

Chinese Anti-Americanism: from 1996 to Present

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Introduction

American distrust of China has so far felt short from leading Americans to brand China as “anti-American” outright. A search on “Chinese anti-Americanism” on Lexi-Nexis has scored surprising few (3!) results from major American print and broadcast media since 1996. High level American government officials are equally unwilling to use the term “anti-American” when commenting on China. On the other hand, American media have no problem describing Cuba or Iran as anti-American, as the same kind of searches on Lexi-Nexis produced no less than 800 results for each of the two countries.

Despite China has not yet been crowned with term “anti-American” by both the American media and officials, evidence suggests this has come close in the past during times of troubling Chinese-American relationship. In 2001 immediately after the Hainan Island plane crash incident, most editorials of major American newspapers expressed immense hostility towards China. Some of them called China “unreasonable”, “irrational”, disregarding civil liberty, endangering American interest...etc - only couple inches short of calling China an anti-American outright. China has never been portrayed as a country that is most sympathetic to traditional American values treasured by Americans, such as democracy, civil liberty, a limited government, free speech, and religion freedom. In the 2008 Tibetan riot coverage by the American media, Chinese government was often by default associated with images such as militaristic, authoritarian, brutal, and oppressive. Note these are also images that American media, government, and public associated with most of the worst anti-American regimes like Cuba, Iran, Saddam's Iraq, and the Taliban. Since 2009, China has been exerting greater influence than ever over the America and the world's economy. In turn, Americans seem to feel increasingly uncomfortable with the shrinking American economic influence and the rising Chinese power. It

is vital to examine the nature of anti-American sentiment in China in order to understand whether, or how, will China use its newly gained power to promote anti-Americanism. The 9/11 attacks showed brutal power of destruction that anti-Americanism is capable of unleashing. Now eight years after the tragedy, there is still a general shortage of scholarly anti-Americanism research, and let alone studies specifically on Chinese anti-Americanism. I hope my research will be able to contribute to the still-growing study of anti-Americanism.

Thesis

Anti-American sentiments can be seen in China periodically since 1996. This is a new form of Chinese anti-Americanism different from the Maoist's legacies. Contemporary Chinese anti-Americanism is not driven by communist ideology but Chinese nationalism. Chinese anti-Americanism is spontaneous, fluid, and momentary. It only manifests itself when provoked by events perceived as damaging to Chinese interest and prestige, and quickly disappear once the issue is resolved. Neither the Chinese government nor the public are inherently and particularly anti-American, as they have equally unleashed their fury over Europeans and Japanese when provoked.

The question of whether the Chinese government manufactures or manipulates Chinese anti-American sentiment was frequently raised by American media and government officials. And in some instances this is not so much a question, but an outright accusation. The goal of this research is not to seek causation between the role of Chinese government and popular anti-American sentiments. I argue that regardless of the cause, Chinese nationalism has now permeated through Chinese society. While in some instance, Chinese government in fact plays a role in surfing and benefits from nationalistic anti-American sentiments, such move does not diminish the genuineness and popular roots of contemporary Chinese nationalism. On the

contrary, sometime Chinese government felt compelled to restrain, instead of stirring, popular and spontaneous outcry against the U.S. in certain episodes.

The Love Hate Chinese-American Economic Relationship

The U.S. and China has increasingly developed closer economic ties since late 1970s. Such relationship is mutual, where both countries have played a more and more important role in each other's economy. Chinese American trade has grown exponentially in the last decade. In 1988, the U.S. export to China was merely about 5000 million USD, and American import from China was equally low: about 8500 million USD.¹ However, in 2008, American export to China has risen to approximately 71500 million, and American import from China was close to 338000 million USD. That is, not accounting for inflation, in the pass 20 years American import from China has increased approximately 40 times. The U.S. is currently China's largest overseas market.² By 2003, China has emerged as the second largest source of import for America.³ On the other hand, China became the fourth largest market for American imports in 2004, replacing Germany and the U.K., and China has remain the fastest growing one.⁴ Since early 21st century, China has been one of the major American bond holders. In 2008, China has surpassed Japan to become the largest American Treasury bond holder.⁵

Chinese seem to appreciate this closer economic tie with the U.S, as suggested by several polls. In a 2003 poll, 68% of Chinese indicated they thought the U.S. has had a positive impact on China's economy.⁶ Another 2006 poll shows 66% of Chinese thought China should have a free trade agreement with the U.S. that would lower tariffs barriers.⁷ In 2007, 87% of Chinese

¹U.S. Census. <http://www.census.gov/foreign-trade/balance/c5700.html>

²CRS. "China's Trade with the United States and the World"

³CRS. "China's Trade with the United States and the World"

⁴CRS. "China's Trade with the United States and the World"

⁵China Worried About U.S. Debt. *Washington Post*. 14 March 2009

⁶Conducted by Associated Press/ Ipsos-Reid. 12 Feb 2004. Accessed through Poll the Nations

⁷ Conducted by Program on International Policy Attitudes . 29 May 2007. Accessed through Poll the Nations

thought globalization was mostly good for China; bare in mind this was a time when globalization was mostly understood by the world as the “Washington consensus”.⁸

The growing economic ties of both countries have not been equally translated into closer ties in other aspects in Chinese-American relationship, nor has the economic tie helped to dissolve all mistrust and insecurity between the U.S. and China. And precisely because of the growing of Chinese-American trade, American government and public have shown increasing concern, if not down right hostility. Some hints can be drawn from the wording of a detailed report on Chinese-American trade, prepared for members of Congress by the Congressional Research Service in 2007. The first sentence of the report reads, “As imports from the People's Republic of China have surged in recent years, posing a threat to some U.S. industries and manufacturing employment...”⁹ The closer economic relationship between the U.S. and China is first characterized, among many things, as a “threat”. The U.S. Business and Industry Council ran a full page advertisement on Washington Post in April 2009 expressing concern as China has recently became the largest American debt holder.¹⁰ The ad features a Chinese flag as a credit card, and the card holder's name reads "Your Child's Name Here". The text on the ad reads "We are leaving future generations of Americans at the mercy of our Chinese creditors", while accusing China of currency manipulation and intellectual piracy. The tone of the ad suggests anxiety, if not outright hostility, towards Chinese economic power.

Anti-Americanism as defined by the Right: Hollander

Scholars on the right sees anti-Americanism as a sentiment “against what America is,” and tend to dismiss anti-Americanism abroad as irrelevant and irrational. Paul Hollander is perhaps one of the most vocal voices on defining and explaining anti-Americanism from the political right. A

⁸Conducted by Programs on International Policy Attitude. 26 April 2007. Accessed through Poll the Nations

⁹CRS. “China's Trade with the United States and the World”

¹⁰US business ad depicts China as credit card. *AFP*. 21 April 2009.

professor emeritus of sociology from the University of Massachusetts Amherst, his views are often cited and discussed by other anti-Americanism scholars. While recognizing specific error in American foreign policies can generate hostility abroad, Hollander suggests anti-Americanism can be a deep-seated psychological reaction that is often irrational. Despite of the distinction drawn, Hollander's work focuses on the latter, and attributed much of contemporary anti-Americanism world-wide to the latter as well.

Hollander suggests that anti-Americanism is derived from four major sources. First being "the human need for scapegoating."¹¹ Secondly, in the post-cold world, the status of the United States as the sole superpower - both as the richest and strongest nation - makes the U.S. the best candidate for being a scapegoat. Third being the "justified identification of the U.S. with modernity and its problems."¹² The final source is the "identifiable, specific errors and mistakes of American foreign policy."¹³

The distinctions being drawn, in the introduction of the book *Understanding Anti-Americanism*, Hollander hints majority of anti-American sentiments are largely "groundless, irrational predisposition of a deeply rooted scapegoating impulse."¹⁴ He further says this type of anti-Americanism is a blanket hatred of the entire American people and civilization.

Hollander argues all forms of anti-Americanism often stems from the human nature to shift away responsibility for pain and misery of their own lives, and American exceptionalism is why the U.S. is often hated.¹⁵ As he claims, the U.S. stands-out to be the representation of modernity. Hollander then argues the "deepest and broadest source" of anti-American sentiments

¹¹Hollander. *Understanding Anti-Americanism*. 34

¹²Hollander. *Understanding Anti-Americanism*. 34

¹³Hollander. *Understanding Anti-Americanism*. 34

¹⁴Hollander. *Understanding Anti-Americanism*. 7

¹⁵Hollander. *Understanding Anti-Americanism*. 37

is the "aversion to modernity."¹⁶ For foreigners, "modernization", "westernization", and "Americanization" possesses interchangeable meanings, then therefore they blame the U.S. for all social ills associated with modernization.¹⁷

Anti-Americanism as Defined by the Left

Leftist scholars often see anti-American as a reaction to what America does. Scholars such as Ross and Ross see anti-Americanism as an explainable reaction that can be traced to diverse but identifiable causes. They find anti-American sentiments are often justifiable. In the contemporary context, they see anti-Americanism as a reaction to harmful American policies or the American style of capitalism. They also condemn scholars such as Hollander for oversimplifying the cause of anti-Americanism, and characterizing most anti-Americanism as "irrational and misdirected."¹⁸

Popular anti-Americanism first took roots in Latin America in early 1800s, from the American record of slavery, genocide, and imperial ambitions.¹⁹ Ross & Ross hint that these dissents were justified reactions, because American influence in the Latin America was repressive against self-determination, economic, and democratic reforms.²⁰ During the cold war, anti-Americanism was sparked by reactions against "right-wing death squads and psychotic dictators," but the U.S. cites that idea of communist threats to suppress even the legitimate dissents world wide.²¹ In the post-cold war unipolar world, power is expressed through neo-liberalism, therefore popular anti-nation-states sentiments are being replaced by dissents against multi-national corporations.²² But anti-Americanism remains strong world-wide, because of the

¹⁶Hollander. *Understanding Anti-Americanism*. 12

¹⁷Hollander. *Understanding Anti-Americanism*. 12-3

¹⁸Ross & Ross. *Anti-Americanism*. 11-2

¹⁹Ross & Ross. *Anti-Americanism*. 2

²⁰Ross & Ross. *Anti-Americanism*. 2

²¹Ross & Ross. *Anti-Americanism*. 3

²²Ross & Ross. *Anti-Americanism*. 3-4

American role in shaping the world capitalist system.²³ After 9/11 the U.S. was able to gain sympathy and solidarity among nations, even from the unlikely countries such as France.²⁴ Ross & Ross argue that the Bush administration's bullying foreign policy and arrogant attitude has quickly depleted most of this goodwill.²⁵ Once again, American militarism and imperialism such as the invasion of Iraq has generated anti-American sentiments around the globe.²⁶ Ross & Ross warn against further American imperialist ambition will only result in more dissents.

