to offer a financial support for an independent media for two years. If the media accepts the support, the independence of the media would be violated by the acceptance because we can imagine the following developing tendency of the operation of the media organization: when the media receives the funding from the foundation, the media does not need to worry about the funding issue in the coming two years. The fact implies that the media loses the connection with local society. We cannot recognize the media as an "independent media" because it has been "bought up" by the foundation. In this case, the media can theoretically do anything with the budget of the funding even though no one cares their actions in local society. For all social members, the practice of the media is not essential for the society. This is a kind of "alienation" of the independence of independent media. No need to discuss about the possible intention of the foundation for offering funding support, the media has been built on stilts, which is not independent but dependent (on the funding from the Establishment).

All kinds of social movements would lose their value if they are not spiritually and financially supported by the common people in society.

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[147] For example, Hong Kong Arts Department Council (香港藝術發展局) has regulated the official procedure as the "Guidelines on completing Project Report" stating that: "Organizations and individuals who receive grants under the Project Grant Scheme must submit a 'Project Report' to the Hong Kong Arts Development Council (HKADC), giving details on the project's income/expenditure and the artistic achievements of the project. For each individual project granted by the HKADC, a separate 'Report' must be completed.）" Retrieved 1 November, 2011, from the Hong Kong Arts Department Council official website:
http://www.hkadc.org.hk/en/content/web.do?id=ff80818121e1ebcf0121e1f55d9d0007

Section 5 The Effects of "Inmediahk.net"

As an important media social movement in Hong Kong society, "Inmediahk.net" rejects the funding support from authorities or foundations and maintains the financial independence of the media movement consciously. Therefore, the actions of the media are supposed to have certain influence on the development of the society. How does Ip evaluate the influence of "Inmediahk.net" presently?

> *"It is hard to say that we have a concrete influence for the present situation of the whole society here, but we have encouraged some people to focus on the possibility of creating an alternative media space outside the field of the monopoly of mainstream media. This is the most important thing. 'Inmediahk.net' is presently the most long-lived independent media in Hong Kong (since 2004)."* [148]

As one of the practices of independent media movement, Ip argues that "Inmediahk.net" is a notable exemplification to offer an alternative media platform for citizens to become "reporters" to do their reports and participate in the discussions on all social issues with their viewpoints freely and publicly. The exemplification shows that it is feasible to practice a media with an independent stance in Hong Kong society. The common people here have the need to construct their own understanding on the local society that is different from the viewpoints of the news offered by mainstream media. They gradually perceive that the monopoly and attached position of mainstream media (supported by the Establishment) narrow down the capacity of the reporting topics and contents of the media. The alternative media space offered by "Inmediahk.net" is meaningful because the voices of the grass-root people are commonly not respected or realized in the context of the development of mass media.

> *"We hope that we can see many people practicing independent media like us in Hong Kong. It is an ideal picture that a lot of independent media are being founded here individually. Our practice is not for the commercial purpose and we do not need to monopolize the so-called 'media market'. The diversification of media ecology is the best scene that we want to realize. After that, we can say that we have accomplished our main purpose of the practice and may end up our works. Of course, the purpose has not been accomplished yet. Although the ideal scene has not been realized, we*

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[148] The article is based on the "Ip's interview".

have made people understand that the practice of independent media is necessary and important for a free society." [149]

It is significant to create an open circumstance with diversified features for the practice of social movement in society. "Inmediahk.net" is the practice of independent media as a part of anti-globalization movement, which shows Hong Kong (which is generally seen as a high-degree commercialized city) has its capacity for containing the alternative and dissentient voices of common people. The practice of the media social movement is a clear approach to realize a kind of social situation of what a diversified society is. In a commercialized society, the ideology of capitalism narrows the thinking dimension of human beings and fixes the value of human life on the single purpose of interest chasing. Such negative developing tendency of a society ought to be balanced by the promotion of the common values of freedom and individual independence, such as the independent media does. The practice of the media is a "kind of experiment" that it should not stay in the current stage that the practice has its long-term goal for the positive development of local society. There are other individual independent media which are founded by the local activists who concern with various public issues on the Internet based in Hong Kong[150]. They are not the so-called "commercialized media" or under controlled by political authorities like mainstream media, but being organized as the social movement groups based on

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[149] *Ibid.*.

[150] For example, there are other two independent media organizations called "Net Media Union (網台聯盟)" and "Social Record Association (社會記錄協會)" in Hong Kong. They have started their works since 2010: "As an organization formed by most of Hong Kong internet radio stations, 'Net Media Union' was formally established on 24th December 2010. The purposes of the Union are to accumulate the power of the internet media in Hong Kong, promote the broadcast technology of internet radio on the Internet, and unite local internet radio stations for offering alternative radio programs for our society. In the age of the rapid development of information spreading, traditional media here are not easy to fool the citizens of Hong Kong with the tactic of 'sweeping statement'. Therefore, the Union produces various radio programs with the standpoint of social concern that are broadcasted by the different radio stations in the Union. They, different from traditional media, offer a 'public space' for citizens to participate in. Now, the Union enters its new developing stage and we hope to share our voices and concerns with you. We are in a developing process, please support us!" Retrieved 1 November, 2011, from the "Net Media Union" website:
http://www.netmediau.org/p/blog-page.html
Also, the main purpose of the establishment of "Social Record Association" is: "'to preserve a record for the disadvantaged minorities of society (為小眾留印記，為弱勢存足跡)'. Under the climate of 'social harmony' propagated by the central government, the mainstream media in Hong Kong are practicing self-censorship. The media do have a conservative position and an ignored attitude about reporting the social movements for the voices of disadvantaged groups and social minorities that are to be seen as the radical activities against the tone of 'social harmony' in our society. The climate causes the situation that the alternative voices in society are to be suppressed that cannot be expressed and heard by common people effectively. For this situation, we established the Association on 1st August 2010. All members of the Association are the volunteers who are responsible for the 'truth' of the reporting contents of the media. Our purposes are to record the social issues that may not be reported by the mainstream media in Hong Kong and share our records on the Internet with all people." Retrieved 1 November, 2011, from the "Social Record Association" website: http://www.socrec.org/

the principles of autonomy and mutual aid. The media play the main role in facilitating the reform and progress of the local society through promoting the common people's viewpoints and criticisms of the situation of dysfunctional authorities and all kinds of social unequal phenomena. For the media social movement participators, the progress of the practices, which are supported by the majority of society, are reflecting the positive aspect of an ideal image of free society.

> *"...there are some conditional restrictions on practicing independent media in Hong Kong. It is because Hong Kong's media industry had had its prosperous development which was led to the situation of high degree of monopoly made by foreign/local businessmen and governmental help since the past decades."* [151]

Of course, there is a huge gap between the ideal image held by the participators of the media movement and the realistic situation of Hong Kong society. The problematic situation of the media circumstance in Hong Kong is the direct cause of the forming of the spirit and practice of the independent media. Ip argues that the development of independent media culture here has its difficulty because the industry of mainstream media in Hong Kong has established its monopolized position in the last decades.

Here are two reflective points with the above discussion which are worthy to focus on: (1) media market monopoly; (2) governmental help (for the monopoly). Through doing an observation on Hong Kong media market, we can find out the real factors of the monopoly in the city today:

Media	Name of Media	Main Holder(s)
TV Stations	Television Broadcasts Limited (TVB 電視廣播有限公司,「無綫電視」) (free of charge; wireless)	**Chen Guoqiang** (陳國強): A well-known capitalist in Hong Kong
	Asia Television Limited (亞洲電視) (free of charge; wireless)	**Wang Zheng** (王征): A Chinese entrepreneur **Cai Yanming** (蔡衍明): The head of "Want want Group"
	i-Cable Television Service Ltd. (香港有線電視服務有限公司)	**Wu Tianhai** (吳天海): A Hong Kong businessman
	Now TV (Now 寬頻電視)	**Richard Li Tzar Kai** (Li zekai 李澤楷): The chairman of "PCCW Limited" (the son of Li Ka-shing)

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[151] The article is based on the "Ip's interview".

Radios	Commercial Radio Hong Kong (香港商業電台)	**Joseph Ho** (何驥): The descendant of the family of renown Robert Ho Tung
	Metro Broadcast Corporation Limited (新城廣播有限公司,「新城電台」)	**Li Ka-shing** (Li Jiacheng 李嘉誠): One of the famous capitalists in Hong Kong
	Digital Broadcasting Corporation Hong Kong Limited (DBC 香港數碼廣播有限公司)	**Huang chubiao** (黃楚標): A Chinese land businessman
	Radio Television Hong Kong (RTHK 香港電台)	The official media under the 'HKSAR' government

Table 2: The dominant mainstream media in Hong Kong (television stations and radios)

Besides the official radio station "RTHK", most of the commercial mainstream media in Hong Kong are under control by local/Chinese capitalists and investors (although the structure of the proportion of the shareholding of "TVB" was changed, the media is still controlled by international businessmen[152]. Also, the "Now TV" and "Metro Broadcast Corporation Limited" are both mastered by Li Ka-shing's family[153]). From the spectrum of Hong Kong media industry, we can understand that the circumstance of Hong Kong media is not open. From the colonial age to the age of the Special Administrative Region, the authorities of Hong Kong have had its conservative attitude to issue TV station and radio licenses for the operators of public media. The "Citizens' Radio (民間電台) Broadcast Incident"[154] also proves that the

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[152] According to the press release "CHANGE IN SHAREHOLDING" announced by "TVB": "Hong Kong, 31 March 2011 – Television Broadcasts Limited ("TVB") (511) is pleased to announce that on 31 March 2011: the transaction involving the sale of entire shareholding in Shaw Brothers (Hong Kong) Limited to an investor group comprising Dr Charles Chan Kwok Keung, Madam Cher Wang and Providence Equity Partners LLC has been duly completed. Following the completion, the investor group has acquired 26% issued share capital of TVB. TVB has obtained the approval from the Broadcasting Authority in relation to such change in shareholding of TVB; the Shaw Foundation Hong Kong Limited has donated a portion of its shares in TVB (totaling 2.59% of TVB's issued share capital) to various education and charitable institutions in Hong Kong. TVB has sent in its application to the Broadcasting Authority today for approval of change in shareholding arising from such donation. The Shaw Foundation Hong Kong Limited and Madam Fong now hold a total of approximately 3.9% issued share capital of TVB." Retrieved 31 March, 2011, from the Television Broadcasts Limited official website: http://www.tvb.com/affairs/faq/press/20110331_e.html

[153] "Li Ka Shing …is the richest Chinese in Hong Kong, if not the world. He has very powerful friends in Communist China and has tremendous influence in Hong Kong. Now 74 years old, he is a self-made man who made his fortune through hard work. Li Ka Shing was born in 1928 in Shantou into a Teochew family, which moved to Hong Kong when Ka Shing was ten years old. His father died of tuberculosis when he was 14. After some hard work in the Hong Kong factories, he struck out on his own at 24, engaging in the plastic flower business. In 1951, he began buying property. In 1972, his main company, Cheung Kong Ltd, became a public company and today, he controls publicly traded companies that account for more than 10 percent of Hong Kong's total stock market value of US$300 billion." See: Lee, Khoon Choy (2005). *Pioneers of Modern China: Understanding the Inscrutable Chinese*. Singapore: World Scientific. p. 482.

[154] "On 25 May 2007 Szeto Wah (Si Tuhua 司徒華) was speaking in a Mong Kok (旺角)

authorities attempt to maintain the tight control over public media space that social activists and common people are not allowed to use air wave as the medium to practice the operation of civil media. The point of the so-called "governmental help" (for the Establishment to construct a closed media circumstance), here, is to be evidenced.

Therefore, the practice of independent media is a strong attempt to break down the monopolized situation of the media circumstance in Hong Kong. The beginning of the practice can be based on the happening of political and social incidents and the wave of public concern:

> *"… (It is necessary) to pay attention to the timing of the happening of social incidents (for founding an independent media) and know how to operate the media. (Ask: do you mean we need to catch the moment of the happening(s) for starting the media practice?) You may say that as you mentioned. For all kinds of media including the media with weakened independent characteristic, it is important to take such 'path' (to catch the moment of the happenings) for the beginning of media practice."* [155]

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pedestrianised street hosted by Citizen's Radio. The topic of the programme involved the Tiananmen Square protests of 1989. Eight people including Szeto Wah were prosecuted. According to the summons, Szeto was using unlicensed radio equipment when delivering the political message. Only the chief executive or the director general of the Telecommunications Authority has the power to approve licences for such equipment." Retrieved 1 November, 2011, from the Wikipedia website: http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Citizens%27_Radio

"The station, which airs phone-ins and discussions about current events and politics, including the highly sensitive issue of the former British colony's transition to full democracy, had been operating without a license for two years. Tsang (Kin-shing, Zeng Jiancheng 曾健成, one of the founders of the station) said Citizens' Radio had applied for a radio license but was rejected, and the government did not give reasons why. 'Everything is subject to government discretion. The government can grant or deny you a license as long as it wishes. It is not in accordance with the rule of law,' Mak Yin-ting (Mai Yanting 麥燕婷), general secretary of the Hong Kong Journalists Association, said. The government prosecuted Citizens' Radio for broadcasting illegally, but this week a Hong Kong judge dismissed the charges, saying the territory's licensing regulations violated local laws on freedom of expression." Retrieved 1 November, 2011, from the News "Hong Kong station defies ban" on the Taipei Times website: http://www.taipeitimes.com/News/world/archives/2008/01/12/2003396783

"In 2009, authorities continued to obstruct broadcasts by the prodemocracy station Citizens' Radio, whose license application had been rejected in 2006. In November, six activists were convicted and fined between HK$3,000 (US$380) and HK$12,000 (US$1,500) each on charges of broadcasting without a license, though the judge in the case acknowledged their act of civil disobedience as "noble." In January 2008, the same magistrate had found the existing licensing system unconstitutional, but a higher court subsequently ruled that the ordinance's unconstitutionality could not be used as a defense. In a similar case in December 2009, eight activists and prodemocracy lawmakers were each fined between HK$1,000 (US$125) and HK$4,000 (US$500) on charges of "transmitting a message using an unlicensed means of communication" for participating in an April 2008 Citizens' Radio broadcast." Retrieved 1 November, 2011, from the Freedom House website: http://www.freedomhouse.org/report/freedom-press/2010/hong-kong

[155] The article is based on the "Ip's interview".

Media is the "carrier" of the information of social happenings. We understand the situation of society through media's report and propagation. Independent media, which are the media as the "news stations for people", also need the happening of social incidents as the "main contents" (offered by common people) for attracting public concern. The main reason for people to pay attention to the report of independent media is not just for the purpose of supporting the practice of the media, but also for following the progress of the following-up development of socio-political incidents. It should be noted that the attached characteristic of all kinds of the forms of media (which rely on the degree of the attention of people to social happenings) are directly connected with the demand of media audience. Audience would find out their own media platform(s) to follow different kinds of "happenings" through particular media (e.g. independent media – for the alternative opinions or voices of local/global society).

Therefore, media should give their audience a reason to use their media platform repeatedly. For example, the features of independent media, such as promoting social concern and offering an alternative media space for common people to report the news with their opinions, give out certain good reasons for people to catch the news of social incident through them and construct their individual point of views about current social situation. Moreover, using independent media as an implement to capture the real-time progress of socio-political movement is also another main reason for people to be willing to visit the media website again. Those reasons are integrated as a common demand for an alternative media of a society which finally constructs the foundation of the practice of independent media.

The significance of the "moment" (of social happening) for the practice of the media is that when people have an intention to establish a media organization or to practice the media movement independently, they need to catch the moment of the happening as a driving force to accumulate and centralize the attention of other people to their media movement practice(s) in society. It would be successful if independent media can fulfill the people's demand for the relative information about the happenings timely. Hence, the rise of independent media mostly relies on the happening of social incident and people's reaction to it afterwards.

Because of the participations of "Inmediahk.net" in the "Anti-WTO and Anti-Pulling Down the Star Ferry Pier & Queen's Pier Movements", the audience of the media at that time understood the general standpoint of the media that they had

had the expectation and intention to follow up the updates and information related to the social movements, including the following-up actions organized by the media organization promoted on the website platform. In the progress of the two movements, the members of "Inmediahk.net" uploaded a lot of real-time information materials, including the digital videos and photos related to the movements for the purpose of sharing the contents with local people and the supporters of global social movement around the world. The visitors of the media website could check out the uploaded materials for following up the progress of the movements easily. The contents related to the movements offered by the media members and other citizen reporters were more plentiful and more complete than the news about the movements reported by general mainstream media. Nowadays, the website of "Inmediahk.net" has a group of regular audience who would visit the media platform everyday. The visitors are interested in the information offered by "Inmediahk.net" and approve the purpose and standpoint of the independent media. Therefore, having a group of audience who concern about the development of the media is one of the important factors to contribute to the significance of the media practice in society.

> *"(At present) our main work is on maintaining the basic operation of the media. 'Inmediahk.net' might not be continued if Lam Oi Wan[156] and I did not insist on running the media. It is because to practice a social movement, especially in Hong Kong, is always a topical and incidental matter. It is easy that social attention would end simultaneously when social incidents pass by. In addition, it is not a certainty that we ('Inmediahk.net') can play the main role in every social movement every time."* [157]

Social incident has its "life" that it could have an end someday. The establishment of independent media also depends on the public concern and the incident happenings of society. "Inmediahk.net", like other independent media around the world, also has the problem of continuity: the purpose of the practice of independent media movement is not similar to the claims of other social movement groups only aiming at carrying out demonstrations or protest actions that would naturally end when their claims have been responded or accomplished. However, it is certain that independent media, as a kind of social movement, would be a concrete power for reforming the situation of society if the media continue to maintain their

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[156] Lam Oi Wan (Lin Aiyun 林藹雲) is a M.Phil. of the Department of Sociology at Tsinghua University, China (中國清華大學社會學系). She had taught courses at the Department of Government and Public Administration, the Chinese University of Hong Kong (香港中文大學政治與行政學系). Lam is one of the founders of "Inmediahk.net", besides Ip. Also, she is a news editor of "Global Voices Online" – another famous global independent media organization on the Internet.

[157] The article is based on the "Ip's interview".

practice and do not follow the end of social incident.

Section 6   The Stance of Anti-Monopoly

Therefore, we can expect that there are some core values or beliefs which support the members of "Inmediahk.net" to continue their practice of the media social movement. The values or beliefs are the props of the independent media movement which support the members to keep practicing the works of the media:

"To speak simply, our belief is to fight against the monopolies of economy, politics and culture which can be called the stance of 'anti-monopoly'. This is an important public subject of debate. In Hong Kong, there are serious monopolized situations in the aspects of political power, economic resource and cultural field...you may say that we are striving for creating a public open culture for facilitating the social and political participation of the people in Hong Kong." [158]

The purposes of the practice of independent media are to establish an alternative approach and offer a free media space for social members to express their opinions and construct their standpoints on understanding the situation of society which are entirely different from the mainstream media's. The stance of "anti-monopoly" can be realized through the practice of the media movement. Through the approach of the practice, people can have their own viewpoints with social incidents and avoid believing in the fixed standpoint of the factitious "neutrality" of mainstream media or mass media.

Mainstream media actually have no neutral stance because the media could adjust the contents of the news or information to conform to the interest of upper class of society (through inventing the reputation or the positive public images of authorities and business groups). One of the factors of this phenomenon is that the finance of the mainstream media is mostly under controlled by the Establishment. On the other hand, independent media do not need to serve the standpoint of the vested interests, including political groups and capitalists. Therefore, it is hard to obtain alternative viewpoints and carry out discussions from mainstream media as independent media's offering. Moreover, mainstream media is unable to replace the role of independent media in society because the subject of the reporter of the media

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[158] *Ibid..*

is different: independent media accept common people to be the reporters of the media and the interest groups' media do the opposite. The reports offered by common people have its grass-root point of views that could not be accepted by mainstream media because the report contents may affect the interest of the Establishment which is based on the exploitations of people's economic freedom and political right.

The operating of "Inmediahk.net" implies that Hong Kong people do not yield to the common social situation of the monopoly of politico-economic resource which is collectively constructed by the authorities and businessmen. The media activists (e.g. Ip and his colleagues) and the people who concern with public issues are still working for the media social movement: the practice of independent media in Hong Kong is a good exemplification for the fact. They use the media website as an open platform to release the news, reports and criticisms with alternative viewpoints that would create a social power containing public opinion and originate a kind of social atmosphere for the clear standpoint of "anti-monopoly".

"Inmediahk.net" justifies its necessity for local society through the following practice approaches: offering an open media space for information communication, promoting the freedom of speech of alternative voices from common citizens and continuing the operation of the independent media with social action practice. The participation of common people in the media practice proves that there is a substantial demand for independent media in the society. If the social demand of having-our-say expands further, independent media would become a widespread socio-cultural phenomenon that can facilitate the positive development of the present social situation. The form of the phenomenon would embody the spirits of mutual aid, autonomy and solidarity among social members who are working together for an "ideal of human society" out of the influence of the Establishment; it would also realize the promotion of the social atmosphere to concern with the public issues in the politico-economic field and the establishment of the influence of a kind of non-monopoly media for free communication and accomplish the attempt to hand down the open and freedom cultures in Chinese society through the practice of the social media movement.

Compared with the present situation of the globalized capitalist society with the characteristics of the alienation of human beings and their deteriorated living condition, the standpoint of the independent media is an insistence on creating a social consciousness of common people which has a kind of desire for the further development of the progress of human civilization. The practice of the independent media, as a social movement on the scene of globalization, is just a beginning for

realizing such ideal purpose.

Section 7   The Connection between "Inmediahk.net" and the Mainland China

According to the analyses in the above paragraphs, we can understand that "Inmediahk.net" has its specific standpoint or value (e.g. anti-monopoly). The practice of the media, which obtains a certain support from local society, is a notable exemplification of the local media movement which promotes the freedom culture in Hong Kong society. Because of the special political relationship with China, Hong Kong and its social development would be probably expected to influence the future development of the whole Chinese society (including the Mainland China). For this, Ip has his opinion as the following:

"Compared with the Mainland China, Hong Kong is a small city. We are sure that Hong Kong has its role (in changing the present situation of Chinese society), but it also has its restriction. The future development of China is mainly based on the change of the tendency of the Chinese politico-social situation. In recent years, we kept in touch with the media practitioners and human right activists in China. Now, we are not so optimistic with the common social situation in China (for the degree of freedom of speech) that is sharply deteriorated compared with the past few years because the political pressure from the authorities becomes stronger…Although there are some Chinese media workers still doing independent reports (in the Mainland), the wave of practicing independent journalism or personal internet media (e.g. micro-blogs) is weakened. Everyone needs to consider the 'aftermath' of doing such works. It is more difficult to find out an appropriate media platform for publicizing their reports. Many internet platforms (for the publication of independent reports) have been blocked (by the authorities)." [159]

Ip is not so optimistic that the practice of "Inmediahk.net" in Hong Kong can influence the future development of Chinese society. The form of his opinion is based on the experience of contacting with the Inland media workers in China. He does not deny that Hong Kong, as a part of China from the political point of view, should have its role in taking the responsibility to leading the socio-political reform of Chinese society. Hong Kong, compared with other Chinese cities, is a profound westernized

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[159] *Ibid..*

city because of its colonial history. Westernization, in fact, does not mean the of-course accomplishments of prosperity and progress, but contributes a possibility of cultural dialogue between the East and the West. For the Mainland China, Hong Kong has its specific historical condition to practice the value of freedom of speech which could be a factor to facilitate and trigger the potential opportunities of the political reform and cultural progress in the Inland.

However, the expectation of the influence of the role of Hong Kong in Chinese society is not bright. It is because the Communist Party of China still controls the information floating on the Internet tightly and thoroughly within the border of the country. In Chinese society, there are a few media workers to do independent reports (out of the influences of the Establishment and commercial media) now. But, how to release the reports in public (media) space is the main problem for them. The concrete political pressure operated by Chinese government causes the form of the closed media circumstance that it seems to be impossible to practice the movement of independent media in Chinese society. The people in the Inland could be arrested and prosecuted by the authorities if they try to practice the collective social activities that are seen as the actions of "subverting the authorities" and "hazarding the social harmony of the country".

> *"I know someone in China who has done a lot of independent reports. There is a Chinese citizen reporter making a full-harddisk-volume of video footages which are the rare materials of independent report in China. However, the reporter is afraid to release his reports and does not know how to publicize them (safely). From this case, we are sure that the tactics (for maintaining the 'harmonized' situation of Chinese society) operated by the Communist Party is effective in suppressing dissent voices because people really lose the motivation to do the report with their own opinion and publicize them. 'Chilling effect' is appeared in the society that lots of Chinese internet forums restrain the so-called 'sensitive contents' to harmony with the authorities' order. Another inland correspondent said to me that to do the independent report could cause him to lose his job and the action is unlikely to let more people concern with social issues. In Hong Kong, we could not help such situation. What we can do is to assist the independent reporters in China to release their reports through 'Inmediahk.net' or other independent media platforms. It is hard to let Chinese people contact with the information on our media platform directly because 'Inmediahk.net' cannot be connected in the Mainland China*

through the Internet." [160]

Through understanding the work experience of the media workers in China told by Ip, we can discover that there is a main difficulty for the workers to practice their independent media works because of the exercise of political pressure brought by Chinese central government. Hong Kong perhaps is a suitable information transferring point for releasing the contents of the independent reports produced by the media workers in the Inland. However, the important issue is that the contents cannot be delivered back to the Mainland for sharing with the common people in China. Such politico-social situation in the Mainland directly deters the independent media in Hong Kong from playing the active role in changing the political climate and social circumstance in China.

"Generally speaking, no one can deny that China is a 'police state'. The authorities keep all media and the information on the Internet under tightened surveillance. The website-form (independent) media would be blocked within one week if you set up the media (for practicing the media movement) in the Mainland China. We have no idea for changing such situation. We are still thinking about how to give substantial help for the media activists in the Mainland..." [161]

Although "Inmediahk.net" has its representative role in Hong Kong society, the media cannot expand its influence to the Mainland China further because of the strong control of the governance of the Communist Party on the media freedom of Chinese society. Here is a question: do the Hong Kong's independent media lose its role in influencing the politico-social situation in China? How do we consider the relationship between the future developments of Hong Kong independent media and Chinese society if the answer of the above question is positive?

"Now 'Inmediahk.net' is mainly in a 'defensive' position. We are basically working in a 'sentry post'. But we still have the superiority in the present situation of the deteriorating trend of the media circumstance with the widespread influence of mainstream media in Hong Kong. It is easy for politicians to control the operation of mainstream media. However, they are unable to intervene in the practice of individual media – independent media like us effectively.... In fact, the local media circumstance here is changing

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[160] *Ibid..*

[161] *Ibid..*

that there are various possibilities or social conditions that benefit the development of the practice of the media social movement. On the other hand, it is the fact that our influence is not easy to leap over the border of the Mainland China. For example, our information is unable to be delivered to China through our media platform. I think that the fundamental change of Chinese society is difficult to be triggered by the common people in China in the coming future. We are hard to see that there is a civil power appearing in the Inland for changing the present situation of Chinese society." [162]

According to Ip's opinion, it is pessimistic for the expectation in the appearance of the form of a civil power for changing the present situation of Chinese society. However, he argues that there is an advantage for the development of independent media in Hong Kong. One of the reasons of that is the practice of the media is not so easy to be controlled by the Establishment because the characteristic of the media practices is spreading in local society individually that is different from the common ecology of the operation of mainstream media in the city.

Hong Kong, as a "Special Administrative Region" of China, is still enjoying a relative high degree of freedom of speech that could be a "seed" for the further development of the media social movement to change the political climate of Chinese society unless the city fully becomes a "Chinese city" in the coming future. Based on this situation, there is still an opportunity for the practice of the media movement that may continue its influence for opening up the possibility to change the present situation of the Mainland. The so-called "defensive position" means to maintain the operation of the independent media continuously – the practice itself is a concrete action of the media social movement for fighting against the monopoly of the dominative class in Hong Kong (as one of the Chinese societies) which is a part of anti-globalization movement worldwide. All civil voices contained by the platform of "Inmediahk.net" are from the grass-root people who have the clear perspectives on anti-Establishment and anti-capitalism. Nowadays, the main problem of the practice is to maintain the attention of local citizens to the development of the media. The work of the maintaining has its significance under the political pressure brought by the Chinese authorities because the central government attempts to tighten the social control on Hong Kong further (e.g. the "Pundit Disturbances"). To practice the media social movement is more effective for facilitating local political and social reforms compared with the traditional approach of social movement – calling a single protest

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[162] *Ibid..*

or demonstration because the media movement has the core characteristic of sustainability: "Inmediahk.net" actually advances the further development of the media social movement in Chinese society.

Although Ip does not agree that "Inmediahk.net" has the concrete influence on changing the social situation of the Mainland and denies that the civil power for subverting the governance of Chinese authorities would probably appear in the future, he confirms that independent media is an "igniter" for the next possible social change of Chinese society that could trigger a series of "bottom-up" movements for the solidarity of all Chinese people to demand a profound socio-political reform for the country that could also influence the present political ecology of the governance of the Communist Party of China.

Through researching on the history and the core value as well as the practice approach of "Inmediahk.net", we can understand that the independent media has its certain influence on Hong Kong society because the members of the media have participated in local social movements with a long history. This case of the practice of the media social movement offers a horizon for us to open up an approach to research on the development of modern China. We ought to be patient for doing the evaluation of the significance and influence of the independent media because the social power of the media could be amplified that it depends on the factors of the vicissitude of the social situation, the degree of the awakening of civil consciousness and the participation of the common people in the movement in Hong Kong.

In the next chapter, we will focus on the other independent media in Taiwan – "Coolloud.org". Through analyzing the practice approach, the core value and other related contents of the media, we are able to conclude the characteristics of the Chinese independent media and construct a new understanding approach to analyze the possible development of Chinese society in the coming future.

Inmediahk.net	
The place of the base	Hong Kong
The year of establishment	2004
The core members of the media	Ip Iam Chong (Ye Yincong 葉蔭聰); Lam Oi Wan (Lin Aiyun 林藹雲);

	Chu Hoi Dick (Zhu Kaidi 朱凱迪); Wong Chun Pong (Huang Junbang 黃俊邦)
The source of funding	Civilian donation
The main participations of social movement	"Anti-WTO Movement" in 2005; "Anti-Pulling Down the Star Ferry Pier & Queen's Pier Movement" in 2007…etc.

Table 3: The profile of "Inmediahk.net"

Chapter Four   Independent Media as the Anti-Globalization Movement in Taiwan: "Coolloud.org"

Section 1   Introduction: The Socio-Political Background of Modern Taiwan

Compared with the historical background of Hong Kong, the socio-political situation of modern Taiwan is more complicated because of the development of contemporary Chinese History which records the bilateral political conflict between the two governments: the Communist Party in China and Kuomintang in Taiwan in the Cross-Strait region. Nowadays, most of the countries in the world do not recognize that Taiwan is an independent sovereign state because of the expansion of the political influence of China in international community. However, this mainstream opinion of the political un-recognition of the sovereignty of Taiwan cannot deny the truth that Taiwan (Republic of China 中華民國) is an independent political body with its own government, land and people which fulfills the essential conditions as a country like other sovereign states around the world.

The development of the political situation on the Island has its specific historical context in which various socio-political subversive movements are easier to be bred compared with the historical development of Hong Kong society. Besides the fact that Taiwan is not governed by the Communist China, Taiwanese society has had a long history of the development of socio-political movement since the beginning of the takeover of Kuomintang governance on the Island.

After the Chinese Civil War (國共內戰), the National Government (國民政府) lost its sovereignty in China and started to withdraw its remnant troops from the Mainland to Taiwan. The high-pressure dominative policies practiced by the government in the early period of its governance on the Island caused most of Taiwanese to have the strong resentment at the governance of Kuomintang. At that time, the "Tangwei Movement (黨外運動)"[163] had been promoted by local social

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[163] "In 1975, the opposition activist Kang Ning-hsiang (Kang Ningxiang 康寧祥) published the *Taiwan Political Review (台灣政論)*, which the government promptly banned. Two years later, Kang and fellow opposition candidate Huang Hsin-chieh (Huang Xinjie 黃信介) defied KMT rules and held a series of rallies throughout the island. Non-KMT candidates stunned the ruling party by capturing twenty-one of seventy-seven seats in the Taiwan Provincial Assembly that year. After the election, voters suspecting fraud fought with police in the city of Chungli (中壢), calling even more attention to the growing movement. In 1979, opposition activists calling themselves the *tangwai* ('outside the party'黨外) helped to launch *Formosa Magazine (Meilitao 美麗島雜誌)*; in December, they sponsored a rally in Kaohsiung (高雄) which erupted into violence. Forty-one opposition activists were tried in connection with the incident, eight of them in a military court. Among those receiving long sentences were the magazine's publisher, Huang Hsin-chieh, and its editor, Shih Ming-teh (Shi Mingde 施明

activists in Taiwan. Although the (former) President Chiang Ching-kuo (Jiang Jingquo 蔣經國) abolished the martial law and the prohibition of organizing political party in the period of 1970s-1980s, a series of anti-government (or anti-autocracy) movements still broke out on the Island. Until Lee Teng-hui (Li Denghui 李登輝) became the President of Republic of China in the late 1980s, the road of the development of democratization of Taiwan and the freedom and open climate of the local society were firmly established. Therefore, the society has generally had a plenty of experience with practicing socio-political movements against the KMT's one-party-governance in the historical timeline of the social development of Taiwan. It is the fact that most of Taiwanese people have had the common consciousness to concern with public issues and support political reform movements on the Island since then.

However, the value of capitalism or the common intention of chasing economic growth in most of Taiwanese people's mind became the main tone of the development of Taiwanese society from 1980s to 1990s with the historical background of the politico-economic influence from the United States of America[164]. The tendency of the historic development profoundly affected the socio-economic structure of Taiwanese society which caused the decrease of the population of middle class and the deterioration of the disparity between the rich and the poor on the Island. Such social phenomena brought by the development were the consequences of the rapid economic growth of the capitalist society. At the same time, the "confrontation between the Blue (the KMT) and the Green (the DPP) (藍綠對立)" as the typical ecology of the politics of Taiwan also prevented the possibility of the cooperation of the political parties for tackling the socio-economic problems and carrying out social reform through political approach.

Because of the common value of "priority economy" in the society, the local (mainstream) media in Taiwan mostly tend to serve the demand of capitalist market for the main purpose of money-making with the strategy of fitting the trend of advertising operation. Under this background, some Taiwanese media have a clear

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德)…" See: Rodan, Garry (1996). *Political Oppositions in Industrialising Asia*. London: Routledge. p. 312.

[164] "U.S. aid helped consolidate the legitimacy and rule of the Nationalist government in Taiwan. Between 1951 and 1965, the United States offered $100 million in financial aid to Taiwan each year. In 1954, the Nationalist government signed the Taiwan-U.S. Mutual Defense Treaty which media Taiwan depend substantially on the United Sates on the one hand, and dragged the United States further into the Chinese civil war on the other. With capital, technology, and market possibilities, the United States helped Taiwan's development considerably and also had more influence on the Nationalist government's polities….Since the Korean War, Taiwan has again become an instrument of international conflict to be utilized against mainland China. The United States has also increased its stakes and involvement in the conflict across Taiwan Strait." See: Wang, Gabe T. (2006). *China and the Taiwan Issue: Incoming War at Taiwan Strait*. Maryland: University Press of America. p. 106.

political stance because there are interest relationships between the media and political parties. The political stances of Taiwanese media would be expressed through their reports and the advertising operation made by political parties. Such situation is the basic ecology of the media circumstance in Taiwan[165].

Under the background of the media circumstance of Taiwanese society, the independent media "Coolloud.org (苦勞網)" was founded in 1997. In the year, the media founder Sun Chiung Li (Sun Qiongli 孫窮理) left his journalist position in the newspaper office "Lihpao Daily (台灣立報社)". His leaving gave "Coolloud.org" an important turning point to be established. In the past seventeen years, "Coolloud.org", as the Taiwanese representative independent media, participated in various social movements on the island, including labor movements, environmental protection movements, the social actions for minorities and human right movements continuously. "Coolloud.org" describes itself as the "media of social movement, the social movement of media (社會運動的媒體，媒體的社會運動)". In the following paragraphs, we will discuss and analyze the practice approaches, the characteristics and the belief and value of the independent media based on the interview with the

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[165] "In the polarized political confrontation (between the 'DPP' and the 'KMT') with the relative free circumstance of Taiwanese society, media, as the so-called 'fourth power (第四權)', becomes the instrument which is the main target for being scrambled by local political powers (this phenomenon is the consequence of the historical negative effect brought by the exercise of martial law practiced by the Taiwanese government in the past). Because of the fact that most of the Taiwanese local media have their particular political stances on reporting news and doing criticisms, they get used to give different political labels to other counterparts or other groups of people that have different political stances. …The 'Pan-Green Union' and pro-independent cliques (which have social connections with the 'DPP') argue that the 'pro-unified media' are supporting the stance of the unification of the Cross-Strait states. They criticize the 'pro-unified media' because the media generally have the 'pan-blue' (the KMT) political stance which supports the further development of the cooperation between China and Taiwan. The media with the 'pan-green' position have lower degree of the hostile feeling with 'EpochTimes (大紀元時報)' because it has the common stances of pro-independent of Taiwan and anti-Communist Party as well as the good will with the 'DPP'. The 'Formosa TV' (FTV 民間全民電視公司), one of the commercial TV stations in Taiwan, was founded by Chai Trong-rong (Cai Tongrong 蔡同榮) who is the 'DPP' legislator with strong political consciousness of Taiwan independence. The media is usually seen as a 'pan-green' or a 'pro-independence' media because the funding of the foundation of the media was coming from the local social groups of 'Tangwei Movement' (黨外運動組織). The so-called 'pan-blue' media include: Lian Ye Production Co., Ltd. (TVBS), China Times (中國時報), United Daily News (聯合報), CTI Television Inc.(中天電視), China Television Company (中國電視公司), Eastern Broadcasting Company (東森電視), Business Weekly (商業週刊), CommonWealth Magazine Co., Ltd. (天下雜誌), Global Views Monthly (遠見雜誌), CDNS (中華日報), Commercial Times (工商時報), Economy Daily News (經濟日報), Matsu Daily News (馬祖日報), ERA Communication Inc. (年代電視), CAN News World (全球中央雜誌), Central Daily News (中央日報), TVBS Weekly (TVBS 周刊), China Times Weekly (時報周刊), Broadcasting Corporation of China (中國廣播公司), UFO Radio (飛碟聯播網), News98…etc. The 'pan-green' media are: The Liberty Times (自由時報), FTV, Sanlih E-Television Inc. (三立電視)…etc.." Retrieved 1 November, 2011, from the Wikipedia website:
http://zh.wikipedia.org/wiki/%E5%8F%B0%E7%81%A3%E5%AA%92%E9%AB%94#.E6.94.BF.E6.B2.BB.E7.AB.8B.E5.A0.B4

core members of "Coolloud.org".

