

New Students, Old Loyalties:
Reexamining American Views of China's New Nationalism

Yifeng Zhao
Senior Honors Thesis
Department of Asian Languages and Culture
Main Advisor: Xiaobing Tang
Secondary Advisor: David Rolston
April 30, 2009

Table of Contents

Introduction	4
Defining Chinese Nationalism	7
“New Nationalism”	10
Anti-traditionalism and the 1980s	11
Pragmatism	12
American Views of New Nationalism	15
The American System Reexamined	15
Biases of the American Media	22
American Criticisms and the Student Response	27
Conclusion	31
Bibliography	34

On April 13, 2008 an article titled “China’s Loyal Youth” appeared in the *New York Times*. It discussed a recent phenomenon that has caught the attention of intellectuals, journalists, and policy makers on both sides of the Pacific. The young and educated population, this particular New York journalist argues, is usually the most effective and expected catalyst for radical social and political change within a country.¹ However, the current youth consciousness in China has proved to be an aberration to many onlookers. Three decades of openness and economic reform has nourished a new generation of Chinese students.² They are well educated; they have access to an unprecedented range of global information; and they indulge in the culture of consumerism as much as any American. Most of all, they appear to be strongly nationalistic.

In 1989 the world watched as the Chinese government demolished a grassroots student movement and silenced calls for democracy and political reform. Almost two decades later, many outside of China saw the 2008 Beijing Olympics as a renewed opportunity to apply pressure on the CCP government. The supposedly apolitical games became marred by attacks on the torch relay, boycotts and criticisms from Hollywood figures and world political leaders, and eruption of riots and unrest in Tibet. The call for a more democratic government with improved human rights standards was nothing new; but the response it garnered from within the country was.

¹ Matthew Forney, “China’s Loyal Youth,” *The New York Times*, 13 April 2008.

² The focus group of my discussion will be on Chinese students who are enrolled in prominent universities in Beijing. Since the majority of students up through high school in China are coordinated under the state education and examination system with more limited access to information, any discussion of independent nationalist consciousness among Chinese youth can really only begin at the university level. Also, the young, middle-class, urban demographic is one of the most vocal groups in the current nationalism movement. I concentrate on Beijing because of the significance of the city as host of the 2008 Olympics, as a political epicenter, and as home to most of the country’s top universities.

If American activists and critics expected to arouse a revival of the Tiananmen Square protests, they were surprised to find that while China's political system had remained intact, the attitudes of its young population had changed. The same demographic that clamored for political liberalization in the 1980s are now singing a different tune. Not only are young Chinese students today less adamant about importing democracy to China, they are uniquely proud and defensive of their country and its current path of development. This emergence of "new nationalism"³ is nowhere more apparent than in the wave of anti-foreign online postings, protests and boycotts that spread across Beijing campuses in the months preceding the summer games. Matthew Forney examined the implications of this surge in nationalism on China's foreign relations: "If the debate over Tibet turns this summer's contests in Beijing into the Human Rights Games...Western ticket-holders expecting to find Chinese angry at their government will instead find Chinese angry at them."⁴

Introduction

This thesis takes a critical look at the current nationalist sentiment among Chinese students as it is received and understood in the United States. It is important to reexamine the discussion on Chinese nationalism for a number of reasons. 2008 was a significant year for China. Internally, the country celebrated the success of hosting the Olympic Games but also confronted difficulties brought by natural disasters and social unrest. Externally, it was faced with increased international scrutiny and a global economic slump that could harm its uninterrupted growth rate. As the end of this decade marks the

³ Defining characteristics of the phenomenon known as "new nationalism" will be explained in the following section.

⁴ Forney, "China's Loyal Youth."

thirty-year anniversary of reforms, both the Chinese people and the international community are grappling with China's new role as an emerging great power. China's rise speaks to a larger shift that is taking place – a shift in global focus from Europe and America to Asia. This shift not only alters the balance of political and economic power, but also influences the spread of culture, ideology and social consciousness. The issue of nationalism and its implications on US-China relations is especially salient to study at this turning point in history.

Since the 1980s, nationalist sentiment in China has shifted from being dominated by anti-traditionalist thinking to now taking a more pragmatic approach. While Chinese students saw the Western world as a model at the beginning of the country's reform era, this emulation steadily declined as their country entered into the twenty-first century. Many in the United States cite the Tiananmen Square incident as the defining moment of this change. Thus, my analysis begins with 1989 as a critical point in modern Chinese history. This date is significant not necessarily because it marked an extraordinary or fundamental shift in the progression of Chinese nationalism. Rather, it was the outside world that perceived and declared it to be a decisive turning point in China's social and political development.

My analysis will concentrate on the rise in national confidence and the resulting challenge to western⁵ influence that has emerged in the most recent trend of Chinese nationalism. This can be seen from boycotts of foreign goods to heated online debates

⁵ My analysis focuses specifically on the United States. The American presence in China has been strong in the past few decades and the US-China relationship is particularly unique. The American government is a prominent example of a "westernized" democratic system, and its media and critics have been active and vocal in the discussion on Chinese students and nationalism. Therefore, I have chosen to analyze primarily American news and academic sources for this thesis. When speaking of "western" influence, I refer primarily to the United States since it is a major actor and leader among western countries.

that often take place in university areas around the country. This phenomenon, often described in terms of anti-foreignism, is one of greatest concern to the United States. It is particularly significant because of its seeming contrast to the dominant attitudes of Chinese students during the 1980s. American media and scholarly discourse is filled with theories on the causes of this change as well as predictions about its future ramifications. The purpose of this thesis is to approach the national consciousness of contemporary Chinese youth beyond the conventional wisdom that is presented in the mainstream American media and publications.

The features of anti-foreignism in new Chinese nationalism are displayed in three main areas. First, it challenges the American system – asserting that liberal democracy is not the best and only path to modernization and that China is on its unique road of development. Second, challenge to the American media comes from a growing perception that foreign media reports are no less biased or inaccurate than domestic ones. Chinese students have grown increasingly wary and critical of news that comes from countries claiming to promote free press. Third, foreign criticism directed at the Chinese government and the ruling Communist Party has been met with the most defensive reaction of all. The hostility of young nationalists towards foreign intrusion into their own domestic issues is possibly the most troubling aspect of new nationalism for American critics.