Ross & Ross also condemn the lack of attention from the American public, and indifference of the American government towards anti-Americanism. They see domestic public debate as too narrow and often ignore historical context.²⁷ And they criticize the American government frequently dismissing foreign anti-Americanism as merely irrational sentiments, envy of American power, or public relations issues, thus not worthy of closer examination and further exploration.²⁸

Rebecca Karl sees anti-Americanism through the lenses of contemporary Chinese intellectuals, where she argues anti-Americanism is being repressed in China to the level that any intellectuals expressing legitimate concerns of the American-styled liberal economy is deemed as deviant. She finds the term “anti-American” is now being used as a weapon for intra-Chinese intellectual camps rivalry. She characterizes Mao's anti-Americanism as akin to a total rejection of anything American.²⁹ Deng's successful policies of opening China to the world have increasingly pushed Maoist hard line anti-capitalism to irrelevance. By 1990, Chinese and the Chinese government have practically completely repudiated Maoist policies, also repudiated was

²³Ross & Ross, *Anti-Americanism*. 4

²⁴Ross & Ross, *Anti-Americanism*. 6-7

²⁵Ross & Ross, *Anti-Americanism*. 7

²⁶Ross & Ross, *Anti-Americanism*. 5

²⁷Ross & Ross, *Anti-Americanism*. 8-9

²⁸Ross & Ross, *Anti-Americanism*. 7

²⁹Karl, *Chin's Repressed Returns. Anti-Americanism*. 243

Mao's anti-American stance.³⁰ Karl argues that because the Chinese associate anti-Americanism with the now-deemed disastrous Maoist policies, neo-liberal Chinese academics who are obsessed with joining the American-dominated global economy often successfully discredit their counterparts on the left by blanket labeling them as “anti-American.”³¹

Quantifying Anti-Americanism

Given the disparities in the definition and understanding of anti-Americanism, political scientists have attempted to develop a measurable and universally applicable framework to quantify the seemingly intangible sentiment of anti-Americanism.

Katzenstein and Keohane argue anti-Americanism in the broadest sense is “a psychological tendency to hold negative views of the United States and of American society in general.”³² They see anti-Americanism as an attitude, but also acknowledge the influence of politics in shaping attitude. They argue uniformed anti-Americanism is rare. Rather, anti-Americanism is often ambivalent, i.e. the simultaneous or confusion of like and dislike of certain aspects of the U.S.; or it can be multidimensional, that is liking certain American characteristics while disliking others.³³ Katzenstein and Keohane further classified anti-Americanism, according to its magnitude, into a continuum of: opinion, distrust, and bias. They define anti-American opinion as the lightest form of anti-Americanism. It is fluid and subjected to change based on new events, while bias reflect the deepest systematic and institutionalized anti-Americanism that is hostile to the U.S. as a generalized entity.³⁴ Recognizing the diverse causes of anti-American sentiments, Katzenstein and Keohane further identify four archetypes of anti-Americanism: liberal, social, sovereign-nationalist, and radical. Liberal anti-Americanism often criticize the

³⁰Karl. *Chin's Repressed Returns. Anti-Americanism*. 243

³¹Karl. *Chin's Repressed Returns. Anti-Americanism*. 243

³²Katzenstein and Keohane. *Anti-Americanisms in World Politics*. 12

³³ Katzenstein and Keohane. *Anti-Americanisms in World Politics*. 12

³⁴Katzenstein and Keohane. *Anti-Americanisms in World Politics*. 12

U.S. on the grounds of hypocrisy, where liberals identify with core America ideals but criticize the U.S. for its failure to live up to them.³⁵ Social anti-Americanism involves value conflicts with the U.S., such as on the desirability of welfare and death penalty.³⁶ Sovereign-nationalist anti-Americanism is about political power, where nationalism, sovereignty, and the desire to reinforce one's own state as a superpower all inspire anti-Americanism.³⁷ Finally, radical anti-Americans see the U.S. as an obstacle to building a better world, and argue for the “weakening, destruction, or transformation” of the U.S.³⁸ This includes Marxist-Leninist and Occidental anti-Americans.

Using statistical analysis of empirical evidence from early 1990s to mid 2000s, Johnston and Stockmann find that Chinese anti-Americanism is akin to the sovereignty-nationalist type in the Katzenstein and Keohane model. They conclude Chinese distrust and anger at American policies are prevalent, but Chinese sentiments have not reached the level of hatred and bias.³⁹ In their research, Johnston and Stockmann find all levels of Chinese (“official, media, intellectual, and mass”) are substantially negative towards American foreign policies.⁴⁰ Chinese view American foreign policies, by default, as hegemonic and arrogant. They suspect the U.S. is trying to contain China and obstruct China's legitimate development.⁴¹ They find Chinese are able to differentiate their negative attitude towards American policies and other aspects of American lives. This kind of Chinese suspicion has leaked into Chinese realpolitik security

³⁵Katzenstein and Keohane. *Anti-Americanisms in World Politics*. 31

³⁶Katzenstein and Keohane. *Anti-Americanisms in World Politics*. 32

³⁷Katzenstein and Keohane. *Anti-Americanisms in World Politics*. 32-3

³⁸Katzenstein and Keohane. *Anti-Americanisms in World Politics*. 33

³⁹Johnston and Stockmann. *Chinese Attitudes toward the United States and Americans. Anti-Americanisms in World Politics*. 193

⁴⁰Johnston and Stockmann. *Chinese Attitudes toward the United States and Americans. Anti-Americanisms in World Politics*. 192

⁴¹Johnston and Stockmann. *Chinese Attitudes toward the United States and Americans. Anti-Americanisms in World Politics*. 192

concerns, but not to other domains such as attitudes towards American consumer goods or American international aids.⁴²

Narratives Shaping Chinese Attitude towards America:

Chinese Nationalism Since 1996

It would be inappropriate to say 1996 was a turning point for Chinese nationalism, however, it was a year that the call for popular Chinese nationalism was once again heard by the entire country. The nation-state of China is a modern invention after the birth of the Republic of China in 1911, but nationalism has always played a role in modern Chinese history, whenever China encounters foreign forces since late Qing. The utmost rejection of foreigners by Chinese was demonstrated by the Boxers' rebellion in 1889. By no means was the Boxers Rebellion a pure nationalistic movement, but the Boxers nonetheless rallied their supporters by a nationalistic appeal, as their slogan says "Support the Qing and destroy the foreign." Again, in 1919, Chinese nationalism sparked the May Fourth Movement, which has since been memorialized by Chinese as a moment of national awakening. The movement broke out after the news of The Treaty of Versailles reached China, where instead of returning the German colony Shangdon to China, the treaty transferred Shangdon to Japan. Chinese were infuriated and felt betrayed as the Treat of Versailles obstructed Chinese national unity; even China was part of the Allied power in WWI and fought against Germany. The protest against the Treaty of Versailles grew and became the famous May Fourth Movement, and the movement showed its impact in variety of Chinese political and societal aspects, such as literature, traditional culture, journalism, international relations, science, education, and commerce. However, the movement's root was nationalistic.

⁴²Johnston and Stockmann. *Chinese Attitudes toward the United States and Americans. Anti-Americanisms in World Politics*. 192

Despite Chinese nationalism is not a new phenomenon, but 1996 was a special year in 2 ways. The publication of *China Can Say No* in 1996 was a manifestation of popular Chinese nationalism, and this manifestation echoed around the China as well as globally. The book has sparked and since shaped the Chinese debate on popular nationalism as well as national interest. Secondly, the U.S. responded to the Taiwan missile crisis with sending aircraft carriers through the Strait of Taiwan in 1996. Taiwan Missile Crisis was an iconic moment because it was the first military standoff between the U.S. and China since Tiananmen Square Incident, where Tiananmen marks the end of the honey moon period between Chinese-American relationships. Chinese government responded to the 1996 American military involvement in Taiwan Missile Crisis with nationalistic outcry, as the Chinese government sense the overwhelming American power is a real danger to its mission to re-unify Taiwan. Such view also permeated to Chinese public, where they also felt the need to advocate nationalism to defend China from the threat of American military, in order for the Taiwan question to be resolved without foreign influence.

Diminishing Influence of Communism

Orthodox Marxist-Leninist-Maoist doctrines have played a decreasing role in Chinese society since the death of Mao and Deng's ascend to power. Disastrous consequences of orthodox Maoist programs such as the Great Leap and the Cultural Revolution have served as a rationale for the rulers of China to reject any far left policies. Under Deng's rule, China has begun embracing economic liberalism by opened its market to foreign trade and investment, and Chinese economy has bloomed exponentially since the 1980s. The Chinese Communist Party (CCP) even coined the term “socialism with Chinese characteristics” to declare its ruling doctrine has parted ways with orthodox communism. Despite the CCP still dominates Chinese polity, orthodox communist doctrines no longer dictate all aspects of Chinese society. If one still needs any further evidence

of the fading influence of communism, in 2007 China has finally amended the constitution to legalize private property – a symbolic and long overdue step as China continues to liberalize its economic.⁴³ Scholars such as Shambaugh and Saunders find that since the normalization of relationship between the U.S. and China, communism has faded away as a master narrative in Chinese anti-Americanism. They argue the quality of Chinese “American watchers” have improved overtime in terms of their understanding of the U.S.