Section 2　The Main Works of the Media

For the work contents of the representative independent media in Taiwan, Chen Wei Lun (陳韋綸), one of the correspondents of "Coolloud.org", describes the main work of the media as the following:

"The main work of 'Coolloud.org' now is to produce the news (with the media's opinions). The approach of the practice of the work is different from the North American 'IMC (Independent Media Center)'. We have our core members – a group of correspondents to take charge of producing the news. Although our front-page (on the website of 'Coolloud.org') has a column as a public media space for the reports from citizens and the news from other media, the main source of the news of 'Coolloud.org' is from our correspondent group (the group needs to be responsible for the works of interviewing, gathering/editing/reviewing relative information materials and writing news report). Now we have five correspondents in the group who are the core members of 'Coolloud.org'." [166]

For the purposes of keeping the news quality and maintaining the continuity of the media reports which should include the opinions of "Coolloud.org" on the website platform, the sources of the news of the media are not only from citizen reporters, but also from the media's correspondent group that the approach of the operation of the independent media is different from both the "IMC" and "Inmediahk.net". In Chapter One, we have mentioned that the main purposes of independent media are to encourage common people to do their own reports and criticisms publicly, break down the "wall" between the so-called "professional" and "nonprofessional" of journalism and the monopoly of public media space of mainstream media, and promote the atmosphere of "crying-out" of the alternative voices of society. However, "Coolloud.org" has its particular practice approach to its media social movement which is (instead) similar to the operating form of mainstream media: the media has a fixed correspondent group. The "subject" of the news contributor of the media is not the citizen reporters, but the media's correspondents. From this characteristic of the

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[166] The article is based on the record of the interview with Sun Chiung Li (the founder of "Coolloud.org") and Chen Wei Lun (one of the media's correspondent) on 6/10/2011 (7:00 p.m.) at "Coolloud.org Workstation" (Hengyang Rd. 衡陽路, Taipei, Taiwan). The following footnotes with the contents of the interview record will be labeled as "Sun's interview" or "Chen's interview".

media, we can understand that "Coolloud.org" is practicing its media social movement with "another approach" compared with other well-known independent media in the world.

In addition, Chen tells that the media correspondent group has its specific work routine:

"Our work routine is: for example, I am the 'editor (on duty)' of the website's front-page of the media platform this week. Similar to the operating procedure of mainstream media, I need to appoint other correspondents to do interviews for different kinds of social incidents. This working approach is called the 'assigning arrangement for news (派線制)'. For instance, there are some news conferences and social actions going to be held tomorrow. Then, the editor will do the assignment(s) for our correspondents to do the relative covering....The purpose of the arrangement is to maintain the quality of the production of the media news. But, this working approach also fixes our correspondents on the work of the production of news rigidly." [167]

The purposes of the so-called "assigning arrangement for news" of the media are to categorize various social incidents based on the viewpoint of the media and distribute the covering responsibilities of the incidents to the media's correspondents. This kind of working arrangement run by "Coolloud.org" is similar to the operation of mainstream media because the practice embodies the spirit of the division of labor of the professional of journalism.

Why does "Coolloud.org" use the common working approach of mainstream media? The answer is obvious: the media wants to maintain the sustainability and the quality of the contents of the media's reports. One of the advantages of relying on the reports from citizen reporters as the main source of the news of independent media is to realize the spirit of the diversification of the media report that we can catch a complete image of the "people's society" through the media platform. However, there is also a disadvantage of such arrangement of relying on the news from citizen reporters which is related to the problem of sustainability of the media reports. Because of the uncertainty of the news offering (e.g. the contingent uploading time of the news from citizen reporters), the daily renewal of the front page of the media website is unable to be regular or in a stable situation. Also, the quality of the news is

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[167] The article is based on the "Chen's interview".

only depended on the "goodwill" of citizen reporters that may not conform to the stance of the media. For the main purposes of keeping the audience's attention to the media and the sustainability of the stable renewal of the media's information, it is necessary to establish an independent correspondent group for stabilizing the source of news and avoiding the possible situation of the above disadvantage that would be unfavorable for the long-term development of the media operation. For example, the front page of the website of the independent media "IMC" had a long-period stationary of its media platform – there was completely no news renewal from global citizen reporters within a specific period in the past[168]. According to the common habit of internet users, the so-called "netizens" may lose the intention to visit the same website which invariably shows the "old information" when they surf on the Internet. The social influence of the website-form independent media would be negatively affected by such situation because of the "stop-floating" of the information on the media platform.

Therefore, "Coolloud.org", which is one of the few independent media owning an independent correspondent group, has a clear consciousness to avoid the problem of the sustainability of media-webpage renewal. However, there is another difficulty for its media practice:

> *"Our correspondents have the responsible position in the media organization, but have no remuneration with their work. That is to say, they work for the media with no reward.… This situation causes our correspondents to need to look for other possible sources of income to support their living."* [169]

The "correspondent" or "reporter" of mainstream media companies is a formal position with salary offering. Mainstream media can undoubtedly run the "assigning arrangement for news" because the reporters of the media would obtain salaries after

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[168] The newest news on the website front page of the "IMC" is "Protesting Ten Years of US Occupation – 2011-10-10". The next one is "Report on the Situation in Santiago Xanica, Oaxaca, Mexico" which was released on 2/4/2011 (Retrieved 9 December, 2011, from the Independent Media Center website: http://www.indymedia.org/en/index.shtml). Between the uploading time points of the two reports, there is a seven-month-period of "blank" without any update on the media website front page. For the purposes of keeping the attention of internet users and collecting the grass-root independent reports around the world, it is necessary to maintain the sustainability of offering updated information for telling the real-time situation that the practice of media social movement on the scene of globalization is still progressing. To show the ongoing progress of the practice through offering relative updates continuously is important that it would directly affect the significance of the social role of independent media for accumulating the social power of public opinions to change the present situation of modern society.
[169] The article is based on the "Chen's interview".

finishing their media works. On the other hand, the main income of the independent media is generally from the donation of common people in society, not from the system of capitalist commercial operation. Perhaps, the volume of the donation can cover a part of the regular expenditure of the independent media, but it is not enough to pay for the correspondents' works. Therefore, the correspondents of "Coolloud.org", at present, have no income from their media works. They need to seek other possibilities of job for supporting their lives. For the practice of the independent media, the problem of the salary for the correspondent group is not less important than the issue of the sustainability of the development of the media.

Here is a key point: what is the fundamental motivation for the correspondents to work for the media? Because of the situation of the position in the media without remuneration, we have to ask the reason why the correspondents are still willing to do the media work in the abnormal operating situation. Chen has an explanation to answer this question:

> *"We describe our media practice as the 'media of social movement and the social movement of media'. Most of the time, our correspondents do not use the title as the 'correspondent of Coolloud.org' to participate in social movements. (Ask: Do they have another position for their movement participations? (For example) as the activists or supporters of social movement?) Yes. (Ask: But they do their news reports as the 'correspondent of Coolloud.org' after their participations ...) Yes. What our reporting focus is is social movement news."* [170]

According to the mentioning of Chen, the answer of the above question is that the correspondents of "Coolloud.org" are not just the players who take the responsibility for covering the happening of social movements, but also the "participators or supporters of social movements" at the time. When they do their media works, they would also join into the social actions they report simultaneously. The "dual status" of the correspondents constructs the core motivation of them for doing their independent media works based on their original activist character for clarifying the facts of social problems. From the stance of the founders of social movements, the correspondents of "Coolloud.org" could be seen as the "supporters" of movements who identify with their claims. As the supporters or participators of social movements, the correspondents of "Coolloud.org" are willing to help the movements to accumulate social power to accomplish their particular claims.

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[170] *Ibid.*.

However, the correspondents have the clear consciousness that they do not join in the movements or campaigns with the name of the "correspondent of Coolloud.org". "Coolloud.org" is not a social group or a "NGO" as a supporting unit of social movements, but an independent media to report various civil actions in local society. Therefore, we can understand that the significance of the supporting action practiced by the correspondents of the independent media has two dimensions: one, the action as the concrete supporting power of social movements; two, the correspondents would not lose their working motivation for the media with "no-salary" situation because they can join in various social actions with their concern for the development of local society and finish the media works in playing the social role of independent media at the same time.

"Coolloud.org" is not similar to other media organizations with a complete salary system for its workers. The correspondents of "Coolloud.org" are not the "employees" of the media, but the players practicing the media works with the assigning arrangement as the same as the mainstream media workers do. Although the arrangement can help for the stabilization of the news source of the media, it is a big challenge for the media members to give consideration to their basic living needs and the works of the media simultaneously. Besides the abnormal situation of the media operation, "Coolloud.org" has another problem: the non-recognition of the social position of the independent media held by the authorities and common people. Does Taiwanese society recognize the social status of the correspondents of the independent media? How do the correspondents do their works with the Establishment, including the authorities and mainstream media? What are the main attitude and tactic of the correspondents when they are judged that they have no "right" to do such journalist works as most of the general media workers in the local society?

> *"The authorities have made regulations (for managing journalists doing the media works in governmental buildings or official areas) that there is a formal procedure that all media corporations have to submit official documents to the related governmental units for noticing 'someone is the correspondent under the hire of (a particular) media'. Then, the authorities would issue a formal press permit for the correspondent.... Actually, we are 'the correspondents of social movement (not the correspondents working for a certain media company)'. For example, when a social movement group demonstrates for their claims with its supporters and arrives in the place outside the building of Legislative Yuan (立法院), the covering works of our*

correspondents would be around or in the area of the building…or, the protest crowd wants to enter into the building for further protest action, we would at the same time follow the crowd for practicing our journalist works (with the maximized degree based on the on-going situation). We in fact are not being recognized as the formal media workers applied to the regulations made by the authorities for working in official areas." [171]

The "dual status" of the correspondents of "Coolloud.org", in certain degree, helps the practice of their journalist works. The status of the correspondents is not applied to the related regulations for media workers made by the authorities as the journalists of mainstream media because they are not recognized as "correspondents" actually. In Taiwan, we can see that the relationship between the authorities and social movement groups is strained and contrary to each other because the both sides have the opposite standpoints for the different interest groups in the society. In this context, "Coolloud.org" would be seen as a social movement group for the interest of common people, not a pure media organization. In the situation of "not to be recognized as correspondents", the members of the independent media have to use their "dual status" to accomplish their media works flexibly.

In the process of doing media works, the main obstacle for the correspondents of "Coolloud.org" is that their correspondent status in the aspect of practice is not recognized by the authorities that would obstruct their activities for the purpose of obtaining the real-time information and the first-hand report materials of social movements. The factors of the forming of the social phenomenon of the non-recognition are numerous and complicated. One of the main factors is that the authorities and local society have a lack of understanding of the social role of "independent media" organized by social activists and the people who concern with public issues. Especially, the authorities are not willing to accept or to recognize a "media without commercial purpose" as the character of the most of the mainstream media in Taiwan because they are unable to effectively control on the "abnormal media" through the current laws for commercial media. Also, the authorities would argue that the reporters of the independent media (perhaps) have not been trained or educated with the discipline of professional journalist[172]. The form of those factors is

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[171] *Ibid..*

[172] There is a thesis which includes an interview with a Taiwanese citizen reporter Lin Ching Tang (Lin Jingtang 林靖堂) called "The Practice, Edification and Restriction of Citizen Reporter (公民記者的實踐、啓發與限制)" composed by Liu Chung Po (Liu Zhongbo 劉忠博) – an Adjunct Lecturer of the Department of Journalism at Shih Hsin University (世新大學). Lin mentions his work experience with the title "citizen reporter" in the interview that: "Most social institutions would suspect my attempt when I mention I am a 'citizen reporter' (for doing journalist works)…Security guards would ask me to

probably related to the climate of mercantilism of Taiwanese society and the background of the close relationship between political parties and media business figures in recent decades. Such media climate and journalist circumstance imply that common people in Taiwan have not been offered the opportunity with a valid social position (and/or being educated as no intention) to create their own media for establishing an alternative understanding approach to catch the real situation of society outside the domination of the Establishment. The try for the establishing (for a people's media approach), regretfully, would not be respected or recognized by the Establishment even if the people carry out it through the approach of the practice of independent media. According to this situation, Taiwanese people are seemed to have no freedom for developing a media for their voices publicly – the Establishment, including the authorities and mass media corporations, would suppress the possibility of the try through the acts of monopolizing the local media circumstance and giving no legal status or social position for the practice of civil-established media, such as the case of "Coolloud.org".

In the other aspect, the correspondents of "Coolloud.org" are also the participators of social movement. The standpoint of the media correspondents is opposite to the stance of Taiwanese government (for maintaining the stable governance of the authorities). Here, we can realize that there is an objective condition for mainstream media and the authorities to integrate with each other as a huge interest group: mainstream media can help the authorities to promote the positive achievements of their governance, do the "make-up" for their policy makings and attack the standpoints and opinions of opposition parties. According to the degree of the "help" of mainstream media, the authorities would correspondingly allow the monopolized positions of mainstream media in local media circumstance with an under-table consensus – to give "legality" to the "co-operative media" (through issuing authorized licenses) again and again to continue the interest exchange between them. Such interest relationship will never be built between the authorities and independent media.

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show a name card (of media) or an authorized press permit in work fields, but I do not have it. According to my experience, the title 'graduate student' (Lin is a graduate student at Fu Jen Catholic University 輔仁大學) is more useful than 'citizen reporter'. This fact suggests that our society seems to have a serious lack of the understanding of the term 'citizen reporter'. It is easy to get into trouble when I use the title 'citizen reporter' to do journalist works in official departments. Therefore, it is necessary to 'change my titles' flexibly when 'citizen reporter' is not being recognized. Perhaps, the concept of 'citizen reporter' is well-known in the academic field of journalism, but it is easy to be suspected in the practical field of media work. 'Citizen reporter? We don't know about it.' This is the common reply from the correspondents of mainstream media for the term. Because I always appear in media conferences, most of the mainstream media workers know about me. However, they see me as a 'junior' (of journalist), not a 'citizen reporter'." See: Liu, Chung Po (2009). The Practice, Edification and Restriction of Citizen Reporter. *Communication Research Newsletter*, 57, p. 17.

Under the background of the media circumstance in Taiwan, the correspondents of "Coolloud.org" need to finish their journalist works through the approach of joining in the social actions called by local social groups and "NGOs" as the actual participators of local social movements. The correspondents stick with the spirit of the "media of social movement and the social movement of media" and participate in the social actions they concern with. In the process of their participations, the correspondents, at the same time, record the real-time situation of the movements with the form of photographic materials and do the relative text reports through the media platform on the Internet for offering the news with their opinion to the local people who concern with the movements. The approach of the media works practiced by the correspondents of "Coolloud.org" embodies the basic attitude of the grass-root social movement with the strategies of mobility and flexibility against the "power/accomplice structure of the media circumstance (formed by the authorities and mainstream media collectively)" on the Island.

Section 3   The Social Background of the Beginning of the Media

Sun Chiung Li, the founder of the independent media "Coolloud.org", mentions that the exact year of the establishment of the media was in 1997. The time of the beginning of the operation of the media organization is earlier than the foundation of the American "Independent Media Center":

"They (the members of 'Independent Media Center, IMC') started their works after the establishment of 'Coolloud.org' because 'Coolloud.org' was formally founded in 1997.… The 'IMC' became the focus of global media social movement at the time because the media took the initiative for the 'Anti-WTO Movement' in Seattle in 1999. There were about two years between the time points of our establishment and their rise. We had developed as a 'media organization' completely since 1999. From the late 1998 to the early 1999, we had confirmed the main purpose of the developing direction of 'Coolloud.org'. In 1998, the 'Strike of United Bus (統聯客運) Drivers' [173] *broke out in Taiwan. We started to report the news*

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[173] "…The drivers of the private bus company 'United Bus' practice a series of strike actions today. Because of the discontents with the reduction of the basic wage level, the abnormal over-time working situation and the problem of the responsibility for the complete compensation for traffic accident, there are hundred of drivers joining in the strikes in Taichung (台中) and Kaohsiung (高雄). The drivers at the Kaohsiung Bus Station say that the company not only decides to press down the basic wage level to about 12,000 dollars (NTD) per month that is lower than the governmental regulation (for the lowest

of the labor movement as a main part of our media works at that moment.…
(The attitude of the mainstream media in Taiwan for) the strike angered me
because the reports written by (mass) media had no sympathy with the
strike drivers and misunderstood the main purpose of them. For example,
the drivers made blockade lines at the exits of terminal bus stations to
prohibit the buses to be driven out. The mainstream media described such
behaviour as an 'act of violence'! After that, we started to do our
independent reports and relative criticisms for all social movements on our
media platform." [174]

The rise of the practice of independent media is generally based on the happening of a particular social incident which is a main triggering point of the media social movement. For instance, the establishment of the "IMC" was triggered by "the Movement of Anti-WTO" in 1999; the social background of the founding of "Inmediahk.net" was under the climate of the political pressure brought by the Mainland China (following the "Anti-Article 23 Legislation Movement" in 2003); in Taiwan, the false reports made by mainstream media on the "Strike of United Bus Drivers" triggered Sun to decide to report the "real fact" of the labor movement by himself and start the practice of the independent media as a kind of social movement with the new approach: through the practice of "Coolloud.org". From the case of the "Strike of United Bus Drivers", we can understand that the reporting attitude of Taiwanese mainstream media about the strike in fact reflected the huge problem of the main role of the mainstream media in the society. The case shows it is possible that mainstream media do not report the "real fact", but serve for the stance of the "advertisers" or "vested interests", including enterprises, political groups and parties in the age of globalization. The media could assertively adjust the content of news report and distort the purpose of social movement with their partial viewpoint(s) based on "specific demand(s)"[175]. For example, Sun does not agree with the attitude

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wage level for workers), but also carries out the over-time-counting-point rule for drivers that the drivers need to fulfill 105 points of the amount of over-time working hours for a week. If the points are not fulfilled, the drivers could just gain 10 dollars for each point of the amount of over-time working hours based on the new rule. The working situation causes a lot of drivers to have no time to sleep for long time. In addition, the company decides to dismantle the assisted brake system of existent buses just for saving the money for buying new buses. This decision would increase the possibility of the happening of traffic accident. The drivers, under the current regulation, have to pay the compensation of the accident. The whole situation makes the living of the drivers harder and harder." Retrieved 1 November, 2011, from the Chinese Television System (CTS) News website: http://news.cts.com.tw/cts/general/199811/199811230021846.html

[174] The article is based on the "Sun's interview".

[175] Here is an example for showing the case of partial reporting of mainstream media. Please see the BBC News "Lib Dems refuse to back motion praising PM's EU stance" (Retrieved 14 December, 2011, from the BBC News website: http://www.bbc.co.uk/news/uk-politics-16172438). Through the report, we are unable to catch the meaning of what the so-called "national interest" is. The reporter of the news

of the mainstream media of Taiwan about reporting the situation of the strike. He argues that the negative influence of the strike for common people, such as affecting the rights and interests of passengers and the traffic in the strike areas in the cities, was indulged in exaggeration with the negative description (e.g. an "act of violence") of the drivers' strike by the reports of the mainstream media.

All social members should have their own thinking and judgment on the happening of social movements. If mainstream media do not take the responsibility to do their work with the attitude of conscience, people would try to find out another media approach to obtain the fair reporting of social incidents with "a real-fact description or a statement that meets the exigencies"; or, they would contact with the participator(s) of social movements actively and form an understanding on the development of the movements by themselves as well as establish their own media platform(s) for sharing their viewpoints and criticisms on social issues with other people. This is a common social phenomenon of seeking the "real-fact" of society practiced by common people that is also seen as the origin of the movement of independent media.

"In the period of the 1990s, there was a deteriorated tendency of the development of local social movement in Taiwan. 1999 was a special year. It was the last year before the presidential election of Taiwan in 2000. In this year, the development of local social movement had a little bit rising because there were a series of social incidents happening at the time, such as the resistance of the public prostitute (公娼) in Taipei city against the policy of the abolishment of the prostitute (廢娼) obtaining the two-year buffer period from the authorities for switching the line of business; the Idn-News (自立晚報) to cease its publication; the Anti-Building Reservoir

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does not explain the importance of the concept of "national interest" and the relationship between the British and the concept. What is the "national interest"? We are unable to understand the relative background of the form of the concept and the basic theory of the "Euroscepticism" held by the British Prime Minister through the news report. This example shows that mainstream media could do the "adjustment" for their report contents to conform to the political interest of government for the purpose of the maintenance of the governance of the authorities based on the possible order from the Establishment.

It is easy to find out another example. Please see The BBC News "Last US troops to leave Iraq cross Kuwait border" (Retrieved 18 December, 2011, from the BBC News website: http://www.bbc.co.uk/news/world-middle-east-16234723). The news report does not mention the historical background (including the causes) of the "Iraq War" triggered by the U.S. which has profoundly affected the living of Iraqi people in the period of the 8-year war in the country. The news just mentions the basic standpoint of the U.S. government for the planning of withdrawal from the state. According to the above analyses of the contents of the news, we can understand the reporting stance of the mainstream media "BBC News": it does not stick with the professionalism of journalism for reporting complete and impartial news reports. This is the main factor for causing the rise of the practice of independent media social movement around the world.

Movement in Meinong (美濃); the street protest originated by Chunghwa Telecom (中華電信) employees; the adoption of the construction of the Fourth Nuclear Power Plant (核四) in Legislative Yuan and the '921 Earthquake (921 大地震)'...etc.. The social incidents in the whole year facilitated the growing-up of 'Coolloud.org'. At the end of the year, we had become the (independent) media which had a clear standpoint on reporting social movements that was different from other mainstream media. After that, we only heard the term 'independent media' from the news of the 'Anti-WTO Movement' in Seattle in 1999." [176]

Sun argues that the development of Taiwanese social movement had its stagnated situation in the 1990s. This opinion comes from the observation on the political climate and social circumstance of Taiwan in the period. In the politico-economic aspect of the society, the maturity of the democratic system and the fruitful results of the economic development in Taiwan (e.g. the achievement of the "Ten Major Construction Projects (十大建設)"[177]) made most of Taiwanese people believe in the picture of the positive development of the nation and ignore the common situation of the deterioration of various social problems on the Island at the same time. In 1999, there were many social/public incidents occurred in Taiwan. The incidents aroused common people to concern with the importance of the social issues with great enthusiasm again. Under this social background, "Coolloud.org" as the independent social movement information collective/distributive centre had its further development for accumulating local people's attention to the happening of social incidents. The series happening of the social incidents in the background of the rapid change of the society pushed "Coolloud.org" to develop as a new media in the period. Since then, "Coolloud.org" has formally started the practice of the media social movement that is earlier than the appearance of the concept of "independent media" (from the American "IMC") in Taiwanese society.

"We actually have no intention to distinguish ourselves from general media

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[176] The article is based on the "Sun's interview".

[177] "During the 1970s, the (Taiwan) governmental implemented the Ten Major Construction Projects, including the North-South Freeway (中山高速公路), Suao Harbour (蘇澳港), Taichung Harbour (台中港), railway electrification (鐵路電氣化), the Taoyuan International Airport (桃園國際機場), and the North-Link Railway (北迴鐵路) (fig. 6.3). These projects affected the distribution of population. The North-South Freeway and railway electrification projects link all the major cities along the west coast of Taiwan, shorten travel times between the north and the south, and promote Taiwan's economic and social development. The North-link Railway gives the eastern part of the island better access to the Taipei Metropolitan Area, facilitating eastern out-migration. Taichung Harbour facilitates the import and export of materials and products for Taichung's industrial development." See: Lo, Fu-chen, Yeung, Yue-man (1996). *Emerging World Cities in Pacific Asia*. Tokyo: United Nations University. p. 194.

through reporting the social news with our viewpoints. In fact, there is no mainstream media to concern with labor and social movements. Because of this situation, our news reports always become the 'exclusive'. [178]

"We had already done the report of the labor strike of the can-food factory in Xizhi (汐止), Taipei. The strike sustained about 100 days but no media reported the strike. The length of the maintenance of the strike was in the second position of the ranking of the longest labor resistance in the history of Taiwanese labor movement. However, no media concerned about it." [179]

The practice of "Coolloud.org" firmly establishes the main role of the independent media in the progress of Taiwanese social movement. It mainly sticks with its independent media works on reporting various labor movements in the society. One of the reasons of the form of the reporting focus of the media is related to the situation that local mainstream media do not concern with the happening of social incident and the relative problems of common people's livelihood. "Coolloud.org", according to Sun's mentioning, has no intention to do the "exclusive reports" of labor movement for people, but the fact of the situation naturally takes shape because the ecological change of the Taiwanese media circumstance becomes more commercialized than before and this would cause the alienation of the professional spirit of journalism that the media would tend to fulfill the demand of advertising market and be distant from the social responsibility to give a complete picture of the daily happening of society for all of the people on the Island.

Section 4   Anti-Globalization and "Coolloud.org"

Besides the work of reporting the local labor/social movement, "Coolloud.org" has participated in the practice of global labor movement. The connection between global labor movement and the media social movement expand the dimension of the practice of independent media that the connection creates a concrete social power to challenge the present situation of the monopolization of various social resources practiced by the upper class in the rest of the world on the scene of capitalist economic globalization.

"From 2001 to 2002, we participated in a global campaign for supporting

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[178] The article is based on the "Sun's interview".
[179] *Ibid.*.

an international labor movement. In the period, some Taiwanese businessmen invested in the textile industry in Central South Americas. They exploited the workers in the regions and suppressed the local labor unions there. The related news of the incident spread to the U.S. and the so-called 'Anti-Sweatshop Movement' broke out globally. The claim of the movement mainly appealed to people for a boycott of the ready-made clothes brands, such as 'Nike' and 'Puma'. In Taiwan, 'Coolloud.org' did the investigation on the fiscal information details of the clothes factories in the Americas that the act gave a concrete pressure on the bosses of the factories. We in fact realized the 'trio-cooperation (with the laborers in the Americas and the movement supporters in the U.S.)' of the labor movement internationally." [180]

In Chapter Two, we have analyzed the common tactic of the most of international capitalists for integrating their economic powers in global market to achieve the purpose of profit maximization through operating the tendency of the development of economic globalization. The Taiwanese clothes factory bosses invested their capitals in the so-called "low-level developing regions" of the world for suppressing the costs of production, including labor power and material expenditures. The workers in the regions hired by them were unable to improve their living standard because the wage level controlled by the capitalists was too low for fulfilling their basic living needs. The main factors of the situation were connected with the exploitation and the greed of the businessmen. The workers were unable to get help from the local authorities because of the globalization of the phenomenon of the dysfunctional governance of political powers. For expressing the demand of increasing the wage level, the workers did a series of protest actions publicly at the time. Of course, the actions also attracted the attention of the social movement groups in other regions of the world (e.g. Taiwan and the U.S.). On the scene of globalization, the social groups, including the independent media "Coolloud.org", were willing to support the workers' actions through reporting the progress of the labor movement and publicizing the situation of the unequal exploitation practiced by the capitalists for asking more supports from global citizens around the world.

The "Anti-Sweatshop Movement" for the laborers in the Americas, in Sun's opinion, is a good exemplification to embody a transnational labor movement under the background of globalization because the movement was practiced with the civil cooperation among workers, independent media and social organizations

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[180] *Ibid..*

internationally. All participators of the movement understood that it was necessary to uncover the unjust fact of the unfavorable situation of the workers and how the ready-made clothes brand companies making extortionate profits. The united action of the movement participators actually gave pressure to the companies because global consumers had the opportunity to decide whether to buy the products made by the companies when they had realized that their consuming behaviours would help the companies to exploit the workers in the regions continuously. Also, the reputation of the companies and the sales of the products were directly affected by the action that the heads of the companies needed to face the claims of the workers and offer a reasonable resolution to solve the wage problem.

Obviously, the "Anti-Sweatshop Movement", as a case of global transnational social movement, is also a part of the movement of anti-globalization because the labor movement opposed one of the main negative effects of economic globalization: the common phenomenon of the economic oppression on the people in developing countries practiced by global capitalists. In the process of the movement, "Coolloud.org" played the main role as a pressure group (and also as an independent media) to help for promoting the real situation of global ready-made clothes industry and the development of the transnational labor movement that would not be responsibly reported by any mainstream media. Today, as the "golden age" of the development of information technology, it is possible to practice local social movement with the use of the Internet to expand the influence of the movement globally. The founders and participators of global social movement are able to realize the real-time communication between them for rising and integrating the social powers in the rest of the world. Such approach of the practice of the movement reflects the present situation of the development of globalization which is not only beneficial to the upper class around the world, but also advantageous to the world citizens living in global/local society.

Section 5   As a Kind of Diversified Social Movement

"Since 2005, we had held a series of film exhibitions called 'Cheval-de-frise Film Exhibition (鐵馬影展)'. The purpose of the exhibitions aimed at showing the films about the practices of global and local labor movements for the public. There were two practice approaches to carry out the exhibitions: one, regular film shows holding at the Chinese Taipei Film Archive (財團法人國家電影資料館); two, experimental film shows taking

place at outdoor places. From 2007 to 2008, we had successively held the film shows in particular outdoor spaces corresponding to the topics and contents of the films. On one occasion, we bought about 100 bottles of beer from Jianguo Beer Factory (建國啤酒廠) and held the film show inside the factory. Everyone could watch the film with beer." [181]

Besides participating in global and local labor movement, "Coolloud.org" also tried to do the media social movement practice with another approach: with the promotion of the spirit of social movement practice through holding the film exhibition called "Cheval-de-frise". The main purposes of the film shows are to create the atmosphere of the social concern with public issues and attract the people's attention to the practice of social and labor movement in local society. In fact, the work of holding film exhibition is not the "specialty" of "Coolloud.org". However, the practice of the film shows proves that the independent media have a clear will to exploit and enrich their media works with various diversified approaches, including the promotion work of the spirit and belief of social labor movement.

Through the films selected by "Coolloud.org", the people who joined in the film shows could understand the rise, spirit and purpose of various social labor movements in the society and realize the relationship between the movements and their daily lives. In addition, the audiences have the opportunity to know the others who also concern with the social labor movement in the occasions of the film exhibitions that the public consciousness and understanding of the movement of local society would be concreted and strengthened further. The continuous accumulation and consolidation of the public consciousness through this approach may become a strong social power to change the capitalist social climate of the neglect of the rights for the labor class and common people in local society and supervise the governance of the authorities in the coming future.

"If we just practice our work on reporting the news of social movement, we would be limited in a fixed role of independent media that the social power of the independent media work is unable to be deepened. For example, a social group or a 'NGO' holds a press conference and 'Coolloud.org' joins in the conference for doing interview. In this situation, what we can do are just listening to the claims of the organization(s) and reporting the relative contents accurately and we cannot do anything with the main purpose of the practice of independent media 'within our context'. The routine of the media

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[181] *Ibid..*

work, such as doing reports about social incidents, is just as the same as the work of mainstream media. Recently, we have interviewed the employees of 'Carrefour' (a brand of global supermarket enterprise) that the work of interview was cooperated with the labor union of 'Carrefour' in Taiwan. The purpose of doing the interview is to understand the labor condition and the working circumstance of the 'Carrefour' workers. This is an active action as a part of our practices for balancing the proportion of the traditional media works of us. If we do not do such balance, we would be tired with our fixed role because of the same routine of the media works. We could become a media like the operation of mainstream media and see all social happenings as a same thing." [182]

According to Sun's statement, we can categorize the works of "Coolloud.org" in two main practice approaches: (1) active work approach; and (2) passive work approach. The passive approach of the media work includes interviewing, reporting and releasing news on the media website. These are the main works for the correspondents of "Coolloud.org". However, Sun argues that such media works have their restrictions for the further development of the independent media. That is to say, the practice of the media social movement would be restricted within a fixed working routine. For example, the members of the media have to record and report the progress of social movements, including the forming process of social actions, protests or demonstrations and the claims held by social groups announced in press conferences; they also need to upload the related record materials to the media platform. Such fixed routine of the media works actually restrict the possibility of the action of the correspondents of the media: because of the status of "correspondent", the media workers of "Coolloud.org" have to accept and report the single-dimension viewpoints from social groups. Such works prevent them from having an independent standpoint on social incident and understanding the background and factors of the social issues criticized by social groups objectively. If "Coolloud.org" sticks with its practice in the aspect of the passive media works, the standpoint of the independent media would not be manifested and the role of the media would be fixed in a "series circulated actions" produced by social/public groups. The horizon of "Coolloud.org", in the process of the practice of the passive media works, may be assimilated into the position of social groups and relative organizations. In this context, independent media would not become a significant approach to the practice of social movement on the scene of globalization, but a group of people for doing the media works like mainstream media.

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[182] *Ibid..*

Therefore, "Coolloud.org" tries to practice its media social movement with diversified approaches. The dynamic independent media works on promoting the consciousness of public concern with labor rights through a series of film exhibitions for the purposes of enriching the viewpoints of the media and establishing an extensive horizon of the observation of the media on the progress of the development of Taiwanese society. The diversified practice approaches of the media would attract the attention of the common people in the society to concern with the interest points of the media. From the social actions of joining to the transnational labor movement "Anti-Sweatshop Movement", holding the "Cheval-de-frise Film Exhibitions" and carrying out the interview with the "Carrefour" workers in Taiwan, we can understand that "Coolloud.org" has the clear attempt to realize a kind of diversified media practice to expand the active range and the influence of the independent media in the contexts of the development of social movement in local society, and the rise of anti-globalization movement in world community.

Section 6   The Viewpoints on Mainstream Media

Also, Sun pays attention to the rapid change of the ecology of the mainstream media under the social background of the development of the capitalist society in Taiwan, besides sticking with the diversified works of the independent media:

"…Now the (traditional) media industry/market in Taiwan becomes smaller and smaller because of the effect of the popularization of internet using. Although most people would still rely on mainstream media (like TV stations and newspapers), the business profits of mainstream media is decreasing gradually. The common situation like this causes the media to tend to be more commercialized and polarized (with their reporting viewpoints). We ('Coolloud.org') don't want to be commercialized. On the contrary, we have a larger media space (for increasing the population of the audience of independent media) in the whole media market. In the progress of the development of the high-degree commercialized media circumstance on the island, people are unable to endure such developing tendency because no one can really know the 'fact' of our society through the news reports with lots of exaggerations offered by mainstream media. We in fact have a larger space for the practice of non-commercial independent media. 'Apple

Daily' [183] *is an extreme example of the press media in Taiwan, but 'Coolloud.org' is an opposite case on the other side. All in all, 'polarizing' is the main characteristic of the tendency of Taiwanese media industry/market."* [184]

[183] "The most recent entrant to Taiwan's newspaper market is *Apple Daily*, run by Hong Kong entrepreneur Jimmy Lai. Apple daily, a tabloid newspaper with a reputation for celebrity gossip, scandal, and crime scene photographs, was first established in Hong Kong and hit Taiwan's news-stands on 2 May 2003 with a claimed circulation of 750,000." See: Fell, Dafydd; Klöter, Henning; Chang, Bi-Yu (2006). *What Has Changed? : Taiwan Before and After the Change in Ruling Parties*. Wiesbaden: Otto Harrassowitz. p.234. However, it should be noted that the press media was sold after that: "Next Media Group yesterday confirmed it had signed a memorandum of understanding (MOU) with Chinatrust Charity Foundation chairman Jeffery Koo Jr. (Gu Zhongliang 辜仲諒), who has agreed to purchase all the group's media outlets for NT$17.5 billion (US$600 million). According to the group's official announcement to the Hong Kong Stock Exchange, the group has agreed to sell the Chinese-language Apple Daily, Taiwan Sharp Daily and Next Magazine for NT$16 billion. Next TV, meanwhile, is being sold for NT$1.5 billion. The announcement said that Next Media Group chairman Jimmy Lai had agreed to a three-year non-competition and non-solicitation undertaking, under which both he and his company would not own or control any company which engages in the print media or TV business in Taiwan and would not solicit employees of any print media or TV business in Taiwan." Retrieved 18 October, 2012, from the Taipei Times News website: http://www.taipeitimes.com/News/taiwan/archives/2012/10/18/2003545491
The ironic point is that the sale of Next Media (壹傳媒), which was disclosed in November 2012, is seen as the "milestone" of the trace of the monopolization of Taiwanese media market practiced by the China-friendly businessman Tsai Eng-meng (who had invested in one of the representative television stations "Asia Television Limited, ATV (亞洲電視)" in Hong Kong in 2009): "Next Media, founded by Hong Kong media magnate Jimmy Lai, began operating in Taiwan in 2003. The company said it would sell its Taiwanese print and television businesses on Oct. 1 because of reported losses of more than NT$10 billion (US$340 million) in the television sector. The consortium, led by ChinaTrust Charity Foundation chairman Jeffrey Koo Jr is expected to sign a deal with Next Media today to buy the Apple Daily, Next Magazine, Sharp Daily and Next TV for NT$17.5 billion, according to a letter of intent the group signed with the would-be buyers on Oct. 15. One of the parties in the deal is Want Want China Times Group chairman Tsai Eng-meng, who has extensive business holdings in China and owns the China Times. Some fear that Tsai's group will become a behemoth dominating Taiwan's media landscape if the deal goes through." Retrieved 17 November, 2012, from the Taipei Times news website: http://www.taipeitimes.com/News/taiwan/archives/2012/11/17/2003547912
Therefore, Taiwanese people have understood the developing tendency of the monopolizing situation of local media market and want to cry out for opposing the sale of the media: "Asian media mogul Jimmy Lai's sale of his Taiwan holdings to a Taiwanese group that includes an outspoken, pro-China businessman has sparked protests in Taipei as fears grow it will rein in a source of lively, independent reporting on the democratic island....About 100 protesters gathered outside the Cabinet offices Tuesday to protest the sale, focusing their attention on Tsai, who made a fortune selling rice crackers on the Chinese mainland, and whose China Times newspaper is a strong supporter of Chinese policies." Retrieved 27 November, 2012, from the New York Times news website: http://www.nytimes.com/aponline/2012/11/27/world/asia/ap-as-taiwan-media-sale.html
Overall, the case of the sale of "Apple Daily" in Taiwan shows that mainstream media can be seen as a "product" that is possible to be sold by businessmen arbitrarily and the standpoint of mainstream media (if any) can also be controlled easily through such business transaction – "the unspoken words in the play" is that the buyer of the media has the absolute power to influence the operation and the contents of the news reporting of the media (especially in Chinese societies) (That is why Tsai wants to buy up the mainstream media, including "China Times", "United Daily News", "Apple Daily" and the largest cable TV channel system company "CNS (中嘉網路)" in Taiwan). Therefore, the social role of independent media has its importance for people to "understand the 'truth' and express their voices without the intervention of the Establishment" in Chinese societies.
[184] The article is based on the "Sun's interview".