Although the current generation of Chinese youth does appear to be more self-confident and less impressionable than their predecessors, the global debate on the contributing factors behind this development paints a rather skewed picture of reality. I argue that mainstream American discourse on the topic is plagued by a set of

preconceptions held by many scholars and journalists. It assumes that China's new nationalism is an unexpected phenomenon that must be explained; that it is a movement directed and controlled by state propaganda; and that the degree of anti-foreign hostility is potentially problematic and dangerous to US-China relations. These assumptions are not only inaccurate, but they also limit the extent to which one can accurately analyze the mindset of young Chinese students. My objective is to bring light to the fact that the existence of these preconceptions has affected the way the outside world understands and portrays the national consciousness of Chinese youth.

Defining Chinese Nationalism

A discussion of modern Chinese nationalism must begin with definitions. Unfortunately, the academic world has yet to form a consensus on the origins of nationalism and how it is defined. Hans Kohn, known as one of the twin founding fathers of the study of nationalism, traced its origins to eighteenth-century Western Europe. He concluded that nationalism was a modern phenomenon born out of industrialization, the idea of popular sovereignty, and the emergence of the modern state. Ernest Gellner defined it as "primarily a political principle, which holds that the political and the national unit should be congruent." Benedict Anderson argued that nationalism is dependent upon the construction of and belief in an imagined community. This connection and sense of commonality is propagated and reinforced primarily through print capitalism and especially newspapers. Eric Hobsbawm rejected the idea that the existence of a nation precedes the development of nationalism. Instead, he attributed the origins of nationalism to "invented traditions" that inculcate certain values and norms and establish a continuity with the past. A common strand among these various theories is the

notion that nationalism is not a primordial but a modern phenomenon. Whether as an ideology, a political principle, or a social movement, nationalism is a constructed concept that is perpetually reinforced through norms and traditions.

A clarification must be made to differentiate between nationalism and patriotism. While some choose to use them interchangeably, there are important distinctions between these two terms. Nationalism often carries with it a negative connotation. Labeling someone as a nationalist can suggest an air of irrationality and extremism. Patriotism, on the other hand, suggests positive love of one's country. Labeling someone as a patriot raises them to a hero-like status. These positive and negative associations, however, are not inherent in the words themselves.

Xu Wu outlines telling differences between these two concepts in his book on Chinese cyber nationalism. He presents nationalism as love and emotional affiliation toward a set of national symbols, which includes but does not necessarily endorse or support the political system. Patriotism, on the other hand, signifies a devotion to the existing political entity. In other words, "patriotism loves the country *as it is*, whereas nationalism loves the country *as it was* or *as it should be*."⁶ I believe this is a valid distinction as expressions of nationalism can be either supportive or critical of the ruling government. Comparatively, it is much more difficult to pass off disapproving remarks about the existing political entity as patriotic. While both suggest love for one's nation and culture, nationalism encompasses a much broader range of what such devotion entails. It is on this basis that I talk of Chinese nationalism and not of Chinese patriotism.

⁶ Xu Wu, *Chinese Cyber Nationalism: Evolution, Characteristics, and Implications* (Plymouth, UK: Lexington Books, 2007). Jessica Weiss makes a similar argument concerning the distinction between love of the nation and love of the government in her doctoral dissertation: "Powerful Patriots: Nationalism, Diplomacy, and the Strategic Logic of Anti-Foreign Protest under Authoritarian Rule," University of California, San Diego, 2007.

I begin my examination of Chinese nationalism at the end of the nineteenth century. This time period marks the fall of the dynastic system and the establishment of China as a modern nation-state. The use of this particular starting point is not to suggest that nationalist consciousness in China did not start earlier or to establish a cause-and-effect relationship between the existence of a nation-state and the development of nationalism. It is, however, significant to note that prior to the nineteenth century China was a civilization – that is, a person or group that adopted its practices and traditions could be considered Chinese.⁷ Although China did have contact and even wars with neighboring “barbarians,” there was not a single established national Chinese identity based on principles of territorial integrity and national sovereignty. Beginning with the first Opium War, the invasion of the “Western devils” proved China’s technological inferiority and threatened the continued existence of the Chinese culture and people. It was in the face of this national crisis that China transformed itself from a primarily culturally defined entity to a political defined one.⁸ Thus from the modernist perspective of this thesis, Chinese nationalism in its present-day form did not exist until the arrival of Western powers in the mid to late-nineteenth century.

“New Nationalism”

The focus of my analysis is on the current trend of nationalist expression and consciousness among young Chinese students. This trend is broadly referred to as “new nationalism” by many American scholars and journalists but has been characterized in a

⁷ Under the imperial system, the Chinese referred to their empire as *tian xia*, meaning “all under heaven.” Foreigners could become legitimate rulers of China as long as they adopted the norms and traditions of Chinese society. Manchu rule during the Qing Dynasty is a prime example of this. See Lieberthal *Governing China*, 5-19.

⁸ Yongnian Zheng, *Discovering Nationalism in China: Modernization, Identity, and International Relations* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1999).

variety of ways. The implication that this nationalism sentiment is “new” can mean a number of things. First, it may simply refer to a new generation of Chinese youth that has replaced the youth of the 1980s. This generation was born and raised under new CCP leadership and during a period when China was already beginning to regain its economic strength and global position. The fact that these young Chinese have no personal experience living in a completely Communist society or a weak and isolated country are significant factors in the way their national consciousness is framed.

A second aspect of “new nationalism” is new outlets through which nationalist sentiments are being expressed. The invention and rapid commercialization of the Internet has provided Chinese students with a public space where they can not only create their own ideas, but also communicate with others who share similar views and goals. The resulting loss of state monopoly over the dissemination and censorship of information has led some to define new Chinese nationalism as nationalism that is not promoted by CCP leadership or under comprehensive state control.⁹ Finally, the weightiest interpretation of what is meant by “new nationalism” is nationalism with new content. The underlying values and beliefs that fueled the 1989 movement no longer hold true for the students today. Both internal and external changes have fostered a new set of views of China and its relationship with the rest of the world.