In Shambaugh's book *The Beautiful Imperialist*, he found that between 1972 to 1990 (i.e. since the normalization of Chinese-American relationship to Tiananmen Square Incident) Chinese American watchers continue to hold distorted, shallow, and sometimes negative views of the U.S, but he notes progress has been made.⁴⁴ He also witnesses the decrease in number of Marxist-Leninist school of American watchers, where the pluralist school analysts were replacing them.⁴⁵ When studying the U.S., the Marxist-Leninist analysts too often blindly apply prescriptive communist theories hostile towards capitalist states, hence their understanding of the U.S. is often highly distorted. For example, before mid-1980s, Marxist American watchers thought American proletariat was “absolutely” impoverished and was on the verge of a revolution – an understanding quite different from the actual historic situation.⁴⁶ And they view the American political party and election system as irrelevant, because they only represent the bourgeoisie class.⁴⁷ On the other hand, the pluralist analysts took a descriptive approach, and were not bounded by established political theories. They have a more holistic understanding of American economy, society, polity, and foreign policy. They acknowledge the American

⁴³Yardley, Jim and Lin Yang. “China Nears Passage of Law Protecting Private Property” New York Times. 9 March 2007

⁴⁴Shambaugh. *Beautiful Imperialist*. 283

⁴⁵Shambaugh. *Beautiful Imperialist*. 281

⁴⁶Shambaugh. *Beautiful Imperialist*. 142

⁴⁷Shambaugh. *Beautiful Imperialist*. 225

democratic progress, and understand the process of American policy making is shaped by multiple American social, economic, and political factors.⁴⁸ Therefore, the pluralists were producing results less distorted by communist political views and were more akin to reality. As an example, instead of interpreting the American economy disparity solely through Marxist-Leninist theory of class repression, these pluralists took an integrated approach by identifying the strengths and weakness of American social economy. An excerpt of an article written in 1984 by one of the pluralists shows this group of American watchers, compared to their Marxist-Leninist predecessors, is more observant and absent from political predisposition:

“The country's education is so developed...on the other hand 26 million Americans are illiterate or semi-literate; America's science and technology is so advanced...on the other hand religious superstition is so prevalent in this country that during their race the presidential candidates of the two parties each had to vow solemnly that he was a good Christian; America's medical profession is so advanced, on the other hand the cost of medical treatment is so expensive; American is a country that is particular about its legal system...on the other hand, there are so many people who are able, after they commit a crime, to escape the law's punishment...”⁴⁹

Attempting to update Shambaugh's research, Saunders studies the Chinese American watchers from 1996 to 2000. Saunders's research confirms the continuation of the trend found by Shambaugh, where Chinese top American watchers now have an even better understanding of the U.S. than Shambaugh's time.⁵⁰ These American watchers now enjoy: greater academic freedom to study the U.S., greater access to American information, a continue ousting of the Marxist-Leninist approach and the influx of American universities trained Chinese academics in American watching institutions.⁵¹

⁴⁸Shambaugh. *Beautiful Imperialist*. 278-83

⁴⁹Shambaugh. *Beautiful Imperialist*. 164

⁵⁰Saunders. *China's America Watchers: Changing Attitudes towards the United States*. 43

⁵¹Saunders. *China's America Watchers: Changing Attitudes towards the United States*. 44

Realpolitik Aspect

Realpolitik has long played an important role in China's decision making even before 1996. The normalization of relationship with a capitalist America in 1979 can hardly be seen as an orthodox move for a communist China. But through the lens of realpolitik, China's move can be easily understood as a need to seek a counter-balance to the then-hostile Soviet Union. Realpolitik continues to influence and even dominates contemporary China's decision making process. Deng Xiaoping once famously quoted saying, "No matter if it is a white cat or a black cat; as long as it can catch mice, it is a good cat." The quote originally referred to Deng's rejection of Mao's radical economic reforms in the 1960s to eliminate markets. Since Deng regained power in the late 1970s, this quote has been repeatedly applied in more aspects in the Chinese polity and international relations, illustrates the realist spirit in Chinese government. Various scholars have testified the powerful roll of realpolitik thinking in China. Christensen says "China may well be the high church of realpolitik in the post-Cold War world," where Chinese leaders are more like traditional balance-of-power thinkers compared to contemporary western politicians.⁵² Saunders suggests in his research that since the 1990s many Chinese analysts have adopted a realpolitik approach to international relations.⁵³ Shambaugh even says China views international relationship in a strictly realist Westphalian state system.

Some scholars argue the recent rise of Chinese nationalism is consistent with the traditional Chinese realist view of the world, where contemporary Chinese nationalism is motivated by the public desire to protect Chinese national interest. Guang argues that contemporary Chinese nationalism adheres to traditional realpolitik principles, and he identifies three key realist elements that shape contemporary Chinese nationalism: territorial integrity, state

⁵²Christensen. *Chinese Realpolitik*. 37

⁵³Saunders. *China's America Watchers: Changing Attitudes towards the United States*. 45

sovereignty, and international legitimacy⁵⁴ By fusing “realpolitik”, a term implying rational calculation of power politics, and “nationalism”, a term implying irrational beliefs, Guang coins the idea of “Realpolitik Nationalism” to describes contemporary Chinese nationalism.⁵⁵ He explains these two ideas are compatible in China, as the roots of Chinese nationalism are realist power concerns.⁵⁶ In his own words, realpolitik nationalism “is an ideology that elevates realist considerations of power, articulated expressly in the ideas of territorial integrity, sovereignty, and international legitimacy, to the level of a “national imperative” for the country and thereby makes these very ideas the constitutive elements of a modern Chinese national identity.”⁵⁷

Guang argues the common narrative of western interpretation of Chinese nationalism sees Chinese nationalism as anti-western, anti-colonial, and nostalgic to recover past glory. He then criticizes this interpretation is only based on China's encounter with the west and therefore inconclusive, because such view omits Chinese nationalism's impact with non-western states, also such interpretation focuses too much on internal sources and omits external sources of that inspire Chinese nationalism.⁵⁸ Guang then cites the Sino-Indian conflict of 1962 as an example. Despite a non-western state was involved, when territorial integrity is violated (one of the three principles forming realpolitik nationalism), Chinese nationalism still play an equally powerful role.⁵⁹

Guang cites 4 recent events as examples of the importance of external source stimulating Chinese nationalism: the Chinese embassy bombing in Belgrade in 1999, the EP-3 plane crash over Hainan Island in 2001, and Beijing's successful bid for the Olympics and WTO membership

⁵⁴Guang. *Realpolitik Nationalism*. Modern China Oct 2005. 502

⁵⁵Guang. *Realpolitik Nationalism*. Modern China Oct 2005. 499

⁵⁶Guang. *Realpolitik Nationalism*. Modern China Oct 2005. 499

⁵⁷Guang. *Realpolitik Nationalism*. Modern China Oct 2005. 499

⁵⁸Guang. *Realpolitik Nationalism*. Modern China Oct 2005. 495

⁵⁹Guang. *Realpolitik Nationalism*. Modern China Oct 2005. 507

in 2001.⁶⁰ He argues Chinese has long internalized realpolitik nationalism, and when stimulated by selective external events, Chinese would express their nationalism to either celebrate Chinese achievements or to defend Chinese interest.

Psychological Aspect

The narrative of the Chinese “century of humiliation” also plays an important role in shaping Chinese nationalism, as the narrative has been internalized by Chinese. The century of humiliation is not a strictly defined term. It roughly refers to China during the time period from the 18040s, or the first Opium War, to either the defeat of the Japanese in 1945 or the birth of the People’s Republic of China in 1949.⁶¹ Chinese has memorialized this century as a dark period, characterized by internal Chinese weakness and external threat from Western powers. Chinese see China in this period as politically, militarily, culturally and economically backward when compared to the West. China was plagued by internal conflicts and national disunity. Chinese also see China had no effective way to defend itself against Western imperial ambitions. Hong Kong, Macau, and Taiwan were ceded as colonies to Britain, Portugal, and Japan after lost wars. China was often forced to grant its wealthiest and densest coastal cities as concession territories to Western powers, and Chinese had to recognize the “sphere of influence” in China drawn by Western powers. This narrative is so powerful that it transcends political differences, as history textbooks in mainland China, Hong Kong, and Taiwan all mention the Chinese bitterness of watching luxurious imperial gardens and palaces looted and burned to the ground by invading European troops. The collective Chinese memory of this gloomy and humiliating period has shaped many other aspects of Chinese society, for example even Bruce Lee’s movies made in late 1960s and 70s would still often picture Westerners bullying helpless Chinese. The century of

⁶⁰Guang. *Realpolitik Nationalism*. Modern China Oct 2005. 497

⁶¹ Johnston and Stockmann. *Chinese Attitudes toward the United States and Americans. Anti-Americanisms in World Politics*.193

humiliation narrative helps shape a collective Chinese attitude towards state power and foreign influence. Referring to past experience, Chinese often see strong state power as the only proof against future humiliation. Chinese are also often suspicious against foreign, particularly western, influence in China. Despite the U.S. had relatively few imperial ambitions in China during the century of humiliation, American involvement in Taiwan are often met with Chinese fury. As Chinese see Taiwan being the last piece of ceded colony yet to be re-unified with mainland China, American involvement triggers the bitter Chinese memory of superior western powers colonizing and fragmenting China, and therefore drew fierce protests from Chinese.⁶²

Interplay of Influence

Realpolitik thinking emphasizes rational calculation solely based upon sovereign state's self-interest in a chaotic international arena. The Chinese narrative of the century of humiliation is about human emotion, where the narrative tends to provoke the use of sensations and beliefs to answer foreign challenges. However, in the context of Chinese nationalism, realist calculation and the memory of the past humiliation are not contradictory forces. In fact, they work together to shape contemporary Chinese attitude towards foreign influence, including anti-American sentiments in certain times. The collective Chinese memory of the century of humiliation leaks into the realm of realpolitik, which means Chinese are especially cautious of foreign challenges over Chinese interest. Memory of past humiliation by western powers constantly reminds Chinese the very real danger of foreign influence preying on China. On the other hand, Realpolitik is seen as the most viable solution to avoid repeating past humiliations. China treasures its development progress thus far, and sees that the current peace and prosperity can only be effectively maintained through Chinese might, be it the Chinese economy or military.

⁶² Johnston and Stockmann. *Chinese Attitudes toward the United States and Americans. Anti-Americanisms in World Politics*. 194

Overemphasizing the importance of either force risks missing the greater picture of causes of Chinese nationalism, and hence anti-Americanism inspired by Chinese nationalism.