The observation on the present situation of Taiwanese media circumstance mentioned by Sun conforms to the basic ecology of the media market and the tendency of the socio-political and economic development in Taiwanese society. For increasing the amounts of sales and advertising income, most of mainstream media, including newspapers, magazines, radios, and TV stations, have to realize the practice of marketization: the market strategy of respecting to the so-called "mass taste" – do more and more reports tallied with what are the mass interested in. Under this thinking logic, to do the "appropriate adjustment" of the original contents of the information and add some "gossip elements" to the news reports to fit in with the mass taste for the main purpose of the rise of the advertising business of the media is necessary.

For instance, "Apple Daily", a famous tabloid-style press media which has gained fame and fortune in Hong Kong since 1995, started its business in Taiwan's media market in 2003 which is a clear-cut example of the so-called "commercial media serving the taste of the mass". The extreme marketized operating strategies of "Apple Daily", including the tactics of lowering the price of the newspaper in the first selling month, printing the papers with full-colour, doing the typesetting with strong visualization and sharp-pointed reporting style with lots of tabloid contents, profoundly affected the traditional ecology of Taiwanese press (especially newspaper) market. After that, the local famous tabloid newspaper "Min Sheng Bao (民生報)" ended its publishing in 2006; "China Times" was bought up by "Want Want Group" in 2008 (because of the financial difficulty made by the run-off of the audience of the press media). Such media incidents reflect that the operation and development of mainstream media in Taiwan have their fundamental problem: the foundation of the sustainability of the media is not based on playing the role of the social responsibility and morality of journalism, but relied on the amount of the sales or the investing intention of the "buyers" in the media market. The media incidents, in this aspect, reveal the fact of the "tendency of the polarization of the media market". Because of the "deviation" of the development of the circumstance of mainstream media, the main purpose of the operation of the media is shifted from telling the "truth" or offering real information for society to the consideration of market interest, which is conformed to the thinking logic of capitalism.

"…For the practitioners of independent media, now is perhaps the best time to work it (the further development of independent media) out. It is because mainstream media have become the 'hired thugs' of the authorities that they do not concern with public issues. If people want to understand the 'truth',

they need to read the news reports offered by independent media." [185]

Chu Shu Chuan (Zhu Shujuan 朱淑娟) [186], a former mainstream media correspondent who now works as a citizen reporter, argues that the polarized development of Taiwanese media circumstance not only changes the original ecology of the local media market, but also enlarges the social space for practicing the movement of non-profit-making/independent media. The main reason of the "best time" for practicing independent media in the polarized media circumstance is that people nowadays are unable to get the complete and real diversified information about society from mainstream media gradually because of the market-led direction of the operation of Taiwanese mainstream media. Therefore, the people who concern with the current development of the society would shift their original information source(s) for catching the news or reports they are interested in: the website-form independent media as the alternative news information sources are the obtainable and effective media bodies for the people to trace the "real" of social issues and the real-time situation of socio-political incidents or conflicts with the viewpoints and criticisms with "people's position". For this, "Coolloud.org" has its important role as the media source for people to realize such purpose in Taiwanese society. Here, Chu's opinion – the polarized developing tendency of mainstream media (contrarily) helps the development of independent media – is similar to the viewpoint of the other independent media practitioner Ip Iam Chong on the issue of the influence of the vicissitude of the media circumstance for the practice of media social movement in Hong Kong.

Section 7   Reflecting on the Media's Funding Issue

Of course, independent media, as a kind of social organization or media group, also need to consider the funding issue of the media (e.g. the operating cost of the news agent). The donation from common people in local society is one of the basic incomes for supporting the operating cost of independent media. If there is a single

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[185] See: Chu, Shu Chuan (2010). *To Be A Real Independent Media Reporter* (*做真正的獨立媒體*). Retrieved 1 November, 2011, from the Chu Shu Chuan's personal blog: http://shuchuan7.blogspot.com/search/label/%E3%80%8A%E9%80%A3%E8%BC%89%E3%80%8B%E9%96%8B%E5%A7%8B%E7%8D%A8%E7%AB%8B%E5%AA%92%E9%AB%94

[186] Chu Shu Chuan is a Taiwanese citizen reporter who is active on the media works of promoting the practice of independent media and doing independent reports in Taiwan. Before her citizen reporter's career, she had worked as a correspondent for the mainstream press media "United Daily News" for reporting local and environmental news since 1998. Because of the stronger intervention from political/economic powers on the operation of the media, she resigned from her position in 2009 and has become a citizen reporter for doing independent reports till now.

donator, who, for example, has a specific political standpoint, who wants to support the media through making a huge-volume-funding donation, the practitioners of independent media would have a negative attitude about the supporting act. It is because such form of the donation may directly affect the practice approach, basic stance, and the contents of the reporting of independent media. For this issue, "Coolloud.org" also has its clear standpoint:

> *"There are two main situations: one, the source of the huge-volume-funding donation itself has its problem – the donator is our 'potential enemy' (the operation of the business owned by the donator collides with the standpoint of 'Coolloud.org'). It is difficult to handle the development of 'Coolloud.org' if we accept the funding donation from the man; two, the donator is our 'friend' who is just a wealthy man and he sympathizes with our practice of media social movement. For this source of donation, we would not accept it also because our media social movement may be affected by him. Perhaps, the man has some ideas on our practice and wants to influence us through offering a huge-volume of funding for his untold attempt... (Ask: Is it true that 'Coolloud.org' hopes to get support from common people in local society as the main source of the income of the media?) Yes."* [187]

In modern capitalist society, the floating of money implies the establishment of the power relationship between the money "acceptor" and "provider". There are some reasons to explain why independent media tend to accept small donations from common people: the acceptance of small donation means the practice and operation of the media are really "independent" (out of the influence of the Establishment) which is different from the common situation of mainstream media. The operation of independent media is based on the social need – citizens want to know about the "truth" of society, have their say (through the website platform of the media) and understand the public opinion of local society. Moreover, obtaining small donations from people implies a substantial attempt of the media to realize a non-dominative condition for the practice of media social movement. In the above situation, no single donator has enough influence or power to affect the media's operation (in the pay-to-buy logic of capitalism). That is to say, the practice of independent media, in such condition, is really "independent" that the media do not rely on a single source of donation to avoid the possible influencing force from the economic players of capitalist society.

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[187] The article is based on the "Sun's interview".

Sun points out that the standpoint of "Coolloud.org" is clear on the funding issue. Whatever the donator is a "potential enemy" (e.g. the boss of an enterprise) or a "friend" of the practitioners of the media movement (e.g. the supporter of the movement who is a wealthy man), independent media, as the subjective body of social movement, should always avoid accepting the huge-volume-funding donation from a single donator because it is related to the potential dominative problem of the media practice. The subjectivity of independent media would possibly be violated by the single donator who practices the funding donation because such form of donation implies the attempt to "exchange something for particular reasons" from the donating behaviour. For the "acceptor" of the donation, to accept the huge amount of donative funding means that he/she probably has a certain degree of responsibility to give a "feedback" for the donator. Of course, we can abstractly think that the practitioners of independent media can accept the donation but do not take notice of the "metaphor" (giving a feedback) of the donative act. However, such thinking has no meaning in the logic of capitalism because the independency of independent media is based on the common support of the social members in society, not relied on the thinking of the practitioners. When they accept the donation, the subjectivity of the independent media would be suspected by the audience of the media and other social movement practitioners because the practice of the media could be affected by the possibility of the interest exchange between the media and the donator that would mirror the attitude of the insistency of the (original) standpoint and reflect the coming operating tendency of the media.

Ironically, here is a description of the social ecology related to the funding problem of most of the social groups and "NGOs" in Taiwan mentioned by Sun. He tells that the operating resource of the groups and organizations are mainly relied on the funding from the authorities:

> *"There is a common social phenomenon that the main source of the funding of Taiwanese social groups (for supporting the cost of their operation) is mostly from the authorities (the groups obtain the official funding through implementing a case project commissioned by public sectors). We do not like doing such thing. (Ask: Has 'Coolloud.org' applied for the funding from the authorities?) No, we have never done that, besides the special case like the 'Cheval-de-frise Film Exhibition'. We applied the funding for implementing the film shows for covering the expenditures of the activities. Besides the film exhibitions, we have never applied for the funding from the*

authorities. " [188]

"Coolloud.org" deeply understands the common ecology of the operation of Taiwanese social groups and its related problems. It is hard to imagine that a social group or the "NGO" has a certain standpoint differed with the position of the Establishment, but its operating funding is from the power system. How do we justify such ironic situation – "biting the hands that feed you"? Perhaps, it subverts the basic thinking logic of capitalist society: the act of offering funding support (in other words: doing an "investment") implies an attempt to structure a power relationship between the funding provider and the acceptor. The main point is: the ironic situation also reflects the "dual characters" of the funding acceptors. After accepting the funding from the authorities, the original spirits of the practices of the social groups are probably shifted: they are no longer working for realizing public interests, reflecting on social issues and supervising the governance of the authorities, but for continuing the maintenance of the operation of them. Here, we can find out that the priority of the operation of the social group practices is "to survive", not to work for common people. At this point, the social groups that rely on the funding offered by the authorities lose their particular role and social value for the progressive development of society.

> *"(For obtaining the funding from the authorities,) we firstly have to submit a working project plan with a list of budget details to public sector(s). After the project plan being approved, we need to implement the plan based on the budget limit approved by the sector(s). For example, there were three public sectors funding the 'Cheval-de-frise Film Exhibition' held by 'Coolloud.org'. One of the sectors funded us up to 300,000 dollars (NTD), but the funding was just allowed to be used for printing the posters for promoting the exhibition. We received the fund (totally about 4-500,000 dollars) from them but among 300,000 dollars budget was restricted to be expended only on printing posters. Why were we being restricted to use the funding so senseless? We didn't need to print such huge amount of posters actually.... Also, the offering of the funding from governmental sectors are not stable. Perhaps you successfully get a project funding this year, but for the next year it is still a question. Under the operating approach (practiced by most of the social groups in Taiwan), you need to keep submitting the applications (for running project plans) to the sectors for obtaining sustainable funding to maintain the manpower of the organization...everyone has gotten used to run a social group through this*

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[188] *Ibid..*

approach here. At the beginning of the practice of 'Coolloud.org', someone told me that there were some projects with funding support that were suitable for us to do, but I refused to accept his suggestion." [189]

Sun shares his experience of working with public sectors – the funding supporters of the activity – for implementing the project of "Cheval-de-frise Film Exhibition" in the past. Through understanding the Sun's experience, we can realize the main problems and difficulties of implementing a project plan for obtaining funding from the authorities as the common approach of the operation of social organization in Taiwan.

The general procedure for obtaining funding from public sectors, first, is to submit a project plan with budget details to the sectors that request for the plans or proposals from society publicly. After that, the sectors would evaluate the feasibility of the plan and decide to approve the plan or not. In this process, the power of making the funding decision is completely held by the authorities. Then, there are many problems that could happen in the process of the implement of project plans for social groups after their plans being approved because the funding provider(s) have the absolute power to intervene in the process of the funding using. From the providers' viewpoint, they are the managers/buyers of the projects because they "have paid for them". For the role of the funding providers, it is "reasonable" to participate in the implement of the funding projects. However, the "implementers" of the projects, such as social groups or "NGOs", have no right to distribute and use the funding with their discretion based on the actual needs of the implement of the projects. From the beginning of the funding case, the decisive role of the implementing of the plans is played by the funding providers, not the "implementers". On the other hand, social groups and "NGOs" can submit project plans or proposals to public sectors for obtaining funding supports to maintain the operation of the institutions regularly. However, this approach to solve the issue of the income of the groups would derail the original social responsibilities of them and this situation could obstruct the long-term development of the social groups and "NGOs" in Taiwan.

Although the practice of "Coolloud.org" is under the background of the common ecology of the operation of social groups on the Island, the independent media, undoubtedly, refuses to take such approach to realize its practice of the media social movement.

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[189] *Ibid..*

Section 8   Connecting with Social Movement Organizations

Besides the practice of local media works, the realization of the transnational connection between independent media and social groups in different regions of the world is also the main characteristic of the practices of independent media in Hong Kong and Taiwan. For instance, "Inmediahk.net" has received the technical and material supports (including the content management system of the media website platform) from "Coolloud.org". The independent media develop their operating features and practice approaches and communicate with other counterparts in local and global societies for establishing a concrete connection for enlarging the influence of global social movement actively:

> *"'Coolloud.org' has an important characteristic of the practice of the media social movement, which is having a good cooperative relationship with other social groups and organizations (worldwide). On our reporting works, we would try to maintain the balance of the proportion of news of the actions of different social groups equally. Also, we would keep communicating with social movement practitioners. In Hong Kong, 'Inmediahk.net' seems to have weaker relationship with local social groups and activists (compared with 'Coolloud.org')."* [190]

"Coolloud.org" has a broad horizon which concerns with all kinds of public issues in local and global societies. The media, according to Sun's description, establishes a good relationship with various social groups through doing news reports about their actions for promoting the atmosphere of public concern and the claims of social activists. For the media, it is an important practice for developing a widespread influence of the independent media in society. Besides realizing the spirits of solidarity and mutual aid with this practice approach, the media, at the same time, helps global "NGOs" to transmit the independent reports, relative news and social movement information to the rest of the world through the media platform. This act would help the positive development of the media social movement in the context of the practice of anti-globalization movement.

In addition, Sun also compares the different characteristic between "Inmediahk.net" and "Coolloud.org" in the aspect of the cooperation with social movement groups. He argues that "*'Inmediahk.net' seems to have weaker relationship*

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[190] *Ibid..*

with local social groups and activists". This comment is probably based on the observation on the topics of the news reports showing on the website front page of "Inmediahk.net". Most of the news reports offered by "Inmediahk.net" are generally related to political, social and cultural issues. On the other side, the news of "Coolloud.org" is always focused on labor movements and environmental protection campaigns[191]. Here is a noteworthy point related to this issue: "Coolloud.org" has its own correspondent group which would help the media to arrange its topic choice and establish its specific reporting emphasis of the media. Also, it is easier for the media to build up a clear standpoint of the media social movement compared with "Inmediahk.net" (it should be noticed that the news source of "Inmediahk.net" is relied on the offering of the reports composed by local citizen reporters). From the practice of "Coolloud.org", we can understand that independent media can be an information centre of social groups that would facilitate the communication between common people and social activists and assist the development of independent media movement on the scene of globalization, besides doing independent reports by their own.

Section 9   The Differences between "Inmediahk.net" and "Coolloud.org"

"We have a strong consciousness to be a 'media', so our core works are mainly related to media operation. This characteristic of us is different from 'Inmediahk.net', although we both are being seen as 'independent media'. If a social incident or a conflict happens, the members of

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[191] Through comparing the topics of the news reports and information contents showing on the two independent media websites, we can realize the different characteristics of the two media and understand why Sun has such comment with "Inmediahk.net". On the front page of "Inmediahk.net" website, we can find out the tag categories of the news, which include "Locals; Social Movements; Actions; Government & Councils; Freedom of Speech; Internet Freedom; Media; China; International; Culture & Art; Animations and Comics; Diet; Travel; Labors; Education; Environment; Animal rights; Sports; Gender; Economy; Technology". On the other side, "Coolloud.org" has its own approach to categorize the news and information on the website. The news of the media are categorized under the tags of "Reports of Coolloud; Comments of Coolloud; Public Forum" (Retrieved 7 January, 2013, from the "Inmediahk.net" and "Coolloud.org" websites). The differences of the tag categories of the two independent media not only reflect the different frameworks and the aims of the media (it shows "Inmediahk.net" is a media platform for the voices of people; "Coolloud.org" is an independent media for social movements), but also imply whether the relationship between the media and local social movement groups and "NGOs" are close (or not). Because of the source of the news which comes from citizen reporters, the information contents offered by "Inmediahk.net" are not necessarily related to the actions of social groups. On the other hand, "Coolloud.org" has its independent correspondent group that the media can carry through its core aim for reporting and supporting various social movements in society. In other words, "Coolloud.org" needs to maintain a good relationship with social groups, "NGOs" and individual activists for the purposes of knowing the development and progress of local social movements and keeping the news sources of the media well. Such practice, to keep a good relationship with social groups, is not essential for "Inmediahk.net", but important for "Coolloud.org" to carry out its media works with the particular approach of the practice of independent media.

'Inmediahk.net' would immediately go onto streets and express their stance publicly, such as the case of 'Anti-Pulling Down the Star Ferry Pier & Queen's Pier Movement'. At the highest peak of the progress of the movement, 'Inmediahk.net' was unable to be run as a media because all of the members participated in the movement. Nobody stayed in the media office...they became a part of the resistance power of the social movement." [192]

There are some different characteristics and distinct practicing approaches between the two independent media when they participate in social movements as the role of "media". We have analyzed the working strategy of the correspondents of "Coolloud.org" in Section 2. As the "social movement supporters", the members of the independent media do not use the media's name to participate in social actions. In the process of giving the support for the actions, they do the media works at the same time and report the progress of the actions through the media website platform after the supporting moves. Sun uses the "Anti-Pulling Down the Star Ferry Pier & Queen's Pier Movement" as an example to discuss about the difference between the two independent media on the issue of the position of the participation in social movements. He argues "Inmediahk.net", in some cases, does not work as a "media" – working for all members of society to offer the news reports about all social movements.

In the case of "Anti-Pulling Down the Star Ferry Pier & Queen's Pier Movement", the role of "Inmediahk.net" was not an "independent media", but exactly a social movement organization because the members of the media were the "subject" of the movement. They mainly acted with their own standpoint of the social incident and tried to lead the trend of the movement; even if they also did some media works, such as recording the progress of the movements and uploading the record materials to the media website for sharing the relative information with the public.

According to the above analysis, we can understand why the practice of independent media always to be seen as the practice of media social movement. It is because the practice is not a fixed media work as general media's doing, but the social practice with the standpoint of humanitarian social concern through diversified flexible approaches based on the potential of the continual development of human society.

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[192] *Ibid..*

Undoubtedly, the case of "Anti-Pulling Down the Star Ferry Pier & Queen's Pier Movement" reflects the possible weak point of "Inmediahk.net" as the role of a "media": because of the "complete participation" of the media members in the movement, the media could lose an objective standpoint for offering a neutral point of view (not only criticize on the position of the authorities, but analyze the background of the form of socio-political incidents) to the audience of the media and the local society. Social incidents usually happen at the same time. It is possible that some social movements could be ignored if all members of the media participate only in a single social action. The reflection on the above case directs us to discover the different characteristics of the media social movements between "Inmediahk.net" and "Coolloud.org". Because of the "strong consciousness as a media", "Coolloud.org" is willing to give a complete concern or consideration for all social groups (and their actions). The media can be one of the participators of social movements, but not the "subject" of the movements. The purpose of the maintaining as the role of a media is to realize an independent standpoint to view all social happenings in civil society at even level. "Coolloud.org" has its clear attitude to practice the media social movement with a social status of complete independence without any influence from a single specific social movement group or organization. For this, to pay attention to the developments of various social movements and activist actions (not just for one specific movement) on the scene of the world society is necessary. Therefore, the arrangement of an independent correspondent group is a "must-have" for "Coolloud.org" to catch the whole picture of the happenings of global social movement.

However, such practice approach of the independent media has its difficulties. The "no-pay-work" of the correspondents is one of them. The other difficulties are related to the quality of the reporting contents and the journalistic discipline of the correspondents of the media:

> *"The operation of 'Coolloud.org' is not so easy to be carried out because our works need to be done by the enthusiastic person(s) with long-term media working experience and journalistic professional abilities. Now our correspondents are too young and they always come and go in haste. We are hard to train them up in this situation. For a 'new-comer' of 'Coolloud.org', it is difficult for him/her to fulfill the requirements of our media works as professional as a mainstream media reporter. As professional correspondents, the workers of mainstream media may have no interest in the happenings of social movements, but they have the ability to write professional news*

reports for the happenings. For our correspondents, it is hard to accomplish the work without any mistake. Besides, they need to integrate the viewpoints of 'Coolloud.org' in our news reports...the anxiety with the media works in our correspondents' mind actually arises from this point." [193]

Because of having an individual correspondent group, "Coolloud.org" has the responsibility for maintaining the quality of the media's news reports. Such configuration of the media operation is different from the practice of general independent media that is relied on common people (citizen reporters) to offer their contributions. For example, "Inmediahk.net" respects for the basic right of freedom of speech: basically the media would not edit or delete the contents of the news report posted by citizen reporters on the media website platform. Therefore, citizen reporters themselves have the responsibility to keep the quality of the news reports based on their conscience and writing skills. However, "Coolloud.org" is on the other path of the practice of the media social movement. Sun does not mention the details of what the basic journalist skills of the media correspondents for doing the news reports are. But, it can be understood that the standard of being a good correspondent of the independent media (if any) is similar to the requirement of a general media worker. In fact, the members of "Coolloud.org" could have no experience on media works before taking the position of the correspondents of the independent media because they are probably the activists who have the enthusiasm for participating in social movements and also the "amateurs" as professional reporters. Moreover, the situation of "no-pay" for the media works makes the correspondents need to trouble about the problem of their basic living needs. It can be speculated that the operating situation of the correspondent group of "Coolloud.org" is not stable: the members of the group may give up the media works easily when they are unable to give consideration to the works and their lives simultaneously.

Although "Coolloud.org" is an independent media, it runs its media works as a professional media organization. The practice approach of the media is totally different from other counterparts'. However, the "no-pay" situation with the media correspondents is "abnormal" that it would increase the "pressure" of the media operation. Also, the situation could negatively affect the future development of the media social movement in Taiwan.

Section 10   The Objection to "Principle"

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[193] *Ibid..*

Because of the "sacrifice" of the correspondents of "Coolloud.org" (doing the gratuitous media works with their devotion), we can speculate that the media's members have a common spiritual belief or value to support their practice of the independent media works as a long-term participation of media social movement:

"(About the core belief or value of our media practice) I cannot talk about it explicitly...Surely, it (the practice of 'Coolloud.org') includes some humanitarian values that support our practices, but it is hard to tell...because new social movement(s) (such as 'independent media') may not fully accept the traditional idea and standpoint of the Left on the practice of the social movement in today's space-time condition. So we have not got an 'explicit line' or a 'flag' for our media practice." [194]

Sun confirms that the operation of "Coolloud.org" itself has "some spiritual props" to support the sustainability of the practice of media social movement. However, the "props" are hard to tell because the practice of "Coolloud.org" has its specific characteristic that the media develops its scope based on the present situation of globalized society nowadays. The spiritual belief of the practice of the media does not directly come from the thoughts of the traditional Left, such as Marxism. Perhaps, the spiritual enlightenment of modern social movements (including the practice of independent media) is influenced by certain of Left theories from eighteenth to nineteenth centuries – for example, the theory of "class struggle" from Karl Marx's communism[195]. However, the development of the civilization of human society is progressing continuously that the thoughts of the Left are unable to explain the various social phenomena related to the present development of modern global society completely. Therefore, Sun here avoids using a "clear flag" (such as "communism") to describe the actual standpoint of the practice of the independent media movement:

"We would stand by the positions of social groups and 'NGOs' when reporting social issues or social movements. The important point is that social movement groups themselves have to face and tackle the actual problems or difficulties with their action strategies and practices. For us,

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[194] *Ibid..*

[195] "Throughout history, said Marx, there has been a class struggle between those who own the means of production and those whose labor has been exploited to provide wealth for this upper class. This dialectical, or opposing, tension between classes has pushed history forward into higher stages." See: Perry, Marvin B.; Chase, Myrna; Jacob, Margaret C.; Jacob, James R. (2009). *Western Civilization: Ideas, Politics, and Society*. USA: Cengage Learning. p. 585.

we have not got such burden of the problem because we have a detached position as an independent media to reflect, observe and report social movements. Our viewpoint on the development of social movement would go beyond the groups' stances or claims a little bit. It should be noted that when the 'ideal distance' between the standpoints of the groups and 'Coolloud.org' becomes larger and larger, the media could sink into the risk of doctrinarism and depart from the reality of present social situation....In the past, a lot of people criticized social issues and relative phenomena with their imaginations at home. Perhaps, I would theoretically agree with their say but I would not stand by them. Is there any 'principle' (for the practice of the independent media)? No, I cannot describe it now. It depends on the future development of the media social movement..." [196]

According to the above paragraph, we can confirm that "Coolloud.org" has its specific belief or value for the practice of media social movement. The paragraph tells the important point that the belief or value of the independent media is not based on any abstract theory or thought, such as the Left Wing theory – Marxism or Communism. That is to say, no theoretical thought guides the practice of "Coolloud.org". This point is worthy to reflect when we research on such new social phenomenon or civil movement because "Coolloud.org" has a clear will with a rational attitude to avoid performing a "single-dimension approach" of social movement practice. Most social groups and "NGOs" generally have their particular claims and purposes for particular groups of social members. The principles of their acts could be linked up with a single theory in the progress of human civilization – not for all people in society. For example, some labor unions believe in the Karl Marx's analysis of the conflict between the social classes – the upper class and lower class and carry out their social actions with radical approach, such as calling a universal labor strike to fight for labor rights. This is one of the practice approaches of modern social movement.

On the other hand, there is another approach to carry out the practice of social movement contributed by the Chinese independent media. The core belief of "Coolloud.org" is established in the concern for the sustained development of social movement and the practice of independent media, not in an abstract theory or a principle for analyzing or solving a specific social issue (like most of the practice approaches of social groups that the groups generally have their theoretical foundations – the "flags" – to prop up their actions and accumulate social supporting

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[196] The article is based on the "Sun's interview".

power). "Coolloud.org" understands that there is a "dilemma" for most of the social groups with the "flags" for their practice of social movements because their practices would be confined to a "single dimension" – they are unable to enlarge their horizons and practice possibilities out of the "flags" on such fixed condition. Therefore, "Coolloud.org" has a consciousness to avoid being led by a "flag" which would cause the ossification and alienation of its practice of media social movement and the restriction on the potential of the development of human society. Moreover, "Coolloud.org" offers an open media platform on the Internet for all people to reflect on the social movements that the practice of the movements should be parallel with the present situation of the changing of society and the developing context of human civilization. The reflective horizon on social movement offered by "Coolloud.org" has its significance because no single theory or thought in fact can lead and conclude its practice of the media movement on the scene of globalization.

"Coolloud.org" has its clear attempt to do the media works with a pure media standpoint – which does not fully accept the viewpoints of social activists – to observe and report the progress of global and local social movements for common people. The establishment of the media horizon reflects its intention to approach an objective standpoint for viewing all kinds of social movements as a "whole".

There are lots of problems that would appear in the process of social movement practices. One of the problems is probably related to the selection of the positions between the authorities (as the funding supporters of social groups) and common people that could influence the core attitude(s) of the practitioners. For this dilemma, social groups would probably lose their original value(s) on fighting for the rights of common people. Also, there are other relative problems with them, which include the maintenance of the core aims, the feedback from the public and the problem of sustainability of the practice. Those problems always challenge the subjectivity and independence of social groups for carrying out their works. "Coolloud.org", as an independent media for social movement, also has the problems with its operation, but the media understands that it is necessary to "keep an appropriate distance" with social groups as a neutral media for the purpose of doing the reflection on the development of social movement practice in local society. Sun deeply knows that the emphasis on a fixed principle for the practice cannot facilitate the promotion of the media social movement. As the subject of the practice, "Coolloud.org" always stands in the "centre of the happenings of social movement" to do the impartial observation on the development of social movement and maintain its independent position to reflect on the actions of the social groups as well as concern with the issues related to

people's rights in the context of the ongoing changing situation of civil society.

"We (the members of 'Coolloud.org') would arrange regular meetings for reviewing our media works, but we would not discuss such topic (about the belief or core value of the media) because there are lots of urgent problems with our works needed to be tackled. The topic is too abstract. However, we would discuss the future development of social movement case by case." [197]

Therefore, the practice principle of "Coolloud.org" is based on the concrete situation of the vicissitude of society. For the media, there is no urgent reason to discuss the theoretical foundation of the media practice. To tackle the difficulties of "Coolloud.org" with the actual problems related to the operation of the media (e.g. the payment for the works of the media's correspondents; the funding resource of the media…etc.) is the most imperative issue for opening up the possibility of the further development of the media. In the progress of the practice, the important points for keeping an objective position of the media are to report social incidents or conflicts with the principle of "case-by-case" as well as to avoid supporting the actions of social groups blindly. It could be easy to reach an "impasse" of the practice if an independent media becomes the implement for the struggle between social interest groups and the authorities. Such situation would become the force as the negative effect on the growth of social movement which is hazardous to the breeding of the atmosphere of public concern and the establishment of a common social consciousness for the long-term progressive development of Taiwanese society.

Section 11   The Difficulties and Challenges

Therefore, "Coolloud.org" has to face many challenges and difficulties in the progress of the practice of the independent media social movement. If those challenges and difficulties are not related to the "theoretical foundation" or the "action principle" of the media, those would be in the other aspects of the operation of the media organization:

"We have to prove it. It is because 'Coolloud.org' is still unable to be self-reliance presently. Now the media's operation relies on the 'sacrifice' of the media's members. For example, there is a huge problem for the 'no-reward' with our correspondents' works. Therefore, the practice of the

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[197] *Ibid..*

independent media has not been fully justified yet. The main purpose of our work now is to prove our media practice is feasible (with the minimization of the 'sacrifice'). We need about 200,000 dollars (NTD) per month for maintaining the operation of 'Coolloud.org'. According to the statistics of the media donation, we would receive about $100,000 per month of the donation from the public averagely. So the ideal situation has not been reached yet....But, when the amount of the public donation reaches the standard that can covers the expenditure and pays for our correspondents' works, it means we have to start to tackle other problems of our practice – at that time we would have other aims to be accomplished. At present, the problem of the wage for the correspondents is undoubtedly a huge pressure of our media practice." [198]

Sun recognizes that the main difficulty of "Coolloud.org" is about the issue that the media cannot pay for the work of the correspondents on the premises that the correspondents have the responsibilities to finish the media works and maintain the quality of news. Because of the "sacrifice" of the media members, "Coolloud.org" can operate as a general media for the practice of independent media presently. Although there is a motivational factor for the correspondents to do the works that they can participate in various social movements and accomplish the reporting works at the same time, it is still the abnormal situation for the devotion of the correspondents without reward for the media tasks. The independent media movement is unable to be proved as a "feasible approach" to the practice of modern social movement if the problem is not been resolved. The media is trying to embody the practice with the following steps: the practice of independent media starts at offering a media platform to accumulate the people's concern for various social issues; then, the users of the media platform would donate for the media as the positive feedback of the media movement; After that, the media has the substantial resource to develop the media social movement further and open up the possibility of the realization of a bottom-up social reform as well as change the politico-economic and social situations of one of the Chinese societies – Taiwan.

"…Independent media has a relative high-degree concern for the issues of globalization…'Coolloud.org' is doing the experimental media works with Taiwanese social movements and also thinking about how to plan the works in our practice context. In the progress of the works, we would integrate with the global horizon for expanding the possibility of the practice of

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[198] *Ibid..*

social movement on the stage of globalized world. Therefore, we participated in the 'Anti-WTO Movement' in Hong Kong in 2005.... Social groups have the responsibility to lead the change of modern society on the scene of globalization that would be beyond their role(s). We (Coolloud.org) are not working with the label of 'anti-globalization', but focus on the works that are worthy to be done in our field and keep reflecting on our strategies of the practice of the media social movement." [199]

In conclusion, "Coolloud.org" mainly works in Taiwanese society, but at the same time develops its practice globally. The media understands that the change of modern society is connected with the stage of the development of globalization. The thinking logic of capitalism is promoted by economic powers in the rest of the world – including on the East-Asian Island "Taiwan" through the effect of globalization. Localized viewpoint and regional horizon are not enough to explain and analyze the rapid change of global society and the attached phenomena. Therefore, "Coolloud.org" communicates with the social groups and "NGOs" in different countries actively. Transnational companies and enterprises are doing their businesses through the effect of globalization, so do the practitioners and activists of social movement. They are continuously giving public pressures to the upper class of human society through various social actions for the purpose of deterring the attempt of the vest interests to dominate all economic resources of the world. This is one of the main characteristics of anti-globalization movement.

As one of the Chinese independent media, "Coolloud.org" acknowledges that to create or to serve for a "label", a "slogan" or a "watchword" has no positive meaning for the development of the media social movement in globalized world. On the contrary, it would ossify the flexibility of the possible approach of the practice of the social movement. It is because the change of the present social situation and the stage of human civilization would shift based on the wills, behaviours, and demands of the people who live in different parts of the world continuously. They all have their own particular cultural contexts and personal histories of their lives. For political and social issues, to serve for a specific practical theory with social movement could centralize the focus of the attention of citizens and accumulate social powers, but the act would, at the same time, grind the individuality of the common people as the participators of social movement. It is because people would become the "machines" for serving a principle, not the "subjects" who live their lives. To maintain the flexibility of the practice of the movement, to avoid being bound by an abstract

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[199] *Ibid..*

theoretical principle or a single theory for leading the action of social movement, in this discussing context, is necessary.

To sum up, the practices of the media social movement with the two Chinese independent media are seen as the parts of anti-globalization movement because the practices are related to opposing the negative effects of globalization, especially the influence of economic globalization. It should be noted that the independent media movements are not just for the purpose of anti-globalization, but also for an ideal situation of human society without any form of domination (including economic, political, cultural and social class dominations) which are the origins of the problems of the human societies in the West, and also in the Chinese societies – Hong Kong and Taiwan. The expectation for the ideal society held by the social activists in the rest of the world is a concrete power to facilitate the progress of the development and civilization of human society in global context. Before the accomplishment of the purpose of the practice of the movement, "all flags" are insignificant that have no creative or progressive meaning for the further development of human civilization on the scene of the present situation of globalization.

Coolloud.org	
The place of the base	Taiwan
The year of establishment	1997
The core members of the media	Sun Chiung Li (Sun Qiongli 孫窮理) and the media correspondent group
The source of funding	Civil donation
The participations of social action or movement	"Anti-Sweatshop Movement" in 2001; "Anti-WTO Movement" in 2005; "Cheval-de-frise Film Exhibition"; "Interview with the Employees of 'Carrefour'" in 2011…etc.

Table 4: The profile of "Coolloud.org"

Chapter Five　The Characteristics of the Practices of the Independent Media in Hong Kong and Taiwan

Section 1　Introduction: The Qualitative Influence of the Independent Media

Through the analyses of the practices of "Inmediahk.net" and "Coolloud.org" in Chapter Three and Four, we understand that the two Chinese independent media both have their own insistences on their practice approaches and characteristics with the operations of the media organizations. To sum up, we can find out three resemblances of the practice approaches of the two independent media: (1) the independent financial condition of the media; (2) to view the practice of independent media as a kind of social movement, not just a media operation; (3) the practice of the movement is in the context of the development of globalization.

Firstly, the two Chinese independent media both have a clear stance on the media operation with the condition of financial independence. This feature embodies the basic attitude of the practice of the social movement. The meaning of the so-called "independence" should be embodied or established in the independency of the media operation without any financial intervention from other social or governmental institutions. In this recognition, the operation of the media should not rely on a single source of the financial resource offered by the Establishment – e.g. a public foundation, an enterprise or the authorities. The stance shows that the independent media, with the stances of anti-Establishment and anti-monopolization, have a common consciousness to avoid being supported by a single-source of the resource and a huge-amount donation from the Establishment because the subjectivity of the media would be weakened when the media are running under a system of the dominative power they oppose to. The contradictious attitude of the social movement (if the media accept the resource from the Establishment) would directly cause negative effects on the development of independent media.

For example: should an "independent" media report the "bad" news about the business which funds the media? If the media does not do such news report with its financial supporter, it means that the original purpose of the "independent" media has been shifted (by the situation of the financial dependency of the media). Another example: an "independent" media applies for funding support from the authorities and obtains the funding for the operation of the media. The temporary funding support could help the media to operate its works in a specific period of time. However, it is a problem that when the funding support expires, the media still need to seek another

source of financial resource for supporting its operation. Obviously, such funding situation is helpless for the media to promote and expand the influence of the practice of the social movement for the long-term development of the independent media work.