Antitraditionalism and the 1980s:

To identify a change in the content of Chinese nationalism from its previous to its current form, it is first necessary to briefly examine the general characteristics of the

⁹ This view was expressed by Xiao Shu, an editorial writer for *Southern Weekend* newspaper and a Chinese Media Project fellow at the University of Hong Kong. Xiao Shu gave a talk on “new nationalism” and its impact on journalism in China in October 2008 that was hosted by the Journalism & Media Studies Center at the University of Hong Kong. [One is curious how you became aware of what she said.]

nationalism movement of the 1980s. In the aftermath of the Cultural Revolution and during the incipient stages of reform, Chinese society grappled with the decline of communism as a dominating ideology. China's new leaders turned to a depoliticized form of governing¹⁰ that focused on openness and economic growth rather than class struggle and revolution. This significantly impacted the social and political consciousness of the country's young population. Years of isolation and distrust of the Party's ability to deliver on its promises led Chinese students to look outward in search of a model that would strengthen their country. They admired the wealth and power of Western cities and saw adoption of America's economic and political system as the formula for success.

The dominant school of thought during this period was antitraditionalism – a belief that China's tradition was the source of its weakness and only its complete rejection and boundless adoption of Western culture could make the country strong.¹¹ To many Chinese students, westernization and modernity went hand-in-hand. They believed that only through wholesale westernization could China rejuvenate itself and become an equal member of the international society.¹² The nationalism movement that culminated in 1989 appealed for democracy,¹³ individual freedoms, official recognition,¹⁴ and economic advancement.

¹⁰ Gordon White, *Riding the Tiger: The Politics of Economic Reform in Post-Mao China* (Stanford, California: Stanford University Press, 1993).

¹¹ Suisheng Zhao, ed., *Chinese Foreign Policy: Pragmatism and Strategic Behavior* (New York: M.E. Sharpe, 2004).

¹² Zheng, *Discovering Nationalism in China*.

¹³ The form of democracy touted by Chinese students at this time was adopted directly from American-style democracy – a multi-party system with free elections, transparency in governance, and allowance of a civil society.

¹⁴ The conservative CCP leaders had condemned the student movement as harmful and unpatriotic. Many student groups and their publications were banned or shut down by the government. Thus, the protests in Tiananmen were not only about political reform but were also for gaining legitimate recognition from the government.

Pragmatism

In the early morning of June 4, 1989, the CCP cracked down on the student movement in Tiananmen Square. Many saw the protests as a sign that China was moving towards democracy but in the aftermath of the massacre, liberal calls among Chinese students for political reform faded and gave way to a new set of expectations. In the early stages of reform, many Chinese people regarded the West as a model to emulate. There was a level of enchantment with America and all things foreign, especially among the young generation. This sentiment began to change in the 1990s as waves of anti-imperialist protests and debates spread across the country. In 1996 the publication of the book *China Can Say No* (*Zhongguo keyi shuo bu* 中国可以说“不”) triggered a series of “say no” books asserting a different form of Chinese nationalism. They argued that the Chinese embraced Western values too strongly in the 1980s and declared a change in the teacher-student relationship between China and the United States.¹⁵ In 1999 students gathered in front of the U.S. embassy in Beijing to protest the NATO bombing of the Chinese embassy in Belgrade.

Most recently, waves of videos and Internet postings on various Chinese websites have expressed anger at Americans for boycotting the Beijing Olympics or for false reporting of the controversy over Tibet. As controversy surrounding the 2008 Beijing Olympics ignited a new surge in nationalist protests and debates, it quickly became clear that the students speaking out were not the same as those who sat in hunger strikes in front of Tiananmen. They have developed a new voice and identity in the twenty years

¹⁵ Peter Gries (*China's New Nationalism*, 34) argues that one way in which China's young nationalists revolted against the U.S. was by reversing the roles of the relationship. Instead of looking to America as a teacher or father figure, they cast the country in the role of a student or a child who now had to learn from China.

that have passed. The Chinese community has labeled these young and radical nationals as *fenqing* 愤青, translated into English as “angry youth.” This new phenomenon has caught the attention of mainstream media in the U.S., with reports by major publications including the *New York Times*, the *New Yorker*, and *Newsweek*.

In a 2008 article about China’s “angry youth,” *New Yorker* reporter Evan Osnos talked to a number of university students in Shanghai who were involved with the production of a highly inflammatory and popular anti-imperialism video.¹⁶ The article revealed that most young Chinese people are supportive of their current government, citing that almost nine out of ten Chinese approve of the way things are going in the country.¹⁷ Osnos asked the students’ thoughts on foreign criticism and the push for Beijing to further democratize. Liu Chengguang, a young Ph.D. student, responded: “Do you live on democracy? You eat bread, you drink coffee. All of these are not brought by democracy. Indian guys have democracy, and some African countries have democracy, but they can’t feed their own people.”¹⁸ A similar article in the *Los Angeles Times* referred to today’s young Chinese as the country’s “Me Generation.” It reported that increasingly more university students now favor business-oriented majors over liberal arts-oriented subjects and discussion of democracy or political change in their lives is minimal.¹⁹

¹⁶ The video was homemade by Tang Jie, a twenty-eight-year-old graduate student at Fudan University in Shanghai. He posted the video on Sina.com, a popular Chinese website, and it drew more than one million hits in the first week and a half. The video is titled “2008, Zhongguo, zhan qi lai!” 2008, 中国, 站起来! (2008! China Stand Up!) and has now been posted on YouTube.

¹⁷ Quoting a 2008 survey done by the Pew Research Center.

¹⁸ Evan Osnos, “Angry Youth: The New Generation’s Neocon Nationalists,” *The New Yorker*, 28 July 2008.

¹⁹ Joshua Kurlantzick, “China’s Next-Generation Nationalists,” *Los Angeles Times*, 6 May 2008.

If Chinese students of the 1980s were characterized by anti-traditionalism, then students of the twenty-first century have their own classification as well: pragmatism. Suisheng Zhao is one American scholar who has observed and analyzed the characteristics of pragmatic nationalism. He argues that students are no longer acting on a set of values or established principles. Instead, they are simply willing to adopt whatever approach will may make China strong. Pragmatic nationalism is interest-driven and focuses on the ends rather than the means.²⁰ Because it is not embedded in a specific ideology or fixed by a strictly defined content, Zhao believes that the pragmatic approach can be effectively used to adapt to and fit the changing needs of China's environment.²¹

A consequence of this rise in pragmatic thought is that Chinese students have become much more wary of Western countries in general and of the United States in particular. This shift in the attitudes of young Chinese has caught the attention of the international community. Americans are invested in Chinese youth's national consciousness for two reasons. First, it is a contributing factor to China's future political development. Second, it affects the country's foreign policy and the sensitive relationship between China and the US. For these reasons, discussions on Chinese nationalism in American news and publications focus a great deal on Chinese youth and the attitudes they display to the outside world. The following sections of my thesis question the accuracy of American understanding and interpretation of the new nationalism sentiment.