Analysis of *China Can Say No*

Zhongguo ke yi shuo bu, or better known as its translated title *China Can Say No*, was published in 1996. It was written by multiple authors, although Song Qiang is most well known. The authors claimed to be reporters, university professors, and freelance writers.⁶³ It quickly became the Chinese national bestseller after its release. The book has shaped debates by both Chinese and foreign scholars, and it worried both American diplomats and Chinese officials. It has since sparked many discussions in Chinese media and pop culture, and attracted a series of subsequent of “Say No” books to be published. To say the least, *China Can Say No* is an icon of contemporary popular Chinese nationalism. Despite of its popularity and frequent reference by American scholars, as of now there is no English translation of the book available. Therefore I will attempt a detailed and holistic analysis of the book's theme and tone, and connect these elements to the debate of Chinese nationalism and anti-Americanism.

The book is a compilation of short, individual, heavily editorialized, and anecdotal articles from multiple authors sometimes not identified, loosely bounded by the over-arching themes of calling for Chinese nationalism, challenging the U.S. and Japan power, criticizing parts of American culture, as well as arguing China should correct its course from being overly pro-American. Its introduction gives some useful insight to the tone of the book. The introductory chapters of the books are titled “The Blue Sky has Perished, the Yellow Sky will Soon Rise” (cang tian yi si, huang tian dang li), a reference to the slogan used by the rebels in the Yellow Turban Rebellion against the Emperor Ling of Han dynasty.⁶⁴ Originally, the “blue sky”

⁶³China Can Say No. 2

⁶⁴Levy. *Yellow Turban Religion and Rebellion at the End of Han*. 214-227.

was referring to the Han dynasty, and the “yellow sky” was referring to the Yellow Turban rebels. The slogan was created according to Taoist believe, where the color yellow is believed to be the natural successor of the color blue.⁶⁵ Here, the authors of *China Can Say No* are using the slogan in contemporary context, implying the U.S. as the “blue sky”, and China as the “yellow sky”, i.e. implying the U.S. is on its decline and China is on its rise. Furthermore, the slogan conveys different layers of implications. First, the slogan itself and its historical context are well-known by Chinese. The Yellow Turban Rebellion is often seen as a popular uprising against a corrupt power. Second, “heaven” not only refers to a dynasty or nation, but it also implies a comprehensive and virtuous system that governs the world. Therefore, by using the slogan in this context, the authors seem to imply the corruption of the originally all-powerful and good American system. Furthermore, they imply their belief that not only the decline of American power is eminent, but so as the international system built upon the American world view.

The preface of the book articulates two themes that emanate throughout the book: criticizing the U.S. containment strategy towards China, and China seeking equal treatment by the West.⁶⁶ By "saying no", Chinese is not seeking “confrontation”, but to “seek dialogue with the West on a more equal basis.”⁶⁷ The first sentence of the preface claims this book is neither “a declaration of nationalism, nor a strategic plan for China's rise in international politics,” but “merely a reflection of public opinion.”⁶⁸ Then it proclaims the West led by the U.S. are still in cold war mentality, where they seek containment and confrontational policies towards China, and this mentality and policies have angered the Chinese. It further says the U.S. is unwilling to see a rising China to share the post-cold war American hegemonic power, therefore the “free

⁶⁵Levy. *Yellow Turban Religion and Rebellion at the End of Han*. 214-227.

⁶⁶Song et al. *China Can Say No*. 1-3

⁶⁷Song et al. *China Can Say No*. 2

⁶⁸Song et al. *China Can Say No*. 1

world” (here used interchangeably with the U.S.) is conspiring against China, where the author claims “a new cold war is being launched against China by the U.S.”⁶⁹ Finally, the authors discuss their credentials, where they are young professional in their 30s, but none of them are international relations specialists. They claim this increases the authenticity of the book as a reflection of popular Chinese sentiments.⁷⁰ One of the authors says he was originally an internationalist, but turned into a nationalist after witnessing the American effort to curb the Chinese bid for the 2000 Olympics. He then claims this is also a common path for many Chinese.

China Can Say No contains no shortage of explosive rhetoric and name-calling, particularly when describing the U.S. One does not have to go far to look for examples, but to look at the table of content, where a chapter of the book is titled “Burn down Hollywood”, while another one is named “American Narcissism”. The book frequently characterizes the U.S. as a hegemonic power (note the term “hegemony” has a particularly negative connotation in China). When discussing American military involvement in Taiwan, the author says it is necessary for Chinese to visit the Korean War memorial in Washington, DC, because it memorialize the first war that the U.S. was unable to win, and China was the counterpart in that war.⁷¹ Then he says if the U.S. again forces China to be its counterpart over the issue of Taiwan, Washington would need to build a much larger memorial to fit more names of fallen American soldiers.⁷² The U.S. is called the “largest terrorist regime on earth” in a chapter, where the author argues the U.S. uses its military might to intimidate other nations to protect global American interest.⁷³ Another chapter opens with the imaginary scenario, where the White House is attacked by a Tomahawk

⁶⁹Song et al. *China Can Say No*. 1-2

⁷⁰Song et al. *China Can Say No*. 2

⁷¹Song et al. *China Can Say No*. 42

⁷²Song et al. *China Can Say No*. 42

⁷³Song et al. *China Can Say No*. 248

missile sold by the U.S., as a possible consequence of the large scale of American arms sale.⁷⁴

These are only a few examples to show the tone of rhetoric used in the book.

Despite the fierce rhetoric in *China Can Say No* often becomes the center of discussion, I should stress that the authors also offer substantive strategic recommendations for China. Among the 55 articles in the book, 14 of them are specifically about how China should proceed in the post-cold world. The authors argue that the U.S. has adopted a long-term containment strategy against China.⁷⁵ In return, they advocate that China should adopt “anti-containment” strategy, so long as the American containment is in place.⁷⁶ They define “anti-containment” as China should retaliate every single step taken by the U.S. to contain China. They provide examples such as: if the U.S. continues to sell arms to Taiwan, China should cool down its diplomatic relationship with the U.S. Or if the U.S. refuses to treat a Chinese President's visit to the U.S. as a state visit (a reference to the episode of Jiang Zemin's visit to the U.S. in 1995), they China should do the same to future American Presidents' visits.⁷⁷ Also, they authors suggest China should develop a strategic partnership with Russia based on mutual interest, as Russian is another victim of America's containment strategy. China should also develop substantial trade and economic partnership with other nations, in order to decrease China's dependency and vulnerability on American economy.⁷⁸ Furthermore, China should more use its growing economic power more elaborately to reward China-friendly nations, such as France and Germany.⁷⁹ Note that these recommendations are not always motivated by pure realist calculations as they may have seemed, where sometime cold realist calculations are fused by nationalistic believes. When

⁷⁴Song et al. *China Can Say No*. 231

⁷⁵Song et al. *China Can Say No*. 61-63

⁷⁶Song et al. *China Can Say No*. 63

⁷⁷Song et al. *China Can Say No*. 64

⁷⁸Song et al. *China Can Say No*. 88-89

⁷⁹Song et al. *China Can Say No*. 45

discussing steps to counter American involvement in Taiwan, the authors rationalize their recommendations by declaring “national dignity is more important than anything else to China”, because China was “divided, raided, and humiliated for years by western powers.”⁸⁰

Manifesto of Popular Chinese Nationalism

A common theme in American media is that Chinese nationalism is state-controlled, and is only unleashed by the Chinese government at specific instances as a political weapon against the U.S.. However, *China Can Say No* stresses Chinese nationalism is, and should be, a popular sentiment.

Typical rhetoric that blindly praises the Chinese communist party is nowhere to be found in this book. In fact, the book rarely mentions the Chinese communist party. When the authors do praise the Chinese government, they identify specific names of the officials and spells out how their deeds have defended or advanced Chinese nationalism. The introduction of the book claims its content is a reflection of popular Chinese feelings. In fact, the backgrounds of the authors themselves echo the same idea. These authors, who are advocating hard line Chinese nationalism in the book, were in fact participants of the Chinese democracy movement in 1989. In other words, they were part of the episode of criticisms and demonstrations against the Chinese Communist party that ultimately led to the Tiananmen Square Incident. The creation and publication of *China Can Say No* by these very same authors that once acted against the CCP, therefore, can be seen as a sign that Chinese nationalism has taken its populist roots that is independent of the Chinese government.

Chinese Nationalism Meets Anti-Americanism

In the ending chapters, the authors finally reveal what China is saying “no” to: one being American double standards in international relations, and second being the forceful and blatant

⁸⁰Song et al. *China Can Say No*. 64

projection of American hegemonic power.⁸¹ Some of the most fierce criticisms in the book are reserved for the U.S. *China Can Say No* criticizes both American foreign policies and American culture and societal phenomenon. Drawing upon the framework created by the anti-American scholars mentioned above, *China Can Say No* sometimes goes beyond mere criticism of American foreign policies, as it attacks both what America does, and what American is. The vivid use of strong rhetoric to criticize the U.S. hints that these criticisms are not purely policy orientated, but fused with deep emotional sentiments. In a few instances, these criticisms are not directed toward a specific cause but serves as a mere rant. These attacks against the U.S. are by no means coherent or well-structured, but are scattered throughout various chapters in the book.

First, *China Can Say No* also has no shortage of criticisms of specific instances of American double standards. The book criticizes American double standard on arms sales, where on one hand the U.S. accuses Chinese arms proliferation endangers the world, and on the other hand the U.S. is involved in the Iran-Contra scandal.⁸² The authors accuse the U.S. on one hand promotes economic liberalization, but on the other hand tried to stop China from acquiring membership in WTO.⁸³ The authors sees American criticisms of increasing Chinese military spending as hypocritical, because the U.S. has the largest defense budget in the world.⁸⁴ The U.S. is equally hypocritical in its involvement in Taiwan, as the U.S. recognizes the “one China policy” but it continues to sell arms to the Republic of China under the Taiwan Relations Act.⁸⁵ Or the U.S. attacks Chinese military drill in Taiwan Strait as “intimation”, but at the same time sends aircraft carriers through the strait to intimidate China.⁸⁶ Second, the authors also

⁸¹Song et al. *China Can Say No*.230

⁸²Song et al. *China Can Say No*. 2

⁸³Song et al. *China Can Say No*. 2

⁸⁴Song et al. *China Can Say No*. 222-7

⁸⁵Song et al. *China Can Say No*. 228-30

⁸⁶Song et al. *China Can Say No*. 248

attack the U.S. on hegemonic grounds. The most serious accusation is the authors characterize the 100 thousand American troops in Asia as the “root cause of fear in Asia”.⁸⁷ They see the U.S. has no reason to have military presence thousands of miles from their homeland, and accuse American military in Asia serves only one purpose: to intimate Asian countries to confirm to the American empire. The authors are also furious over how the U.S. uses China's most favorite nation's statutes as an excuse to humiliate China by interfering with Chinese human rights and Tibetan issues. They claim the most favorite nation status granted by the U.S. only serves to satisfy the American imperial ambition.