Secondly, the two independent media both understand the social role and the standpoint of independent media as the practice of a grass-root social movement in modern society. For social activists, there are different approaches to carry out social actions or movements. For example, they can establish an advocated group or a political organization for specific social or political claim; also, they can organize some social actions (such as street protest and demonstration) or hold civil forums regularly for creating public concern to pressure the authorities to carry out the improvement of the governance. Although these traditional practice approaches to social movement have the function for stimulating socio-political reform, they also have certain weaknesses. The traditional approaches are able to create or to accumulate the social power for changing the situation of local society. However, the approaches do not offer enough space or opportunities for the people who participate in traditional social movements to express their voices and reflect the significance of their practice as well as communicate with the aims of social groups. Under the "flags" of the social movements, people have only one choice: to participate in or not. Through the practice approaches, we are hard to open up other potential possibilities for the extension of the practice of social movement.

The characters of media, including the rapidity and conductibility of the propagation of information, facilitate the development of the possibility of the interaction between social groups and common people to build up a common vision to observe on social issues. To use media, especially the Internet, people are able to express their own opinions, which is more flexible than just following the traditional approaches to join in the social movements organized by social groups. In addition, the popularized using of the Internet realizes the "no-border" communication between people. This developing situation facilitates the transnational connection and information communication between the social movement organizers and the movement participants in different parts of the world and helps the form of the power of the public opinion of world citizens. To set up and operate an independent media on the Internet becomes one of the main approaches to practice social movements in modern society nowadays.[200]

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[200] "…perhaps the most dramatic change in social movement organizing in the last few decades has been the impact of the Internet and, more generally, of electronic communication. …Technologies that operate over the Internet offer so many different kinds of support to social movements that it may be

Thirdly, "Inmediahk.net" and "Coolloud.org" both realize that their independent media social movements are carried out in the context of globalization. For the practice of the media, the main problem is how to enlarge the influence of independent media with the horizon of globalization worldwide. Basically, the no-border character of the Internet can help for solving the problem. The internet-based independent media can accumulate local people's concern (with public issues) and form the civil power of the practice of solidarity from other counterparts in different regions of the world. The "real-time" communication for the universal social collective movements is possible through the use of the Internet. The American "IMC" is a good example to prove this approach: the establishment of the media gave rise to the globalization of the phenomenon of the blooming of internet-based independent media which has become a popular form for practicing socio-political movement around the world. The independent media in Hong Kong and Taiwan have close cooperative relationship with their counterparts because they are settled in the same region of East Asia and support each other for social movement practice frequently. At this point, it is obvious that: on the one hand the value of capitalist economy has been globalized, and on the other the globalization of socio-political movement appears and develops at the same time. The practice of the movement is no longer restricted within a local society or a single region, but is accomplished through the trans-regionalization of social action – not only can foreign people receive the news of the development of local social movement through the platform of independent media on the Internet, but can give out their spiritual supports with such approach. Through the trans-regional communication, foreign/local people are able to understand the similar socio-political and economic issues in their living circumstance and think about how to tackle the issues collectively. When such interaction among

reductive to regard them as simply vehicles for 'message transmission.' When combined with their implications, digital media have become a partial substitute for traditional forms of social movement organization as well." See: Tarrow, Sidney G. (2011). *Power in Movement: Social Movements and Contentious Politics*. New York: Cambridge University. p. 137. "Political action is made easier, faster and more universal by the developing technologies. ICTs (information and communication technologies) lower the costs and obstacles of organizing collective action significantly." See: Donk, Wim Van De; Loader, Brian D.; Nixon, Paul G.; Rucht, Dieter (2004). *Cyberprotest: New Media, Citizens, and Social Movements*. New York: Routledge. p. 97. "The Net, we are told, is bringing into being a cottage industry of small independent producers who are sweeping away 'the monolithic empires of mass media' (Negroponte, 1996:57). It is generating a new culture that is critical, selective, and participatory. People can *pull* from the Web and digital media what they want, rather than settling for what is *pushed* at them (Negroponte, 1996:84). More generally, the Net is engendering an egalitarian, emancipated, and interconnected world – 'cyberspace' – that is reconfiguring the offline world in which we live, and making it a better place (Poster, 1997). …It seems worth investigating, therefore, whether the Net makes it easier than before to publish alternative opinions, and also whether Internet technology makes possible new ways of doing journalism." See: Couldry, Nick; Curran, James (2003). *Contesting Media Power: Alternative Media in a Networked World*. Oxford: Rowman & Littlefield. pp. 227-228.

people spreads on the scene of globalization, the influence and the power of grass-root social movement would be strengthened simultaneously. In this developing tendency, the social power, as the practice of anti-globalization movement in the context of globalization, can help for changing the present situation of the socio-political domination as the "main tone" of globalization around the world.

However, internet media, as an implement to carry out the practice of social movement, also has the limitation in its influential role in society which is related to the factors of the development of political circumstance, the change of social atmosphere and the difference of nationalities of people. For example, the "IMC" played a main role in the rise of "Anti-WTO Movement" in Seattle in 1999. Although the U.S. authorities (as the host of the conference of World Trade Organization in the year) adopted the consistent public security strategy (to deploy sufficient police forces at the locale of the conference) to suppress the movement as usual, the world society is generally willing to understand and respect the common voices given by the independent media: the so-called "justice of WTO" (which has the power to decide the rules for controlling the development of world economy) and its monopolized position must be criticized and reviewed. At least, the independent media (which is organized by common people and is not under controlled by the Establishment) had expressed its stance publicly and the basic right of realizing such globalized social movement should be respected.

In the Chinese societies, the situation of the practice of independent media is quite different from the case of the "IMC" in the West. The social role of the Chinese independent media "Inmediahk.net" and "Coolloud.org" is not being understood and recognized by most of the common people in Hong Kong and Taiwan, relatively. The social phenomenon is possibly related to the different political background and historical context of the Chinese societies compared with the West. The social function of independent media for creating a social power against the Establishment is important for the social activists and dissentients wherever in the Chinese societies or Western society. However, the basic attitudes of the masses and political powers about the role of independent media are not so positive in the two Chinese societies. The evidence of this is that: "Coolloud.org" is not recognized by the Taiwanese authorities as a "media organization" that the independent media has no right to do journalist works as general media. Through the fact, we can understand that the development of Chinese independent media has its difficulties with the background of the complicated socio-political circumstance of the societies.

"Kuang Chung-Shiang says the population of the audience of independent media (in Taiwan) is about ten to twenty thousand people. If the independent media do some collective actions for centralizing the attention of local people, such as reporting particular social issue(s) together (at the same time), it could be useful for pressuring the authorities (to use political power to do more for tackling them)."[201]

Kuang Chung-Shiang (Guan Zhongxiang 管中祥), an Associate Professor of the Department of Communication at National Chung Cheng University, Taiwan (臺灣中正大學傳播學系), argues that there is a certain amount of the audience of Taiwanese independent media. The existence of the population of the audience proves that the independent media in Taiwan have certain social influence because the media (especially the internet-based independent media) can easily be contacted with and followed by the majority of Taiwanese people. The main point is how to convert the influence (of the independent media) to a concrete social power to affect more people to concern with social problems and pressure the authorities. Also, Kuang implies that Taiwanese independent media "usually do media works separately". The ecology of the independent media practice probably has less effectiveness for accumulating and creating the social power of public opinion. If the media do their independent reports and carry out the related media movements collectively (e.g. to do the so-called "united report" for social issues), it would be effectual to give pressure and force the authorities to do more for improving the governance on local society.

Although most of the people in the Chinese societies do not have a clear understanding on the significance of the practice of independent media social movement, this phenomenon motivates us to go further to think about the value(s) of practicing the independent media in the social circumstances.

Here is a starting point for us to reflect on the problem related to the consideration of the influence of a "media". Generally speaking, we would judge the social influence of a media based on some statistic figures, including the ratings of audience of a media, the page view of the media website…etc.. Most people argue that mass media have their widespread influence in society because they have a huge amount of the population of audience and lots of advertiser support – the "high ratings" of the media reflect and prove the "fact" for us. For example, there is a statistic report of media which shows that the rating of the mainstream media "X" is

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[201] See: Chyng (2009). *Farmers Get Nothing: Long Road For Independent Media* (*農再吃癟獨立媒體路迢迢*). Retrieved 1 November, 2011, from the Chyng blog:
http://gaea-choas.blogspot.com/2009/06/blog-post.html

higher than the rating of "Coolloud.org". According to the review of the rating data, we are able to conclude that the influence of media "X" is larger than the "Coolloud.org's". It seems that there is no problem with the above judgment on the influences of the two media. The judgment is "reasonable" and parallel to common sense, but it would cause us to ignore some important points for understanding the exact influence of the media.

How do we understand the concept "(social) influence" of media? The rating of a media proves that there is a group of people who "stay tuned" on a particular media platform in a specific period of time. But, this fact does not reflect the "real influence" of the media on people exactly. How do we measure the qualitative influence of a media on the masses? To understand the "influence" of media, we should not (only) rely on the "evidence" given by the general quantitative methodology of statistics.

One more example: there is a news report related to a labor movement that is reported by a general media. The movement is reported by an independent media, too. Based on the thinking logic of the above judgment of the rating of media, the broadcasting of the labor movement report in the general media would create larger influence than the movement report on the platform of independent media because the population of the audience of the general media is larger than the independent media's. However, it is not a right judgment. Although there are more people who catch the labor movement news through the general media, the people could forget the news easily. On the other hand, there are fewer people who get the labor movement news from the independent media, but this group of people, who are really interested in the news, would concern with the further development of the movement. According to this analysis, we can discover that there is a "cheat" of the measure of the "influence" of media. If we ask again: what kind of media that makes the larger influence on society? The answer would be the independent media, not the general media. It is because the audience of the first have the real respect for the specific information and the "influence" of media should be understood and established based on this fact and this realizing context is not relied on the calculation of the population of the audience.

Besides, there is another factor to affect the social influence of media, which is about the reporting context of the news in TV media. On the whole, the period of the time of the news reporting on a daily programme schedule of TV media is not so long. For instance, it is about two or three hours daily. There are many TV programmes that occupy the great part of the broadcast time of the media on daily schedule, including the time period for advertisement. On the news programme of TV media, social and

labor news would be the minorities of the whole content of the news reporting. The audiences of TV media are unable to establish a complete impression of the present situation of society through the short-time news programme because of the distraction and the "dilution" with other TV programmes in the broadcasting context of the offering in general TV media. Also, the audiences cannot transfer the contents of news information into a personal recognition of the situation of social circumstance and create an attitude toward the social situation in their mind effectively. Here, the so-called "influence" (of media) cannot be carried out (by mass TV media).

Although the population of the audience of independent media is less than the mass media's, the information contents on the platform of independent media, including citizen news reports and relative public discussions, would stimulate the people's thinking (the feature of the information is different from the counterpart offered by mass media) and accumulate the attention of the people who have the will to know more about the information of social issues and alternative viewpoints from citizen reporters and independent media workers. Surely, the audiences of independent media themselves have the spontaneous motivation to contact with and understand the relative information. After understanding the social situation through independent media, the audiences would create more motivated force to reflect on various social issues, to realize individual actions for offering support to the people who need to be propped up and participate in social movements compared with the people who are just sticking with mass media. How do we measure or understand this kind of substantial "influence"? If we analyze it with the approach of quantitative statistics, the audiences of independent media would (unequally) be seen as the "minority" as a small group of people that has no (or less) influence for the development of society.

The above analyses aim at bringing out an important viewpoint to reflect on the common phenomenon that most people get used to believe in the statistic calculation on the population of the audience to justify the "influence" of mass media and ignore the social value of the qualitative influence of independent media (which is made by the Establishment for controlling the tendency of public opinion). The concentration on social issues held by the audience of independent media is higher than the common people's. The audience has a basic awareness of the quality of media that mass media cannot fulfill their demand for the further understanding of the situation of social development with "people's point of view". They want to find out an alternative media approach to catch "people's information" in the monopolized media ecology of modern society. Most people receive the information and news reports offered by

mass media passively. They probably turn on a TV or a radio for catching newest news but do not concentrate on the contents of them[202]. The purpose of the one-way acceptance of the information from mass media done by the majority of people is not for an exact obtainment of new knowledge or information related to the present situation of society, but for the attempt at "maintaining the certain feeling of the togetherness with the world"[203]. From the viewpoint of quantitative approach to analyze the influence of media, the news report of mass media has their "influence" because it is the fact that the "audience really watches or listens to the news". The behaviour of the audience is expected to be affected by the contents of the information offered by the media (just like: advertisers anticipate that the increase of product sales is depended on how many people watch to the advertisement they bought from media). From another point of view – the qualitative approach to understand the influence of media, it is a contrary of the situation that the news report offered by mass media could have no influence on their passive audience. This opinion is based on the fact of the daily behaviour of the audience of mass media: they (most of the time) have no reaction for the news reporting whether the contents of the news are related to their living (for example, most people do not want to participate in a street protest to express their supports after they get the news of a labor strike action from mass media because they get used to let things drift if things do not affect them). The so-called "influence" of the media is not reflected thoroughly at this point[204]. Therefore, the media "influence" supported by the quantitative approach loses its significant position for understanding the actual role, function and impact of media in human society.

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[202] "…it is useful to discuss another media behavior, **habitual media use**, separately here. Although mass media are certainly not drugs like heroin, cocaine, or tobacco, many observers note that we do develop media habits, suggesting that we passively engage in media activities without making deliberate choices. For some of us such habitual behavior might be reading a newspaper every morning at breakfast. For others it might be watching every episode of a TV soap opera or sitcom, the evening news before or with dinner, late evening news before bedtime, or late-night talk shows to induce sleep." See: Hiebert, Ray Eldon; Gibbons, Sheila Jean (2000). *Exploring Mass Media for a Changing World*. London: Routledge. p. 117.

[203] "The central idea is that the mass media can help individuals to feel attached to the wider community and society and to share in its collective life, on the basis of sympathetic fellow-feeling, especially for others in difficulties of various kinds." See: McQuail, Denis (1992). *Media Performance: Mass Communication and the Public Interest*. London: SAGE. p. 269.

[204] For example, when people watch to the news of a labor strike from the news programme in mass media, they would firstly think about the relationship between the strike (with its effects) and the position of them. After that, they could have a personal standpoint with the strike in their mind. This forming process of a social consciousness is a typical becoming of a supporting power of all kinds of social movement. However, this process could not be carried out when people get used to understand the situation of society, for example a labor strike, through mass media because a series of irrelevant news are being arranged to be reported after (also before) the news of the strike. The schedule arrangement of the news programme of mass media does not encourage/allow people to focus on particular news. The audience of mass media does not have time to digest and construct their own viewpoint on social incident. That is why we have an understanding to conclude that mass media are of no use to help people to know about the "real situation" of society and trigger people to "do more" to improve their living conditions. In this context, the news reports offered by mass media do not have the "influence" on the masses, whether the rating of the news programmes is "great".

Hence, it is necessary to reflect on the appropriate approach to understand the social influence of independent media. The emphasis on the "influence" of media is a "myth". The emphasis is, in fact, an implement produced by advertisers which follows the quantitative approach to understand the "influence" of media for their business purpose. We, surely, need to avoid such point of view affecting our research on the significance of the practice of Chinese independent media. In the other aspect, the qualitative social influence of the media should be valued and have its positive role in the research of the media social movement. It is inappropriate to use the quantitative approach to analyze the influence of media to explore the social influence of "Inmediahk.net" and "Coolloud.org". On the contrary, we ought to focus on the contents of their practices of the media movement which establish a tight connection with local society and global counterparts that realize a kind of substantial qualitative social influence in globalized world. And, there is a particular historical and socio-political background of the Chinese societies that inspires the media to accomplish the present achievement of the practices of the media movement. The sustainability of the practices, which is supported (financially and spiritually) by a group of people who concern with the development of the Chinese societies, is a concrete evidence to prove that the independent media are needed by the societies in the context of globalization.

According to the above analyses, we can understand that the power of "qualitative influence" held by the Chinese independent media has its significant role in the development of the Chinese societies. The influence quietly affects the developing tendency of the situation of the societies and starts its accumulation of a social force from a small group of people (to the majority). However, the existence of the influence is not valued by most of the people in the societies, including political powers, businessmen and mass media. They ignore the qualitative influence of Chinese independent media and stick with the quantitative statistic method as the standard approach to analyze the so-called "influence" of media. The invention of the "myth" of the power of quantitative influence (of media) has its specific purpose: to maintain and ensure the interest of vested interest groups in the societies. How do commercial media persuade advertisers to buy their advertising space? The result of the quantitative statistics of the population of the media's audience would be the effective "answer" for this question. Moreover, the media that have the main purpose of profit-making could ignore the social role and the responsibility of media according to the journalist ethics (e.g. the principle of "limitation of harm" for protecting the reputation of the unrelated person(s) of a news report). They are willing to serve for

the demands of the "buyers": political and economic powers to control the social consciousness of common people. Through the emphasis on the "myth" of the quantitative influence, mass media have established their influential power over human society. They are integrated with world governments and transnational businesses as the rigid system of the global Establishment to affect the developing tendency of the world society.

However, the practices of the Chinese independent media "Inmediahk.net" and "Coolloud.org" open up another path for the development of media as the social role for the media social movement in the Chinese societies. Although they use the Internet as one of the popular media to carry out their social actions (because global businessmen also use the Internet as the implement to make their profit), they are on an "alternative road": the Chinese independent media group the people who concern with the social issues of the local societies and establish their social positions through internet using in globalized world. The significant difference between the Chinese independent media and the counterparts in other regions is that the first do not have the attempts to confront with general media and develop their practices for the purpose of establishing a huge international independent media organization (as the "IMC" does). They develop their qualitative influence based on the understanding of the practice of social movement and the characters of the specific historical context of the Chinese societies. In the process of the practices, the two media, at the same time, embody the common characteristics and spiritual elements which are worthy to pay attention to. The significant characteristics are: (1) the practices have their important role in the development of the history of independent media in the world; (2) the practices are of no "label"; (3) the difference of the developing degree of the practices are of no relationship with the cultural differences between the East and the West.

Section 2　　As the Main Role in the Developing History of Independent Media in the World

According to the analyses in the above chapters, the rise of independent media movement is not only related to the developing tendency of politico-economic globalization, but also linked with the popularization of internet using and the break-through progress of information technology in the age of the early twenty-first century. Under this background, Hong Kong and Taiwan, as the two Chinese societies with the high degree of westernization, both stand in the front of the development of the globalization of internet using. The modern social situation and the developing

pace of the two societies, in the past two decades, were totally different from the situation of the Mainland China which was under the implementing of the policy of the "reform and opening up to the world (改革開放)" – at the beginning of becoming an open society. Based on the social conditions in the two societies, including the improvement of the speed of internet connection and the development of diversification of internet services, the application of social community networking on the Internet gradually becomes the main approach to realize the practice of social movement. Also, the features of the lower operating cost of internet using[205], the less control from political powers over the Internet[206] (compared with other forms of media) and the possibility of being anonymous for expressing opinion are the important factors to lead social activists and common people to set up their own media platform (to practice social movement) with the principle of "D.I.Y. (do it yourself)". Here, the social conditions in the two societies and the features of internet using both facilitate the further development of independent media social movement.

Because of the "no-border" and "real-time" features of the internet communication and the social background of the rapid spreading of knowledge and information, people are easy to carry out the practice of the website-form independent media. They are able to overcome the technical problems for building up a media workstation, for example: how to set up a website (with particular hardware and software) and install an information management system (do not need to pay the huge cost for buying a relative service or a technical support from the Establishment) for creating an internet media platform and constructing the space for public opinions in the field of the world society.

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[205] "The Internet has become home to a wealth of independent media…The Internet dramatically reduces the cost of distributing content because there are no printing or mailing expenses involved. As a result, more and more alternative media – including newspapers and magazines, radio, book publishers, and independent filmmakers – are going online. With the Internet, they can expand the range of materials they provide, include archives of previous volumes or programs, and provide information on how to obtain their offline media….For those who are already connected to alternative media, the Internet provides an important resource. It will become increasingly fast and inexpensive to connect online to alternative media sites, which continue to grow in both number and sophistication. Also, because alternative media routinely provide links to other alternative media sites, citizens are likely to find it easier to learn about and connect with the broad range of alternative media heretofore hampered by the costs and logistics of distribution." See: Croteau, David; Hoynes, William (2006). *The Business of Media: Corporate Media and the Public Interest*. California: Pine Forge. p. 256.

[206] "When the mainstream media are under heavy control, alternative media might be able to help sustain an oppositional public sphere so that critical voices can be communicated (e.g., Jakubowicz, 1991). …One possible alternative medium in Hong Kong is the Internet. After all, Hong Kong has one of the highest Internet penetration rates in Asia, with about 60% of the population online (by the mid-2000s) according to government statistics. The new medium has also been largely free from government regulation." See: Willnat, Lars; Aw, Annette (2009). *Political Communication in Asia*. New York: Routledge. pp. 27-28.

Taiwan has had a rapid growth of the development of electronic and computer production industries in recent decades. The growth is the best condition for people to develop the practice of independent media based on internet using for the purpose of having their alternative voices for local society. Although the prosperous development of economy with the industrial growth in Taiwan has brought huge amount of wealth for the Chinese society, the development has also produced a lot of social problems on the Island. The polarized development of the circumstance of local mainstream media has caused the facts of the singularized trend of social value and the lack of diversified voices in the society. In the social situation, most of the people in Taiwan are unable to obtain the news and information with certain degree of truthfulness from local mainstream media. Therefore, it can be understood that the people have their social demand for an alternative media approach to the "truth" of society. From the case of the establishment of "Coolloud.org", we can find out two main causes of the form of independent media: (1) people are discontent with specific social incident (e.g. the "Strike of United Bus Drivers" in Taiwan in 1998); (2) people are eager to know the "real fact" of social incident. The independent media "Inmediahk.net" also has the similar forming process of its establishment.[207]

The above analysis on the causes shows that the rise and development of Chinese independent media is not based on or following the footstep of Western society, but in the front of the developing history of global independent media social movement in the past two decades. Using the Internet as a "tool" to establish an independent media platform to re-understand and reflect on the changing situation of global and local societies for common people out of the influence of mainstream media is not a new form of social movement today. Some social activists in Western society perhaps bring up a concept: "independent media" which inspires Chinese people to understand and explain a feasible form of social action (through the concept) in modern society. Actually, the Western social activists and their counterparts in the Chinese societies are doing the same thing: they both have the attempt to try to realize a substantial social influence power and tell the grass-root opinions that global citizens should practice their rights and the bloc of the Establishment (including world governments, global transnational enterprises and mainstream media) has not completely won the whole world yet. There were different forms of social movement in different ages of

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[207] Ip argues that the happening of the incident of "Pundit Disturbance" in 2004 suggests the freedom of speech in Hong Kong had been challenged by political power after the handover of the city. At that time, most of the mainstream media in Hong Kong were unable to play the social role in transferring the voices of common people and supervising the potential legislative act of the government effectively. Therefore, he and his friends established "Inmediahk.net" as a "people's media" for opposing such political situation of the society. For more details, please refer to Chapter Three "Independent Media as Anti-Globalization Movement in Hong Kong: Inmediahk.net".

the civilization of human society. The practice of independent media is one of the forms of modern social movement on the scene of globalization.

The Chinese independent media "Inmediahk.net" and "Coolloud.org", as the media social movement organizations in the Chinese societies, have their concrete practice strategies that they organize their social actions and do their media works based on the developing tendency of the situation of politico-economic globalization and the progressive stage of the change of local society.

Section 3   No "Label"

One of the main characteristics of the practice of the Chinese independent media is to carry out the practices without a "label". "Label" is a functional implement which is always being used in the field of knowledge for indicating what the understood object is. Sometimes it is helpful for us to understand the content of knowledge, but it would be probably misused as an ideology to mislead people's understanding on various things, values, and also social phenomena. Through analyzing the practices of the media social movements in the Chinese societies, we find out that the two independent media both reject to be "labelized" (by any single theory, idea or concept for summarizing their practices).

For example, when the founder of "Coolloud.org" Sun Chiung Li mentions the core value of the practice of the independent media, he consciously avoids using a single term as a "label" to describe or to conclude the basis of the practice. Here, we can catch some significant points that are worthy to be reflected on.

The rises of social movements in different ages of the progress of human civilization have their particular historical conditions, socio-political backgrounds and immediate causes. For these, most researchers or scholars in the past tried to analyze the historical happening of social movements and gave their thinking and conclusion with the academic approach of constructing particular theories to explain them. This process is one of the approaches of the form of the theories of social movement. On the other side, there were many practitioners and activists of social movement who were suppressed by dominative classes in different historical ages of the development of human civilization. When they practiced their radical actions, they were probably inspired by some thoughts of social movement contributed by the researchers and theorists in former generations. Here, we can discover a causal relationship between

the theory and the practice of social movement. Past thinkers and theorists concerned with the problems of society in their ages. They were influenced by the actions of common people for striving for their rights and then created their understanding with them. In the other context, the practitioners of social movement and social activists were enlightened by the radical theories contributed by the past thinkers and carried out their collective politico-social actions and campaigns in different ages. This progress of the "chemical reaction" between the theory and the practice of social movement is a series of the inheritance of thought/action that has its particular ecological developing logic of historical context of human society and stimulates the development of human civilization continuously.

Some modern social theorists are interested in researching on the historical development of social movement. They would firstly do the categorization and the comparison of the theories and the practices of social movement in human history. Then, they get used to create some specialized terms for inducing or naming the research contents for facilitating the development of knowledge systematization. For example, "Left/Right Wings" and "-ism" are the specialized ideological terms for naming particular social phenomena or a group of people with specific opinions in the field of the humanities created by the professionals of academia.

This kind of academic behaviour of the induction of human knowledge has its significance of contributing the exploitation and accumulation of knowledge for the further development of human society. However, the behaviour could produce negative effects on human civilization that are not being anticipated by academicians that do not conform to the original purpose of the behaviour. The situation of "derailing from its original purpose" of the "implement" of human civilization is always put on the stage in history. As we have discussed in Chapter Two, currency, as the tool for the purpose of the convenience of value exchange, is a notable exemplification to explain such situation. The original purpose of currency is to offer a common standard for counting the value of things. Nowadays, the application of currency becomes the necessary for all kinds of economic exchange behaviour in human society. The dominative role of currency and its related influence have controlled the evolution of world economy and the development of human society on the scene of globalization. The role of currency has gone beyond the original purpose of it. Today, we are encountering the global economic crises with the fluctuation of the exchange rates of world currencies and the negative influence of universal economic inflation brought by the policy of quantitative easing[208] carried out by the

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[208] "Quantitative easing usually means that the central bank sets up a goal of high rates of increase in

main economic bodies (e.g. the U.S., China, and Japan) of the world. The waves of the economic crises prove that the widespread application of currency now violates the economy of human society that is opposite to its original role. As the same situation as the application of the implement of induction – using "label(s)" to induce or to generalize social phenomena – in academic field, the present situation of the application of the methodology (with the approaches of linking up related social theories, thoughts and phenomena and categorizing human knowledge as "science" for the so-called "progress of human civilization") is needed to be reviewed. Through the practice of the methodology, we can obtain a "substantial result" of research: the inductive "conclusion" would help us to understand, compare and handle the systematic contents of social phenomena of human knowledge. However, we could unconsciously ignore the important role of the particular characteristic of social phenomena with different historical contexts and social backgrounds in the long-term progress of human history when we enjoy the academic achievement brought by the application. In this situation, we would be misled by the "power of human knowledge" (because of the complete belief in the effectiveness of the practice of the application of "label(s)") and ultimately make confuse with our original purpose and position, within the Nature, and on the Earth: we are not the "creator" of the world, but created by the world. The system of human knowledge, with the name of "science", lets people believe in it without reflective attitude. This is an obstacle of the progress of human civilization. When we are used to put various social phenomena (as research objects) into a fixed understanding context of human knowledge in the system of science (through the practice of the "labelization"), we

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the monetary base or money supply and provides liquidity in the economy so as to achieve the goal." See: Reinert, Kenneth A.; Rajan, Ramkishen S.; Glass, Amy Joycelyn; Davis, Lewis S. (2009). *The Princeton Encyclopedia of the World Economy*. New Jersey: Princeton University. p. 738. "Quantitative easing essentially involved an audacious printing of US dollars, and thus relied on the willingness of foreign investors and central banks to continue to hold dollars; it served as the strongest reminder to date of the special ongoing attractiveness of the dollar. Although the loose monetary policy lowered the price of the American dollar, it did not undermine its status, or role, as the global currency. Other states faced a Hobson's choice. A lower dollar devalued their holdings of US assets, undermined the relative competitiveness of the economies, and – as excess dollars found their way abroad – aggravated inflationary pressures. But given these states' structural positions within global capitalism, and their economic ambitions, they saw no option but to continue to hold and even increase their dollar holdings. Although there was no little handwringing at home and abroad about the potentially inflationary effects of quantitative easing, inflation was not a problem in the US, especially given the continuing weakness of American labor, and this was reinforced by high unemployment. As for Europe, although quantitative easing did provide additional liquidity for European banks, inflation was also not a serious problem there. This was because European governments had already been forced to move so far in the direction of austerity by the toll financial markets had exacted on the bond sales that many of them needed to cover fiscal deficits following the bailouts of their banks and decline in tax revenue. It was capitalism's emerging market states that experienced significant inflation (ranging from 15 to 30 per cent in Brazil, Russia, India, and China in 2010-11); this was spurred by higher growth rates, and monetary policies that could not stray far from the objective of keeping currencies aligned with the dollar." See: Gindin, Sam; Panitch, Leo (2012). *The Making of Global Capitalism*. London: Verso. p. 326.

would lose the opportunities to discover the potential significance of existence and to reflect on our living way(s) in our civilized era.

Therefore, we should investigate into the specific characteristic and the context of historical social background of the "research subject" carefully when we research on various social phenomena and ecologies of human society and ought not to use a "ready-made" theory or a "label" to explain and correspond with the significance of the research subject. It is a truth that to labelize a research subject always benefits to the work of researchers, but it has no progressive meaning for the lives of common people. People's living is based on their needs, not relied on the understanding of "label(s)" for interpreting the meaning of their behaviours.

Independent media is one of the main practice approaches of social movement on the scene of the world society based on the social conditions of the widespread application of the Internet, the popularization of information technology, and the development of globalization in recent decades. This kind of media social movement has never appeared in other past ages of human history and there is lack of social science theory for analyzing and interpreting the potential significance of the social phenomenon specifically. In this historical condition, the founders of the two Chinese independent media both understand that there is no suitable extant theory which can appropriately explain or support their localized/globalized social media actions on the scene of globalization. Moreover, they also agree that it is of no use to facilitate the future development of the Chinese independent media movement through settling a fixed principle (e.g. a Leftist theoretical ideology) as a "flag (label)" of the media practices to approach their actions and position the social role of them. The operating strategy and the developing direction of the independent media must be timely adjusted based on the social factors, including the feedback of the public, the attitude of world governments (about their actions), the tendency of the happening of social incident, and the changing trend of the unstable situation of the world society. The characteristic of "no label" facilitates the two independent media (which have a complete open stance) to participate in various social campaigns held by global "NGOs" and practice their media works with a high degree of flexibility.

Section 4   No Relationship with the Cultural Difference between the East and the West

There are some essential differences between the practice approaches of the

independent media in the Chinese societies and the counterparts in the West because the two cultural bodies – the West and the East (e.g. the Chinese societies) – have their specific political situations, social conditions and historical backgrounds. Generally speaking, "independent media" is a term used by the Western society for calling a "new form of media" for social movement practice. We have analyzed the present situation of the practices of the Chinese independent media in Chapter Three and Four. We find out that the two Chinese independent media have their uniqueness and principles with their practices. However, the operations of the media also have some limitations (e.g. the popularization of the use of the media platform for all social members). From the aspects of the dimension and the practice feature of the media, the independent media in Western society (e.g. the "IMC") are seen to be more sophisticated and integrated with their organizational operation and expansion[209]. They are seemed to receive more respect and attention from global society than the independent media in the Chinese societies:

> *"…the local media which joined in the movement (Anti-WTO Movement in Hong Kong, 2005) were only included 'Inmediahk.net', 'E-Politics21', 'People's Radio Hong Kong (香港人民廣播電台)', and 'Video Power (錄影力量)'…on the contrary, lots of foreign activists and alternative media did many commentated analyses, video footages, and media materials as the information of the economic organizations – 'G8', 'WTO', and transnational enterprises for common people to follow the developing context of the progress of the social movement. How to expand the influence of independent media (in local society) further is an unsolved problem with 'Inmediahk.net'…."* [210]

In the above paragraph, Ip Iam Chong mentions his experience and observation on the participation of "Inmediahk.net" in the "Anti-WTO Movement" in 2005. He argues that the foreign independent media practitioners and social movement participants in the movement were not only giving their support for the practice of the

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[209] For the methodology of the operation of the American "IMC", Ip has mentioned some of the details of it based on his understanding: the "IMC" offers a formal procedure for global media movement activists to join into the project of the global "IMC" for the enlargement of the independent media movement. If someone wants to establish an independent media in his or her country (city) with the label of "IMC", he/she needs to sign a contract with the base of the "IMC" for the obligation to promote the "value of independent media". The establishers of the global "IMC" organization would be authorized for using the official symbol of "IMC". Also, they have to carry out a standardization of the configuration of the media website and ensure the free-sharing of social movement information globally.

This approach of the practice of independent media is practical for the global development of the media movement which directly influences the progress of anti-globalization movement worldwide.

[210] See: Ip, Iam-Chong (2007). *Small Media, Big Issue*. Hong Kong: Step forward. pp. 68-69.

movement, but also offering many sufficient information materials for world citizens and local people to understand the origin of the economic blocs and the aims of the movement. All of the related information of "WTO" and the movement compiled by the activists, including various text paragraphs, multimedia files and photographs, were open to the public on the Internet. The circulation of the information would encourage people to participate in the movement and facilitate the form of public opinion. The media works practiced by the sophisticated foreign media activists and independent media workers efficiently enlarged the dimension and the influence of the movement and successfully created certain political pressure to "WTO" and the local government to respect for the demands of common people (e.g. the realization of the economic freedom for all people, not just for the "interests of the rich") around the world.

On the other hand, Ip argues that the participation of local independent media in the movement was not so "passionate". Also, he suggests the practice way of the participation of the local media could be improved further. At that time, there were only four local independent media reporting the progress of the "Anti-WTO Movement". The work of the local independent media was mainly on offering the real-time news of the movement on their media platforms. The media work of them, compared with the works of other foreign social media activists, was incomprehensive. Although the local independent media offered an alternative viewpoint for regarding the movement that was different from the reports offered by local mainstream media, they were seemed to be insufficient for participating in the global social movement. For example, it is more effective for promoting the movement and accumulating social power through establishing an "integrated media platform" on the Internet for people to search out the information related to the movement easily[211]. The main point is: what is the main factor to cause the different degree of the "maturity" of the practices of media social movement between the Chinese society and the West? Is it related to the factor of the distinct attitudes to the application of the "methodology"

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[211] Besides the "IMC", we can also take a look at the case of "Occupy Wall Street Movement". As we have introduced the details of the movement in Chapter One, "Occupy Wall Street Movement" is one of the anti-globalization movements, which is still ongoing. Through the movement's official website, we can search out a lot of up-to-date information, including the history, the present situation, the participative approaches, the tools (forum, chat room, and map), and the news of the movement. People are easy to step into the developing context of the movement. The case reflects that the social activists in the West are sophisticated in using the Internet to carry out social movement with a kind of "methodology". From the "IMC" to the "Occupy Wall Street Movement", we discover that there is a consistent style of social movement in Western society which shows a "scientific spirit": to carry out things with the methodology to ask "why", "what" and "how" for such social practice. At this point, Ip argues that Chinese independent media are still in the developing stage for the practice of media social movement with lack of the comprehensive approaches – like the counterparts in the West – of their practices.

with the two societies?

Different from Chinese society, the West has a long history with the tradition of developing a scientific systematic knowledge structure for understanding unknown things, such as the development of natural science[212]. The methodology of knowledge construction as a "Western tradition" may affect other fields of the practice of people's living in the West. In the field of the practice of the media social movement, the influence of the spirit of scientific methodology embodies in the systematic approach of the practice with presenting a "whole picture" of the social movement: why do the people do it; how do the people carry out the movement; what are the important points that the movement is related to us; what are the approaches for common people to join in…etc.. These are the aspects of the spiritual embodiments of the tradition of the construction of Western knowledge and culture. From the historical cultural background of Western society, we can understand that the practice of the media social movement in the West could be affected by the tradition of the scientific spirit that the media activist groups and participants tend to establish a "complete image" of their social actions through settling up a public website with all relative information and an interactive platform for all people on the Internet as a concrete foundation for the purposes of expressing their claims and pressuring the authorities directly. Through the systematic online information offered by social media activists, people can understand the context of the movement and decide whether they want to give their support with action. To follow this approach, social power(s) can effectively be formed, integrated and strengthened.

The Chinese independent media realize that there is a profound interactive relationship between a social issue and a social movement. Therefore, they put their effort to propagate the main content of the happening of social incident itself and stimulate the possibilities of public concern and relative discussion and criticism of social issue. However, their media works have the lacks of presenting the historical

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[212] "By the mid-nineteenth century, science was having an ever-greater impact on European life. The Scientific Revolution of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries had fundamentally transformed the Western worldview and led to a modern, rational approach to the study of the natural world….Moreover, the technical advances of the early Industrial Revolution had depended little on pure science and much more on the practical experiments of technologically oriented amateur inventors. Advances in industrial technology, however, fed an interest in basic scientific research, which in the 1830s and afterward resulted in a rash of basic scientific discoveries that were soon converted into technological improvements that affected everybody. …The steadily increasing and often dramatic material gains generated by science and technology led to a growing faith in the benefits of science. The popularity of scientific and technological achievement produced a widespread acceptance of the scientific method, based on observation, experiment, and logical analysis, as the only path to objective truth and objective reality." See: Spielvogel, Jackson J. (2010). *Western Civilization*. USA: Cengage Learning. p. 783.

context of the social happening and the promotion of the basic knowledge of the practice of the social movement. Compared with Western independent media, the independent media in the Chinese society (Hong Kong) seem to have to improve their practice methodology for the movement. The question is still here: what is the main factor which causes this kind of difference of the practices between the Chinese society and Western society? Is the factor related to the so-called "cultural difference" between the two[213]?