²⁰ The famous quote by China's former leader Deng Xiaoping epitomizes this ends over means attitude: "It doesn't matter of a cat is black or white, so long as it catches mice" (不管黑猫白猫 , 捉到老鼠就是好猫).

²¹ See Suisheng Zhao's *Chinese Foreign Policy and A Nation-State by Construction: Dynamics of Modern Chinese Nationalism* (Stanford, California: Stanford University Press, 2004).

Challenging the American Views of New Nationalism

Anti-foreign sentiment among Chinese youth is displayed through their rebellion against three things: the American system, American media, and American criticism towards China. While it is generally accurate that these antagonisms exist in many recent demonstrations, three misconceptions about Chinese nationalism are present throughout the mainstream discourse in the United States. First, American discussion of China's new nationalism portrays it as an unexpected and unique phenomenon. Second, it overly dramatizes the despotic power of the Chinese government and greatly disregards the autonomy of the Chinese people. Lastly, it paints an inaccurate picture of the *degree* to which the current wave of nationalist fervor and its effects have reached. It is these three assumptions behind the discussion on Chinese nationalism that I intend to expose and question.

The American System Reexamined

Challenge to the American system of development stems from Chinese youth's separation of the ideas of modernization and westernization – they no longer see the two as inextricably linked. During the Tiananmen demonstrations, students fervently argued that democratization was the necessary next step for the country to integrate itself into the global system of nation-states. To them, modernization could only mean westernization-oriented reforms. Since 1989 China has experienced an unprecedented economic miracle. While communism collapsed in Eastern Europe, China has managed to achieve high economic growth for two decades without undergoing political reform. Bolstered by newfound strength and prosperity, young Chinese developed a renewed sense of self-confidence and confidence in their country's own traditions and capabilities. According

to American journalist Josh Kurlantzick: “They can see Shanghai and Beijing are catching up to Western cities, that Chinese multinationals can compete with the West, and they’ve lost their awe of Western power.”²² Instead of calling for westernization, new nationalism argues that China is on its own unique path toward modernization. This path begins with Chinese history in China rather than in the West and adopts internal rather than external criteria for determining and judging the country’s reforms.²³

In 1989 Japanese-American political economist Francis Fukuyama introduced his highly influential theory of the “End of History.” Fukuyama argued that the progression of human history is linear and that western liberal democracy will be the final form of government. Once all nations reach this final destination, human society and culture will cease to evolve.²⁴ Although Fukuyama’s theory received controversial reactions from the academic world, it does speak to a common belief in western countries that their form of democracy is the best and ultimate system of governance. Western democratic theories cite the adoption of capitalism and free press as two important markers on the path to democratization. Most notably, economic reform to a market system is often seen as a precursor to political reform to liberal democracy.²⁵ Since China has achieved the former, the world is now waiting to see whether the latter will follow.

The problem with the study of China’s political future does not lie in its findings or conclusions. In fact, the majority of publications in the U.S. regarding this topic recognize China’s claims that it is on its own path of modernization. They also acknowledge the possibility that China may challenge the U.S. in presenting an equally

²² Kurlantzick, “China’s Next-Generation Nationalists.”

²³ Zheng, *Discovering Nationalism in China*.

²⁴ Francis Fukuyama, *The End of History and the Last Man* (New York: Free Press, 2006).

²⁵ The link between capitalism and democracy is so far just a theory. A cause-and-effect relationship has not been empirically proven.

successful model of development under an authoritarian political system. The problem, however, lies in the mindset with which American scholars and journalists study Chinese nationalism. The examination of China's social and political situation begins with the hypothesis that given capitalism and globalization, we should expect to see democratization. The issue to be examined then automatically becomes what factors explain why China is or is not progressing down the expected development path.

In the study of any object, the answers that we find are inescapably framed by the questions that we ask. In examining academic and news articles, it can be seen that American studies on China's new nationalism are shaped by their own set of preconceptions. American critics believe that economic reform breeds political reform. So they ask why is China not undergoing democratization? They see the CCP government as oppressive and corrupt and ask why does such a high percentage of Chinese people support the direction that their country is going? They assume that the desire for freedom of expression, human rights, and mass political involvement is universal. So they question why is are Chinese students so angry and defensive against those who are trying to help them? The Western world has made strides in its understanding of China, but it has yet to discard its Eurocentric lens.²⁶

Instead of asking why Chinese youth are no longer pushing for western-oriented political change, it is more useful to examine what this particular demographic values. The 1980s was the closest China has come to achieving liberal democracy and American hopefuls saw university students as the paramount force of change for the country. The results that the Chinese students really coveted, however, were not necessarily explicit in

²⁶ The problem of Eurocentrism in the field of Asian Studies has been written about by many notable scholars. My main influences come from works by Edward Said, Partha Chatterjee, and Martin Lewis and Karen Wigen.

the demands that they put forth at the time. In an interview with Wu'er Kaixi, one of the student leaders of the Tiananmen protests, the young activist listed what the students wanted out of their hunger strikes: "Nike shoes. Lots of free time to take our girlfriends to a bar. The freedom to discuss an issue with someone. And to get a little respect from society."²⁷ There was no mention of political principles such as free elections or popular sovereignty. Instead, the list was comprised of demands that can be satisfied through economic and social changes: consumer goods, leisure time, and a personal life without interference. Political reform was not the end goal – it was simply a means through which these objectives could be realized.

The decision of the Chinese government to continue economic reform while halting political reform accomplished two objectives. It maintained the CCP's position of power while simultaneously satisfying the students' demands.²⁸ When living conditions in urban areas were able to provide the comforts that Wu'er Kaixi had outlined, the majority of those students no longer saw the need to pursue democratization. Given the fact that political reform essentially arrested after 1989 while economic reform surged ahead, the high level of support for the country's direction of development suggests that the primary interests driving pragmatic Chinese youth are economic rather than political or ideological.