In some occasion, the authors do not provide justification of their attack, hence they are more akin to pure rant and blanket statements. At one point the authors says the U.S. has mutated by its imperial ambition, and “is no longer the same U.S. that defeated fascism or the same U.S. that fought for independence.”⁸⁸ The authors once say all Americans are narcissists and therefore potentially endangering the world.⁸⁹ The authors also use terms such as “annoying”, “pathetic”, “lost”, and “cheap” to describe the U.S.⁹⁰

Note that most of the time the authors criticizes the U.S. over these two issues only when they are particularly related to China. That is, American “ills” are of little concern of the authors when they do not affect China.

Assessing the Soundness of the Criticisms

The authors of *China Can Say No* often incline to interpret their observations of American polity and society as signs of hostility towards China. However, I argue that the authors' observation of the U.S. is mostly sound and grounded on empirical evidence. The book shows that the authors

⁸⁷Song et al. *China Can Say No*. 250

⁸⁸Song et al. *China Can Say No*. 230

⁸⁹Song et al. *China Can Say No*. 142

⁹⁰Song et al. *China Can Say No*. 230

are well informed of current events, they demonstrate their understanding of many faces of America by spelling out the complexity of American polity and society; note these are also characteristics of the pluralist Chinese American watchers described and praised by Shambaugh.

The authors understand the American two party systems and campaign cycle, as they describe in depth how attacking China would make an American politician look strong on foreign policy issues. Several times the book harshly criticizes Gingrich and Dole's anti-China rhetoric during the Taiwan missile crisis as “imperialistic” and “lunatic”, but it also acknowledge these hard line rhetoric are common and often ritualistic in order for American politicians to gain popularity as election was approaching.⁹¹ The authors' attitudes have not led them to manufacture a cultural conspiracy theory. The authors shows their hatred for excessive violence and vulgarity in Hollywood movies and worry these themes will bring American social ills to China. But instead of viewing the export of American movies as a consistent American plot to brainwash the world and suffocate local cultures, as some extreme cultural anti-Americans would suggest, the authors recognize Hollywood movies' contents are merely products of free market supply and demand.⁹² In fact, one of the authors admits he has a huge collection of American movies at home and he is a big fan of them, because Chinese movies at the time are far less entertaining.⁹³ To “battle” the Hollywood movies, they advocate improving the quality of domestic production to so they may compete with their American counterpart – a move can hardly be seen as irrational. When the authors warn of “post-McCarthyism” or “neo-McCarthyism” in the U.S. as an ideology working against China, the authors are able to recite the history of the McCarthy era in the U.S. in detail, and they even mention names of senators that spoke out against McCarthy and quote speeches made in Congress that reflects upon this era.

⁹¹Song et al. *China Can Say No*. 251-54

⁹²Song et al. *China Can Say No*. 122-33

⁹³Song et al. *China Can Say No*. 127-9

This shows again the authors' fair understanding of American history and their close reading to America empirical evidence.

Implications of *China Can Say No*

Before any attempt to draw a strong and coherent conclusion from *China Can Say No*, and threat them as serious implications on the future of Chinese nationalism and anti-Americanism, one should bare in mind that this book is not a scholarly research, but a popular literature written by several authors. It is loosely organized, the writing sometimes shows ambiguity, and sometimes different chapters present conflicting arguments, styles, and tones. That being said, these articles nonetheless are all bounded by the common theme of Chinese nationalism. Despite the large amount of chapters spend attacking the U.S. and its harsh rhetoric used against America, to the authors of the book, the U.S. is only relevant to China when it impends on Chinese interest – or in their words, trying to contain China. In some instance anti-American rhetoric bleeds from the authors attack against American policies to a more general attack against what America is, but by no means this is the focus of the book. The authors have shown little interest in criticizing American power in other areas of the world, where their hostilities are only reserved for American involvements in China.

China Can Say No does not adopt a monolithic understanding of the U.S. and Americanism. The failure to recognize the multitude of Americanism was a common mistake by Chinese scholars in previous decades. Through their writings and examples used, the authors show their understanding of a pluralist American society and polity, where diverse forces are constantly at work. While their interpretations are often biased against the U.S., their observations of America are generally sound and well informed.

Case Studies

Literatures analyzed above show different narrative shaping contemporary Chinese nationalism, now I will apply these theories on case studies of Chinese current events to show how Chinese nationalism dictates Chinese reaction to foreign forces. Four events are picked and closely examined below: the Chinese embassy bombing in Belgrade in 1999, the Hainan plane crash incident in 2001, the episode of Chinese anti-French movements in 2008-9, and the Dwan-wu festival controversy between China and Korea in 2005. In all four of these instances, foreign government forces interacted with China, and Chinese deemed these forces as intrusive and hostile. Chinese nationalism, internalized by the public, dictated how Chinese viewed these foreign forces, and framed the Chinese reaction in these instances. I argue that China is not inherently anti-American, and the so-called Chinese anti-Americanism is in fact Chinese anti-foreign sentiment. Chinese anti-foreign sentiment is a by-product of Chinese nationalism, which could be unleashed upon any intruding forces. Anti-American sentiments in China only broke out when provoked by specific American actions deemed intruding on Chinese national pride and interest. Such anti-American sentiment quickly fades away when the controversy is resolved. To prove that China is not inherently anti-American, or even anti-western, two case studies involving France and Korea are included. In fact, Chinese equally showed their momentary outrage when France and Korea were seen as impending on Chinese national pride. That is, China is only as much anti-American as it is “anti-French”, or “anti-Korean”, or anti-any other nations.

Chinese Embassy Bombing in Belgrade, 1999

NATO launched Operation Allied Force on March 24th 1999 to intervene the Kosovo conflict⁹⁴. As a result, a series of NATO air-strikes were conducted against the Milosevic regime of Serbia, until a cease-fire was reached on June 9th. China, together with Russia, had long fiercely voiced

⁹⁴NATO. *Kosovo Air Campaign*. http://www.nato.int/issues/kosovo_air/index.html

against the NATO military intervention since its beginning, condemning the NATO operation that took place without U.N. Security Council authorization as illegal⁹⁵. A title of a New York Times article even described the Chinese reaction as an "all-out verbal assault", where Chinese President Jiang Zimen demanded the campaign to be halted immediately, and the People's Daily, the state news paper, charged the NATO operation as "'flagrantly using barbaric military force" and a "dangerous precedent of naked aggression."⁹⁶

On Friday May 7th, 1999, an American B-2 bomber took off from the Missouri Whiteman Air Force Base dropped 5 guided bombs on the Chinese embassy in Belgrade. The embassy was directly hit. The bombing killed 3 Chinese journalists and injured 20, and left the building severely damaged.⁹⁷ NATO quickly acknowledged the Chinese embassy was hit by a guided bomb by the allied forces during a night raid of Belgrade⁹⁸. The incident soon sparked a firestorm of anti-American demonstration in China, and made a huge splash in the already-chilled Chinese-American relationship.

The American government investigation says the bombing was an accident, as the bomber was using an outdated map produced by CIA that did not correctly locate the Chinese embassy, and Bill Clinton formally apologized to China on the 11th.⁹⁹ However, the American explanation and apology did not satisfy the Chinese, as they saw the bombing as a great humiliation and a violation of national sovereignty. One scientific poll showed 61.5% of Chinese feeling "indignant."¹⁰⁰ First, the American claim was widely reject by the Chinese government

⁹⁵ "The Secretary General Offers Implicit Endorsement of Raids." *The New York Times*. March 25, 1999.

⁹⁶ "China Mounts All-Out Verbal Assault on Air Raids." *The New York Times*. March 26, 1999

⁹⁷ "NATO Missiles Hit Chinese Embassy; Alliance Again Pounds Belgrade." *Washington Post*. May 8 1999

⁹⁸ "Crisis in the balkans: the overview; nato raid hits china embassy; beijing cites 'barbarian act'; allies admit striking hospital." *The New York Times*. May 8, 1999.

⁹⁹ "Clinton formally apologizes to China for embassy strike." *USA Today*. 11 May 1999

¹⁰⁰ "Survey shows "most people" believe embassy bombing "premeditated"" *BBC Summary of World Broadcasts*. 11 May 1999

and public.¹⁰¹ A Chinese online poll in May 1999 shows that 94% of Chinese did not believe the bombing was an accident.¹⁰² Chinese viewed the bombing as a deliberate act of retaliation and intimidation, where the U.S. made China paid for its obstruction to the American-led Kosovo campaign. Some Chinese simply cannot believe the sophisticated American military, equipped with the most advanced guided weapons, could possibly commit such obvious mistake. Others saw questions that the American investigation failed to answer and took them as signs of deliberate bombing: Chinese questioned why the Chinese embassy mistaken as the “Serbian government building” was the only target selected by the CIA but not the military during the entire Kosovo campaign.¹⁰³ Others questioned why the Chinese embassy was correctly located on the NATO “don’t hit” maps, but not on the map used by the American bomber.¹⁰⁴ Accusations of the Chinese journalists as spies by American media were further taken as proof that the bombing was no accident, but was an American attempt to harm Chinese national interest.¹⁰⁵ Regardless, massive anti-American demonstrations broke out in all major cities in China. The American ambassador was trapped in the American embassy in Beijing for days by angry Chinese. The residence of the American consulate in Chengdu was burned down by Molotov cocktails thrown by Chinese protesters. Other American consulates were also surrounded by angry protesters for days.¹⁰⁶

While reporting the American government's account on the incident without much scrutiny, the main stream American media had trouble accepting the Chinese outrage as genuine

¹⁰¹“Survey shows “most people” believe embassy bombing “premeditated”” *BBC Summary of World Broadcasts*. 11 May 1999

¹⁰²Wu. *Chinese Cyber Nationalism*. 48

¹⁰³Crisis in the Balkans: Embassy Bombing; Two Victims In U.S. Raid Reportedly Were Spies” *The New York Times*. 25 June 1999.