> *"Of course, there are some differences (with the emphasis and the approach of the practices of independent media in the Chinese society and the West). Do the differences come from the factor of cultural difference between the East and the West? I do not think so. In fact, there are specific political backgrounds and social structural contexts with different regions of the world. Even in the whole Chinese society are there particular social situations/conditions with the practice of the media movement. For example, the practices of the movement in Taiwan and Hong Kong actually have their different characters. In the Mainland, it is impossible to do the media social movement because of the factor of 'political climate'. Even the commercial media in China are also monitored by the Communist Party. So, the main factor (to cause the differences of the practice approaches between the Chinese society and the Western society) is not related to 'cultural difference', but the different political climates of the two societies."* [214]

Ip argues that the core issue of the cause of different practice patterns, features or approaches of the media social movement in the Chinese society and the West is not related to the factor of different cultural background. Although there are some differences between the two societies in the aspects of culture, custom and the developing context of history, the societies both have the common demand for concerning with the voices from the grassroots. Here, we can see that the practice of independent media social movement is a kind of fulfillment of the demand of the societies. Through the above analysis, we discover that there are some factors that would influence the practice approach of the social movement. The form of the approach is based on the quality of the relationship between the practice of the media

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[213] For example, there are some different cultural characteristics between the people in the East and the West: "Dr, Richard Nisbett, professor of psychology at the University of Michigan, observed in the New York Times in August 2000 that, 'Asians [in a study conducted by Nisbett] tended to be more holistic showing greater attention to context, a tolerance for contradiction and less dependence on logic. Westerners were more analytic, avoiding contradiction, focusing on objects removed from their context, and more reliant on logic.'" See: Ng, Tai P. (2007). *Chinese Culture, Western Culture*. USA: iUniverse. p. 27.

[214] The article is based on the "Ip's interview".

and the situation of local society. Moreover, the developing dimension of the media social movement would depend on the political climate and the degree of freedom in specific society. We ought not to have a judgment for the achievements of the practices in the two societies that: "the independent media in the West, such as the 'IMC', is more 'successful' than the Chinese independent media." It is because the main cause of the different conditions of the practices is not related to the innate cultural difference of them, but the factor of different political circumstances between the two. Ip suggests that the influence of political powers in the Chinese society is the main factor which causes the lack of the feedback from the majority of Chinese people to the action of Chinese independent media. For example, the "IMC" has its widespread influence in the West because the media has the specific socio-political condition to do so: the important condition is the background of an "open society" that people have the right to do what they want to do and (are allowed to) have the "intellect" to judge what is the "right" or the "wrong". On the other hand, the practices of Chinese independent media do not have such socio-political condition in the Chinese societies. That is why Ip has the above opinion on this issue.

The Chinese societies (including the Mainland China, Taiwan, Hong Kong and Macau) can be seen as a single concept of "Greater China (大中華區域)" or "Cultural China (文化中國)", which has its specific political background in the complicated historical developing process of Chinese history. The vicissitude and the development of the "China" are always based on the changes of political situation and social condition in the region at the time. Independent media is a form of social movement that uses the Internet as a main implement to realize the purposes of social development and political reform. The purposes of the movement practice aim at creating a social power to change the present situation of society that would directly affect the stability of governance of the authorities. This is the main point which explains why the practices of Chinese independent media have "fewer" influence in the societies compared with the West's counterparts. Actually, the media in the Chinese societies bear the visible and invisible pressure (e.g. "Coolloud.org" is not being recognized by the authorities as a "media"; the Taiwanese authorities make people do not know or understand what "independent media" is, and do not encourage people to contact with it through creating the social condition of the monopolization of the media space for mass media) from the political powers in the "China". For instance, it is impossible to practice any bottom-up social movement with the independent spirit in the Mainland because there is no freedom of speech in the region under the governance of the Chinese Communist Party. In the past decade, there was an objective politico-social condition to give opportunities for social activists to

develop the independent media movement in Hong Kong and Taiwan (because the regions were not controlled by the Beijing government). This fact only evidence a typical regularity of the development of human society: wherever we are in the East or the West, there is a social need for common people to have a public media approach to cry out for the problems of political powers and realize the facilitation of the communication between global citizens and the possibility of catching the "real fact" of human society. Independent media, as the approach of social movement practice based on the will of global citizens, would be bred further and become a substantive social power to improve the quality of the situation of human civilization in the age of globalization.

Therefore, the Chinese independent media have their particular practice approaches and strategies to tackle the challenges coming from political powers and social ignorance that are related to the long feudal history and the centralization of the authorities of the politics of China. Although the media are working under a relative closed social circumstance (compared with the West), they are still developing their social media works and expanding their influence based on the historical characters of the Chinese societies. The visible and invisible political pressure (e.g. the governance of Communist China with "one-party" political system; the "scar(s)" of the Chinese people's spirit with the process of the evolvement of Chinese history) and certain traditional values (e.g. Confucianism) cause Chinese people to have a relative conservative attitude to changing the present social situation of the "China". Under such background, capitalism, known as "socialism with Chinese characteristics" in the Mainland China, becomes the only approach for Chinese people to find out their own social status and value which is allowed by the authorities in the developing context of globalized world. The social atmosphere of the Chinese societies is profoundly affected by the value of materialism nowadays. The social condition in the "China" is unfavorable to the practice of independent media movement. Although this is the present situation of the development of the Chinese societies, the establishments and the practices of "Inmediahk.net" and "Coolloud.org" represent that the Chinese societies are not the "outsiders" of the development of globalization. The "China", as the "other societies" in the world, is also breeding the form of the social movement with the spirits of creativeness, coexistence, interflow and mutual aid as a part of anti-globalization movement based on the use of the Internet contributed by the past twenty-year development of information technology in global society simultaneously.

"The Internet does not replace the social position of media organization,
but has its specific role in facilitating the practice of social movement and

the further development of media circumstance. 'Inmediahk.net' is an exemplification for the embodiment of them. The Internet and independent media are not the new implements or approaches (for carrying out social movements nowadays). The media is not the 'leader', but is an organic part of social movement practice which can create some moments for the realization of social movement and produce some kinds of political relationships that originate a certain possibility for social development waiting to be discovered which is commonly ignored by people." [215]

Therefore, the role of independent media, based on internet using as the foundation of the media movement practice, is for the purpose of "catalyzing" the socio-political condition of the possibility of the change of global/local society. The practice of independent media aims at offering an alternative approach for all people to understand their living circumstance and the real situation of human society and trying to smash the monopolized situation of social resource and the ideological restriction on human being's mind built up by the Establishment. The practice of the media constructs a kind of substantive attitude about sustained social concern through the encouragement of spontaneous social actions (e.g. to report and criticize social issues) of common people with their point of views to balance the influence of mainstream media supported by global governments and capitalists around the world.

According to the above analyses, we realize that the two Chinese independent media "Inmediahk.net" and "Coolloud.org" have the three main characteristics with their practices in the Chinese societies. The origin and the essence of the characteristics offer an opportunity for us to open up a new understanding approach to analyze the structure of the "China" and the present situation of human civilization on the scene of globalization. Because of the media's characteristics, we can understand that the Chinese independent media do not fall behind with other counterparts in different parts of the world and are closely integrated with the progressive development of local society. The media practices with the other two main characteristics of "no label" and "without being influenced by the factor of cultural difference between the East and the West" bring out a new understanding approach to analyze the present situation of the "China". The possible tendency of the development of the "China" in fact depends on how Chinese people treat of the significant traditional heritage and the form of the historical background of the whole Chinese society. This thinking context for analyzing the relationship between the present situation of the "China" and Chinese traditional thought would help us to

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[215] See: Ip, Iam-Chong (2007). *Small Media, Big Issue*. Hong Kong: Step forward. p. 96.

position the status of the significance of the element of the ancient thought and rethink the problem of human civilization in modern society. The relative contents with these thinking will be presented in the chapter of Conclusion.

Conclusion   The Daoist Characters of the Chinese Independent Media and Modern China

Section 1   Introduction: Anti-Globalization Movement as an "Ecology" of Human Society

From observing the progress of the development of human history, we can understand there are some periods of the civilization of human society that had been experienced by the living of human beings. The periods include the age of tribalism (the ex-social period of human life with the basic form of family), the age of feudalism (the classified social form with the domination of kings and aristocracy) and the age of modernization (the human civilization brought by the Industrial Revolution and global capitalism). Today, we are living in the period of the so-called "post-modernization" of human civilization. The main character of this period reflects the termination of the positive aspect of modernization – the generalization of political right with global democratization and the prosperity of the development of world economy; and the rise of the negative effect of the civilized situation of human society – the "economic erosion" on political power practiced by global capitalists and the polarization of the social phenomena of human inequality and class/race conflict. Globalization, as a global phenomenon in the period of "post-modernization" of human civilization, also reflects a logical context of the historical development of human society: the positive and the negative appear at the same time. The logic of the "positive-negative-appearance" of globalization not only causes the current effects and influence of economic globalization (or the so-called "hijacked globalization"), but facilitates the diversification, intercommunication and integration of different nations, beliefs, customs and lifestyles in the world society. On the other hand, the theory and practice of anti-globalization movement also reflects such developing context like globalization. Anti-globalization movement is globalizing – it opposes the violation of human right caused by the cooperation of world political and economic powers globally; the movement, meanwhile, is also localizing – it encourages social groups' communication and connection and promotes a kind of localized form of social movement in the historical development of specific regional cultural context as well as carries out its influence in local/global field. The logical context of "positive-negative-appearance" is not only breaking down the typical thinking logic of human society: the confrontation of "dualism", such as civil/rude; democratic/autocratic; liberal/authoritarian; East/West; South/North; Left/Right; rich/poor; developed/developing; mightiness/weakness; light/dark; good/evil, but also opening up a new approach to understand the present situation and the connotation of

human civilization: we are living in the "same place of the world". In the "same place", the "civil" does rude behaviours and the "rude" embodies the spirit of civilness; "democracy" is not really democratic, and "autocracy" preserves a kind of enlightenment. The typical thinking logic of human society – the logic of the confrontation of dualism has been a meaningless module for understanding the present situation of human life. It probably misleads us to realize the fact of the civilization of human society.[216]

Globalization and its effects tell us that the political attempt on proceeding separation or dismemberment for the world society is of no avail. Instead of the attempt, we must accept the present situation of the whole human society which has the characteristics of interconnecting and interlacing. As a part of globalization, anti-globalization movement itself also reflects such characteristics – world citizens are able to realize (relative) free communication and connection with each other for practicing global social movement through the use of the Internet in the field of the world society. The rise of grass-root social movement around the world has its particular factors. The main factor of the rise is about an "old legend": from the beginning of human history, the acts of the unjust exploitation and conquest of the Nature executed by political power which violated people's lives have never ended. Although human society has been civilized in the progress of history gradually, the unjust acts are still exercised (with other political forms) through the practices of military might and the execution of law. Politics, as the system for exercising the coercive power, is still the "leader" of setting the rule for the distribution of human resource which has the authoritative horizon for directing people (how) to view the role of the Nature. Human civilization is a "jacket", and the rude essence of politics has never been changed even if there is a progressive development of human society in modern age. Therefore, the history of human beings is written by a series of socio-political movements carried out by the common people for opposing and subverting the exploitation of political powers. The participators of the series of movements have different names, such as serfs, civilians, crowds, dissenters, socialists, activists and radicals. In the globalized world, the participators of modern

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[216] For example, the so-called "mightiness", itself, is vague and general. It must be understood in a fixed comparative context and the fact of it would be shifted when it is being placed in other understanding contexts. Also, the construction of the "mightiness" has its particular historical social conditions. People get used to emphasize the importance of being a "mighty body" but sink into the dilemma of the logic of the confrontation of dualism. In fact, the "mightiness" cannot exist alone. It needs the "weakness" to support its existence under a specific background of the development of human civilization. The dualistic logic ignores the fact that we all live in a whole unity of human society and depend on each other for our lives (no matter what the meaning of the distinction between the "mightiness" and the "weakness" is) which causes our living to be alienated further. The logic deters us from reflecting the real situation of the world society and helps people to cover up the attempt of political power for using the logic to dominate the developing tendency of human civilization.

social movements are called anti-globalizationalists or global social activists.

Through the theoretical analyses in Chapter Two, we can understand that the Proudhon and Bookchin's theories as the theoretical origins of anti-globalization movement directly point out the core problems of modern human society, such as the problem of "property" (the economic concept becomes the foundation of capitalist society and modern economy of the world) and the false viewpoint of environmentalism on the Nature. Anti-globalizationalists are inspired by the reflections of the theories and construct their global actions and campaigns based on different social conditions of the communities in different regions of the world. The target of the practices of anti-globalization movement is not to judge the phenomenon of globalization, but to criticize the "power" (which influences our lives and practices itself with a high-degree "scientific" and sophisticated form of domination) – a kind of political might attempting to control the way or the style of human life for specific interest. The power is not created by somebody in recent days, but has existed for a long time in the past period of history with different names (e.g. an autocratic monarchy) that its evolution has been written on the annals of the development of human society clearly. The so-called "anti-globalization movement" is a kind of the substantial people's movement, which is embodying the spirit of subverting the "power" on the scene of globalization.

In other words, the relationship between globalization and anti-globalization movement is not "opposite" or "under a confrontational condition". The two are breeding each other and merging together as well as reflecting the ecology of human society under the background of globalization at the same time. The reflection on the ecological structure of human society includes a noteworthy inherent logic of the development of human civilization of our history: when power is constructed, the greed and unjust values of people would accompany the construction of power. Then, the rise of grass-root social movement for opposing the power would follow the construction after that. For analyzing, understanding and interpreting the ecology of human society, many philosophers and social theorists in the past ages of human history contributed their thoughts and doctrines for accomplishing such purposes. For example, Georg Wilhelm Friedrich Hegel concluded a philosophical principle for analyzing the progress of human history based on his theoretical thinking[217]. Karl

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[217] "In the Lectures on the Philosophy of History, Hegel states that 'After the creation of the natural universe, man appears on the scene as the antithesis of nature; he is the being who raises himself up into a second world' (Nisbet, 44; VIG, 50). This 'second world' is the world of Objective Spirit…It is only through our interactions with others that we learn to control the baser parts of ourselves, and to develop the higher parts; only through society, in other words, that our humanity emerges. Hegel subsumes under the rubric of 'Objective Spirit' a great number of subjects: the nature of the family and

Marx was affected by Hegel's theories and constructed the theory of "class struggle" which was connected with his well-known ideal system of communist economy[218] for solving the social problem brought by the exploitation of upper class (on lower class) in human society. The significance of those theories is on offering a horizon for people to understand the progress of human history and the connotation of civilization. The horizon given by the theorists is profoundly linked with the emphasis on the importance of the thinking logic of "dualistic (positive/negative) confrontation" in the progress of human history. The thinking logic argues that the progress of human society and the establishment of a new form of the society must be realized through the process of "conflict" or "confrontation". We can also find out other political theories that identically reflect such kind of logic. For example, the principle of the "separation of powers" which firstly brought up by French philosopher Charles de Secondat, Baron de Montesquieu is a notable case that reflect a spirit of a political system including the spirit of power balance/partition for avoiding the centralization of political power based on the confrontation of the separated powers (i.e. the institutions of legislature, executive, and judiciary). Here is another example: the practice of multi-party politics in modern democracy also embodies the spirit of power balance in the field of the manipulation of politics based on the confrontational logic. Those examples evidence the necessity of the important position of the logic of dualistic confrontation in the process of the development of human civilization. It seems to imply that: for the core problem of human society with the exercise of power, to accept the logic of dualistic confrontation is the "only way". What we should do on the way are to try to decrease the negative side-effects of the practice of the logic and let the logic serve us appropriately.

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the basic forms of social organization, morality, contracts, government, law and world history. All of these constitute an objective expression of our human nature. …In fact, Hegel sees all of world history as an account of our subduing nature and creating the human world, and, in the process, coming ever closer to the achievement of full self-awareness. (In the sphere of world history, Hegel refers to Objective Spirit as the 'World Spirit'.)" See: Magee, Glenn Alexander (2010). *The Hegel Dictionary*. New York: Continuum International. pp. 161-162.

[218] "Communism is a political, social and economic system in which the government is based on a collective society with land, property, and economic activities controlled by the state. It was originally conceived as a way to improve the lives and opportunities of the poor. Communism is the opposite of free-market capitalism. Communists believe that the basis for inequality in the world is class struggle: the wealthy class (commonly referred to as the 'bourgeoisie') attempts to exploit the working poor (the 'proletariat'). The ultimate goal of communism is to create a society in which everyone is equal and there are no social or economic classes, In order to eliminate the class struggle, the proletariat has to rise up against the bourgeoisie and remove that group's economic and political power." See: Lansford, Tom (2008). *Communism*. New York: Marshall Cavendish. p. 9. "One of the first actions taken by communists when they gain control of a government is the takeover of businesses and farms. In order to achieve a classless, Marxist society, all economic activity must be collectivized so that everyone benefits equally from any wealth or resources produced. The process of taking property and assets is known as nationalization. In some cases, people or companies were compensated when their property or resources were expropriated, but in most cases, communist regimes did not pay owners for their losses. Instead, the governments took control of factories, businesses, transport, and other forms of commerce." *ibid.*, pp. 62-64.

However, we can realize that the thinking logic of dualistic confrontation, based on our research on the theory and practice of anti-globalization movement, is inadequate to understand the various phenomena of the world society today. The logic successfully explained the situation of the development of human society in the past centuries and offered some compromised and impermanent models of political system. But, the thinking logic ignores the origin of power and its suspicious position: it directly affirms the validity of the existence of power and discusses how to deal with the problems brought by the logic. Also, such logic actually avoids the theorists and thinkers in different ages to go further for reflecting on the core problem of the politics of human society. Here, we can see that the logic has its limitation. If we use the logic to analyze the relationship between the phenomena of globalization and anti-globalization movement, we would encounter a serious theoretical problem: the core problem of human civilization in modern age is always blurred and diverted by the logic. From the standpoint (or thinking logic) of anti-globalization movement, the becoming of the effects of (the hijacked) globalization suggests that the power (including political and economic powers) has its sophisticated expansion on the scene of the world society – that is what the anti-globalizationalists oppose to. The root of the confrontation between "globalizationalists (the members of the vested interest groups around the world)" and anti-globalizationalists does not come from the prior essence of the conflict of human society, but relates to the greed of mankind and the idea of the separation of the relation between human beings and the "others" or the Nature. If people are willing to face these two problems and have the intention to tackle the negative effects brought by them, the existence of the logic of confrontation of human society would not be the necessity as a matter of course. This reflection on the main characteristic of modern world shows the thinking logic of dualistic confrontation cannot fully interpret the fundamental principle of the variation of the ecology of human society. Moreover, we, through the above reflection, can understand that there are many bottom-up substantial social forces giving their reactions to the effects of the expansion of power (which accomplishes its purpose through the application of the logic). The forces, which aim at opposing the power for unlimited interest chasing, are not only including the concrete actions of anti-globalizationalists and social activists around the world, but also containing the feedback of the Nature through the emergence of the phenomena of global warming and serious climate change. Therefore, we here hope to discuss a kind of "ecological reflection" on human society further – the essence of the theory and practice of anti-globalization movement (which is not related to the embodiment of the dualistic logic, such as the confrontation between globalization and anti-globalization;

presidents and common people; richers and poorers or elders and youngsters…etc.).

Why do we view the essence of anti-globalization movement as a part of the "ecology of human society" and view the practice of the movement and the feedback of the Nature for civilized human activity (e.g. "global warming") as a kind of "ecological reflection"? According to the researches in the above chapters, we can have a general understanding here: anti-globalization movement actually embodies the "spirit of the Nature". When we realize that anti-globalization movement is a global phenomenon of the world society that has not got any specific condition to be confined in one country or a single region in the world, the nature of modern human civilization is hereby unveiled: the situation of our living world is still affected by the Nature and the progress of the civilization of human society does not help us to "escape from" the influence of the Nature because we find out a similar developing logic between the changes of human society and the Nature. In the age of globalization, human civilization has not "conquered" the Nature, but confronts various challenges and difficulties: there are many artificial problems and crises with our society. And, the Nature always "reminds" us of the imperfection of human civilization through its "feedback". All of our challenges and difficulties reflect a kind of natural ecology of human society which suggests that: mankind is a part of the Nature, not the superiority of the being over the Nature. The Nature contains us and our living cannot do without the nurture of the Nature. Now we discover that there is a part of the members of human society who have a concrete standpoint (through the practice of anti-globalization movement) as the same as the Nature's (through the rise of climate change – the so-called "natural disaster" is a term with an ideology of human selfish departmentalism that the change of the condition of the Nature is just the necessary process of the adjustment of natural ecology based on its needs with certain principles or effects): they both "say no" to the domination of coercive power and the violation of consumerist capitalism over human society and natural environment. Here, we can realize a kind of "ecological naturalness" from the globalization of the practice of anti-globalization movement.

"The living of human beings is relied on the Nature" – this description is still genuine in the age of globalization nowadays. The fact suggests that our life and behaviour are directed by the prior intelligence and living needs (e.g. diet and generation) of us based on the endowment of the Nature. The ecological essence of human life embedded in the historical development of human society can only be understood, but cannot be changed or re-created by the progress of human civilization.

When we recognize that anti-globalization movement is a kind of ecological phenomenon of human society related to the essence and the condition of the Nature, we would discover that there are some characteristics or connotations within the social ecological phenomenon that are corresponded with the essence of the Nature. At first, we have used the practices of Chinese independent media as the cases for searching out the relative conceivable characteristics of the media social movement. Through the research on the media cases, the above argument for justifying the relationship between anti-globalization movement and the Nature would be proved. From Chapter Two to Chapter Five, we focus on discussing the main contents related to the theories and the practices of anti-globalization movement. In the process of the discussions, we realize that the core point of the differences of the practice characteristic of the media social movement between Chinese society and the West is not connected with the different civilized stages of the development of the two societies, but related to the dissimilar political situations of them. The present political situation in China directly prevents the Chinese societies from developing their civilized and open social conditions. The media social movements practiced by "Inmediahk.net" and "Coolloud.org" prove that the Chinese societies, as the parts of human society, are not the primitive regions out of the progress of human civilization. The Chinese media social movements, like the similar movements in the West, also have the clear standpoint against the phenomena of global power struggle and economic inequality on the scene of globalization. The "main striker" of anti-globalization movement – "independent media" is playing the role in promoting the social claims of common people in the world. At this point, the positions of the participators of the media movement in the Chinese societies and the West are at the same place. According to this thinking approach, the characteristics of the practices of the Chinese independent media, including the points of "as the main players of global independent media movement", "no 'label'" and "as the same as other independent media practices in the world", are in fact corresponded with the above analysis on the "common ecology" of human society in the progress of human civilization – the subversion on power (as the artificial dominative force against the spirit of the Nature). The ecology exists beyond the space-time condition of human society which is embodying the feature of the phenomenon of globalization.

Through the analysis on the characteristics of the practices of the Chinese independent media, we can also find out that the practices of the independent media (as the approach to participating in anti-globalization movement) have some localized spiritual characteristics. The so-called "localized" characteristics reflect the practices

of the media as the parts of global social movement which carry out their works with some kinds of local traditional elements and thoughts in the historical context of the politico-economic development of Chinese society. The form of the characteristics evidences the "China" has its specific attitude and particular approach to respond to the present situation of the contemporary development of human civilization – to oppose all of the negative effects of globalization with "its ways (that are integrated with local historical traditional thoughts)". The noteworthy point of this is that Chinese independent media, as the same as their counterparts in the West, use the Internet as the main tool for the practice of the social movement with "their approaches" and do not copy the spirit and the form of the practice of Western independent media, such as establishing a clear principle as a "flag" of the movement and systematizing the practice of the media movement worldwide (e.g. the American "Independent Media Center"). From the practices of the Chinese independent media, we can discover the characteristics of their practices that are related to (or coming from) a kind of spirit of Chinese traditional thought. The connotation of the spirit of the Chinese thought is embodied by the two Chinese independent media with their standpoints and their practices of the media social movement in the Chinese societies.

We argue that anti-globalization movement is a kind of "ecology" of human society. This argument is not only conformed to the stream of the progress of human history, but also shown in another aspect through doing a research on the local traditional spirit and the social background of the practice of the media social movement. This move would help us to explain or to interpret such kind of "ecology" further. Our research uses Chinese independent media as the cases to discuss the essence of anti-globalization movement; hence we should take a look at the contents of Chinese traditional thought and related elements for understanding the validity of the argument.

The abundance and the diversity of Chinese traditional thinking accomplishment could be the "treasury" for tackling the problems of globalization in human society. The flexibility and malleability of Chinese traditional culture are not ossified in the process of the development of human civilization. The characteristics of the Chinese culture depart from the restriction of the form of the development of modern society that would probably open up the possibility of the next stage of human civilization. We have a strong evidence to justify such argument: besides the philosophy of Daoism (道家哲學), we cannot find out another suitable theory to explain and interpret the essence of the Nature and the ecological principle of the change of all beings. Coincidentally, the characteristics of the practice of Chinese independent

media, as the anti-globalization movement in the Chinese societies, are corresponded with (or connected with) the spirit of the theory of Daoism. The relationship between the characteristics of the practice and Daoism can be understood through: (1) the fact of the localization of anti-globalization movement; (2) the realization of an approach to the modern interpretation, embodiment and practice of the Chinese traditional thought.

In the above paragraphs, we have analyzed the "localized" anti-globalization movement: the practices of the Chinese independent media movement are the best cases to evidence the fact of the localization of anti-globalization movement in the Chinese societies. About the second point, it is necessary to do a further discussion for it in the following passages.

Generally speaking, Chinese traditional thought/culture and its constitution are alien to the modern society based on the viewpoint of the civilization of the West[219]. Today, we, of course, can discover that there are various academic researches related to Chinese culture and tradition. We can also find out the significant point(s) of the researches and link up the research results with modern society and our life as well. However, the meaning of the works could be seen as an "abstract" that tends to be idealistic in the field of morality (e.g. the thoughts of Confucianism) that seems to have a weakened connection with the realities of human life and modern society. The form of this common opinion is related to the main "axis" of the modern development of human civilization in the past two centuries – originating from the Age of Discovery to the Industrial Revolution, the rise of capitalist commercialism and the expansions of colonialism and imperialism. From the history of the invasions of Western civilization to China in the eighteenth century – including the Opium Wars (鴉片戰爭) in the late period of Qing dynasty (清朝) with the U.K., the Invasion of Eight-Nation Alliance (八國聯軍入侵), the First Sino-Japanese War (中日甲午戰爭), the Second Sino-Japanese War (八年抗日戰爭) and the Chinese Civil War (國共內戰), we can understand that the "baptism" of the series of wars in China led the social status of the role of Chinese traditional culture and thought to be doubted by Chinese people generally. In the process of the modern development of China, Chinese people

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[219] "From people's opinion, Chinese culture and modern life are the complete different subjects which are seemed to be opposed to each other. The first is the old traditional culture being accumulated within the stream of Chinese five-thousand-year history; the second is a kind of new lifestyle appeared in the recent hundred-year originated from the West. Therefore, the fact of the conflict between the two subjects is actually being understood as the challenge and violation carried out by the modern culture of the West against the traditional culture of China. Since the 'May Fourth Movement (五四運動)' in 1919, all of the cultural arguments in China have been related to the main issue of the conflict between the two." See: Yu, Ying Shih (余英時) (1999). *The Modern Interpretation of Chinese Thought Tradition* (*中國思想傳統的現代詮釋*). Taipei: Linking. p. 1.

were unable to (or had no opportunity to) understand the significance and the reality of the main contents of Chinese tradition in a relative normal or a peace social situation of the progress of the society. The effectiveness of weapons and arm forces contributed by the scientism of Western civilization made the attention of the whole Chinese society focus on the "how(s)" of the power of the West. Some of the Chinese intellectuals in the period – for example Chen Duxiu (陳獨秀), Hu Shih (胡適) and Lu Xun (魯迅) – believed that the power of Western civilization was based on the application of "science" and the practice of "democracy". Compared with the "powerful" of the West which has become the lead of world civilization, it is the fact that Chinese traditional thought and cultural elements could not bring the "China" a progressive social situation or some of substantial conditions for practicing such expansion as the same as the West did. Today, the Chinese societies are still facing the problems related to the conflict and the harmonization of the values and lifestyles between the East (from Chinese traditional thought and culture) and the West (the values of capitalism and free society) which still have no condition to establish a kind of civilized situation of the societies based on their own traditional and cultural elements.

The rise of anti-globalization movement is not an "accident", but an "alarm" to tell the "dilemma" of Western civilization. It tells us the applications of science and democracy of the West, in the age of globalization, actually have their risks including the dysfunction of democracy, the forms of global risk society and financial crisis, the rampant of "terrorism", and the incessancy of climate change and global warming. The historical status and the achievement of Western civilization in the East that the former generation of Chinese people deeply believed in (e.g. the economic prosperities of Hong Kong and the development of democratization in Taiwan in the 1990s) should be reviewed at this moment. The globalization of anti-globalization movement reminds us: it is necessary to open up our own civilized developing approach based on our own tradition and cultural background, (but) not just to refer to or to obtain the ideas and inspiration for the further development of society from the achievement of other cultural or civilized bodies. From this thinking approach, to do the reflection on Chinese traditional thought and cultural elements is a possible way to carry out an alternative condition of human civilization for the "China", and also for the world society as well.

The rise of the practice of Chinese independent media, as a part of the development of anti-globalization movement, is an "interesting historical coincidence". It is because we can see that the Chinese societies attempt to react to the

problems of Western civilization based on "their ground" through the practice of the independent media movement. The "coincidence" reflects the fact that the Chinese societies replace their modernities given by the West in their particular historical developing contexts through the realization of the localization of anti-globalization movement to respond to the problems of the "dilemma" of Western civilization and use their social conditions to react on the modern ecology of the civilized development of human society. The meaning of the so-called "interest historical coincidence" is that: the practices of the Chinese independent media play an appropriate role in telling "how to embody the spirit and the consciousness of Chinese traditional thought in the age of globalization" even though "Inmediahk.net" and "Coolloud.org" do not have the intention to carry out their media social movement practices based on any Chinese traditional thought. We here discover that the belief(s) and principle(s) of their practices have some characteristics that conform to the spirit of Daoism. Their acting principles not only connect with the intention of finding out the "civilized approach of society" from the process of reviewing the problems of Western civilization, but also create a thinking approach as an "adapter" for linking up the traditional culture and theoretical elements of ancient China and modern China. Their practices actually have the significance of carrying out an opportunity for us to pay attention to reflecting on the social status of Chinese tradition in globalized world.

In the following sections, we will point out how is the form of the connection between the spirit of the practice of the "localized" anti-globalization movement and Daoism (as a significant Chinese traditional thought) being achieved. Daoism is the thought for offering a "blueprint" of human society which accords with the principle of the change of the Nature – the thought of Daoism is actually a kind of ecological thinking logic for understanding the essence of the Nature. The "blueprint" has its significance with human life and is understandable in the context of the development of globalization. In the sections, we will answer the following questions: (1) how do the practices of Chinese independent media embody the spirit of Daoism; (2) what is the essence of the relationship between the practices and the ecology of human society on the scene of globalization; (3) what are the elements of Daoism explaining the present situation of the ecology of human society?

Section 2   The Daoist logic of "Coolloud.org": The Discard of "Name (名)"

At first, we must answer the questions through starting the initial discussion on the connection of Chinese cultural tradition and modern China: how do we discover

the relationship between the characteristic of the practice of Chinese independent media "Coolloud.org" and Daoism?

In Chapter Four, we have analyzed the principle and the standpoint of the practice of the Chinese independent media "Coolloud.org". The media has a clear consciousness of keeping a distance with (or denying) all kinds of "label" (like the concept "Ming (description or name；名)" in the theory of Daoism) as the doctrine of the practice that would restrict and narrow the possibility of the further development of the media social movement. The founder of "Coolloud.org" Sun Chiung Li argues that: *"(About the core belief or value of our media practice) I cannot talk about it explicitly…Surely, it (the practice of 'Coolloud.org') includes some humanitarian values that support our practices, but it is hard to tell…because new social movement(s) (such as 'independent media') may not fully accept the traditional idea and standpoint of the Left on the practice of the social movement in today's space-time condition. So we have not got an 'explicit line' or a 'flag' for our media practice."* (p.165) *"…In the past, a lot of people criticized social issues and relative phenomena with their imaginations at home. Perhaps, I would agree with their say theoretically but I would not stand by them. Is there any 'principle' (for the practice of the independent media)? No, I cannot describe it now. It depends on the future development of the media social movement…."* (p.166) Through reviewing the above citations, we can understand the practice of "Coolloud.org" which has the noteworthy characteristics conformed to the spirit of Daoism.

To maintain the influence of the media social movement in local society is the motive force for "Coolloud.org" to stick with its independent media works continuously. When we ask about the spiritual principle or value of the media practice, Sun agrees that the practice of the media movement has its "inner prop" that is related to "some beliefs or values". However, he cannot clearly express or describe what the "values" are in this practice stage. For example, Sun suggests that the "values" are probably related to some theoretical traditional thoughts of humanitarianism which is mentioned in the first citation (but he immediately denies that the thoughts are the exact principles of the practice). At this point, we find out that Sun realizes that there is a "gap" between the theories and the practice of modern social movement. Although independent media, as a modern form of social movement, has its similar claim(s) with the past practice of social and labor movements (e.g. to open up a social approach to express people's discontents with life and promote common values), the media is an exact different model of the practice of the movement compared with the past's (with the traditional approach of carrying out street protest, demonstration or

social conflict). On the scene of globalization, the internet social movement has its own particular spirit or value that must be realized and confirmed by the participators of the movement through the exercise of continual practicing as the different roles: the "reporters", "audience", "promoters" and "coordinators" of the independent media. The spirit of the power of the media, as the inner force to support the practice of "Coolloud.org", is now in the process of "becoming" that is not at the end of the development of the media movement. Therefore, Sun "*cannot describe a clear principle*" for telling the value of the practice of "Coolloud.org" with an exact term or a theory.

In the second citation, Sun thinks about the possible relationship between the value/principle of the practice of the media social movement and the relative abstract theories in human history. He points out that perhaps the two have a certain connection spiritually, but they are actually the different aspects of the essence of social movement. For the practice of modern social movement, to understand some values in the contents of the theories connected with the thoughts of humanitarianism has its positive meaning because it can create an effect of spiritual support for modern activists from the forerunners of social movement in human history. However, it is unnecessary to establish a "fixed" logical connection between theory and practice, such as to emphasize: "we practice our movement based on the principle of 'X-ism'." It is because a kind of common value or spirit is the origin of the theory and the practice that is related to. Theory and practice are the two aspects of the origin as the different forms of the expression of "existence" in the developing process of human society. This thinking approach to reflecting on the relationship between the two presents an understandable aspect of the significance of the practice of the modern social movement: the practice of social movement needs not to realize itself through recognizing a fixed historical thought or theory as the foundation of the practice. The embodiment of the core of the value or spirit is on carrying out a kind of spiritual correspondence with the practice with the attitudes of conscience and insistence, not on settling up a structural theory to standardizing the practice of social movement. Therefore, when we do not give a fixed settlement or a theoretical foundation for the practice, we, mostly, would have a relative huge space to open up various possibilities for the development of modern social movement practice. On the other hand, the emphasis on the role of theory for practicing social movement would restrict the development of society to a rigid situation that ossify the diversification and flexibility of human life and people's thinking. The Sun's standpoint of the opposition to "principle" is based on this thinking context.

Here is an opposite assumption: Sun tells that there is a clear principle or belief of the practice of "Coolloud.org" which comes from the theory of "X". Then, our understanding related to the basis of the practice would be constructed as the following: the practice of "Coolloud.org" is the independent media social movement based on the theory of "X". This kind of statement or understanding includes an implication that there is a fixed principle which directs the realization of the practice. The statement does not help for clarifying the core value of the independent media. On the other hand, the statement about the principle of the practice gives out a "standard (or a norm)" for the developing situation of the social movement realization. It produces the principle of "exclusion": the practice of the media (only) follows the theory of "X" to carry out their activities and social actions in local society. The possibilities and the potential issues out of the theory, according to the thinking logic of the above statement, could be ignored or excluded. Here, we can discover the attempt of differentiation or discrimination (through advocating a "suzerain") when a clear principle of the practice is emphasized. The embrace of the differentiated attempt causes a "dilemma" of the traditional practice approach of social movement. For example, it is clear that laborers ought to claim their rights from their bosses in the past. In globalized world, laborers not only bear the exploitation from their bosses, but also need to face the challenges from political powers, transnational companies and foreign workers. The differentiated attempt, which can be constructed through settling up a fixed principle or theory of social movement practice, is disadvantageous for the sustainability of the further development of modern social movement because the practitioners of the movement are unable to obtain potential diversified elements and viewpoints to explain or to interpret the new phenomena and power relationships from a single exclusive theory or value in the world society. For social movement, "practice is alive, and theory is defunct."

The thinking logic for the analysis of the relation between the theory and the practice of social movement contributed by Sun is conformed to the core of Daoist theory which is related to the explanations for the relationship between the concepts of "Dao (the Way 道)" and "name (名)" and the problem of whether "Dao" can be told through wording.