The rejection of wholesale westernization as the only path toward modernization has brought with it a reconstructed attitude towards the role of the state. China has been ruled by strong central governments for much of its history. Since pragmatic nationalism

²⁷ *The Gate of Heavenly Peace*, DVD produced and directed by Richard Gordon and Carma Hinton, written by Geremie Barne and John Crowley (San Francisco, CA: NAATA Distribution, 1997).

²⁸ Empirical data presented in *Chinese Youth in Transition* tracks changes in the lives of Chinese youth since China's reforms began. Their analysis includes measurements of levels of leisure time, individual freedoms, and attitudes toward their life opportunities.

places top priority on economic growth and stability,²⁹ the existence of a strong state is seen as both preferable and essential to nationalist interests. Matthew Forney's *New York Times* article asserted that a country's young and educated population is most likely to be the wind of change. He was thus surprised by the fact that the nationalism sentiment among Chinese youth was so anti-foreign and pro-government. However, if we shed the preconception that education and globalization will inevitably lead to a more westernized or democratized world, it is actually perfectly logical that urban Chinese students support the current CCP leadership.

Young and urban citizens are one of the main beneficiaries of China's economic reforms. Not only does the bulk of state subsidiaries and foreign investment flood to coastal cities, but university students now also have endlessly more employment and educational opportunities than were available to their predecessors. A 2000 survey done by the China Youth and Children Research Center showed that 80.5% of Chinese youth believed that their opportunities for success were increasing.³⁰ Economic reforms have provided Chinese students with material comfort, higher social status and a brighter horizon. Having experienced firsthand the success of economic reforms, young and educated Chinese students are in no rush to challenge the political monopoly held by the party that delivered these benefits. New nationalists no longer see the Communist state as an obstacle against which they must rebel, but rather as an important agent in driving economic growth forward.

Under these circumstances, making the radical shift to a liberal democratic system is not exactly an appealing change. Chinese students are currently part of the country's

²⁹ Zhao, *A Nation-State by Construction*

³⁰ Jieying Xi, Yunxiao Sun, and Jing Jian Xiao, eds., *Chinese Youth in Transition* (Burlington, VT: Ashgate Publishing Company, 2006).

social elite; but they are in the minority. A majority of Chinese citizens still reside in rural areas and many still live below the poverty line.³¹ If democracy were to happen in the form of mass elections and nation-wide political involvement, it is most likely that the young, urban population will lose some of the benefits and comforts that they currently enjoy. Furthermore, many employment opportunities and advancements in China are provided exclusively to members of the Communist Party. Research on the determinants of urban incomes in China finds that while incomes are not consistently higher among individuals with more education, there are correlations between higher income and Communist Party membership.³² Thus, the fact that new nationalism is pro-CCP and not pro-democracy should not come as a surprise. While Chinese students may not be opposed to democratic ideals, in a battle between comfort and ideology, comfort almost always comes out on top.

In March 2008, I conducted a series of interviews with students at Peking University who were registered volunteers for the 2008 Summer Olympics.³³ In discussing outside criticisms on China's current political system, the subjects all responded with a similar defense. They stressed economic and social stability as the principal argument against radical political change. When asked if the Olympics might

³¹ According to World Bank standards, 12% of the population in China currently live below the poverty line, from www.worldbank.org, 2008.

³² Barry Naughton, *The Chinese Economy: Transitions and Growth* (Cambridge, Massachusetts: The MIT Press, 2007).

³³ The interviewees were volunteer participants who responded to a posting I had made on PKU's BBS site. About ten interviews were conducted in total, all done in Mandarin and later loosely translated into English by the author. Subjects were informed that I was an American exchange student at the university who was writing a research paper on student Olympic volunteers. The responses are presented here bearing in mind that they may have been influenced by how the subjects were chosen, self-censorship or distortion of their true opinions due to the political sensitivity of the topics discussed, or their reaction to my identity as an American student. Due to flaws in methodology, these interviews are used in this thesis only as anecdotal evidence. However, they still may be a useful set of data to consider when studying how Chinese students talk about themselves, the state of their nation, and its relationship to the rest of the world.

provoke a change in China's political system, communications student Zhou Kai replied with a resounding no:

Because our foundation is still weak, our chief task is economic development. The Chinese government has done very well in this area.... Even though there are issues of corruption and centralization of state power, under the current circumstances, what better replacement system can there be?

He went on to respond to pressures from the United States for the Chinese government to further democratize:

In such an environment with so many Chinese people, is it really possible to achieve democracy? If there were not a strong state apparatus, if we were like the United States with all these different political parties, this country would be in chaos. Furthermore, China does not have the same economic capacity. The U.S. spends so much money on presidential elections, but China does not have that much money. We are still in the beginning stages, per capita income is still very low. The biggest actions for us are to develop the country's economy and raise common people's standard of living.

Many confounding variables must be considered in interpreting the meaning behind these quotes. It cannot be concluded with certainty how representative these responses are of actual student opinion or to what extent they are influenced by self-censorship or indoctrination. Nonetheless, these interviews do speak to a general trend of pragmatism I discovered living among Chinese students in Beijing. Rather than judging their country on ideological terms, the young generation is much more inclined to think in terms of costs and benefits. While they are not opposed to ideas of freedom of speech and human rights, they recognize that the pursuit of such ideals does not coincide with the attainment of immediate personal and national interests.

Biases of the American Media

On March 18, 2008 a new website appeared on the Internet called Anti-CNN.com. It was established by Rao Jin, a twenty-three-year-old Tsinghua University graduate. The website was a response to international coverage of the 2008 Tibetan unrest with the aim to “expose the lies and distortions in the foreign media.”³⁴ The message of the anti-CNN movement is clear: the new generation of Chinese youth has developed a critical eye for the biases in American media.

It has long been the criticism of many foreign scrutinizers that the Chinese government holds a tight monopoly over the country’s information channels. The right to free and fair reporting in the United States has been used as a yardstick against which the Chinese media is measured. However, international coverage of events like the 1999 NATO bombing or the more recent Tibetan unrest have convinced Chinese students that foreign media is no more objective than its Chinese counterpart.³⁵ These students are now speaking out against what they identify as the inaccurate coverage of Chinese events reported by major news agencies such as CNN and BBC. As the Tibet situation was unfolding in the spring of 2008, online forums in China were filled with postings, both angry and mocking, about foreign reporters’ inability to distinguish ethnic Tibetans from Han Chinese. Students interviewed at Peking University also had an opinion on the issue: “Many foreign media exaggerate the truth because they have never even been to Tibet,”

³⁴ From the “About This Website” section of Anti-cnn.com, accessed 7 Mar 2009.