¹⁰⁴Wu. *Chinese Cyber Nationalism*. 48

¹⁰⁵Crisis in the Balkans: Embassy Bombing; Two Victims In U.S. Raid Reportedly Were Spies” *The New York Times*. 25 June 1999.

¹⁰⁶“Crisis in the Balkans: China; More Anti-U.S. Protests in Beijing as Officials Study Bombing Error.” 10 May 1999.

and sometimes doubted its rationality. These excerpts are samples of how the American media simply dismissed the large scale anti-American demonstrations in China as merely a Chinese government plot, and failed to even mention, let alone understand, other factors that shaped the Chinese anger.

Yet China has reacted to the mistaken NATO bombing of its Belgrade embassy suspiciously like a totalitarian nation. The state-controlled media, which is to say China's only media, have whipped people into a fury with inaccurate and incomplete reporting....But China's cynical manipulation of this event may have consequences that its regime does not foresee. One of those might be a clearer understanding among outsiders of the true nature of the Chinese regime.

*Editorial, Washington Post. 11 May 1999*¹⁰⁷

Only a conspiratorialist in the Oliver Stone mold could believe that Washington wanted to guide three bombs into the Chinese Embassy in Serbia, thereby validating Beijing's nationalist propaganda and alienating a government that can veto any Kosovo peace plan brought to the UN Security Council for approval.

...

But the China-baiting of some US politicians has played into the hands of Chinese Communists who want to distract the discontented masses and legitimize their regime by means of patriotism and xenophobia. This, after all, is the year of three fateful anniversaries: the 50th for the Communist takeover, the 40th for the invasion of Tibet, and the 10th since the Tiananmen bloodbath.

*Editorial. Boston Globe. 11 May 1999*¹⁰⁸

...I am certain that the Chinese Government is puzzled and angry at the United States for a number of reasons right now, and the bombing is a good chance to show it. We ought to have learned from Soviet history that Communist leaders in these huge empires -- Soviet and Chinese -- are isolated and paranoid and often attribute motives and scheming to the United States that we might find laughable.

¹⁰⁷“China's True Colors.” *Washington Post*. 11 May 1999.

¹⁰⁸“Defusing the Crisis with China.” *The Boston Globe*. 11 May 1999.

*Column by Robert M. Gates. NYT. 12 May 1999.*¹⁰⁹

The CCP might have played a role in these anti-American protests, but they would have flourished without government help, as they were stirred by popular nationalism already internalized by many Chinese. Perhaps the most authentic Chinese reactions could be found on the internet. Internet became a new and hot platform for Chinese to communicate with each other and search for news during the turn of the millennium, where between 1999 and 2001, Chinese internet users have grown 21 times to 26.5 million.¹¹⁰ During this period, the Chinese cyber space was rarely monitored, as the Chinese government was unfamiliar with the internet and unprepared for its potential for large scale grassroots movements.¹¹¹ In the book *Chinese Cyber Nationalism*, Wu documents the Chinese cyber world after the Belgrade bombing in detail. In Wu's words, the news of the bombing "touched off an online prairie fire."¹¹² On May 7th, most Chinese online chat rooms recorded the highest volume of traffic.¹¹³ Many internet users created online shrines to mourn the Chinese killed in the bombing.¹¹⁴ Sina.com, then the largest Chinese news aggregator and portal, recorded over 23,000 postings in its news commentary section within 24 hours of the news of the bombing reached China.¹¹⁵ Anti-American slogans such as "down with American" became vastly popular online. Chinese internet users organized boycott of American goods in Sohu.com, another large Chinese internet portal, saying national dignity should trump economic concerns.¹¹⁶ The bombing even sparked an online grassroots fundraiser that surprisingly rose over \$1.3 million within a month to urge and fund the building of China's

¹⁰⁹“In War, Mistakes Happen” *The New York Times*. 12 May 1999.

¹¹⁰Wu. *Chinese Cyber Nationalism*. 45

¹¹¹Wu. *Chinese Cyber Nationalism*. 57

¹¹²Wu. *Chinese Cyber Nationalism*. 49

¹¹³Wu. *Chinese Cyber Nationalism*. 49

¹¹⁴Wu. *Chinese Cyber Nationalism*. 49

¹¹⁵Wu. *Chinese Cyber Nationalism*. 49

¹¹⁶“Internet forum pushes trade boycott call.” *South China Morning Post*. 11 May 1999

first aircraft carrier, as Chinese saw the need to strengthen its military power to intimidate against future American strikes.¹¹⁷ But the fundraiser was later called off by the Chinese government.¹¹⁸ In addition to mourning and angry rhetoric, some Chinese internet users took actions to attack American government websites. Over 700 American websites, including the U.S. embassy in China, the White House, and military website related to Whiteman AFB, were attacked by Chinese internet users.¹¹⁹ And these Chinese hackers were hailed as patriots and heroes in the Chinese cyber space by others.¹²⁰

The reason for anti-American outrage and the tone of anti-American rhetoric during this period were both nationalistic in nature. Protesters viewed the bombing as a national defense issue, where it promoted the popular Chinese calls to strengthen China's military, and demonstrated by the unexpectedly high amount of money raised at an internet campaign to build China's aircraft carrier. Chinese often expressed their outrage in terms of the American violation of Chinese sovereignty, and humiliation of Chinese national dignity. Many Chinese rejected the American explanation for the bombing, because most believed the U.S. had an incentive to punish Chinese opposition to NATO's Kosovo campaign. Despite of evidence of Chinese government attempting to manage the anti-American protests, the Chinese outrage was nonetheless genuine and fierce, and the Chinese government was at best surfing, instead of manufacturing, the public outcry. Gries's empirical and psychological study of the Chinese reactions expressed through traditional outlets (i.e. excluding internet) in 1999 also confirms that the Chinese outrage was genuine. In his analysis of 281 Chinese letters, essays, and poems commemorating the bombing published by the Chinese newspaper Guangming Daily, a then

¹¹⁷Wu. *Chinese Cyber Nationalism*. 51

¹¹⁸Wu. *Chinese Cyber Nationalism*. 51

¹¹⁹Wu. *Chinese Cyber Nationalism*. 51

¹²⁰Wu. *Chinese Cyber Nationalism*. 51

major publication catering to Chinese intellectuals, he found diversity in their language and content. He finds these writings are sincere and nationalistic.¹²¹

This wave of Chinese anti-Americanism quickly lost its momentum in less than 2 months, as evidenced by disappearing of public protest and online attacks, as well as the Chinese government claim that China should move on.^{122 123} Yu and Zhao quantify Chinese student participants of anti-American demonstrations in Beijing into four groups, according to one's commitment to movement. Their statistical analysis finds that "uncommitted participants" and "opportunists" are two dominant groups in the 1999 demonstrations. They argue that since these two groups lack serious commitment to anti-Americanism, the 1999 anti-American demonstrations are momentary and reactionary events rather than a reflection of rising anti-Americanism in China, which is contrary to American media portrayal.¹²⁴

Hainan Island Incident, 2001

On April 1st, 2001, an American EP-3 surveillance plane on a routine reconnaissance mission collide with a Chinese fighter jet off the coast of Hainan Island. The surveillance plane was badly damaged and made an emergency landing at a Chinese airbase on Hainan Island. All crew members aboard were unharmed, but the plane and crew were detained by China. The Chinese J-8 fighter jet intercepting the EP-3 was destroyed during the crash, and the pilot was missing and later confirmed by Chinese government as killed.¹²⁵ The Chinese government demanded an apology from the U.S., the U.S. demanded the immediate return of the crew and the plane – both demands were initially shot down by both governments. The plane crash quickly triggered a

¹²¹Gries. *Tears of Rage*.

¹²²“Government bans anti-US demonstrations on embassy bombing anniversary.” *BBC Summary of World Broadcasts*. 3 May 2009

¹²³“Public Anger Against U.S. Still Simmers In Beijing.” *The New York Times*. 17 May 1999

¹²⁴ Yu, Zhiyuan and Dingxin Zhao. *Differential Participation and the Nature of a Movement: A Study of the 1999 Anti-U.S. Beijing Student Demonstrations*.

¹²⁵“U.S., Chinese Warplanes Collide Over S. China Sea.” *Washington Post*. 2 April 2001

wave of Chinese hostility towards the U.S. that had not been seen since the Belgrade embassy bombing.

American and Chinese officials offered contradictory stories of the crash, which sparked much of the hostilities. The location, cause, and responsibility of the incident were heavily disputed between the two countries. The head of the U.S. Pacific Command claimed the clash was China's fault, as the Chinese fighter jet “unprofessional” intercepted the surveillance plane and caused the crash.¹²⁶ Chinese government claimed the U.S. should bear full responsibility for the crash, because the American spy plane suddenly turned into one of the two Chinese interceptors.¹²⁷ The U.S. stressed that the EP-3 was cruising at international airspace, 65 miles away from Chinese territorial water line, therefore its flight did not any violate international law.¹²⁸ However, the Chinese government argued the EP-3 was within 120 nautical miles of the Chinese exclusive economic zone (EEZ), and by spying on China within the exclusive economic zone, the American plane had abused its “freedom of over flight” according to international laws.¹²⁹ What makes this argument more complex is that the U.S. is one of the few countries that have not ratified the United Nations Convention on the Law of the Sea of 1973 – which defines EEZ.¹³⁰ China also accused the EP-3 landing on a Chinese airbase on Hainan as a violation of sovereignty as China did not authorized the landing.¹³¹

This incident provided an even more bitter dispute than the embassy bombing, as both the U.S. and China adopted a hard line approach as they both saw themselves as the victim. Chinese public saw this incident as again a serious violation of Chinese national security and dignity.