> *"Dao [Truth] can be talked about [described or theorized] in any manner each person considers feasible, though hardly any of these descriptions will be perpetually valid; Names [Descriptions] can be ascribed to Dao in any manner each person deems workable, yet hardly of these will last forever. In the beginning it is beyond us that the world and the universe [Heaven*

and Earth] were nameless [both inexplicable and indescribable]; [Nevertheless,] whatever happened to be possibly named [described] by us are the mother [origin of the descriptions of] myriad [all and every] things and creatures. Accordingly, I constantly refrain from my selfish [subjective] desires; In order to explore [objectively] the manifested wonder of it [Nature]; I also constantly maintain my volition [to seek objective knowledge], in order to pursue its [Nature's] deep seeded enigma...." [220]

「*道，可道也，非恒道也；名，可名也，非恒名也。無名，萬物之始也；有名，萬物之母也。故恒無欲也，以觀其妙；恒有欲也，以觀其所徼。...*」[221]

Besides following the translation of the First Chapter of *Daodejing* (道德經) in the above citation, we can also interpret the Laozi's saying with this approach: if "Dao" can be told with the description of words, the description would not be the exact of "Dao". The "name (名)" which can be told by the description of words is not the exact of name. Whatever the "namelessness (無名)" and the "name (有名)", they both are the origins of all beings in the universe. If we move towards "Dao" without the attitude of "selfish desires" (無欲), we cannot completely understand what "Dao" is. On the other hand, if we move towards "Dao" with "selfish desires (volition 有欲)", we can only touch the surface of "Dao" as an "enigma" of the principle of the change of beings.

From the above citation of *Daodejing*, we can find out that the logic of the understanding of "Dao" presented by Laozi is similar to the attitude of Sun about describing the value or the belief of the practice of "Coolloud.org" that he calls the tune of the practice with the descriptions of "unfixed", "uncertain" and "remain developing" that he is unwilling to give out a certain "principle" or "theory" to conclude the spirit or the value of the practice. The two persons are in different tunes rendered with equal skill for their interests in different ages of Chinese history.

For Laozi, the real essence of the concept of "Dao" cannot be described by our saying completely. "Dao", as a term, is just for the application of the expedient indication for the core concept of Daoism. The origin of all existences in the universe includes the "namelessness" and the "name". The concept of "name" is used for

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[220] See: Chen, Lee Sun (陳麗生) (2011). *Laozi's Daodejing -- The English & Chinese Translation Based on Laozi's Original Daoism (老子的道德經 – 中英白話句解與老學研究)*. USA: iUniverse. p. 133.

[221] See: Huang, Zhao (黃釗) (1991). *The Annotation and Interpretation of Silk Book Laozi (帛書老子校注析)*. Taipei: Studentbook. p. 3.

indicating all beings in the world, but cannot exhaust the character and the essence of "Dao". As one of the understanding approaches to the "existence" for human beings, the concept of "name" can only be seen as a part of "Dao". Here, the important point for further discussion is that: what is the appropriate attitude or thinking approach to explore the essence of the existence of "Dao"? Laozi suggests that "desire" is the common approach of human beings to access and understand the essence of "Dao". If we, in the process of understanding "Dao", attempt to place "Dao" as a kind of "science" in the system of human knowledge for the purposes of controlling and dominating (just like the thinking logic and the acts of the Western civilization on the Nature), we are unable to realize "Dao" and its existent significance for all beings thoroughly. However, Laozi argues that if we understand "Dao" with the basic approach of "no-desire (無欲)", we could have an opportunity to access the connotation of the essence of "Dao". In the first chapter of *Daodejing*, Laozi completely states the thinking logic of the philosophy of Daoism: "Dao" is the "ultimate principle" of the metabolic change of all beings in the world. The effect of "Dao" covers all existences in the universe beyond the horizon of human knowledge. When we try to use known words or knowledge or theories to describe and interpret "Dao", we should note that we are probably departed from the essence of "Dao", not accessed to "Dao". The "description of Dao" is not "Dao" itself, but the "clothes" of the existence of "Dao".

The thinking logic of Sun in describing the core value or principle of the practice of "Coolloud.org" (which cannot be told exactly because it is still in the progress of "becoming") is parallel to the logic of the description of "Dao" told by Laozi. The thinking logic actually supports the belief of Sun on the media practice that no central established theory can be the "principle" to exhaust the core value of the practice and direct the future development of the media movement. The main reason is: independent media is a kind of media practiced by common people to open up a new form of social movement based on the popularization of the use of the Internet and the rapid rise of the development of information technology with the specific characteristic of global/local interaction and communication that has never appeared in other civilized ages of human social history. The practice of the media movement (with the purposes of facilitating the spirits of spontaneity and solidarity of common people, escaping from the horizon of the Establishment and building up an independent approach to promote people's voices) must discard the constraints from the known theories and professional knowledge that are the mainstream leading standpoints used by vested interests and the upper class for maintaining their dominative positions in human society and take root for its social influence based on

the present unstable situation of the world society. The reason of the attitude about the so-called "cannot-be-told" on describing the core value of the media movement practice held by Sun is not from his personal unwillingness or the "de facto unable-to-be-told" of the value, but for the purpose of reserving a possible space to facilitate the liberal ongoing development of the movement of independent media through denying all kinds of fixed principles, theories and thoughts in human history. This thinking connotes a recognition in the field of epistemology: we must remain in the spiritual condition of "no-desire" (do not stick with a single specific central idea) for practicing a globalized social movement in the vicissitudes of modern society. From here, we can realize a thinking logic that conforms to the logic of Daoist theory in interpreting the concept of "Dao".

"Prior to [the coming-into-being of] Heaven-Earth, there was something [highly and immensely] commixed; It was completely client and void; It was self-contained and unalterable; It rotated sweepingly and ceaselessly; Perhaps it was the Mother [origin] of the world. I do not know how to describe it; I use the character 'Dao' to name it and describe it perforce as 'great' (big); 'Great' means that it had spread out so vastly that it disappeared in somewhere beyond our observation; It is described as 'moving away towards the beyond'; Because wherever it went to was immeasurably remote; It is depicted as remote means [that after it completes its course] it will return to us...." [222]
「有物混成，先天地生。寂呵寥呵，獨立而不改，周行而不殆，可以為天地母。吾未知其名也，字之曰道，吾強為之名曰大。大曰逝，逝曰遠，遠曰反。…」 [223]

In Chapter Twenty-five of *Daodejing*, Laozi describes the characteristics and the essence of "Dao" with "different words": "Dao" is not only formed in the existent condition of chaos, but also created before the existences of sky and land. "Dao" includes two kinds of characteristics: "move (動)" and "stay (靜)"[224] and is not being influenced by other factors as well as exists independently. It is the mother of sky and land as well as performs itself continuously. Laozi does not know the exact name of

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[222] See: Chen, Lee Sun (2011). *Laozi's Daodejing -- The English & Chinese Translation Based on Laozi's Original Daoism*. USA: iUniverse. p. 160.

[223] See: Huang, Zhao (1991). *The Annotation and Interpretation of Silk Book Laozi*. Taipei: Studentbook. p. 126.

[224] According to Huang Zhao's quotation, the meanings of the terms "Ji (client 寂)" and "Liao (void 寥)" are: "Ye Meng De (葉夢得, an ancient Chinese poetry theorist in Sung Dynasty) says: 'Ji is to say Jing (stay 靜); Liao is to say Dong (move 動) (Ancient men said: blowing strong wind causes the sound from thousand apertures as angry shouts 古者謂大風之寥寥，吹萬竅而怒號者).' We would like to follow this explanation." *Ibid.*, pp. 126-127.

"Dao" but uses "Dao" as the name for the purpose of the indication of it. "Dao" could be described as "Da (big 大)". The condition of the changing of "Dao" is expanding in the space of universe and coming back from far away[225]. The circulation of the condition of all things on the Earth based on "Dao" will never be ceased.

The reason of citing the paragraph which is about the description of the characteristics of "Dao" from *Daodejing* here again is for the purpose of reviewing the similarities of the thinking logics of Sun for understanding the spirit of the practice of the Chinese media movement and the Laozi's thinking on "Dao". From this citation, we can understand that Laozi actually does not know the exact name of "Dao", but uses "Dao" as an "expedience" to describe what it is. "Dao" is not a substantial thing. For understanding or accessing "Dao", we need to pay attention to the effects of the transforming and the circulating process of the whole creation with the features of "big", "pass (逝)", "far (遠)" and "return (反；返)". The existent condition of "Dao" is not found from the term "Dao", but is mirrored in the condition of the endless change of all beings. The understanding approach of "Dao" based on the continuous developing situation of all creations – an unfixed thinking logic on beings – is similar to the Sun's description on the spirit of the practice of the movement: it can (only) be understood in the process of the repeated practice of the movement based on the continual development of social situation or condition. We actually cannot conclude the spirit of the practice of "Coolloud.org" with a "clear/fixed flag" – a single theory or principle. Sun affirms that the core value of the practice of the independent media social movement is existed. However, the existence of it is not relied on some abstract terms or ideologies, such as the Left and Marxism…etc.. On the contrary, the core spirit of "Coolloud.org" is becoming and developing through the practice of the globalized media social movement. All related conditions and factors of the practice are changing in the progress of the present development of human society. When the movement is in its developing process (not being ended), we are unable to use a particular theory or an ideology to describe or to conclude the condition of the practice of the movement.

The condition of "vicissitude" is the fundamental existent form of all beings. This point of view contributed by Daoism which is one of the Chinese traditional significant thoughts is totally different from the standpoint of Western scientism on researching and understanding the situation and the condition of the whole creation or

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[225] "According to Xi Tong (奚侗, a modern Chinese historical theorist)'s explanation, 'Yue (曰)', here, means 'Yu (於)' as the meaning 'hence (於是)'. We agree with this opinion. The term 'Fan (反)' is equal to 'Fan (返 return)'." *Ibid.*, p. 128.

the Nature. In other chapters, we have analyzed what the core spirit of Western scientific civilization is. The practice approach of the spirit of Western scientism follows: firstly, we undertake the work of constructing a system of human knowledge with discovering the possible rule of the change of existence. Then, trying to justify the "possible rule of existence" through various experiments and repeated calculations with numbers are the next steps for evidencing the existence of the "rule". Through the two procedures, the "rules" of beings are to be proved by researchers and be named with an "understandable title". Finally, the "rules" are recognized by scientific authoritativeness and the relative practitioners in academic field that the findings would become a part of "human scientific knowledge". In the process of categorizing (or "formatting"/"partitioning") the essence of beings into the system of human scientific knowledge, the condition of vicissitude of the whole creation would be flattened and restricted in a particular artificial understanding approach. We can discover that human beings, in certain degree, try to simplify or to distort the essence and the real situation of the existence of all beings. The main purpose of doing this is to suit the "others" to the mankind's limited intellect and scientific knowledge system for further dominative control over beings. Here, we find out the clear standpoint of "anthropocentrism" within the scientism of Western civilization.

Up to now, the scientific knowledge of human beings is still unable to give a complete explanation to answer why the Earth does exist. The existence and the fundamental principle of the changing rule of the Nature with the understanding approach of the thinking logic of Western scientism are still insufficient despite many "significant assumptions and speculations" based on such logic have been offered. This fact reflects the dilemma of Western scientism: we are able to discover the surface appearance and some of the principles of the constitution of beings through the deductive scientific methodology and mathematical tools, but it is far from accessing to the fundamental essence and the changing situation of all existences, such as "Dao". It is because human beings, in the context of Western scientific thinking logic, place themselves as a cognitive subject on a prior position beyond the Nature and forget that there is an actual interdependent relationship between mankind and all beings. According to the thinking logic, human beings (compared with other existences) have a dominative status and a substantial power with the particular intellect to "redefine" the role of the Nature – as the implemental existence for offering the demands of human society. The so-called "anthropocentrism" is hereby established: it allows human beings to expand their interest "reasonably" and "legally" without an end in spite of the limitation of the lifespan of the Nature. The ideology of the "anthropocentrism", in fact, is the foundation of the present situation

of the imbalanced dysfunctional society of human civilization (The standpoint of the ideology exactly helps the rise of capitalism with the core belief of human greed).

For understanding the essence of the Nature and its role in the life of mankind, the standpoint of Daoism is opposite to the teleology of scientism of Western civilization. From Daoist viewpoint, the existence of "Dao (or the Nature)" has not got any purpose or teleology with all creations, including human beings. "Dao" guides the change of the whole creation or a vicissitudinous condition reflected by all beings. The reason of the incapable of understanding "Dao" with the approach of scientism practiced by human beings is related to the limitation of our intellect under the present situation of human civilization. In fact, we are a part of the Nature, not the beings out of the Nature. Language, which is an implement created by human civilization for communication, is unable to interpret the existence of "Dao" completely. Therefore, Laozi, in *Daodejing*, argues that we cannot conclude or indicate "Dao" with any appropriate statement or words. "Dao" changes autonomously which is not affected by any possible factor with its unfixed situation. If we have an intention to understand "Dao", we would have only one approach to realize it – we need to respect the existence of "Dao" and its vicissitudinous essence – "let 'Dao' talk about itself" without any artificial intervention. On this understanding approach, we should not place "Dao" in the system of human knowledge for serving the needs of human beings, and then we can truly explore the essence of "Dao".

Now, we can understand a kind of ideological connection between the logic of Laozi for analyzing "Dao" and the attitude of Sun on describing the core spirit of the practice of the Chinese independent media. The connection reflects a common standpoint of the two which is about thinking on the unfixed situation and the changing condition of the existence of the "others" (e.g. the independent media social movement as an "ecology" of human society is a part of the "effect of the Nature"): Laozi and Sun both do not use a clear, rigid or permanent term (or theory) to induce or to conclude their main reflective subjects – "Dao" and the spirit of the practice of "Coolloud.org". The similar standpoint of them leads us to think about a possibility to open up a neutral horizon for understanding all beings on the Earth: we should realize the existence of the "others" based on the approach of realizing the situation of the "continuous developing" of the whole creation, not just stick with the understanding based on the fixed situation of them in a specific space-time condition. To carry out the first approach – realizing the "others" with respecting their "becoming" situation – is difficult. The practice of the second approach – understanding the "others" based on the fixed situation of them – is parallel with the modern scientism of Western

civilization. The significance of the first approach is that we can avoid sinking into the "trap" of the man-made descriptions (including the system of scientific knowledge, names, terms, "flags" and various teleologies) that are actually not the real essence of the existence of beings. From this standpoint, the abstract descriptions created by human beings are helpless to access to the essence of beings because our thinking would be limited to the relative contents of the descriptions. To practice the second approach would let us go far from the origin of the existence and cover up the essential principles of the Nature and all beings.

The similarity between Sun's attitude about describing the core spirit of the practice of "Coolloud.org" and the Daoist thinking logic of Laozi implies that Daoism, as an important element of the traditional thought of Chinese culture, is not an outdated theory, but an important theoretical element for understanding the modern development of Chinese society and affecting the thinking logic and the behaviour of Chinese people to carry out their lifestyle and attitude in practical field. For this, "Coolloud.org" is one of the exemplifications to reflect the result of the phenomenon of the ancient Chinese thought influencing the present situation of modern society. The opinion of Daoism on analyzing the vicissitudinous situation of the Nature and beings has its progressive significance which gets beyond the border of the present civilized stage of human society. It not only affects the ancient Chinese society in the past, but influences the socio-political developing process of the "China". The influence is continuously extended that has approached to the modern society on the scene of globalization. The main point for this is not related to whether Sun has practiced the media movement based on the philosophy of Daoism, but connected with the fact of the existence of a Daoist thinking logic in the modern social movement practice of independent media in the Chinese society. The rejection of being "labalized" by a fixed principle or theory which is the clear standpoint held by Sun as the core spirit of the practice of the movement embodies a Daoist spirit which is parallel with the "untold character" of the concept of "Dao". From this thinking approach, it is possible to be affirmed that the profound influence of the Chinese traditional thought is going beyond the limitation of space-time condition of human history that affects the politico-economic opinion, the lifestyle and the behaviour of Chinese people in the modern age of the Chinese societies. Therefore, we have an evidence to confirm that Daoism has its significant role in influencing the present development of modern China through the form of the social power contributed by the common people in the East. Actually, the influence does not appear on the surface of the society, but affects the consciousness of Chinese people fundamentally.

According to the above analysis, we are sure that there is a Daoist thinking logic in Sun's standpoint on the practice of "Coolloud.org" as the important spirit of the Chinese independent media movement as a part of anti-globalization movement. Similarly, we can also find out the Daoist characteristic from another Chinese independent media practice: "Inmediahk.net". The relative discussion of this would be presented in the next section – "The World without Discrimination".

Section 3　The World without Discrimination: from the Discussion on Yu Ying Shih's Analysis of the Introversive Character of Chinese Culture

The logic of the distinction or the comparison between the different cultures of the East and the West are generally to be used in academic circles around the world. The purpose of the distinction is to build up a common approach for the researchers in Western society and the modern East to achieve the mutual understanding of the both sides' historical backgrounds, cultural elements and developing tendencies in modern society. The researchers in the relative research field present lots of opinions and theories to analyze and compare the differences between Western and Eastern/Chinese cultures[226]. American historian Yu Ying Shih (Yu Yingshi 余英時) gives his exploration of the characteristic of Chinese traditional culture and his comparison of the cultural differences between the West and China:

> *"We can say that Chinese culture relatively has its characteristic of 'introversion (內傾)' that constructs a comparison with the 'extroversive (外傾)' characteristic of the culture of the West. There is an inner power within the introversive culture, but the power is hard to be discovered from the outside world (the reality of human life). The inner power mainly reflects the spirits of Confucianism – 'relying upon oneself (求諸己)'; 'exhausting the obligation of oneself (盡其在我)' – and Daoism – 'self-sufficiency (自足)', as well as Buddhism – 'depending on oneself, not others (依自不依他)' which strengthen the influence of the power. Between*

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[226] "What is typically Western and what is typically Eastern? …F. S. C. Northrop has advanced the following view. The distinctive characteristics of the West are (1) the primacy of the conceptual over the non-conceptual as coupled with the application of the postulational method, and (2) the linear, teleological conception of time and history that is presumed to be ineluctably and exclusively tied up with the progress of human history. Irrational numbers, the Copernican Revolution, Plato's intelligible world and the transcendent God of Christianity are apt examples illustrating the application of the postulational method…It is assumed that the combination of (1) and (2) accounts for the progress of civilization including the emergence of modern science and technology in the West.　By contrast, the traditional culture of the Orient is characterized by (1) the undifferentiated aesthetic continuum, and (2) the (better, a) cyclical conception of time." See: Lee, Kwang-sae (2006). *East And West: Fusion of Horizons*. USA: Homa & Sekey. pp. 489-490.

the thinking logics of the 'introversion' and the 'extroversion', Chinese people generally tend to choose the first, not the second one. The tendency towards introversion (of Chinese people) has actually appeared as some of mistimed defects in the progress of modernization (of China). However, the tendency brought by the inner power is also the foundation of Chinese culture which helps the thousands-year continuous development of the culture in human history. 'Daxue(大學)' says: 'The point where to rest being known, the object of pursuit is then determined; and, that being determined, a calm unperturbedness may be attained to. To that calmness there will succeed a tranquil repose. In that repose there may be careful deliberation, and that deliberation will be followed by the attainment of the desired end (From James Legge's translation of Daxue；知止而后有定，定而后能靜，靜而后能安，安而后能慮，慮而后能得).' The above statement can generally reflect the characteristic of the introversive culture of China. Here, 'zhi (rest 止)', 'ding (determined 定)', 'jing (calm 靜)', and 'an (reposed 安)' are all indicate the spiritual conditions of individual that are suitable to be used to describe the general representation of the characteristic of Chinese culture." [227]

In the above citation, Yu presents a comparative opinion about the distinction between the "introversion" and "extroversion" of the characteristics of the Western and Chinese cultures. According to Yu's observation, there is an "introversive" characteristic in the essence of Chinese culture. The main point is that the form of the characteristic has the close relationship with the three main ancient theories in China: Confucianism (儒), Daoism (道) and Buddhism (佛；釋) (known as the "Three Teachings" 三教 Sanjiao) which are the important props of the cultural background of Chinese society. The cultural elements of the three ancient theoretical thoughts profoundly affect the national characters of Chinese people and also the people living in Chinese cultural sphere (中華文化圈)[228] (including Japan, Korea, Taiwan and also Vietnam which are seen as the countries in the Chinese-character-using cultural circle

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[227] See: Yu, Ying Shih (1999). *The Modern Interpretation of Chinese Thought Tradition*. Taipei: Linking. pp. 20-21.
[228] "Before and after World War II, Japanese historians willingly accepted the idea of a self-developed East Asia and included both China and Japan into this East Asian world. For example, Nishijima Sadao believed that this 'East Asian world' was a self-insulated cultural sphere. More precisely, this East Asian world circled China and included Korea, Japan, Vietnam, and the regions between the Mongolian and the Himalaya plateau. But the borders of the historical world were fluid and unfixed. Some areas, such as the Himalaya plateau, certain regions in central Asia, and regions in Southeast Asia, belonged to a different historical world because they lacked the characteristics of the East Asian world. These characteristics included Chinese character-based culture, Confucianism, legal and decree system, and Buddhism." See: Fuchs, Eckhardt; Stuchtey, Benedikt (2002). *Across cultural borders: historiography in global perspective*. USA: Rowman & Littlefield. p. 322.

of East Asia). The so-called "introversive characteristic" means a general priority of human life on paying attention to achieving the purposes of inner spiritual perfection and intellectual refinement. For example, we can take a look at this case: when the situation of human societies changes that affects people's living conditions, the people who live in different regions in the world could have different attitudes about facing the potential challenge brought by the change. The different attitudes held by the people actually reflect the different characters and lifestyles of the groups of people in particular regions. That is to say, the attitudes reflect the different nationalities of people around the world. The "introversive characteristic" of Chinese society (and its culture) is mirrored in the tendency of the attitude of Chinese people about tackling the problems, difficulties and challenges from external world: they generally tend to find out the solution of the various problems of society from "their personal ability and spiritual improvement" and adjust themselves' condition to the change of the situation of living world, not to ask for or to explore the possible unreasonable factor(s) related to the form of the changes with their lives (from the outside world). This common attitude held by Chinese people actually reflects a kind of "introversive characteristic" of Chinese culture. Also, Yu presents the thoughts from the "Three Teachings" to justify his observation about the characteristic of Chinese culture. The "introversive characteristic" of Chinese (or Eastern) cultural intension is different from the West's: the tradition of Western culture has an "extroversive characteristic" – Western people are used to find out the "solution" from external world, not from their mind. This judgment can be evidenced by the facts of the modern historical development of global capitalist commercialism and colonialism in the history of human civilization (that the effect and the influence of the facts have been analyzed in Chapter Two).

Therefore, we can understand that the form of China's (or the East's) "introversive" characteristic is related to the profound influence of the ancient thoughts of the "Three Teachings" on Chinese culture and the societies. Among the elements of the "Three Teachings", the thought of Confucianism plays a main role in constructing the "introversive" characteristic of Chinese people, especially. Yu cites one of the classics of Confucianism – *Daxue* to evidence the relationship between the form of the characteristic and Confucianism. The so-called "rest, determined, calm, and reposed" are all the moral standards of personality for the purpose of accessing the "attainment（得）". The thinking logic of the statement in *Daxue* reflects an "introversive" characteristic obviously: if we want to achieve the "attainment", we need to change, improve and refine our own mind through following out the standards as the necessary steps for the purpose. The "attainment (of all things)", in fact, is a

description to indicate a behaviour which is practiced by someone "for getting something from somewhere". However, the statement from *Daxue* teaches us to find out the important approach to the "attainment" from improving the quality of ourselves' spirit that is a kind of reflection of Chinese cultural characteristic of "introversion" as the important observational point of the character of Chinese culture presented by Yu.

In the last section, we have mentioned that the practice of the categorization of human knowledge and social phenomena contributed by Western scientism is the outcome of the research on the "others" (including the Nature) of the modern age of human civilization[229]. We need to notice that the distinction between the characters of Western culture and Chinese culture (e.g. introversive/extroversive) is a kind of "discretion" for the purpose of understanding the influence of ancient Chinese traditional thoughts and cultural elements on modern Chinese society and its developing tendency in the future. The arrangement of the discretion can help us to understand the present situation of the structure and the distribution of global politico-economic powers on the scene of globalization based on the logic of the categorization of the distinction between the two cultural bodies further: the Western society becomes the main role of leading (controlling and dominating) the direction of the development of human civilization with the "extroversive characteristic" of its culture. On the other hand, the "China" (or the East) grows to play the other opposite role in the "followers" or the "dependencies" of the West caused by the effect of the "introversive cultural background" with its traditional historical developing context of the societies.

Therefore, we could have heard about some typical preconceived opinions on regarding with the various social phenomena of globalization: especially about the present development of independent media social movement based on the above thinking logic of the distinction between the characteristics of the Western and Chinese cultures. Those are: (1) the concept of "independent media" is created by the Western society and the form of the media social movement is propagated from Western society to the East (including the Chinese societies); (2) the West is more prosperous and more progressive than the East, so the global development of the media movement would be led by the Western independent media; (3) the form of the

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[229] We can have two aspects to understand the significance of Western scientific categorization of human knowledge: (1) in positive aspect, the categorization may help researchers to master the contents of knowledge easily and facilitate the development of "science" in some degree; (2) however, in negative aspect the practice of the categorization would prevent the understanding of the essence of the existence of the "others" and the developing possibility of alternative thinking approach for present human civilization for realizing the vicissitudinous situation of modern society.

media social movement is based on the background of Western culture, therefore the movement can be developing in the West continuously that is different from the situation of the movement in the East.

Through our relative analyses in the above chapters, we realize that those opinions are fallacious because the opinions have a central idea of regarding the hegemonic position of Western society (and its values). From the analysis of the standpoints of the Chinese independent media "Inmediahk.net" in the development of the media movement in Chapter Three, we understand that the point of different cultural backgrounds between different societies or regions (e.g. the West and the Chinese societies) is not the main factor for influencing the approach and the dimension of the practice of independent media movement. The founder of "Inmediahk.net" Ip Iam Chong argues that even if Hong Kong and Taiwan, which are seen as the parts of the whole of Chinese society, they also have their particular politico-social conditions, cultural elements and living styles of people that are different from each other. The main issue is related to: whether the so-called "cultural difference(s)" (or "nationalities") between different societies are the major factor(s) to affect the works and the development of independent media social movement (just like the different situations between the developments of the movement in the Western and the Chinese societies). In other words, the opinions, such as "Chinese people do not concern about the development of society" and "the Westerns have the courage to express their opinion (compared with Chinese people)" that seem to tell the cultural differences between the West and the Chinese societies would affect the development of independent media movement, are problematic because the opinions do not consider (or purposely ignore) the transition of the societies in different regions which is mostly based on the development of the history of the structures of political power and social situation in the societies. The so-called "cultural difference" is also molded by the historical development of the different societies or cultural bodies. Ip believes that the situation of the sustainability of the media movement in the Chinese societies is profoundly affected by the degree of the political pressure brought by Chinese central government and the tendency of the future development of the "China". This opinion has its significance on the discussing context of the characteristic of the historical background of Chinese culture and its influence on modern China.

From exploring the "long river" of the thousands-year development of Chinese history, we would discover that the long period of imperialism or centralism of Chinese politics is the main important element of the progress of the history of Chinese society. In the early twentieth century, China had only ended its

thousands-year imperial politics through the Xinhai Revolution（辛亥革命）engineered by one of the former Chinese political figures Sun Yat-sen (Sun Yixian 孫逸仙) for overthrowing the last dynasty "Qing" of China. The past situation of the developing stream of Chinese politico-social history told that Chinese people were living in a feudal closed social condition under an imperial political system for a long period of time. This historical fact reflects that the development of Chinese society is profoundly affected by the background with such politico-social condition. Modern Chinese history was written by a series of wars, such as the invasions of the West in the late period of the "Qing", the aggression of Japanese militarism and the Chinese Civil War. The facts of the social unrest brought by the wars and the weakness of the national power of China bullied by foreign nations caused Chinese people to construct some of the social common characters, such as to realize the "priority for stable life" and the "avoidance of the conflict with authorities" as the main purposes for their lives based on their experience of seeking refuge from the war calamities. Such social characters were deepened and strengthened in the progress of the civilization of China further – through the outbreak of the Xinhai Revolution, the warlords' period after the revolution, the Chinese Civil War and the Cultural Revolution in the period of the governance of People's Republic of China (PRC). Since the establishment of the "PRC", the "China" has not escaped from the centralized political influence of the one-party ruling of the Chinese Communist Party. The policy of economic reform practiced by the former leader Deng Xiaoping included the political intention to change the main tone of the strategy of the governance of the Party from performing political movement to following capitalist economic approach to develop the economy of the country based on the slogan "practicing the socialism with Chinese characteristics". Generally speaking, the change of the national governmental strategy was successful because the strategy totally fitted in with the common social character of the "material-life-priority" of Chinese society[230]. Today, most of Chinese people

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[230] The connotation of the historical development of modern Chinese society (which includes the full records of a series of wars and invasions practiced by foreign nations) causes the Communist Party of China to pay much attention to "maintaining the stable situation of the society" for the sustainability of the governance of the Party (through various political tactics. One of them is to deprive the right of freedom of speech of people). The change of the national developing strategy of the authorities can lead the transition of the social value held by Chinese people from political movement to materialism, shift the attention of the people on the serious socio-political problems of the dysfunctional governance of the Party, realize the continuance of the unfree political situation of Chinese society and also prevent the possible accumulation or the growth of anti-governmental social power. The two factors, the history of modern China and the political strategy of the Chinese Communist Party, cause the present situation of Chinese society with the complicated characteristics of "'closed political circumstance' (with serious corruptive problem of the authorities) and 'prosperous economy' (with huge wealth disparity between cities and rural areas) to appear at the same time". This situation of Chinese society nowadays disproves some kinds of political observations commonly held by the Western community: the prosperous economic development of human society is being guaranteed by "democratic politics" and liberal values; a high degree of economic development would change the political situation of a country. The present situation of China proves that the so-called "economic development" of society can be

(especially the people living in the coastal cities or regions) believe in capitalist value and tend to make more money for improving their daily lives. The form of the climate of Chinese society benefits the governance of the Communist Party because the majority of the social members would not care about the importance of the politico-social problems and the issues related to the progress of human civilization under such climate. On the one hand, the authorities do not allow people to talk about the relative problems; on the other hand people have no interest in concerning with the present situation of the society (the situation is guided secretly by the authorities). Under such social climate, we are hard to expect a kind of strong public consciousness or concrete social power constructed by Chinese people for subverting the governance of the authorities and improving the social condition of openness in Chinese society today.

Hong Kong and Taiwan are the two Chinese societies which embrace the commercialist economic system and the capitalist social value from the West as the cores of the developing direction of the societies which have the capitalist economic developments that are earlier than the Mainland China. Hong Kong had been an important international mercantilist city in Asia in its colonial age under British governance since the late twentieth century; Taiwan had also played the colonized role under the politico-economic influence from the United States of America since the half of twentieth century. For the Korean War (1950-1953) and the Vietnam War (1955-1975) for deterring the expansion of the influence of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics (the Soviet Union) in Asia as the attempt of the interest protective strategy of the U.S., Taiwan became the main allied country of the U.S. in Far East as the "important supply depot" for offering essential goods and materials for U.S. army to carry on the wars at the time (Taiwan also received various economic supports from the Western country simultaneously)[231]. After the abolishment of the order of martial law in Taiwan, the Island got into the political process of democratization and started to practice capitalist economy for establishing a free-trade market as the main economic system of the country with certain political intervention under the

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planned and controlled by a centralized political power and the development has no effect on changing the political system and the tight-controlling of the society.

[231] "The October 1949 proclamation of the People's Republic of China (PRC) had a direct impact on the Viet Minh's struggle for Vietnam because China could now provide the Vietnamese nationalists with a secure base area and a steady stream of supplies. After the Korean War began in June 1950, the United States took measures to safeguard Jiang (Jieshi 蔣介石)'s regime on Taiwan and thereafter sold it substantial quantities of military hardware. …Although Jiang did not play a direct political or military role in the Vietnam War, Taiwan became an important Pacific base for the United States, Taiwanese industry provided essential goods and services to the American military." See: Tucker, Spencer C. (2011). *The Encyclopedia of the Vietnam War: A Political, Social, and Military History*. California: ABC-CLIO. pp. 547-548.

governance of the "KMT"[232]. Besides the different political, economic and social conditions between the Cross Strait societies, there was a historical fact happening in China contributed to the form of the common character (of Chinese people): most of Chinese people had the experience of fleeing from the social chaos caused by the wars in the recent century and many Chinese refugees (including intellects and businessmen) escaped from the Mainland to Hong Kong and Taiwan. Under this historical background, the two Chinese societies contained many Chinese people from the Mainland who had the common value of the migrant character of "life priority" for seeking stable social circumstance for better living condition that is similar to the situation of the inland today. The modern history of the politico-social development of China in fact causes the form of the chill attitude of Chinese people about reflecting politico-social issues (which is made by the historical facts of the deprivation of political right in the Chinese societies: the Mainland China has run the one-party political system since 1949; there is no democratic political practice in Hong Kong whenever before or after the handover; Taiwan was under the governance of the "KMT" after the end of the Chinese Civil War all the time until the "DPP" won the presidential election of Taiwan in 2000 – the facts prove that Chinese people have never (or "less" at least) experienced a complete political commitment to change the situation of the societies in the modern period of Chinese history) and the shape of a common social consciousness of materialism within Chinese people's mind.

According to Ip's argument, the phenomenon of the weakened consciousness of reflecting on social, political and civil issues of the people in Chinese society is fundamentally a "political problem", not related to the factor of cultural difference. The political problem is an acquired factor brought by the history of the form of the will of political power in China. The logic of the form of the problem is different from the form of cultural difference which is connected with the innate factors of lifestyle, custom and religion. The future development of the Chinese independent media is decided by the three factors: (1) the awakening of Chinese people themselves (for getting rid of the constraint from the historical ideology of the development of Chinese political history); (2) what the strategy used by Chinese independent media

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[232] "As Taiwan's model for economic development moved away from state-led development and toward liberalism and competition in free markets and after martial law was repealed in 1987, ROC legal institutions came to play a greater role in the regulation of the economy. While Taiwan's economic miracle in the 1960s and 1970s demonstrated that globally competitive light manufacturing industries can be organized on the basis of networks of personal relationships if legal alternatives are not available, the same cannot be said of globally competitive, large-scale, capital-intensive, high-technology industries. Capital markets in Taiwan Have expanded in size and sophistication, permitting modern market-based institutions to supplant more traditional forms of doing business and raising capital." See: Chow, Peter C. Y. (2002). *Taiwan's modernization in global perspective*. USA: Greenwood. p. 119.

for tackling the problem of the collective consciousness of Chinese people created by the past history of Chinese society is; (3) the degree of the pressure on the practice of the media from the Chinese authorities. In any case, the exercises of "Inmediahk.net" and "Coolloud.org" prove that the practice of independent media as a kind of modern social movement is also needed by the Chinese societies as the same as the other regions (e.g. Western society) of the world.

According to this thinking approach, we can establish an understanding about the core significance of independent media: the practice of the media, as a part of anti-globalization movement, realizes the breakthroughs of the hedge of different cultures and the border between different countries for all world citizens. Wherever the negative social issues, such as political repression and economic monopoly, happen, the media movement for encouraging common people to express their voices publicly and facilitating free floating of information as well as cultural dialogue would be carried out immediately as the main form of the practice of the globalized social movement nowadays.

The global phenomenon of human society – the widespread development of the undiscriminating anti-globalizational social movement gives us a hint to consider whether the development of the movement reflects a "common ecology" of the change of the world society today. There is a clear characteristic of the progress of the history of human society: from the process of the evolution of politics as the main element of human civilization (from the establishment of a government/state as the embodiment of political power to the corruption of the power overthrown by common people and a new one being established), we not only find out an attempt of all human beings for the purpose of the refinement of political life (through the promotion and the practice of the common values, such as freedom, equality and democracy), but also discover a kind of "social ecology" of the change of human society which has been mentioned for explaining the appearance of the phenomena of globalization and anti-globalization movement as "a whole ingredient of a modern ecology of human society". The existence of the undiscriminating "ecology", as the effect of the change of the Nature, can be used to understand the present situation of globalized world. Also, the ecology itself actually reflects or has a certain connection with the spirit of "Dao" – the effect of the common ecology of human society, like "Dao", has its universality that has no discriminative character on affecting the situation and condition of all beings in the world:

> *"Dao provides the profound maxim for myriad things and creatures;*

Goodness [decency] provides security for all the good people; Even people of no good [morality] must seek security through goodness [of other people's decency].   Beautiful and appealing talks, [even if they are not substantiated, could still be marketable for people's admiration], that is, could still earn appreciation; Actions of celebrities [popularly attractive people] could carry their weight around; If people are not good [i.e. they have been deceived in the manner described above for the lack of discernment], Would the be the reason [for Saints] to abandon them [simply because of their gullibility]?   Accordingly [by reconciling the above two, I conclude as follows]: Neither the honor of becoming an emperor, or being appointed as one of the Three Grand Dukes, Nor [the prominence of] marching down the public street, surrounded by servants carrying jade cups and riding in carriages drawn by four horses, Could match the fulfillment of the pursuit and advancement of the [Dao]. Why has [Dao] had being been valued ever since very ancient times? Didn't someone say that [the apprehension of Dao] had enabled us to achieve what we had prayed for? And [practicing Dao] would purge us of our sins? For all of the above reasons, [Dao] is extremely valuable to this world." [233]

「道者，萬物之注也。善人之寶也，不善人之所保也。美言可以市，尊行可以加人。人之不善也，何棄之有也。故立天子，置三卿，雖有共璧，以先四馬，不若坐而進此道。古之所以貴此道者，何也？不謂求而得，有罪以免歟，故為天下貴。」 [234]

In the Chapter Sixty-two of *Daodejing*, Laozi says: "Dao" is the constructive gathered key element of the whole creation[235]. All men rely on "Dao" and no matter they are good or bad. Good men would treasure "Dao" as an important thing. On the other hand, the men without goodness also need to use "Dao" as the basis for the purpose of self-preservation. The words with respect and praise can benefit the people around us. All of that do not ignore the principle of "Dao" even if the men without

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[233] See: Chen, Lee Sun (2011). *Laozi's Daodejing -- The English & Chinese Translation Based on Laozi's Original Daoism*. USA: iUniverse. p. 205.