³⁵ Leong H. Liew and Shaoguan Wang, eds., *Nationalism, Democracy and National Integration in China* (London and New York: RoutledgeCurzon, 2004).

says Zhou Kai.³⁶ Particularly on issues as complicated as Tibet, the Chinese audience is more likely to favor its own reports than to accept foreign ones.³⁷

In continual debates over the roots of Chinese nationalism, a majority of views in the American media still claim it to be a form of state-led nationalism that is controlled by official propaganda. The Patriotic Education Campaign launched by the Chinese government in the aftermath of Tiananmen Square is one of the most cited factors in explaining students' national loyalties. The core of the campaign was "Education about National Conditions" (*Guoqing jiaoyu* 国情教育). It held that China's national condition was unique and not ready to adopt western-style democracy. Students were taught that the current one-party rule was needed to maintain stability and economic growth.³⁸ Another important element of patriotic education is its narrative of "China's century of humiliation." State-approved textbooks used in all public schools begin modern history with the country's sufferings under imperial aggression and its unfair treatment by the international community.³⁹ For a generation that has no personal experience of these events, Chinese students today still often lace their rhetoric with themes of shame and humiliation. American observers are quick to attribute this directly to the state-led education system.

In addition to education, media control and censorship are also portrayed as means by which the Chinese government guides and manipulates views of the young population. Since economic reforms began in 1979, communism has been waning as the

³⁶ Interview with PKU student Zhou Kai, March 2008.

³⁷ Peter Gries (*China's New Nationalism*, 100-1) explains this in terms of the "intergroup attribution bias." It refers to the fact that all humans consistently favor their ingroups over the outgroups. Fellow ingroup members are viewed as "good" and given the benefit of the doubt. This charity does not, however, extend to outsiders.

³⁸ Zhao, *A Nation-State by Construction*.

³⁹ Leong, *Nationalism, Democracy and National Integration in China*.

country's ruling ideology. Assertions that new nationalism is state-led claim that CCP leadership is attempting to fill the void left by communism by adopting nationalism as an ideology. It is said that by accrediting itself with the establishment of new China and making itself synonymous to the Chinese nation, the Party is able to maintain its legitimacy and power.⁴⁰ It is also claimed that by fanning the flames of anti-foreignism, the Party is able to detract attention away from domestic problems such as corruption and the growing rural-urban divide.⁴¹ However, both the American and Chinese state-controlled media also see nationalism as a double-edged sword. They warn that extreme nationalists could pressure the Chinese government to take harsher foreign policy stances that harm the country's foreign relations and social stability. Therefore, China's leaders are careful to rein in nationalist protests and debates when they become overly heated and potentially dangerous. According to many U.S. media reports and publications, such lack of free press and constant political indoctrination has led young Chinese to continuously, and perhaps even blindly, support the CCP government.

The idea that Chinese students are brainwashed and completely controlled by their government is a misconception that is based again on westernized assumptions. It is assumed that because China does not have a liberal democracy and free speech like the United States, the Chinese people are living in a choiceless and mindless society. This most certainly is not the case. Although access to information is certainly limited, the development of the Internet has had significant ramifications on the government's monopoly over this area. The Chinese government flags and censors websites containing

⁴⁰ Zheng, *Discovering Nationalism in China*.

⁴¹ Ericka Strecker Downs and Phillip C. Saunders, "Legitimacy and the Limits of Nationalism: China and the Diaoyu Islands," *International Security* 23.3 (Winter 1998-1999).

sensitive keywords but its great firewall is not always as effective as it may seem.⁴² In fact, through the use of a proxy server, any tech-savvy Chinese student can bypass the firewall and access blocked websites. Using these methods, many university students read news reports not just from the Chinese media but from a variety of international sources as well.⁴³

The Internet has been instrumental in broadening the scope of information to which Chinese people are exposed. It has also served a second and even more important function: it has provided Chinese students with a public sphere where they can create their own messages and connect with like-minded people. China's lack of a civil society makes online forums one of the only outlets for popular expression.⁴⁴ Although the government still holds authority over a great portion of print media and television broadcasts, the range of communication and the speed at which it can be spread on the Internet make online movements virtually impossible to control. According to Xu Wu, "[a]s a result, the government lost monopoly of both the interpretation of an issue and the initiation of a movement."⁴⁵ Online debates, videos, and websites have all been primary forms of expression of new nationalism, especially among the young population. Xu Wu calls this medium-specific aspect of new nationalism "China's cyber nationalism."⁴⁶

⁴² A most recent case of this occurred with the appearance of a children's song video on YouTube entitled the 'Grass-mud Horse' (Caoni ma 草泥馬). The Chinese name is homophonous with a common obscene phrase. The video was an instant hit and was a stealthy but obvious jab at the inefficiencies of China's Internet censorship. The success of the video has since led the CCP government to block Chinese access to the Youtube website.

⁴³ I found this to be true both through personal experience during my studies at Peking University and also through student responses in my interviews. The most cited foreign news sources seem to be CNN, BBC, Fox News, Feng Huang News, and the *New York Times*.

⁴⁴ Xu Wu, *Chinese Cyber Nationalism: Evolution, Characteristics, and Implications* (Plymouth, UK: Lexington Books, 2007).

⁴⁵ *Ibid.*, 35.

⁴⁶ The term "China's cyber nationalism" is from Xu Wu's book of the same name. According to the most recent report done by the China Internet Network Information Center, the majority of netizens – that is,

I argue that Chinese nationalism is under particular foreign scrutiny because of the fact that China is not a democratic country. Outside critics often form their arguments under the assumption that China's lack of free press renders all of its news reports false and propaganda. In comparison, Americans generally view their own media as more accurate and credible. The irony is that due to their social and political environment, Chinese students have become much less impressionable and receptive than their western counterparts. When asked how they discern the validity of a news report, Peking University student Huang Meitao answered: "We don't acknowledge it as true or false. The Chinese government has its own point of view so we just take it as a view that they want to present."⁴⁷ The conspicuous propaganda that surrounds them on a daily basis has turned Chinese students into more astute critics and judges than they are given credit for. A Chinese textbook narrating the country's "century of humiliation" is not much different from the recitation of the Pledge of Allegiance or textbooks glorifying the founding fathers in American schools. The most effective forms of nationalist propaganda are most often ones that are well embedded in a society's cultural norms and traditions. The scrutiny that Americans place on Chinese nationalism could just as well be projected onto themselves.