¹²⁶“U.S., Chinese Warplanes Collide Over S. China Sea.” *Washington Post*. 2 April 2001

¹²⁷“U.S. Should Bear Full Responsibility for Plane Collision.” *Xinhua*. 3 April

¹²⁸ “Collision in China: the Overview.” *The New York Times*. 4 April 2001

¹²⁹ “Collision in China: the Overview.” *The New York Times*. 4 April 2001

¹³⁰“Sea treaty sparks rivalries; Senate fight looms amid race to North Pole.” *The Washington Times*. 12 Nov 2007.

¹³¹“Collision in China: the Overview.” *The New York Times*. 4 April 2001

First, the crash exposed the routine American spying activities on China, which was all but acceptable to Chinese public. Chinese were outraged, when the U.S. claimed the Chinese EEZ was international water hence China has no jurisdiction over American activities, as they saw this as a blatant violation of Chinese sovereignty.¹³² Second, a Chinese pilot was killed in the incident. Both the Chinese government and public argued the EP-3's maneuver caused the crash of the Chinese jet, hence not only the EP-3 crew destroyed the Chinese fighter, they also effectively murdered the Chinese pilot. Third, the hard line statements from President George W. Bush and other American officials further infuriated the Chinese public. Bush delivered a strong statement on April 2nd, demanding the "the prompt and safe return of the crew and the return of the aircraft without further damaging or tampering."¹³³ A White House official said for each additional hour that China refused to return the American plane and crew would "only make things worse."¹³⁴ Chinese saw the U.S. as overly demanding, showed little sympathy and remorse for the crash. All of the above shapes the Chinese perception that the U.S. is a brutal and arrogant power bullying China.

Statements from Chinese government and news coverage of Chinese media all show the explosion of Chinese resentment towards the U.S. However, protests in all major Chinese cities were banned by the Chinese government.¹³⁵ Internet again became the platform for the most authentic and unfiltered Chinese public response, as internet monitoring by the government was relatively incompressive and relaxed in 2001. As seen in the 1999 embassy bombing case study, Chinese internet users expressed their outrage through their anti-American and pro-

¹³²"Collision in China: the Overview." *The New York Times*. 4 April 2001

¹³³"Bush is Demanding a 'prompt' Return of Plane and Crew." *The New York Times*. 3 April 2001.

¹³⁴"Bush is Demanding a 'prompt' Return of Plane and Crew." *The New York Times*. 3 April 2001.

¹³⁵"Central Government Stopped Students Demonstration in Beijing, Shanghai, and Nine Other Cities." *Dajiyuan*. 4 April 2001. This is a Hong Kong based newspaper reporting Chinese government lobbying against Chinese public protest behind the scenes.

Chinese comments on news articles on major Chinese internet portals, writing on internet forums, and exchange opinion online with others in internet chat rooms. What marks the significance of this wave of Chinese cyber nationalism is the record high number of internet attacks involved. Chinese internet users stepped up their attack on American websites by forming organized “honker” groups. In return, American hackers retaliated by hacking Chinese website. This episode of cyber warfare caught the attention of mainstream media American.¹³⁶ New York Times even dubbed this as the “World Wide Web War I”.¹³⁷ Wu's research shows over the course of a month, approximately 80,000 Chinese internet users were involved in this episode of internet battle; 1036 American websites were hacked by Chinese honkers, including 18 military sites, 39 government sites, and 397 commercial sites. A similar amount of Chinese websites were also hacked by American hackers.¹³⁸ Wu studies these Chinese “honker” groups and argues in his book that they are motivated by and take pride in Chinese nationalism. The Honker Union of China's (one of the leader groups of its kind) mission statement states their activities are to “safeguard national unity, protect China's national sovereignty, resist foreign bullies, and deflate anti-China arrogance.”¹³⁹ This group also defines “honkers” as above typical hackers who merely seeking the destruction of computer systems, but are “patriots who intend to promote nationalistic cause.”¹⁴⁰ Phrases left on tempered American websites by Chinese honkers further show the honkers' motivation was nationalistic. For instance, these phrases often say “Long life Chinese nationality” or “U.S. should take full responsibility for the collision,” and honkers often post Chinese flags and the photo of the dead pilot on their target.¹⁴¹

¹³⁶Wu. *Chinese Cyber Nationalism*. 56

¹³⁷“May 6-12;The First World Hacker War.” *New York Times*. 12 May 2001

¹³⁸Wu. *Chinese Cyber Nationalism*. 55

¹³⁹Wu. *Chinese Cyber Nationalism*. 56

¹⁴⁰Wu. *Chinese Cyber Nationalism*. 56

¹⁴¹Wu. *Chinese Cyber Nationalism*.55

Given the magnitude of Chinese popular anti-American sentiments, it is hard to believe how quickly such sentiments died down once the plane crash issue was resolved, when China returned the crew after 11 days of detention and the plane by July, and the American government expressing “sorry” for the crash.¹⁴² On May 9, 2001, different Chinese hacker groups declared victory and ended their hacking campaign.¹⁴³ The Chinese government also helped break up this wave of cyber war by issuing a strong op-ed on People's Daily calling the hackers' to halt their actions. The op-ed condemns these cyber attacks launched by hackers as “illegal”, “irresponsible” and are akin to “web terrorism.”¹⁴⁴ In reality, Chinese anti-American protests and outrage also quieted down. American reconnaissance missions over China resumed in May without further large scale protest from Chinese public¹⁴⁵ Late in Sept 2001, China concluded its long negotiation with WTO and officially became a member, and Chinese public took to the streets to celebrate this achievements.

Once again, Chinese government and Chinese expressed their outrage in nationalistic language. Such language was seen in its purist and strongest online. Nationalism even drove some Chinese into action to join the cyber war against the U.S. However, the anti-American sentiment generated by the Hainan Island plane crash quickly disappeared. It did not permeate into other aspects of Chinese foreign policies, as it did not derail China from its desire to join an American dominated global economy.

Anti-French Sentiment in 2008-9

Although the fray between France and China didn't receive much attention from mainstream American media, the Chinese anti-French movement gained significant momentum and popular

¹⁴²“American Crew Heads Home; China Accepts Letter of Regret.” *Washington Post* 12 April 2001

¹⁴³Wu. *Chinese Cyber Nationalism*. 55

¹⁴⁴Wu. *Chinese Cyber Nationalism*. 57

¹⁴⁵“Intelligence Flights Resume Near China.” *Washington Post*. 8 May 2001

in China during 2008 and 2009. That episode was prompted by multiple events, including the difficult Olympic torch relay in Paris, the 2009 auction of Chinese antiques, and the meeting between Sarkozy and Dalai Lama on Dec 6, 2008 despite fierce protest and warning from the Chinese government¹⁴⁶. Chinese public connected all these seemingly unrelated dots with Chinese nationalism, as Chinese public viewed these French actions as humiliating to Chinese national dignity.

The Olympic torch relay in Paris did not go particularly smooth for the China. It was frequently met with large scale pro-Tibet protests and sometimes even more serious obstructions by these protesters. France was seen as overly pro-Tibet by the already annoyed Chinese public during this time. Chinese were dissatisfied with French security forces guarding the relay, claiming they did not do enough to ensure the relay goes smooth. And China was angry over Paris awarding honorary citizenship to the Dalai Lama in April 2008.¹⁴⁷ The final straw that led to the eruption the Chinese anti-French sentiment was a small incident during the relay that drew little attention anywhere else worldwide. During the torch relay in Paris on April 7th 2008, groups of pro-Tibet protester have been trying to obstruct the relay by attempting to cross police lines to swamp Chinese athletes carrying the torch.¹⁴⁸ Suddenly, a protector wearing a Tibetan flag approached the Chinese athlete Jin Jing and tried to take the torch from her by force. The then little known Jin Jing would later be identified as a Chinese special Olympics fencer; during the incident, she was bound to her wheelchair as she has lost one of her legs. Jin resisted the protester by wrapping her body around the torch. This scene quickly reached Chinese TV news and internet sites, and was repeatedly broadcasted. The Chinese public were not only horrified to

¹⁴⁶AFP. 8 Dec 2008. Accessed through Chinese Yahoo Hong Kong:
<http://hk.news.yahoo.com/article/081208/8/9mg7.html>

¹⁴⁷AFP. 3 May 2009. <http://hk.news.yahoo.com/article/090503/8/bzlb.html>

¹⁴⁸ Several videos documented these attempts were uploaded to Youtube. Here is an example:
<http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=NDLfj8cKmc0>

see their helpless handicapped athlete being attacked and humiliated by a large male protester wearing a bright Tibetan flag as a bandana, but they also saw the image of the French police stood-by during this incident and did little to protect the helpless athlete from the attack.¹⁴⁹ Chinese public opinion has long been hostile towards Tibetan separatists, now the Chinese hostility is spilling over to the French.¹⁵⁰

To add oil to fire, in early 2009 Christie's announced it would auction several Chinese antiques in Paris, which were looted from the Summer Palace in Beijing by British and French forces during the second opium war in 1860. The Chinese governments repeatedly warned against the auction, as well as plead for its cancellation behind the scenes.¹⁵¹ A legal petition against the auction filed by a China-friendly group in Paris was denied by the French court.¹⁵² What push the Chinese fury to another level were the remarks made by Pierre Berge (who was auctioning the items on behalf of his deceased partner Yves Saint Laurent). He said he would be willing to return all the antiques to China, under the condition that China immediately improves its human rights conditions.¹⁵³ Chinese public saw this comment as nothing but a sign of blatant French arrogance directly challenging China's domestic affairs.

The combination of all of these incidents proved to be too much and too bitter for the Chinese to swallow quietly. The French became the primary target of thunderstorms of attacks from the Chinese public and the government during 2008-9. Chinese criticisms burst out from every media outlet: newspaper, TV shows, blogs, internet forums, and online news aggregators.

¹⁴⁹Sample of an image widely circulated among Chinese netizens. Note this image have many variants with different sites and persons claiming ownership: <http://bbs.oldbeijing.org/UploadFile/2008-4/20084911295614905.jpg>

¹⁵⁰"Netizens' Comments Furious, Actions Calm." *Ming Bao*. 9 Dec 2008.