[234] See: Huang, Zhao (1991). *The Annotation and Interpretation of Silk Book Laozi*. Taipei: Studentbook. p. 336.

[235] According to Huang Zhao's opinion: "In the present (Wang Bi 王弼) version of Daodejing, the term 'zhu (注)' is written as 'ao (奧)'. The meanings of 'zhu' and 'ao' are similar. He Shang Gong (河上公) says: 'Ao, which implies "cang (藏)".' 'Cang' means 'xu (蓄 saving)', which implies accumulating. 'Zhu' also has the meaning of 'ju (聚 gathering)'. The Chapter 'Shourei' of Zhouli (周禮・獸人) says: 'Let animals gather in the centre of the hunting field with the flag of Yu (令禽注於虞中).' 'Shu (疏)' says: '"Zhu", which means the term "ju".' Accordingly, 'ao' and 'zhu' also have the meaning of 'ju'. Here we use the term 'zhu' which is used by the Silk Book. The meaning of the '"zhu" of the whole creation (萬物之注)' is just parallel to the gathering of all beings." *Ibid.*.

goodness use them. Therefore, we would rather use "Dao" as the guiding principle to govern a state, than set up various political systems and protect the power by abundant materials. The main reason why "Dao" would be treasured by the people in the past is related to its effects: in the active aspect of the effects, "Dao" can help people to reach their destination; in the passive aspect, "Dao" can make people approach good and prevent bad luck. So, the position and the role of "Dao" are treasured by all people in the world.

From the above chapter, we can realize that the effect and the influence of "Dao" have the undiscriminating characteristic which cover all people in human society whether they are good or bad and treasure "Dao" or not. The vicissitude of "Dao" has no differentiated purpose or idea on different kinds of beings. From the standpoint of "Dao", the existence of the whole creation is just for its own purpose of its existence. "Dao", with its characteristic, indicates a fundamental principle of the transformation of beings which is embodied in the ecology of the Nature (including the condition of human society). "Dao" is the origin of the whole creation; it has an equal standpoint to treat all beings – the good and the bad – as the same things in the world. The existence of the spirit of "Dao" affects all of us which reflects the significance of the undiscriminating characteristic of "Dao".

Therefore, if we have an intention to understand the texture of the existent situation of all beings that is transformed continually based on the influence of "Dao" with the undiscriminating characteristic, we should reconstruct our accomplished understanding of the world with the Dao's characteristic first: to practice the spirit of "no discrimination" (for all kinds of beings and knowledge). From this standpoint, we need to go back to a primary or an original context of the starting point of how we establish our understanding of various things when we research on the new/old phenomena of human society (e.g. the new form of anti-globalization movement: independent media). For example, it is unnecessary to definite a fixed explanation of the global independent media movement as "a kind of social movement originated from the West" or "the people's movement against economic globalization (only)". The bringing out of the definitions reflects an exclusive attempt practiced by the system of human knowledge for achieving the purpose of categorization for our thinking on the "others" which runs counter to the undiscriminating characteristic of "Dao". For avoiding the possible negative effect of the constraint of the system of human knowledge, we need to assimilate the characteristic of "Dao" for approaching the essence of the present situation of human society: when we analyze the social phenomena of independent media in Chinese society, the key of our research would

be related to the points of "how the media practice their works", "the process of the 'becoming' of the media movement" and "its possible development in the future", not the points like "what is the media", "how about the social influence of the media (answering this question with some statistic figures)" and "the advantage and the disadvantage of the media movement". The first group of the points focuses on the texture of the essence of the media movement that tries to approach the social phenomenon without a discriminated standpoint and has no intention to put the research subject into a fixed analyzed context of the common approach of human knowledge. The necessity of using the undiscriminating viewpoint for analyzing the social phenomenon of independent media has its reason: because the cause of the rise of independent media movement is related to the problems of the development of politico-economic globalization that have no discriminated characteristic – the problems are now spreading worldwide that reflect an ecology of human society that affect all common people's life. The second group of the points focuses on categorizing the research subject in the system of human knowledge. Apparently, the attempt of the points aims at analyzing the subject for orientating the thinking logic of social science. If we follow this departmental egoist approach to research various social phenomena, we could not understand the origin and the essence of social phenomena and the texture of the whole creation thoroughly – in Laozi's words – we would depart from the existent essence of the principle of "Dao" and its potential effect.

Therefore, if we want to approach the core essence of beings and avoid the possible prejudice brought by the opinion of human departmental egoism, we ought to imitate the spirit and the horizon of "Dao": to assimilate the undiscriminating characteristic of "Dao" to analyze the various social phenomena and the possible dimensions of human society. From Ip's observation on the development of global independent media movement, we can understand a kind of undiscriminating opinion from his viewpoint on the media practice. His viewpoint tells that the common opinion of the cultural body distinction between the East/Chinese society and the West is useless for us to understand the developing logic of the media movement because the media movement has been carried out in all parts of the world. Independent media is not the particular form of social movement which is only practiced by the West, so do the Chinese societies. This opinion is corresponded to our viewpoint of "seeing the anti-globalization movement as an 'ecology' of the development of the civilization of human society" which also harmonize with the undiscriminating characteristic of "Dao" mentioned by Laozi.

Here, we have a noteworthy observational point from the analysis of the Chinese independent media in Hong Kong and Taiwan. The standpoints of "denying a 'label' or a 'guiding principle' (for the development of the media movement)" of "Coolloud.org" and the opinion of "Inmediahk.net" on the development of the media as an "indiscriminative global movement (which is unsuitable to be analyzed under the common argument of the cultural body distinction between the East/Chinese society and the West)" are the main characteristics of the practice of the media which assimilate to the spirit of Daoism. The two media's characteristics directly correspond to the essence of "Dao" described by Laozi with his Daoist thinking logic. This connection between Daoism and the standpoints of Chinese independent media shows us an exemplification which proves the reality of the role of Daoism in modern China that is influencing the development of the Chinese societies nowadays. Through the above analyses, the statement of the connection is justified that the Chinese traditional thought has its important position in the age of globalization which not only affects the social transformation of the "China", but also directs the mode of the reaction of Chinese people for the vicissitude of the world society and the tendency of the future development of Chinese social situation. Actually, Chinese independent media do not apply Daoism as an "implement" of their practice, but naturally assimilate to the essence and the spirit of "Dao". All in all, the practice of Chinese independent media in fact opens up a possibility or builds up a "bridge" for the realization of the dialogue between the ancient Chinese theory and modern China on the scene of globalization, besides as a part of anti-globalization movement around the world.

Section 4   The Contemporary Interpretation of Daoism: The Chinese Independent Media as the Exemplifications of "Open Structure"

The main purpose of this whole research is to open up a horizon for constructing a research context for reviewing some of the aspects of the reality of human society and our life world nowadays. If we concern about the problems of the vicissitudinous situation of globalized world and hope to know more about the essence of the aspects of life world, it is necessary to have an open attitude to observing and exploring the various elements and features of human civilization today. The open attitude would help us to think about the open questions of human society, such as: what is the core value of human society; what is the expected relationship between the Nature and human beings; how do we realize the better condition of our society? ...etc.. In the developing process of human history, many researchers and theorists gave out their thinking on those questions that have inspired us to review the globalized social

problems in our era. We are now living at the end of global economic prosperity in the late period of human civilization. Human greed and egoism are allowed and being propagated further globally. Political and religious conflicts have risen rapidly since the millennium that have replaced the short period of the peace of the world and the vigorous global development of the spirit of humanitarianism after the World War II. In the globalized/post-globalized age, we could have a common opinion on the "collapse" of the present situation of human civilization. For reversing the trend of the situation, the politico-economic system controlled by global powers and the lifestyle of capitalism must be adjusted.

Further speaking, we should review on the cores of the global problems that create the risk scene of the world society we live in if we recognize that today's development of human civilization has been derailed from the purpose for the common wealth of all human beings with many serious problems that has the urgent necessity to be tackled or to be redirected. To follow the thinking logic and the practice of independent media, we are able to understand the core problems of the modern development of human civilization.

From reviewing the theories and the practices of the anti-globalization movement, we can realize the core of the "dilemma" of the modern civilization of human society directed by the West that is brought by the two main historical factors as the following descriptions:

(1) The alienation (Marx's term) of human society – triggered by the European Industrial Revolution which brought a series of capitalist ideologies, such as global commercialism, consumerism, imperialism and colonialism.

(2) The "firm" of the false understanding over the Nature (as an ecological subject) – with the common opinions of "inorganism", human departmental egoism, and the spirit of Western scientism.

We have discussed about the analysis of the "introversive" and "extroversive" characters of the Chinese societies and the West brought up by Yu Ying Shih in this chapter. Yu argues that the introversive character of Chinese culture originates from the significance of the Chinese traditional thoughts – the "Three Teachings": Confucianism, Daoism and Buddhism. Here, we could have the similar question about the counterpart: what is the origin of the extroversive character of the Western culture and its civilization? There are some important elements that collectively construct the

core spirit of Western civilization, such as the philosophical scientific spirit of ancient Greek thoughts, Athens' democratic politics and Christian religious culture. However, this approach is an "alternative" for us to think about the possible answer of the question – the occasion of the form of the extroversive character is related to the fact of "the rise of the politico-economic power of the West". The rise causes "a kind of fulfillment for the material demand from outer unknown regions" of Western society in the modern age of human history. The demand is not for the fulfillment of people's basic living needs, but for a kind of the chase of "extra value". The chase of "extra value" is the so-called "origin of commerce".

The whole amount of the product of a society should be consumed completely – otherwise the waste of the product would be made. If we find out "another place" to sell out the certain amount of product that cannot be completely consumed by local society, it would be a good news for the businessmen who have invested in the factory for the production of the product. The possibility of the chase of "extra value" is hereby created: the main purpose of the production of a society is no longer for the basic need of local society, but for commercial interest seeking (in other societies). This is the first chapter of the historical story of the development of capitalism.

In the globalized world society, the value for chasing economic interest (which is fettering the possible civilized situation of human society) has become the main value of the majority of people for their lives. Before the Industrial Revolution, the economic productive technique of human society was mainly based on the hand-made skill of production which was probably enough to fulfill the basic living needs of common people. But, the technique cannot produce "extra value" for the further development of economy. At that time, commerce was one of the social activities of human civilization which had not become the main axis of the development of human society yet. However, the invention of mechanical productive technology as the revolutionary condition for developing economy changed the situation of human life thoroughly. Huge production for producing "extra value", based on the technological condition, became possible. It implied that the operation of commerce departed from the basic needs of the people in local society and the limitation of the traditional hand-made approach of production. The power of business had attracted most of the attention of human beings. At the same time, the effect of the Industrial Revolution, which took the root for the common use of currency (as the main form of capital for value calculation) for huge-amount of exchange demand of commerce, indirectly caused the "death" of the traditional economic form based on the direct exchange of goods. Through the "modernization" of human society, the confidence of the

guarantee of human life was transformed by the development of capitalist economy – from substantial materials to the implement for value calculation: currency.

The possibility of the huge-amount production of "extra value" (which is the significant effect of the Industrial Revolution) and the perfection of the implement for value calculation (as the widespread application of various currencies) are the two main factors which offer an important background for the expansion and the further development of global capitalist society. Besides, the Western societies (especially the countries with imperial colonialist history, such as the United Kingdom, France, the Netherlands, Spain, Portugal, and Denmark…etc.) had experienced the global expansion of business and the rapid change of their social conditions since the early fifteenth century. The generation of the "extroversive character", under the historical background of the societies at the time, is inevitable because the West actually needed "other unknown place(s) (the new market(s) for selling)"/"other material resource depositories" of the world to fulfill the exploitation of the development of business. The "extroversive character" was fully reflected in the aspect of the civil development of Western society: to discover more new lands from the "outside world". The significant development of the West is seen as the continuing of the Age of Discovery. After the historical age, the economic exchange system for running commerce designed by the West was used for opening the door of the "New World" for the purpose of business. The following story has been told in Chapter Two: for guaranteeing and protecting economic interest, Western businessmen sought help from political powers with military might. The cultural or politico-social bodies (including the "China") outside the civilization of the West were forced to accept the rule of the capitalist economic system (e.g. to sign various unequal politico-economic treaties with the West). The "predecessor" of economic globalization: the modern development of international commercialism was the "movement" of contemporary civilized situation of human society based on the union of Western economic and political powers that reflected the historical fact of the widespread development of imperialism and colonialism in the world led by the West.

The politico-economic ideologies, such as commercialism, consumerism, colonialism, neo-liberalism, and also "economic globalization", are the variations of capitalism which are alienating and polarizing the conditions of different aspects of human society nowadays. The alienation (or polarization) of human society implies that an original value or a lifestyle of a social body is intentionally shifted by a particular ideology which causes various conflicts between different classes of people. For example, commercialism promotes a value that the development of trading and

relative economic activities should become the "core" to lead the civilization of human society. The promotion of the value can direct the tendency of the development of human society to serve the demand of commerce. This is another example: consumerism emphasizes the importance of consumption for the economic development of society. It suggests the fact that the goods produced by the mechanized factories invested by global capitalists must be sold otherwise the purpose of profit maximization cannot be achieved. If the amount of goods is unable to be consumed by local market, businessmen would practice the promotion of the exploitation of overseas business market and the establishment of global trading circumstance for the consumption of the production of their investment. This is the origin of global colonialism. Today, a globalized commercialized world society has been established. However, the economic players still complain about the potential restriction (e.g. tax regulations) of the operation of global trading set by political powers. Then, "neo-liberalism", as the modern ideology for encouraging free floating of capital in the field of globe, has been propagated. In the process of thinking about the variations of capitalism, we discover that the components of the mechanism of human society, including government, economy (the use of currency), (mainstream) media, and the common values of people, are being alienated as the main elements of modern civil society for serving global businessmen. This is a historical developing approach to the realization of the unlimited greed of human beings.

The power of the alienation, which is the common effect on modern society, attempts to rearrange the ways of living of common people and prevent the possible factors contributed by diversified cultural characters or political values in different regions of the world from avoiding the smooth operation of commercial system and the practice for the purpose of profit maximization[236]. The reason for supporting the phenomenon of the alienation is for the further expansion of interest. Global

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[236] There is a noteworthy example for explaining the deterrence of different political values against the spirit of capitalism contributed by the power of alienation in modern history which is the "Cold War" between the U.S. and the U.S.S.R. from the 1960s to the 1980s. For the purposes of expanding the political influence and promoting communism in world community, the government of Soviet Union at that time supported many communist socio-political powers to struggle for the leadership of the authorities in different regions around the world, including the Communist Party of China. The U.S. and some of Western nations were deeply afraid of the global development of communist politics which could violate the economic interest of them. Therefore, a series of arms races and proxy wars between the U.S. (the head of capitalist camp) and the Soviet Union (the leader of communist camp) were practiced in the period. In addition, they triggered some significant wars in Asia, including the Korean War, the Vietnam War and the Chinese Civil War as the historical outcomes of the struggling (between the ideologies of communism and capitalism). In fact, different political systems or beliefs ought to be respected based on the common value of tolerationism. The main point is that the principle of the operation of the economic system of communism is opposite to the spirit of capitalism which would directly violate the common interest of businessmen and capitalists. This historical case can be used to explain why the U.S. – the state which is fully controlled by capitalists – had the strong intention to deter the global rise of communism at the time.

businessmen, as the economic players of the world society, use their profit from global capitalist societies and reinvest a part of it in the field of politics. Political powers have many "implements" (e.g. national army, police force, and weapons) to practice their dominative power over people. Besides, they have the absolute governing power on land (including various natural resources) – the main element of the Nature. The fact of "political powers holding the property on land" is the main reason for capitalists to be willing to invest in politics. This is a typical example: at first, businessmen persuade political powers to transfer their power on land to them with the reason of "creating more interests for people". Land, as the creation of the "God", should not be seen as a "product" which can be bought or sold by men. However, political powers create a kind of fictitious right (through the practice of lawmaking) called "property" to help capitalists to occupy the natural element lawfully and justify the activity of the trading of land. After that, capitalists can legally exploit the Nature (including human force) unlimitedly just for the private purpose of wealth accumulation under the protection of political powers. The Proudhon's critique on property and his analysis of the effect of "collective labor force" are the good exemplifications of the reflection on the negative aspects of absolute commercialism in the developing process of human civilization.

When political powers decide to ally with global capitalists instead of sticking with their original intention of the establishment of governmental institution for protecting the basic rights of common people, it is possible to anticipate that the powers will be alienated by the economic players around the world whatever the form of the political system of the nation-states is.

Politics is the basic approach to practice the dominative power over people that has different forms of the embodiment of it in the progress of human history, such as autocratic politics and aristocratism, and also elitism. In the early modern age, the tendency of the development of European politics affected by the Enlightenment and the spirit of humanitarianism that the common values like freedom and civil right became the main ideas which constructed the core spirit of democracy as the foundation of modern democratic politics. The significance of the spirit of democracy is on breaking down the centralization of political power and realizing the return of political power to common people through the practice of representative democracy. However, we understand that there is a huge gap between the essence of the spirit of democracy and the practice of modern democratic politics based on the reflection on democracy contributed by Solneman. Because of the practice of party politics, the situation of the alienation of the politics of global democratic nations is relatively

serious. For instance, the Republican Party of the U.S. is the democratic political party which always stands by the interest of the capitalists and businessmen in the country that is a good example for understanding the truth of the practice of party politics[237]. The fact of the "hijack" of politics (or political party), which is the serious problem of the practice of modern democratic politics, evidences that the value of capitalism and its variations promoted by global economic players are leading the developing tendency of human civilization with various tactics: the players use the tactics, such as the propagation of the "interest-prior" ideologies, the production of the opportunity for economic interest and the historical conflicts between different nations and religions, to alienate and polarize the condition of the society of human beings for stimulating the "extra needs" of economic products for the purpose of profit maximization. Through the standpoint and the idea of anti-globalization movement, we can realize that global capitalist society is still writing "a story about the development of human greed". It seems that the "story" would not be terminated if we do nothing on expressing our discontent for the effect of the alienation of capitalism on human society.

The dilemma of the development of human civilization led by the West is not only reflected in the fact of the alienation of capitalism which is affecting the economic aspect of human society, but also connected with the philosophical problem of "how to place the position of all beings to establish a right relationship between mankind (subject) and the 'others'".

Western civilization gets used to see the non-Western people (who do not live in the West and the common people of other nations) as the "others" who have no existent solidarity relationship (but interest relationship) with the development of the civilization. So the "extroversive" and invasive characters and the straight single-direction of historical horizon of Western society have been generally constructed with such thinking logic[238]. The form of the main characters of the West,

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[237] "Traditionally, business interest groups have been viewed as staunch supporters of the Republican Party. This is because Republicans are more likely to promote a 'hands-off' government policy toward business." See: Sidlow, Edward I.; Henschen, Beth (2008). *America at Odds*. USA: Wadsworth, Cengage Learning. p. 132. "One of the two major political parties in the United States of America, the other being the Democratic Party. In terms of political thought or ideology, the U.S. Republican Party tends to be more conservative, favoring business, free-enterprise, capitalism, limited federal government, lower taxes, and reduced welfare-state social programs….Through most of its history the Republican Party has advanced business interests and identified U.S. prosperity and freedom with unrestricted capitalist economics, low taxes, tariffs to protect U.S. industry, and laissez-faire government policies. Republican presidents Calvin Coolidge (1924-28), Herbert Hoover (1928-32), Dwight Eisenhower (1952-60), Richard Nixon (1968-74), and Ronald Reagan (1980-88) all espoused these conservative, probusiness ideals." See: Sheldon, Garrett Ward (2001). *Encyclopedia of Political Thought*. New York: Facts On File. p. 258.
[238] "The assumption that the development and progress of human history are unavoidably coupled with

in fact, is based on the belief of the ideology of human egoism. The logic of the egoism of Western civilization has its historical origin which is probably related to the traditions of the philosophy of Ancient Greek and Rome and the religious influence of Christianity. However, the noteworthy point about the establishment of the decisive position of the logic in the West is about the modern development and the achievement of natural science which directly causes the leadership of the spirit of positivist scientism on human civilization. The achievement of natural science fascinates the mainstream opinion of Western society that affects the understanding approach of the realization of the original relationship between the "cognitive subject" and the "others". The "reality" of the artificial implement of mathematical formulas, the "effectiveness" of the scientific experiments and the "successful stories" of controlling natural substances all construct and strengthen a common belief of mankind: human being is the "spirit" of all creatures in the highest position of the Nature who has the unique intellect and the only authority (from the "God") to determine the situation of the whole creation. The belief breaks down the original spiritual connection between men and the Nature and establishes the firm status of human egoism in the West and also facilitates the alienation of Western scientism in human society.

The problematic idea of "man's determination will conquer the Nature (人定勝天)" is the core value of Western civilization that it leads the direction of the modern development of Western society which sees the Nature as an "inorganic body". Bookchin has his particular point of view on this issue. He argues that the Nature is an ecological existence which is an "organism" offering our living needs as the original foundation of human life. Bookchin's argument, in certain degree, is similar to the spirit of the Chinese traditional thought: Daoism. Daoism sees the both existences – the cognitive subject (human being) and the "others" (e.g. the Nature and the whole creation in universe) as the equal parts of the effect of "Dao". Daoism is the spiritual theory to explain the principle of vicissitude of the whole creation and tell an essential viewpoint for teaching us "how to carry out a sustainable life with the 'others' and the Nature". Bookchin indicates that human beings need to adjust their fundamental attitude about treating the existence of the Nature from the selfish departmentalism to carrying out the real respect for the ecological position of the Nature. Basically, we cannot promote the standpoint of environmental protection and insist on the

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the linear, teleological conception of time and history is an unwarranted dogma. In fact, the teleological conception of human history represented by the Christian tradition, Kant, Hegel, and Marx, among others, is monolithic and dogmatic. The teleological view of history, in effect, says that 'progress' means the move towards a predetermined end, which entails the impossibility of genuine human freedom and creativity." See: Lee, Kwang-sae (2006). *East And West: Fusion of Horizons*. USA: Homa & Sekey. p. 491.

problematic position of human egoism at the same time. The embarrassing stance and the uselessness of environmentalism (the serious destruction of global natural environment brought by human activities are still ongoing nowadays) prove the correctness of Bookchin's point of view. Moreover, the "polarization" of climate change and the deterioration of "Green-house Effect", as the "feedback" of the Nature for various human activities for the development of human civilization, also evidence the reality of the understanding of the essential organic existence of the Nature.

As the same as the effect of capitalism, human egoism brought by the spirit of scientism of Western civilization alienates the relationship between the Nature and human beings and the equal connection between the West and other civilizations around the world. The substantial usefulness of weapon contributed by Western science strengthened the extroversive character of Western civilization and triggered a series of wars based on the spirits of imperialism and colonialism in the modern history of human society. In the age of globalization, the development of the extroversive civilization of the West has nearly arrived at the "end of its running" because there has no undeveloped unknown place in the world for expanding their trading market; natural resources are being exhausted further; the repeated happening of natural "disasters" and the appearance of new "viruses/diseases (e.g. H1N1, H2N2, H3N2…etc.)" disprove the validity of the spirit of human egoism; the so-called "global commercialism", which emphasized its role in offering "different choices" for people in the past, has become the "dominative power to force people to buy up their products" through the propagation of "terror" and "risk". We are facing a "dilemma" of the civilization of human society, and have not found out a practical way for escaping from the present global situation surrounded by the effects of the dilemma yet.

In the dilemma of the civilization of human society brought by the West, power still refuses to face the core problems of modern globalization. It conspires with the situation of the alienation brought by capitalism and the spirit of human egoism in the world society. We cannot expect that global political and economic players would play the role in stopping the effect of the alienation in our society. To speak directly, the powers have the reason "not to change the present situation of the alienation" because they want to protect or to maintain their vested interests – whatever the interests are called the "national interest" (as the typical emphasis of the Western nations – the U.S. and the U.K.) or the economic interest (for transnational enterprises and global economic investors).

Therefore, the ideas of capitalism and human egoism on the scene of globalization are commonly to be used by Western political and economic powers around the world. "Globalization", which is known as "economic globalization" in common understanding, could become one of the ideologies to be manipulated by the vested interests including political figures, transnational investors and global economic players to serve their private purposes. In the process of the manipulation, our silence would be interpreted as an "approval" for them to continue their acts – that is why the rise of anti-globalization movement is appearing globally.

In the situation of the dilemma of modern society brought by Western civilization, the authorities tend to create and use the various ideologies and theories to achieve the purpose of protecting their vested interest. Unfortunately, we can also discover the same thinking logic of the authorities in the history of the development of Chinese politics.

The character of the tradition of Chinese society, as Yu's viewpoint we have analyzed in the above paragraphs, is deeply affected by the "Three Teachings". The contents of the thoughts of the Teachings are broad and profound that we are unable to state and analyze them here thoroughly. However, we can have an overall point of view for understanding the possible comparative relationship between the three significant traditional thoughts of Chinese society. Here are the relative statements for the above purpose: (1) the theory of Confucianism is the traditional thought for "promoting a common standard of moral value to improve the quality of people's life." This is a kind of moral theory which would be used in the "present world"; (2) Daoism is the thought to explain and analyze the fundamental principle of the growth and the change of the whole creation (including the situation of human society and the Nature) that is a kind of "metaphysics of the present world"; (3) the thought of Buddhism aims at giving a religious idea for understanding "the relation between the previous life, the present world and the next world" with a key concept: Karma (業). Therefore, Buddhism is the thought to clarify "the truth out of the field of the present world". The following graph is to indicate the potential connection and the interrelationship between the thoughts of the "Three Teachings":
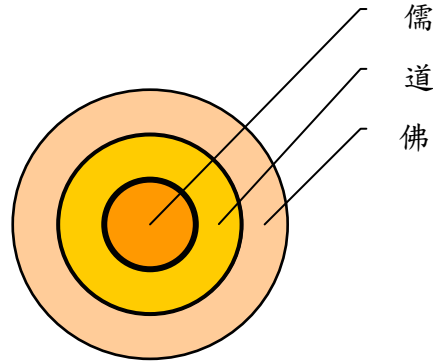
儒 = **Confucianism**: the moral theory for the "present world";
道 = **Daoism**: the theory to explain how the "present world" is;
佛 = **Buddhism**: The theory to explain the cause of the "present world" beyond the space-time
                 condition.

Figure 2: The dimension of the epistemological field of the theories of Confucianism, Daoism and

Buddhism and the interrelationship between the "Three Teachings"

Through the above graph, we can understand the dimension of the epistemological field of the thoughts of the "Three Teachings" which contribute the introversive character (Yu's term) of Chinese society. There is an important question related to the graph: why do we illustrate Buddhism as the biggest circle which includes Daoism and Confucianism? The purpose of the graph is to show a viewpoint for realizing the interrelationship between the "Three Teachings". The philosophy of Buddhism is a kind of religious theory for giving a spiritual approach for people to detach from material world and reach the highest spiritual condition: Nirvana (涅槃). The theory does not mainly aim at understanding the present situation of "real world", but focuses on interpreting the potential relationship between all beings' "spirit" in the periods "before their lifetime" and "after their death" with the concept of the construction of the whole universe: "Karma". "Karma" is the core concept for the purpose of clarifying the essential cause of the existent condition of beings beyond the thinking limitation of the space-time condition in the "present world": the existence of the cause reflects a transcendental horizon to reflect on the relation between "cause" and "result" beyond the short life of human beings. According to the Buddhist theory, the present situation of all beings reflects its predestined relationship with the cause before the lifetime of the beings and the act of beings will carry out the cause which would affect the future condition of the afterlife of them: the "Wheel of Life with the Six Domains (六道輪迴論)" is the main theory to explain the existence of the worlds "before life" and "afterlife" as the core thought of Buddhism. Therefore, Buddhism is to be illustrated as the biggest dimension of the epistemological field of the theory.

The second circle is Daoism because the philosophy of Daoism is to unveil the fundamental principle of the evolution of the whole creation for explaining the existence of a "force" which affects the appearance of beings based on one central concept: "Dao". The concept of "Dao" is the core of the thought of Daoism that explains the logic of "how the world becomes the present appearance we see". Therefore, the thought is a kind of metaphysical theory of Chinese traditional thought. The dimension of the epistemological field of Daoism is bigger than Confucianism. The reason of this is based on the realization that the content of the understanding of "Dao" is completely beyond the field of the "present world". Confucianism is surrounded by Daoism and Buddhism because it is a basic moral theory for teaching people "how to be a 'good man' in the 'present world'". The theory has no metaphysical character that it just tells a kind of ethical belief or spirit for the present life of human beings. Therefore, the dimension of the theory, compared with the other two, is the smallest one.

According to the graph, we can realize that the thoughts of the "Three Teachings", for each, have their distinct dimensions and structures of the epistemological field of the theories. However, they jointly construct the introversive character of Chinese society and culture. It is because the "Three Teachings" have the similar purpose for improving the spiritual mind of human beings: men need to refine and enhance their spirit, intellect and personality (e.g. Confucianism: to be a "sage" (Shengren 聖人) or a person of noble character and integrity (Junzi 君子); Daoism: to be a man in the "enjoyment of untroubled ease (逍遙遊)"; Buddhism: Nirvana – to depart from the "Six Domains") in their lifetime. The "focus" of the moral spiritual demand of the "Three Teachings" is not in the external world, but in "ourselves' mind". The thoughts continually deepen the idea of "self-demanding" of Chinese people and cause the common introversive character of Chinese society. Generally speaking, the collective introversive character facilitate the stable situation of the society and advantage the ruling class of the country because the people tend to find out "the solutions of the (external) problems from their own personality, thought and characteristic (through the practice of self-reflection)", not to reflect on the real problems of the external circumstance of life world. Through the particulars of the implications of the content of the "Three Teachings", we would discover that the thoughts of Daoism and Buddhism may not directly benefit the governing of the dominative class of the society because the two thoughts do not encourage people to persist in the deeds of the "present world", but to "renounce the world" (spiritually). However, Confucianism can actually become the ideological thought for helping political power to maintain and strengthen its domination over human society.

The theory of Confucianism has the strong character on asking people to obey the moral principles it promotes, such as the self-reflection for "Ren (仁)" (e.g. *"To subdue one's self and return to propriety, is perfect virtue. [Yanyuan] (克己復禮爲仁 [顏淵]"* [239]) and the relying upon oneself for accomplishing the ideal moral world (e.g. *"Their persons being cultivated, their families were regulated. Their families being regulated, their states were rightly governed. Their states being rightly governed, the whole kingdom was made tranquil and happy. [Daxue] (修身、齊家、治國、平天下 [大學])"* [240]). However, the thoughts of the theory are so easy to be intentionally misled or misunderstood as the dogmas for asking people to accept the various unreasonable situations in the reality of socio-political life and helping the upper class to achieve the purpose of stable-controlling on the nation as the united spiritual elements of a common ideology of Chinese society. Through exploring the thousands-year history of China, we can discover that the dogmatic elements were used and practiced by the rulers of the past dynasties of China through the praise and advocacy of the thought of Confucianism for the socio-political purpose. Here are the historical evidences to prove such argument: "ousting hundred doctrines, the dominant Confucianism (罷黜百家，獨尊儒術)" as the main feudal political policy suggested by Dong Zhongshu (董仲舒) in Han dynasty; the revival and refinement of Confucianism practiced by Zhu Xi (朱熹) and Wang Yangming (王陽明) in Song and Ming dynasties which are known as the development of Neo-Confucianism (宋明理學); since the modern age of China, the Communist Party has reaffirmed the status of Confucianism in Chinese society (after the Cultural Revolution with the slogan "Destroy the Confucius Shop! (打倒孔家店)" which was firstly promoted by Chen Duxiu in the New Culture Movement (新文化運動)) and has propagated the thoughts of the theory through establishing the so-called "Confucius Institute (孔子學院)" around the world for promoting the main content of Chinese tradition with the core idea of Confucianism and trying to expand the politico-cultural influence of China worldwide.

Besides the above analysis of the developing course of Chinese political history, we can also take a look at the historical fact that the system of the national examination (Keju 科舉) of ancient China (from Sui 隋／Tang 唐 to Qing dynasty) used the classics of Confucianism – "*Sishu* 四書 (*Lunyu* 論語, *Mengzi* 孟子, *Daxue* 大學 and *Zhongyong* 中庸 – since Song 宋)" and "*Wujing* 五經 (*Shijing* 詩經, *Shangshu* 尚書, *Liji* 禮記, *Zhouyi* 周易 and *Chunqiu* 春秋 – since Sui/Tang)" as the

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[239] Retrieved 13 June, 2013, from the Chinese Text Project website (based on the James Legge's translation): http://ctext.org/analects/yan-yuan
[240] *Ibid.*, http://ctext.org/liji/da-xue

main contents of the test subjects to examine the candidates of "Keju" and select the talents for entering the hierarchy of the authorities. This fact shows the close relationship between the deepening of the spirit of the thoughts of Confucianism in the tradition of Chinese society and the historical development of Chinese politics. "Keju" had been the general political system for selecting intellects for serving the authorities since Han dynasty. Under the system, all intellectuals of the state who took the "Keju" examination must fulfill the requirement of the regulation of the examinatorial system set by the authorities: to master all contents of the test subjects. It is obvious that there was a political purpose for using the classics of Confucianism as the main contents of the test subjects of the "Keju" examination – the moral thoughts in Confucianism, such as "respecting the king (尊王)" and "knowing courtesy (知「禮」'li')", can help the stable of the domination of the imperial power and the sustainability of the social class and family structure of the state. For the kings of Chinese dynasties, this was a "positive aspect (practical advantage)" for the particular political purpose. On the other hand, the establishment of the "Keju" system, undoubtedly, has its negative aspect for the historical development of Chinese society. For instance, the system of "Keju" examination which used the thought of Confucianism as the main contents for selecting talents strangled the possibility of the knowledge enlightenment of Chinese society. The potential attainment(s) of the intellectuals of ancient China were restricted within the framework of the particular moral theory for interpreting the meaning of the classics written by the old men that the intellectuals had no opportunity to create new theories or possibilities to initiate the approach to social civilization. Moreover, a "political promoting operation" could be carried out: the thought of "the lower should respect the upper" was further strengthened and the moral demand of "the king should respect 'li'" was weakened in the process of the interpretation of the doctrine of Confucianism. The political selection of the thoughts of Confucianism has caused the imbalance of the power between the lower class and the upper class in Chinese society that it would expand the power of the domination and suppress the right of common people further (compared with other cultural bodies or societies without the tradition of Confucianism). For example, Confucianism proposes that the king ought to obey "li" and know "disgrace (chi 恥)" (e.g. *knowing disgrace is the same as having bravery [Zhongyong] 知恥近乎勇 [中庸]*) as the model of common people. However, it is not the important point for the sustainability of the stable of the social structure of the state whether the king obeys the principle only if people obey the principle. The main point is – the ruler can do anything that he will not be challenged by common people under the premise that all people obey the requirement of "li". In fact, the state or the society can be maintained in a stable situation while Chinese people mostly obey the

moral principles of Confucianism. Therefore, the corruption problem of Chinese politics, from the imperial age to modern age of the Chinese history, is so serious all the time that the deepened effect of the thought of Confucianism in Chinese society has its "significant contribution" to the phenomenon. Also, there are the main typical forms of the historical development of Chinese imperial politics with the cases of the annexation among warlords and the invasion of outside tribes for establishing a new regime or dynasty, but fewer cases of the "bottom-up" socio-political revolution carried out by common people. Under the historical background, the atmosphere of Chinese society had been "domesticated" with the general weakening of a kind of subversive consciousness for social change in Chinese people's mind. In the late period of Qing dynasty, China eventually ended its feudal social situation and imperialist political system (which were deeply influenced by the tradition of Confucian thoughts) because of the invasion of foreign politico-economic powers and the widespread influence of Western civilization.

Thus it can be seen that the social structures and the historical development of ancient China and modern China are profoundly affected by the thoughts of Confucianism, which include the spirits of unification of the country and the combination of the concepts of family (家) and nation (國): "let nation have family and family have nation in it (國中有家，家中有國)" as the fundamental tune of an "ideal society" of the theory. The ideology of the combination of the concepts has constructed a tight structure of Chinese society to support a firm politico-social system of power for thousands years. The historical developments of Chinese society and the politics in China reflect that Confucianism has played an important role in solidifying the structure of Chinese family in society and maintaining the domination of the feudal political system of imperialism in the state. Although dynastic replacements were continually happening in the progress of Chinese history, the trend of praising the leading position of the thought of Confucianism in Chinese society had not been changed generally (through the practice of "Keju" examinational system). We can use this fact to explain why there were fewer "bottom-up" social grass-root subversive movements (such as the French Revolution in Europe) happening in Chinese society before the Xinhai Revolution in 1911 – Chinese society is deeply affected by the spirit of Confucianism. The becoming of the social situation is artificial because it includes the intention of the dominative class in China for the political purpose of "maintaining stable situation (維穩)" of Chinese society. The theory of Confucianism, at this point, becomes the practical implement to realize such purpose.