American Criticisms and the Student Response

To investigate the final grievance that young Chinese have against the United States, we return to that last line of the *New York Times* article that we began this thesis

people who use the Internet – in China are age 30 and under. This young age group accounts for 68.6% of the total amount of netizens in China. Therefore, although cyber nationalism does not focus on a specific demographic or age group, its characteristics can be loosely translated to nationalism among Chinese youth. (From <http://www.cnnic.cn/en/index/00/02/index.htm>, accessed 7 Mar 2009).

⁴⁷ Quoted from a March 2008 interview conducted by the author at Peking University.

with: “If the debate over Tibet turns this summer’s contests in Beijing into the Human Rights Games...Western ticket-holders expecting to find Chinese angry at their government will instead find Chinese angry at them.” Increasingly more foreign critics are finding that their stabs at the Chinese government are having the opposite of the intended effect. Exposure of the CCP’s corruption, brutality, censorship, and other seemingly despotic acts has not caused Chinese youth to jump on the pro-democracy, anti-authoritarian bandwagon. It has instead revealed the defensive nature of new nationalism.

The main purpose Americans study and analyze Chinese nationalism is to determine its implications for the United States and the future of US-China relations. In the first line of an article in the *International Herald Tribune*, David Shambaugh posed the burning question: “Which of the competing Chinese nationalisms will show up at the Olympics in August? An aggrieved, defensive nationalism, or a confident and proud nationalism?” Politicians, businessmen, and intellectuals alike want to know whether Chinese nationalism is benign toward American interests or potentially dangerous and explosive. No consensus has been reached thus far, though I question the necessity to agonize over the issue at all.

Controversy surrounding the Beijing Olympics elicited a wave of the strongest reactions against foreign criticism. It is obvious that many advocates took advantage of these games as an opportunity to increase pressure on the Chinese government. The fatal flaw in this plan was that it underestimated the significance of the 2008 Games to the Chinese people. The opportunity to host this event was seen as the ultimate recognition of China’s strengthened position by the global community and an attestation of its recent

successes. Fareed Zakaria referred to it as China's "first international moment of glory" following a century of shame and humiliation.⁴⁸ Beginning with the Opium War in 1839, China has suffered constant defeat and occupation at the hands of foreign imperialists.⁴⁹ From the decline of the Qing dynasty to Japanese invasion during World War II, the country fell from its former status as a major world power that preceded the rise of Europe. The Chinese people refer to this as a "century of humiliation,"⁵⁰ which ended only recently with the return of Hong Kong in 1997.

The sentiment among Chinese youth that derives from this victim mentality has two layers. First, they believe that China must now regain a position of strength and respect in the international community. Second, they see criticisms from the United States as a purposeful strategy to "contain" China's growth from threatening American hegemony.⁵¹ Therefore, this new generation is especially sensitive to foreign criticism. David Shambaugh refers to this as aggrieved, defensive nationalism.⁵² Zhao Suisheng characterizes it as a "reactive sentiment" of pragmatic nationalism.⁵³ The specific term used to define this phenomenon is inconsequential. The importance comes in understanding the motivations behind the reaction. In the minds of the Chinese people, denunciation of the Beijing Olympics is equated with rejection of China's newly earned international position. The intended targets of foreign criticisms might be the country's

⁴⁸ Fareed Zakaria, "Don't Feed China's Nationalism," *Newsweek*, 21 April 2008.

⁴⁹ Geremie R. Barme, "To Screw Foreigners is Patriotic: China's Avant-Garde Nationalist," *The China Journal* 34 (Jul 1995): 209-234.

⁵⁰ Though it is argued that the propagation of this concept is largely done by the CCP government through education textbooks and propaganda, it has nonetheless become an integral part of nationalism discourse among Chinese youth. The purpose here is not to argue whether this victim complex is a bottom-up phenomenon or a product of official indoctrination. It is simply to present an explanation that is given by Western observers as well as by the Chinese students themselves.

⁵¹ Zheng, *Discovering Nationalism in China*.

⁵² David Shambaugh, "China's Competing Nationalisms," *International Herald Tribune*, 5 May 2008.

⁵³ Zhao, *Chinese Foreign Policy*.

leaders, but the negative message is being received by the entire nation. It is fair to say that any other nation of people would respond just as strongly in defense of their national integrity.

The study of nationalism movements is certainly significant and important for tracking a society's progression. However, articles like "China's Competing Nationalisms" and "Don't Feed China's Nationalisms"⁵⁴ connote an urgent need to address Chinese nationalism before it becomes too extreme. I argue that although anti-foreign sentiment and "angry youth" do indeed exist, it is not accurate to say that these two phenomena are representative of most young Chinese students. The level to which the wave of new nationalism has risen is over-exaggerated in the American media.

In her 1984 book German political scientist Elisabeth Noelle-Neumann introduced a theory called the "spiral of silence." It asserted that people tend to remain silent if they feel that their views are in the minority for fear of reprisal or isolation from the majority.⁵⁵ This is a particularly salient point to consider when studying Chinese society because of its political culture and history. During the Cultural Revolution, massive attacks were launched against anyone suspected of being a "rightist" or "counter-revolutionary." A single slip of the tongue or unusual behavior could ruin someone's life and career. Since the 1970s Chinese society has become much more free and tolerant, but there is still a considerable amount of danger whenever one ventures into political sensitive areas. After the government crackdown on Tian'anmen, over expression of political opposition largely disappeared. However, it cannot be said for certain whether

⁵⁴ See the articles by Shambaugh and Zakaria cited above and listed in the bibliography.

⁵⁵ Elisabeth Noelle-Neumann, *The Spiral of Silence: Public Opinion, Our Social Skin* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1984).

much of the pro-democratic, anti-CCP sentiments were actually wiped out or simply silenced.

Two factors must be considered when examining the expressions of new nationalism. First, the Internet is one of the key tools in its development. However, the majority of Chinese people who are able to access the Internet are also the ones who benefit the most from the CCP government's economic policies. There are 253 million netizens in China. Two-thirds of them are under the age of thirty. 70% have a high school degree or higher. Only 5.1% of the rural population has access to the Internet as opposed to 21.6% of the urban population.⁵⁶ In sum, the majority of Internet users in China are young, educated and urban. This is the same demographic that was previously explained to be the most invested in maintaining the political status quo.