¹⁵¹"Chinese Bidder on Yves St. Laurent Auction Refuses to Pay \$40 Million." *ABC News*. 2 March 2009.

¹⁵²"Chinese Bidder on Yves St. Laurent Auction Refuses to Pay \$40 Million." *ABC News*. 2 March 2009.

¹⁵³Berge's interview with Chinese media site SoundofHope.org on 12 April 2009 in Paris. Chinese transcript is listed on the website. A recording of the interview is also available. The interview was conducted French, but Chinese translation voice-over was added to the clip: <http://big5.soundofhope.org/programs/162/123750-1.asp>

Chinese public organized several boycotts against Carrefour, and staged demonstrations in front of Carrefour stores in multiple cities in April 2008.¹⁵⁴ Carrefour is the prominent French supermarket in China with more than 355 stores.¹⁵⁵ In Jan 2009, Chinese Premier Wan Jiabao visited Germany, Spain, EU headquarters in Brussels, Switzerland, and Britain, but purposefully skipped France.¹⁵⁶ When asked about his visit, Wang was quoted by reporters saying “the financial crisis is a common challenge to the international community. It also brings new opportunities for cooperation. But the new opportunities don’t involve France at the moment.”¹⁵⁷

The auction of the antiques were seen as particularly humiliated to the Chinese, as it directly invoked the Chinese memory of the Second Opium War, and the familiar story that the British and French forces brutally looted and burned the beautiful Old Summer Palace to the ground. In response to the Chinese antique auction, Xinhua, the Chinese government news agency, issued a harsh statements saying the French have “inherited the historic genes of thieves,” a reference to the French invasion and looting of China during the second opium war.¹⁵⁸ Chinese netizens were frequently seen rebuffing Berge's demand as hypocritical, as they said the French invasion force in 1860 “did not care so much about human rights when they looted the antiques and burned down the Old Summer Palace.”¹⁵⁹ Chinese media frequently cited the anonymous quote accusing France of “first burning and looting China 150 years ago, and now blackmailing China 150 years after.”¹⁶⁰ A Victor Hugo quote criticizing the looting of

¹⁵⁴“Anti-French Signs in Chongqing.” *Ming Bao*. 9 Dec 2008.

¹⁵⁵Carrefour. <http://www.carrefour.com/cdc/group/current-news/china-opening-of-the-100th-carrefour-hypermarket-.html>

¹⁵⁶“Chinese Premier’s Europe Tour to Mend Ties, Except With France.” *Bloomberg.com*. 22 Jan 2009.

¹⁵⁷“Chinese Premier’s Europe Tour to Mend Ties, Except With France.” *Bloomberg.com*. 22 Jan 2009.

¹⁵⁸“Xinhua Scold France 'inherited genes of thieves'.” *Ming Bao*. 26 Feb 2009.

¹⁵⁹“China – France Relationship Difficult to Defrost.” *Ming Bao* 25 Feb 2009.

¹⁶⁰“China – France Relationship Difficult to Defrost.” *Ming Bao* 25 Feb 2009.

Chinese antique suddenly became the hottest quote on Chinese cyber space, where he saw the looting of the Old Summer Palace as “two robbers breaking into a museum, devastating, looting and burning, leaving laughing hand-in-hand with their bags full of treasures; one of the robbers is called France and the other Britain.”¹⁶¹ Some Chinese opinion also called for punishing France by pulling China's plane orders from Airbus.

The “French betrayal” was particular bitter for China, as China they had seen France as a closer and “better” western ally than the U.S. Chinese admired the French challenge to American hegemony and its respect for Chinese sovereignty. Chinese governments characterize Chinese-French relationship as a “Comprehensive Strategic Cooperation Partnership,” the closest kind of relationship China has with a foreign state.¹⁶² The critical *China Can Say No* even advocates that China should reward France economically by purchasing more goods from France. In fact, the Chinese government has done just that. In the pass decade, China had awarded Airbus multi-billion contracts on plan purchase and building assembly lines in China. The book *China is Not Happy*, the newest squeal of the *Say No* series published in March 2009, therefore sharply reverses its course and argues France should pay for their actions, where China should punish France by again using China's economic power.¹⁶³

Duan-wu/ Dano Festival Controversy

Compared to the previous three incidents, the Duan-we festival controversy is at best a tempest in a teapot. No lives were at stake, no embassies were burnt, and no diplomatic relationships were broken off. Nonetheless, this controversy demonstrated Chinese nationalism works even when a non-western power is involved. In 2005, South Korea applied to have the Gangneung Dano festival recognized by UNESCO as one of the “Masterpieces of the Oral and Intangible

¹⁶¹Hugo, Victor. “To Captain Butler: The Sack of the Summer Palace.” 25 Nov 1861

¹⁶²“China Does Not Wish to be Pushed Around by 'ally'.” *Ming Bao*. 28 Nov 2008.

¹⁶³“China is Unhappy.” *Ming Bao*. 16 March 2009

Heritage of Humanity.”¹⁶⁴ The application was accepted UNESCO. However, some Chinese netizens who caught the news saw a problem. They saw the Korean Dano festival was at best a variant of the Chinese Duan-wu festival, in fact, some saw the two as identical.¹⁶⁵ Chinese, believing the Duan-wu festival originated in China and later spread to Korea, saw the Korean move akin to stealing Chinese cultural heritage.¹⁶⁶ Also Chinese were upset because they saw the Korean move as an attempt to deny pass Chinese cultural influence over Korea, as Chinese deem Chinese culture was far superior than other Asian cultures in historical context. The purpose of this case study is not to examine the disputed origins of the two festivals, but as a fact, the Chinese nationalistic belief that their festival was “stolen” sparked anti-Korean rhetoric online.

While the Chinese government was not actively involved in this episode of controversy, the Chinese netizens filled in and took active stance. Internet forums and large Chinese news aggregators such as Sina.com or Sohu.com were again filled with anti-foreign rhetoric, only this time the target was South Korea. Chinese anti-Korean sentiments even prompted a strange spontaneous online myth-making movement, which its goal was to slander Korean by creating the image of the sneaky and self-important Korean. Chinese netizens were mixing factual with false accusations of Korea “stealing” Chinese culture and trying to denying historic Chinese influence over Korea. An image of a page from a Korean textbook became very popular among Chinese netizens; it shows a map that indicates Silla's (a historic Korean kingdom) territory was much larger than the Chinese Tang Dynasty. Chinese netizens expressed outrage and ridiculed the map, as they argue it is obviously untrue.¹⁶⁷ Chinese netizens fabricated news that Koreans

¹⁶⁴ Korea Tourism Organization. http://english.visitkorea.or.kr/enu/SI/SI_EN_3_2_1.jsp?cid=293063

¹⁶⁵ “Duanwu: The Sino-korean Dragon Boat Races.” *China Heritage Quarterly*.
http://www.chinaheritagenewsletter.org/features.php?searchterm=011_duanwu.inc&issue=011

¹⁶⁶ “Duanwu: The Sino-korean Dragon Boat Races.” *China Heritage Quarterly*.
http://www.chinaheritagenewsletter.org/features.php?searchterm=011_duanwu.inc&issue=011

¹⁶⁷ A sample of the image. Note there are many variants circulated by different netizens:
http://pic.tiexue.net/pics/2007_10_4_68673_6168673.jpg

claiming their ancestors had invented Chinese characters, printing, and other various historical Chinese inventions. An anonymous Chinese article named “Top ten shameless Korean Behaviors” was widely circulated online. When the news of Hwang Woo-Suk, the then premier Korean stem-cell research scientist in the world, had falsified many of his research broke out in mid 2005¹⁶⁸, a substantial amount of Chinese netizens celebrate the news.

During this episode, Chinese saw their pride in Chinese history being violated as they saw Korea “stealing” a historic Chinese festival. Although Chinese netizens expressed their anger in rather innovative and childish ways, nonetheless this is a proof that Chinese nationalism will turn into anti-foreign sentiments when Chinese deemed their national prestige is under attack by foreigners.

Conclusion

My research finds that Chinese anti-American sentiment have little common with the definition of anti-Americanism by Hollander. Chinese anti-American sentiments are rational and justifiable reactions toward specific and damaging American deeds. On the other hand, my research confirms the Johnston and Stockmann finding that nationalist concerns play a dominant role in Chinese anti-Americanism.

Chinese nationalism, not anti-Americanism, is the master narrative that drives and dictates the popular opinion and responses to all foreign forces, including American, interacting with China. In all four of the case studies, when confronted with hostile foreign forces, Chinese nationalism quickly turned in anti-foreign sentiments. China only becomes anti-American when provoked by specific incidents involving, if not caused by, the U.S., such as the 1999 embassy bombing and the 2001 plane crash incidents. Chinese anti-American sentiments are fluid and momentary, when these specific incidents are resolved and no longer occupy the attention of

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Nature News. <http://www.nature.com/news/specials/hwang/index.html>

Chinese public, Chinese anti-American sentiments fade away quickly. Chinese fury is not especially reserved for the U.S., therefore China is also by no means deeply or inherently anti-American. As seen in the French and Korean case studies, Chinese equally unleashed their fury over France and Korea, when these two countries were seen as intruding on Chinese national interest or prestige. Any fear of blanket and deep Chinese anti-Americanism can be relaxed, as China has showed no sign of such incline in the last decade.

Chinese nationalism has taken popular roots. The popularity of *China Can Say No*, a book that advocates popular nationalism, can testify to this claim. The Chinese responses in all case studies were shown to be motivated by nationalism, where in turn the Chinese public articulated their anti-foreign anger in the language of Chinese nationalism. The most authentic anti-American, French, and Korean outcries were often found on Chinese cyber space, they were often so severe that the Chinese government sometimes felt the necessity to control and contain them, as seen in the government attempt to claim down cyber attacks launched by Chinese Honkers against the U.S. in 2001. American media and government officials had shown in the past that they were willing to dismiss anti-American sentiments based on the assumption that they are state-managed and inauthentic. If the American media and government continues to hold on to this blanket assumption, they risk ignoring the role of Chinese nationalism in shaping Chinese anti-Americanism, and thus certainly risks underestimating the severity of these sentiments, should they appear again in the future.

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