In the age of globalization, global political powers (e.g. the U.S.) obtain various interests through the propagation of the ideology of "laisser-faire economy" or "neo-liberalism"; in China, the Chinese Communist Party, as the power centre of the one-party political system of the country, realizes its dominative status of the stable governance of the society through the promotion of the theory of Confucianism. In the global field, political powers have a common attempt to use the particular ideologies to realize the purpose of the maintenance of their vested interest[241]; In the "China", the doctrine of Confucianism is a "closed ideological moral system" which is suitable for the need of the upper class of the Chinese societies as the standard of order for common people to follow up and realize a "harmonious society" in the same logic. The theory of Confucianism, as the same position as the ideologies of the West such as capitalist commercialism, scientism, human egoism and economic globalization, also becomes the implement of the ruling class for controlling the developing tendency of human society. Despite the essence of Confucianism and other ideologies or theories from Western society are "neutral" as the elements of human civilization which ought not to be given any responsibility for negative social phenomena, the "implement operators" (including all of the ruling classes or vested interests), on the contrary, would criticize the falseness of the abstract things they use when the operation of the ideologies causes negative effects for society (if the operation of the implements cannot help for their goals). Also, they would immediately deny that they have the moral responsibility of their operation with the ideologies or theories (in fact, the "operators" use the abstracts to distract the judgment of society). The political and economic powers always hide behind the "implements" they operate and have "no duty" for the negative effects of their operations that violate the public interest of our

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[241] In fact, the modern practice of the theory of Confucianism in Chinese society is not only benefited to the governance of Communist Party of China, but also favored the expanding of the interest of the West. This is a meaningful supposition: if China becomes a real civilized country that most of Chinese people enjoy a higher standard of education and have more incomes for improving their living conditions, it would be a huge challenge for the Party to maintain its one-party governance of the state. It is because China is a relative big country which has a huge population and land area as well as different nations in it. Also, the rise of a "strong China" is being seen to be a "threat" to the leading position of Western civilization in the world. For all of these considerations, it is necessary to place "controllers" to curb the possible development or the progress of Chinese society (to keep it under control by the Party and the West). Therefore, the theory of Confucianism becomes one of the "controllers" which provides the ideological elements to maintain the "union of the country" and restrict the act of Chinese people to obeying the governance of the authorities in such specific situation "naturally" (of course, there is another "ideological controller" for Chinese society that is "capitalism" with the name "socialism with Chinese characteristics" for averting the potential massive subversive social movement happening in the society, besides Confucianism). The result of the application of the theory seems effective for the ruling class in Chinese society for its political purpose that China is a relative steady country with a certain degree of modernization which has participated into the "game of economic globalization" that the present situation of the state is also satisfied the interest of the West (e.g. the U.S. can have a good reason to expand its influence or intervention in the East if China remains its one-party autocratic political domination as a negative character as an "intimidator" to violate the balance of political power in the region of Asia-Pacific).

society. This is one of the tactics of the global ruling class and vested interests that they use (mainstream) media to alienate or to distract common people from the problems of modern society for the particular purpose of chasing the interests of economy and politics through the operation of the ideologies. (For this, we have discussed some notable examples in Chapter Two.)

Therefore, the social movement of independent media, as the main aspect for embodying the theory and practice of anti-globalization movement, is the people's global movement for opposing the negative effects brought by all kinds of attempts of dominative powers to apply various ideologies or theories to achieve the maintenance of governance. The media social movement develops its practicing approach through the popularization of the use of the Internet – writing and telling the "truth" of society from the standpoint of common people. We can discover the practice of the social movement in the West, and also in the East – the Chinese societies. Although the practices of independent media in the Chinese societies and the West have different beliefs, approaches and appearances, the situation of the frequent communications and connections of the practices between them (e.g. the Anti-WTO Movement in Hong Kong in 2005) proves that the media have a close relationship with their counterparts for the collective purpose of practicing the anti-globalization movement. This fact completely reflects our argument: the development of the practices of the independent media social movement in different regions has a common value or belief for fighting against the domination of power, which would not be affected by the factors of different cultural backgrounds, political systems and social structures of the global societies.

Through the analysis of the standpoints and the practice characteristics of the Chinese independent media "Inmediahk.net" and "Coolloud.org", we can understand that the spirit of the philosophy of Daoism is not the abstract element of Chinese traditional thought which is distant from modern life world, but is the significant theory of telling a "principle" of the vicissitude of the Nature beyond the historical space-time restriction which also affects the progress of the present situation of modern China. Of course, there are other traditional thoughts affecting the development of Chinese society (such as Confucianism and Buddhism as the other two thoughts of the "Three Teachings" causing the "introversive character" of Chinese culture). According to the development of the history of China, Confucianism and Daoism were both originated in the Spring and Autumn Period (春秋時代) of the ancient China. In the following period – Warring States Period (戰國時代), most of the dukes yielding obedience to the Emperor of Zhou (周) were eager to find out a

practical theory as the foundation of the policy for accomplishing the purposes of strengthening the power of nation and expanding their political influence under the social background of the contention of a Hundred Schools of Thought (百家爭鳴). At last, Qin (秦) united the Central Plains of China with practicing the thought of Legalism (Fajia 法家). After that, each of Chinese dynasties also had their selection of the fundamental thought as the main principle for ruling the development of the society politically. Since Song dynasty (under the threat of the alien tribes "Liao (遼)", "Xixia (西夏)" and "Jin (金)" from the north of the state at the time), the thought of Confucianism had been conducted by the rulers and their political intellectual advisers again as the important thought for maintaining the governance of political power and the theoretical foundation for carrying out the stable situation of Chinese society. It is not difficult to find out examples to explain the operation of theory as the tactic to control the socio-political situation of the state in Chinese history.

As we can see, the logic of the manipulation or operation of a particular theory for serving the interest of power has also been continued in modern China (e.g. the popularization of the thought of Confucianism practiced by the Communist Party of China), and also in the world. However, the operation for exploiting interest practiced by the powers has caused the strayed development of human society against the essential character of "Dao". The Nature would express its "status" with different approaches (including the phenomenon of anti-globalization movement as one of the appearances of the embodiment of the "ecology" of human society) to respond to the artificial forces (such as power and greed) which push the practice of the manipulation that derails the direction of the development of human society from the vicissitudinous principle of "Dao". Human society is "one of the 'worlds' based on the nurture of the Nature", not the living circumstance superior to the existence of the Nature. When we use the viewpoint of the Nature/"Dao" to explore the present situation of the civilization of human society instead of human egoism, we can fully realize the truth that the negative effects of (economic) globalization, including the phenomena of climate change and the happenings of human conflicts between different races, religions and interest groups in global society are just the reflections of the existent role and the substantial force of "Dao".

Besides giving a substantial feedback for the "dilemma" of the civilization of human society brought by the manipulation of particular theories (ideologies) practiced by global politico-economic powers on the scene of globalization, the spirit and the practice of the two Chinese independent media also open up two significant thinking approaches for us to go further with our research:

(1) The Daoist practice characteristics of the two Chinese independent media reemphasize the important role of the existence of the influence of Chinese traditional thought in the progress of the development of modern China;

(2) Their practices encourage us to try to think about a new ideological possibility to deconstruct the consciousness of modernity which is bound by the myth of the unlimited fulfillment of human greed (this actually reflects the beastliness of human beings and challenges the "old legend" of mankind as the "spirit of all beings") for responding to the "dilemma" of the present human civilization – through presenting the proposal of the concept of "Open Structure", which is the attempt at the modern interpretation of the thought of Daoism.

About the first point, we have mentioned some of the contents related to the significance of Chinese traditional thought in modern China of the discussion of the point of view from Yu in the analysis of the introversive characteristic of Chinese culture. The "Three Teachings", as the main ideological contents of the tradition of Chinese society, have profoundly affected the tendency of the development of Chinese history. Buddhism had been promoted to China from India since Han dynasty. The thought of the religion had the process of localization with the origin of Chinese culture and became the main religious/cultural element affecting the custom and lifestyle of Chinese people. The spirit of Confucianism, based on our analysis, has been promoted by the rulers of China and become one of the main values of Chinese society because it has the strong characteristic of the moral teaching for the stable situations of family, society and state. Although Daoism has its role in constructing the introversive character of Chinese culture, the theory is not valued by the authorities because its core attitude about "renouncing the present world". Since the Chinese Economic Reform and the invasion of the value of Western capitalism from the 1980s to 1990s, materialism and utilitarianism had become the main principles or ideologies of Chinese society to lead the "prosperity" of Chinese national economy after the Millennium. However, there is a "counteraction" for the high-degree development of economy in modern Chinese society that is the social movement of independent media supported by common people which has the main position to oppose the phenomenon of the monopolization of social resources brought by the economic development. The practices of the Chinese independent media in Hong Kong and Taiwan have their opinions and standpoints with the characteristics which are similar to the thinking logic of Daoism that we have analyzed in the Chapter Three, Four and Five. The findings, again, justify the reality of the influence of the

Chinese traditional thought on the development of Chinese society in the age of globalization. The fact proves that: "ancient China" and "modern China" are not the separate concepts or periods in the long river of Chinese history. Of course, we can find out lots of social elements to prove that modern China is profoundly affected by the process of westernization. However, the spirits of Chinese traditional culture and ancient thoughts still have their positions as the socio-cultural force to influence the development of Chinese society. This thinking approach creates a vision for us to view the present situation of the westernized change of China and the significance of the spirit of Chinese traditional thought equally – we should have an impartial attitude to treat the traditions of Chinese history and the elements of Western culture/thoughts and ought not to focus just on the achievement of Western civilization in the Chinese societies. Moreover, the theory and practice of anti-globalization movement tells us that the development of Western civilization has its "dilemma" on the scene of globalization that we are facing various risks and civilized problems in the present situation under the leading of the civilization.

For the second point, we understand that there is a core problem of the global society of human civilization: the acceptance of the unlimited expansion of the interests of global politico-economic powers. The problem originates from the firm beliefs of "having no relation with the 'others'" and human egoism in modern people's mind as two of the characteristics of modernity. According to our research on the theory and practice of anti-globalization movement, we realize that the relative ideologies are mainly created by the powers from the West that have been propagated to China through the practices of imperialism and colonialism that have affected the historical development of modern China. Nevertheless, it is noteworthy to point out that the standpoint on viewing the role of the existence of the Nature (or the "others") of Chinese traditional society is totally different from the counterpart elements of Western civilization:

> "*Joseph Needham (李約瑟) argues that Chinese people see the Nature as an organism, not a mechanism. This opinion is generally acceptable. ...From explaining the relationship between human beings and the Nature, we can perhaps use the description 'mankind and the whole creation as one body (人與天地萬物為一體)' to summarize the basic attitude of Chinese people on this issue.*" [242]

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[242] See: Yu, Ying Shih (1999). *The Modern Interpretation of Chinese Thought Tradition*. Taipei: Linking. p. 22.

The attitude of Chinese cultural tradition (or Chinese society) to viewing the role of the Nature is dissimilar to the opinion of human egoism as one of the elements of the Western civilization. According to Joseph Needham's viewpoint, Chinese people, who can be seen as the whole body of the traditional culture of Chinese society, tend to see the existence of the Nature as "*an organism*". In addition, Yu adds that "*mankind and the whole creation (the Nature) as one body*" is the basic attitude of Chinese people to understand the relationship between the Nature and human beings. The arguments indicate that the character of the traditional culture of Chinese society is different from the standpoint of Western civilization on treating the role of the Nature. The character of Chinese society does not place the status of human beings in a superior position compared with other creations and does not see the Nature as "*a mechanism*" or a passive existence just for serving the demands of mankind. On the contrary, it believes that we are actually a part of the Nature and live our life based on its nurture. The Nature is not the so-called "others", but the essential element of the whole creation including human beings. The basic attitude of Chinese traditional culture with the characteristics of "equalitarianism" and the thinking logic of "non-exclusion" (or "non-closeness") on viewing the "others" reflects the spirit of Daoism. The hint from this thinking context inspires us to develop a new idea, an approach or a theory based on the open attitude to understand the logic of the problems of human civilization and tackle the various challenges of (economic) globalization today.

For avoiding the limitation of prejudice or the direction of the former epistemic methodology (e.g. the social science research method), we should open up the analyses of various social phenomena based on the open research approach with the forms of "inclusion" and "non-restriction". From the research on the media practices of "Inmediahk.net" and "Coolloud.org", we find out that their movements, opinions and standpoints of the practices have the characteristics of Daoism that this finding has its important aspect of inspiring our research with an "alternative approach". If we follow the research methodology of social science, the core difficulty of the research would be appeared immediately: the relationship between "practice" and "theory" cannot be completely reflected through the research method of quantificational statistics. It is because the practices of the Chinese independent media are not the social movement practices based on a single fixed theory or principle. They independently carry out their practices and realize their standpoints and ideas of the movements with the changing conditions of the present situation of the Chinese societies. These research exemplifications remind us to construct an alternative thinking approach to understand the vicissitude of the phenomena of human society

which is different from the methodologies of scientism of Western civilization (such as establishing a theoretical module for standardizing the understanding of social phenomena and using the research methods of quantificational statistics and induction). It can be expected that the new thinking approach that we try to establish in the following is impossible to be proposed or to be realized under the thinking logic of exclusion or the closed theoretical approach to consider the role of the "others" as a "passive thing".

Also, the Daoist characteristics of the practices of Chinese independent media remind us that we should go back to the origin of Chinese traditional culture to find out the valuable spiritual element to tackle the civilized problems of the "dilemma" of modern China when we understand that the problems of (economic) globalization is originated from the beliefs or the ideologies of Western civilization. This shows the significance of the philosophy of Daoism has the character of "trans-era" because the thought gives an open alternative vision for us to reconstruct the epistemological structure of human beings on the "others" in modern age. At this point, it is necessary that we think the "inspiration" brought by Daoism as one of the main traditions of Chinese ancient thoughts in the age of globalization (again) and try to do the modern interpretation of the Chinese traditional thought based on our thinking for approaching the possibility to take apart the core problems of the "dilemma" of human society made by the ideological elements of Western civilization: power and greed (which are the main civilized elements including the spirit of human egoism and the character of the domination on the "others").

Here, we try to present a new concept called "Open Structure (開放結構)" for establishing an alternative thinking approach to understand the reality of the epistemic relationship between all beings openly, and also equally. Under the logic of the concept, we should see all human knowledge as the "pieces of a jigsaw" – as the parts of the existent dimensions of all beings understood by mankind. There is an "intersubjective/inter-inclusive relationship" between the "pieces" of the knowledge. According to the thinking approach, we should not exclude any potential unknown phenomenon or being from our epistemic horizon and should not construct any border of the field of standardized knowledge. Because of holding the open attitude about all unknown or potential knowledge, the so-called "power" (of human society) would be unable to carry out its influence of consolidating its vested interest effectively. The promotion of the concept can change the basic structure of the present civilization of human society. This is an elementary description of the concept of "Open Structure".

The thinking of "Open Structure" is an experiment on practicing the spirit of Daoism in the modern age of globalization that is an alternative vision to understand the meaning of human knowledge in the present situation of human society and life world, compared with the "exclusive knowledge systems" of Western civilization and the developing logic of the political history (from the feudal age to modern age) of China. Here, the so-called "Open" means "do not use the logic of exclusion to construct the understanding of beings". For example, we could have a judgment on a new phenomenon that is a "false matter" or an "untrue thing" or "inexistent" that cannot be proved by Western scientific methodologies – this is the thinking logic of "exclusion". "Open Structure" opens for all existent and potential knowledge and tries to do nothing for the "correctness of the knowledge" with the standpoint of human beings without a "standard of judgment" for establishing a possible large dimension of "knowledge". The concept (with the attempt to understand the reality of beings without the viewpoint of human egoism) has its theoretical basis which is from the observation on the truth: human beings in the age of globalization are still living in "their world" – they (and their life) are deeply affected by the change of the Nature and cannot come to the embodiment of the essence of "Dao". From Daoist point of view, all beings including mankind are understood as the elements of the Nature that have the equal position and individual characteristic compared with other counterparts. The proposal of "Open Structure", which is inspired by the theory of "Dao", is for the purpose of building up a possible thinking approach to place all of human knowledge with a "maximized extent of inclusion". "Dao" cannot be "standardized" by the system of human knowledge. The reason of this is related to the fact that "Dao" cannot be completely told with "word(s)": "word" is the implement applied by human beings to accomplish the attempt at building up a closed system of knowledge for controlling the Nature. No being exists in the outside of the influence of "Dao" because all beings are included in "Dao" and change their situation based on the condition given by "Dao". "Dao" itself does not exclude any beings, but includes the whole creation as the essential fundamental principle of the change of beings. The act of "exclusion", in fact, is the behaviour practiced by mankind for establishing a fixed knowledge system which benefits the expansion of vested interest.

The term "Structure" indicates a kind of relative connection between the cognitive subject and the "others" under the condition of the character of openness. The purpose of the bringing up of the term is different from the common attempt for establishing a closed knowledge system. Some theorists or thinkers get used to present a logical deduction and create new terms or theories to explain their thoughts after analyzing and researching on various social phenomena. "Open Structure" is not

a theoretical constructional attempt to include any substantial content of knowledge. The main purposes of the promotion of "Open Structure" are to reemphasize the original relationship of all beings and encourage the essential concern with the phenomena of human society without any opinion or intervention of power.

From observing the historical development of human knowledge, we can understand that the so-called "causal relationship" has played an important role in the process of the development. The generation of all kinds of beings or phenomena has its reasons. The structure of the causal relationship of the generation should not be understood as the form of a "single-directed historical strict line", but the form of a "three-dimensional reticular structure" – as a "ball". Here is the explanation of the structure: "because of A, then B" is a basic formula of causal relationship. Most of the theories of human knowledge are based on the application of the formula. However, if we analyze the relationship between A and B further, we would discover that A actually does not cause B that both A and B are interacted under a "pure relative network of beings". In fact, A not only causes B (with a causal relationship with B), but also causes C, D, E…that all of them are comprised as a huge causal relative structure. Also, B itself not only has the relationship with A, but has the same connection with C, D, E…that comprise another relative structure. Under the structure, the relationship between A and B is "inter-causative". According to this argument, the beings or phenomena in the structure as a relative causal network do not exclude each other: we should not deny the fact "A causes C" because of the fact "A causes B" at first; or, in the past we did not know the fact "Z causes A". Now we realize the fact and we should accept it openly because the fact has already existed in the relative structure of the existent network of A (which had not been understood by mankind only). All beings, as the parts of the whole creation, interlock each other and have a complicated causal relationship between them that construct a "relative network of beings". Further speaking, the complicated causal relative network of beings should be understood as an open expansive epistemic "structure". The illustration of the open logical structure is inspired from the concept of "Dao", including its vicissitude principle and its effect. All beings and phenomena in the world, which are seen as the outcome of the effect of the vicissitude of "Dao", should be at first recognized that they have an equal position in the "network". This is the core theory of "Open Structure". Whether they have been justified (or understood) by human knowledge, all of them should be given an appropriate position in the "relative network of beings" and ought not to be denied at the beginning of our understanding. As we can see, the main contents of human history only record a single aspect of the changing progress of the "relative network of beings" shown as the form of the "strict historical

timeline" which includes a strong consciousness of human sectionalism. In the other aspect, the development of the epistemic system of science based on the principle of positivist scientism led by Western civilization just unveils a small part of the content of the "relative network of beings". To follow home, the ultimate purpose of the act of power – to emphasize the subordinate relationship between power (superior) and the existent situation of all beings (inferior) as the "hierarchy" of human civilization – is just for the realization of private interest. For instance, the embodiment of the typical logic of this is shown: the bringing up of the Confucian concept of "Daotong (道統)"[243] strengthens the dominative status and the sovereignty of the ruling class in Chinese society (in which the significance of the respect to the position of the authorities given by common people has never been told); and, the technology of mechanical production based on the application of the methodology of Western scientism assures the sustainability of global capitalist economy. The form of the development of modern society with the tactics of denying and concealing the "truth" has embodied its character as a "closed epistemic system", produced the "dilemma" of globalization and violated the principle of the vicissitude of "Dao". The epistemic standard of modern Western scientism and the standpoint of the profit maximization of capitalism are the origins of the power to direct the development of human civilization to a "side road".

The advocating of the concept of "Open Structure" includes the attempt at doing the modern interpretation of Daoism with the core spirit – "all beings are in an even position/level (萬物齊一)"[244]. The concept tries to open up a thinking approach to

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[243] "*Daotong* has been variously translated, some of the more common renderings being 'succession to the way'; 'legacy of the way'; 'orthodox tradition'; and 'tradition of the way.' Like the word 'tradition' (or, more closely, the German *Überlieferung*, with its active verbal sense of 'what comes down from the past'; 'handed down from the past'), *daotong* has a sense of taking possession of and handling on that which is transmitted (*traditum*). …Based on the evidence of Zhu Xi's preface to Lun Meng jingyi 論孟精義 (Essential meanings of the *Analects* and *Mencius*; 1172), however, his understanding of *daotong* is more faithfully translated as 'the interconnecting thread of the way.'…Two aspects of Zhu's appropriation of the *daotong* conceit are especially pertinent. First, Confucius, Zengzi, Zisi, and Mencius are identified as the last in a long line of early transmitters. …Second, by writing commentaries on these four books (*Analects, Daxue, Zhongyong,* and *Mencius*) and identifying the Cheng brothers as the modern inheritors of the *daotong* transmission, Zhu sought to imply that he, too, was an heir to that transmission." See: Makeham, John (2003). *Transmitters and Creators: Chinese Commentators and Commentaries on the Analects*. USA: Harvard Univ Asia Center. pp. 176-177. "The New Confucian notion *daotong* is often used in association with two other terms: *zhengtong* (政統 the orthodox tradition of governance) and *xuetong* (學統 the orthodox tradition of learning). According to Mou Zongsan, while traditional Chinese culture had developed neither *zhengtong* nor *xuetong,* it did produce a rich and vibrant *daotong*." See: Chen, Yong (2012). *Confucianism as Religion: Controversies and Consequences*. The Netherlands: Brill. p. 162.

[244] The opinion of "all beings are in an even (or equal) position/level" is the core thought of the book "*Qiwulun* (齊物論)" composed by Zhuangzi (莊子): "All subjects may be looked at from (two points of view), from that and from this. If I look at a thing from another's point of view, I do not see it; only as I know it myself, do I know it. Hence it is said, 'That view comes from this; and this view is a

reconstruct our epistemic horizon influenced by the structure of scientific knowledge and promote the civilized living situation of human beings with assimilating Daoist principles. Because of the limitation of the capacity of this research, it is necessary to start another research work for interpreting the new concept further[245]. However, we can have an initial opinion that there is an alternative understanding approach to realize the fact of the relationship between the Nature and human beings. If there is another possible alternative thinking logic for understanding the civilized elements of life world, we should have an open attitude to take a look at the logic and think about

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consequence of that:' - which is the theory that that view and this (the opposite views) produce each the other. - *The Adjustment of Controversies (*「物無非彼，物無非是。自彼則不見，自知則知之。故曰：彼出于是，是亦因彼。彼是方生之說也。（齊物）」*)*" (Trans. James Legge) Retrieved 27 April, 2013, from Chinese Text Project website: http://ctext.org/zhuangzi/adjustment-of-controversies; "It was separation that led to completion; from completion ensued dissolution. But all things, without regard to their completion and dissolution, may again be comprehended in their unity - it is only the far reaching in thought who know how to comprehend them in this unity. This being so, let us give up our devotion to our own views, and occupy ourselves with the ordinary views. These ordinary views are grounded on the use of things. (The study of that) use leads to the comprehensive judgment, and that judgment secures the success (of the inquiry). That success gained, we are near (to the object of our search), and there we stop. When we stop, and yet we do not know how it is so, we have what is called the Dao. - *The Adjustment of Controversies (*「其分也，成也；其成也，毀也。凡物無成與毀，復通爲一。唯達者知通爲一，爲是不用而寓諸庸。庸也者，用也；用也者，通也；通也者，得也。適得而幾矣。因是已。已而不知其然，謂之道。（齊物）」*)*" *Ibid.*.

[245] The main structure of the concept of "Open Structure" are being constructed by the two thinking approaches: (1) the observation on the progress of the history of the research subject; (2) understanding the form of development of human history as a "gear wheel" (with a circulated periodicity of rotating characteristic), not a "single strict timeline" (with the starting point and the end of the development of the history of all beings assumed by human beings). The first point is mainly for emphasizing the forms and the changes of all existences and the development of human knowledge which have their "histories" and we can find out the cause(s) of them from their historical origins which are all included in the "relative causal network of beings". One of the "blind spots" of the modern civilization of human beings is that people are getting used to consider the situation of beings "without history" – they do not respect (or intentionally ignore) the existence of the effect of the "network" that affects the developing tendency of human history and explains how beings become the present situation as we see. The second point is related to the opinion on the model of the development of history. The main feature of the "closed system" of human knowledge is based on a kind of historical idea with the model of "timeline" – a single strict line to arrange the historical positions of all beings in a "fixed" order. The historical idea of "timeline" assumes that history has a "starting point" and an "end", such as the premises of the "Big Bang" of the universe in the field of the scientific research of cosmology and the concept of the "Last Judgment" as the important theory of Christianity. The theory of "gear wheel" for the concept of "Open Structure" explains the form of the development of history as a "wheel" with different degrees of rise and fall in different periods, whether it is being recorded or recognized by human beings. Under the thinking context of the theory, the vicissitude of history should be understood as a cycling circulation in which all beings are running continuously without a "starting point" and an "end" (these two concepts are just the discretions for understanding the history of the changing situation of beings and our living circumstance defined by humankind that we should not be restricted within the rigid setting of the historical model). The situation of the rotating of the "wheel" is corresponded to the "ecology" of the development of history – the appearance of the vicissitude of the effect of "Dao".

Through analyzing the two thinking approaches, we can understand the difference between the thinking logics of the so-called "system" (with the characters "closed" and "exclusive" of Western civilization) and "structure" (such as "Dao" with the characters of "open" and "inclusive") and have the possibility to eliminate the myth or the idolism on power of human civilization in the field of politics, economy and religion. These are the important points for the initial explanation of "Open Structure".

what kind of vision or inspiration given by the concept. In the "dilemma" of modern globalized world, the reflection on the idea of "Open Structure" would especially help us to escape from the restriction and oppression of human society contributed by the interest system of global power. According to this, we can also discover another purpose of the promotion of the concept: trying to decrease (or to reverse) the effects of the common values of materialism and human egoism based on the emphasis of the principles of "non-exclusion", "removing-central-viewpoint" and "having an equalized standpoint to consider the existence of all beings" in globalized world.

When the dominative class, including all of the politico-economic powers in the world society, attempts to manipulate any ideology (e.g. "economic globalization" and the thought of Confucianism) as the implement to continue their domination, world citizens would give out their "feedback" based on the demand for an "ideal world" which assimilates the transforming principle of the Nature (as the statement of the theory of Daoism). The expansion of the power of the upper class would provoke the opposition or the conflict between different classes of people in our society, including the lower class with "the people who assimilate the spirit of the Nature". The effect of the opposition or the conflict would cause the destruction and the re-creation of the Nature and human civilization. The form of the progress of the effect has been told by the ecological viewpoint of the philosophy of Daoism for explaining the principle of the change of the whole creation. For example, the same logic of the opinion can also be found in the process of the developing history of media in human society: because of the common demand and the social development of human life, media has been designed as an instrument for people to "know more about our living circumstance" which has brought human society to the age of the "explosion of information". Today, media can be distinguished into two categories: mainstream media (under controlled by the Establishment) and non-mainstream media (which are out of the influence of the Establishment). The first is mostly run for the purpose of the monopolization of commercial market for profit maximization and the second (including "independent media") plays the main role in practicing the original position of media for reporting the "truth" in our society. In the present situation of global community, the so-called "mainstream media" are generally bought up by economic powers that become the implement for the purposes of the information control, the manipulation of public opinion and the obtainment of the promise of the vested interest from political power[246]. From the processes of the rise

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[246] For instance, there is a significant example to prove the common phenomenon of the control on mainstream media by political power which is the practice of the "infiltration" of Communist China in Hong Kong's media market: "To Yiu Ming (Du Yaoming 杜耀明), an Assistant Professor at the Department of Journalism, Hong Kong Baptist University, indicates that the first step for the

and the decline of the social role of modern media (starting from the development of media – the firm establishment of mainstream media – to the monopolization of media space because of the common phenomenon of the buying-up of the media practiced by transnational enterprises and the rise of independent media movement in human society), we can find out a typical ecological form of the development of human civilized history – from "nothingness (wu 無)" to "existence (you 有)"; from "existence" to "utmost (ji 極)"; from "utmost" to "collapse (kui 潰)"; from "collapse" returning to "nothingness" as the inevitable progress of the form of the vicissitude of the Nature.

In modern China, the spirit of the philosophy of Daoism is embodied by the practices of the two Chinese independent media: "Inmediahk.net" and "Coolloud.org". Their practices of the social movement prove that modern China has participated in the rise of anti-globalization movement with its cultural traditional background: the Chinese societies are giving their "feedback" for the negative effects of globalization with the embodiment of the spirit of the Chinese traditional thought through the practices of the media movement. We can have an understanding with the above phenomenon: the anti-globalization social movement is one of the feedbacks against the expansion of the influence of the dominative powers practiced by human beings, besides global climate change (as the other feedback given by the Nature) for the influence of the powers which "ignore the existence of 'Dao'". As the experiment of

'reddening (赤化)' of Hong Kong media is to practice the transference of the property of the media. The Communist China allows the property of the media to be bought by the businessmen the party trusts in, or buys the media by itself. As the purchase case of "South China Morning Post (SCMP 南華早報)", the boss of the media now is the so-called 'Asian Sugar King' Robert Kuok Hock Nien (Guo Henian 郭鶴年). He has many businesses in the Mainland China. He did not participate in the business of media in the past, but bought the 'SCMP' from the News Corporation owned by Rupert Murdoch before the handover of Hong Kong. Kuok has many commercial activities like estate and hotel businesses in the inland so the [operation of the] media would indirectly be controlled [by the will of Chinese government]. The Beijing government also buys media through the men who are being trusted besides controlling media directly." Retrieved 2 January, 2013, from The Liberty Times website: http://www.libertytimes.com.tw/2013/new/jan/2/today-fo1-2.htm
"To Yiu Ming tells the purchase case of the 'SCMP' which has its significance [that it shows the typical tactic of the manipulation of the control on the media in Hong Kong practiced by the Communist Party]. The Chinese government firstly buys up the property of the media, then controlling the right of the editorship of the media through assigning the believed persons to sit in the positions of the chief editor and the deputy editor in chief of the media and expelling the journalists who do not follow its will." *Ibid*., http://www.libertytimes.com.tw/2013/new/jan/2/today-fo3-3.htm?Slots=TPhoto
"…Lau Yui Siu (Liu Ruishao 劉銳紹), a senior political commentator in Hong Kong, clearly indicates that the other tactic for controlling media practiced by the Communist Party of China is to do the manipulation of advertising: it would try to decrease or to end the investment of the advertising business of the media when some of them 'are not friendly to the Party'. Therefore, the commercial media in Hong Kong have been controlled by the Party generally. They [the media] are afraid to displease the Communist government. Lau says that the public [media] space for freedom of speech will be tightened [further]. Especially the local media that mostly rely on the income of advertising would do the sacrifice of the freedom of speech of Hong Kong society automatically." *Ibid*., http://www.libertytimes.com.tw/2013/new/jan/2/today-fo1-3.htm

the modern interpretation of "Dao", the spirit of "Open Structure" has been reflected by the practice of the Chinese independent media directly because of the practice characteristics of the media including "no discrimination (the practice of the movement is needed by world citizens, including Chinese people)" and "no label (carrying out their practices with an "unfixed principle")". Therefore, the practices of Chinese independent media movement are the good exemplifications of the embodiment of the spirit of the Chinese traditional thought in modern China.

For reviewing the whole content of this dissertation, we can follow the main context of the research through this approach: we have discussed the definitions and the issues of globalization, the standpoint of anti-globalization movement, the theories related to the movement and the practice of the two Chinese independent media from Chapter One to Chapter Four.

In Chapter One, we clarify the basic logical structure of globalization: "the positive and the negative advancing at the same time"; "anti-globalization movement" is not the social subversive power outside the field of globalization, but is a part of globalization. In the chapter, we firstly discuss that the generation of the social movement in the Chinese societies is not only affected by the conditions of the development of global society, but also influenced by the change of local politico-social climate. The practices of Chinese independent media have their specific characteristics based on the vicissitude of local social situation and the development of the media works. Then, we research on the related theories and the issues of the idea of anti-globalization before analyzing the movement of Chinese independent media as a part of anti-globalization movement. The main opinion of anti-globalization movement aims at fighting against the negative effects of globalization – it criticizes for the politico-economic and social problems in the world society brought by the so-called "economic globalization". The main factor of the problems is related to the fact of the sustained development of the economy of human society with the thinking logic of capitalism. The logic of capitalism breaks the original relationship between the Nature and human beings and indirectly narrows the common value of human society. The spreading of the value of capitalist globalization not only produces many social problems in our living circumstance, but also brings us many serious disasters violating the ecology of the Nature in the rest of the world. In the other aspect, the role of the governance of global political power, as the "device" for tuning the effect of capitalism on human society, is weakening gradually. Western society has never admitted that there are serious deficiencies of the modern practices of the "democracy" with the representative system and party politics. On the contrary,

it promotes the movement of democratization around the world further. The problems of the political system, which integrate with the common phenomena of modern democratic nations of the weakening of governance and the penetration of economic power in political field, become the main factors of the high-risk polarized development of globalized world.

For opposing the ideology of economic globalization which causes the common situation of "priority economy; politics to abdicate" of human society, anti-globalization movement has its diversified practice approaches. Based on the background of popularization of internet using, internet media becomes the new implement for the practice of social movement. In addition, the role of traditional media has shifted for serving the interest of global political and economic powers gradually. Therefore, "independent media", which is based on common people's demand for freedom of speech, is generally created. It plays a significant role in the development of global social movement in the age of globalization. Especially the independent media in the Chinese societies, the practices of the media have their significance for the sustainability of the worldwide development of the movement because the media in the societies are facing the particular challenges from the complicated political climate brought by the Communist Party of China and the tradition of the closed situation of the social circumstance in the country that are different from other counterparts around the world.

The relative discussions in the first four chapters aim at opening up an "approach of discovery" for the research with these procedures: (1) approaching the analysis from the problems of globalization to the generation of anti-globalization movement; (2) focusing on the relevant theories and the one of the practices of the movement: independent media; (3) researching on the ideas and the characteristics of the practices of the Chinese independent media "Inmediahk.net" and "Coolloud.org"; (4) unveiling the fact that the practices reflecting and embodying the spirit of the Chinese traditional thought – the philosophy of Daoism as the exemplifications to encourage us to do the experiment of the modern interpretation of the thought.

"Globalization" profoundly affects the tendency of the changing of human civilization. Under this background, the issues of economy dominate the developing direction of human society. The value of quantification alienates our original understanding on the "others" including the Nature and narrows the horizon of mankind. The effect confuses us whether the so-called "development of human knowledge" can help us to construct a real understanding of the world. The ossifying

of "globalization" causes the rise of anti-globalization movement. The social phenomenon shows the critical degree of the negative effect of globalization and leads us to pay attention to the modern transition of Chinese society affected by the effect and the role of Chinese traditional thought in the phenomenon nowadays. "Inmediahk.net" and "Coolloud.org" have their particular standpoints of promoting the grass-root social movement in the Chinese societies. The independent media not only carry out their practices with the purpose of encouraging common people to concern with public issues and social problems with their voices, but also prove the public demand of the media independence with their practices which is supported by the people in the Chinese societies. Through our research, we discover that their practices and opinions have the characteristics of the thinking logic of Daoism. The form of this connection has its socio-cultural context because the development of the practices of the movement is based on the influence of the traditional element and the modern situation of Chinese society. Also, the practices link up the relationship between Daoism and modern China simultaneously.

In modern age, the Chinese national policy of "economic reform" has basically prevented the possibility of the accumulation of a grass-root social power in the Mainland China. The independent media movement in the Chinese societies is the "distinctive tribe" of the social developing tendency under the strong politico-economic influence of Communist China that keeps the "flame of hope" for prompting the future transformation of the politico-social situation of the "China" from the closed to the open. The Daoist characteristics of the practice spirits of the Chinese independent media encourage us to think about the possibility of doing the modern interpretation of "Dao" – the thinking of the concept of "Open Structure". The concept not only opens up an experimental approach to review the system of human knowledge and civilization led by the West, but also reemphasizes the important role and the effect of the Chinese traditional thought in the developing context of the present situation of modern China.

The main values of anti-globalization movement, including opposing political power, encouraging people to escape from the domination of the Establishment, and respecting the real needs of common people, have the similar thinking logic and standpoint with the spirit of Daoism by coincidence. In the present situation of modern society that the man-made ideologies are gradually losing their effects, we should find out a suitable way to rebuild the order of human society based on the "revelation" of the vicissitude of the Nature. In the age of globalization, modern China is playing the role of "world factory" which completely conforms to the interest

of global capitalism. This phenomenon reflects the facts of the sacrifice of the uniqueness of Chinese traditional culture and the encouragement of the unjustness of global community. When we have understood that the situation of human civilization is now established in the illusive ideologies or elements, such as "credit" (e.g. the dominative position of the U.S. dollar in global financial market), "terror" (the triggering of wars around the world done by superpowers and the violation of the right to privacy undertaken by governments), and "humiliation" (including the feelings of "guilt" and "inferior" brought by the defeats of wars with Germany, Japan and China) in the age of "post-globalization", we should have the responsibility to try to give out a possible approach to end the abnormal civilized situation of human society as the prior work and open up an opportunity for us to "return to our origin" to build up "our own form of civilization with our substantial needs of life" based on our cultural spiritual tradition.

Therefore, we should focus on the process of the historical development of the Chinese societies when we try to analyze various social phenomena in them (e.g. the movements of Chinese independent media in Hong Kong and Taiwan). Through the analysis of the practices of Chinese independent media, we have opened up an approach to understand the present situation of the Chinese societies based on the spirits of Chinese traditional thoughts and have carried out an experiment of modern interpretation of Daoism with the presentation of the concept – "Open Structure". This research is an exemplification for the establishment of the significance of the Chinese traditional thought in modern China and also an example of thinking about the possible role of the ancient theory in modern era for giving out a fundamental to confront with the problems of human civilization nowadays.

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