The second factor to consider is that the most radical and extreme supporters of any issue also tend to have the loudest voices. Responses to public reports or events is generally comprised of either strong supporters or fervent challengers. Although many people may have some opinion on the topic, few will actually take the time and effort to publicly respond. Most will simply quietly absorb the information and move on. I believe that this silent majority⁵⁷ exists in Chinese society. For every Chinese student who makes an anti-American video or participates in a boycott, there are likely to be dozens more who choose to quietly live their lives uninvolved and unaffected. Peking University student Wang Yifan was merely one student I encountered who was content being in the

⁵⁶ Based on 2007 and 2008 survey reports on Internet development in China done by the China Internet Network Information Center, from <http://www.cnnic.cn/en/index/00/02/index.htm>, accessed 7 Mar 2009.

⁵⁷ The term silent majority was popularized by President Richard Nixon in a televised speech he made in 1969. He argued that the number of Americans who did not join in the anti-war demonstrations was much higher than those who spoke out against the war. The idea was that there is a large majority of people in the country who do not voice their opinions publicly. Thus, the most audible opinions are not necessarily an accurate representation of the majority view.

silent majority: “They talk about issues such as feminism and human rights, but this all seems very far away to us,” she said, when asked about the controversy over Tibet and the Beijing Olympics. “Gosh, let’s not talk about politics!”⁵⁸ If Americans want to get a true impression of how Chinese students feel about their country, they need to listen beyond the few shouting voices to hear the message embedded in the silence.

Conclusion

The essence of nationalism is identification of oneself as belonging to a certain group. This solidarity can be based on any number of constructed ties, including common language, history, customs, leadership or geographic boundaries. In addition, national allegiance requires differentiating one’s own in-group from out-groups. In this sense, the current wave of nationalism among Chinese youth is not a unique phenomenon. Each young generation throughout Chinese history has had varying ideas on how to strengthen their country. Students of the May Fourth movement rebelled against western imperialism and the traditionally feudal aspects of Chinese culture; the Tiananmen Square protestors pushed for greater economic and political liberalization. Following in their footsteps, the new generation is now supporting a strong, authoritarian state and socialism with Chinese characteristics. Although attitudes towards the balance between adopting western ideas and maintaining Chinese traditions fluctuate from each decade to the next, the dedication towards protecting China’s national integrity and bolstering national strength remains constant.

There are, however, notable aspects of Chinese nationalism that are important to understand. China’s rise and fall as a great power is a critical factor in how its national

⁵⁸ Quoted from a March 2008 interview conducted by the author at Peking University.

consciousness is framed. Unlike the relatively young United States, Chinese society draws from thousands of years of rich history and traditions. It is also haunted by the all too fresh memory of decline and defeat at the hands of western imperialist powers. Thus, the new nationalism sentiment focuses on two struggles: the struggle to regain China's international position and respect, and the struggle to reconcile traditional Chinese culture with an increasingly globalized modern world. These conflicts exist for both the nation as a whole and individual Chinese themselves. We see this personal and national struggle in the way the young Chinese students reject outside criticism and political pressure while simultaneously embracing the economic benefits of globalization.

The study of Chinese nationalism is itself also affected by the development of history. China's decline in power and influence after the eighteenth century coincides with the rise of Europe and later the United States. The hegemonic influence of these western countries permeated not just the political and economic realm, but the social, cultural and the ideological as well. The way in which Chinese nationalism is studied today is largely framed by these Eurocentric and westernized lenses. Assumptions that young Chinese are somehow blindly or unreasonably nationalistic can only see the picture from one limited angle. However, in recognizing, if not entirely jettisoning, these preconceptions, we are able to reach a much more complex and in-depth level of analysis.

In many ways this thesis is more about framing questions than providing answers. Good questions are the vital foundation of any productive experiment or analysis. I have challenged the ways in which the outside world thinks about the nationalism sentiment of current Chinese youth and its implications for US-China relations, but there are still many more questions to ask. To gain a better understanding of the mindset of Chinese students

requires a more advanced collection of data than the few interviews that I have presented here. The extent to which the views expressed in this paper are representative of the larger population of Chinese youth can only be proven with more extensive data that includes a wider sampling of individuals. Reexamining the questions we ask is only the first step, but it is a critical one. Without doing so, it is impossible to gain a true understanding of the Chinese society, its students and its national consciousness.

Bibliography

- Acemoglu, Daron, and James A. Robinson. *Economic Origins of Dictatorship and Democracy*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2006.
- Adams, Jonathan. "Charter 08 – A 'Universal Idea'" *Far Eastern Economic Review*. 6 Feb 2009. Accessed 3 Apr 2009. <<http://www.feer.com/free-interviews/20098/january59/Charter-08-A-Universal-Idea>>
- Anderson, Benedict. *Imagined Communities: Reflections on the Origin and Spread of Nationalism*. London and New York: Verso, 1991.
- "Angry China." *The Economist*. 1 May 2008.
- Barme, Geremie R. *In the Red: On Contemporary Chinese Culture*. New York: Columbia University Press, 1999.
- . "To Screw Foreigners is Patriotic: China's Avant-Garde Nationalist." *The China Journal* 34 (Jul 1995): 209-34)
- Callahan, William A. "China: The Pessoptimist Nation." *The China Beat*. 15 Aug 2008. Accessed 7 Mar 2009. <<http://thechinabeat.blogspot.com/2008/08/china-pessoptimist-nation.html>>
- . "National Insecurities: Humiliation, Salvation, and Chinese Nationalism." *Alternatives: Global, Local, Political* 29 (2004): 99-218..
- Cha, Ariana Eunjung. "In China, a Grass-Roots Rebellion." *The Washington Post*. 29 Jan 2009. Accessed 5 Apr 2009. <http://www.washingtonpost.com/wp-dyn/content/article/2009/01/28/AR2009012803886_pf.html>
- Chan, John. "Public pressure on Olympic hurdler Liu Xiang highlights rise of Chinese nationalism." *World Socialist Web Site*. 23 Aug 2008. Accessed 17 Dec 2008. <<http://www.wsws.org/articles/2008/aug2008/chin-a23.shtml>>
- Chatterjee, Partha. *The Nation and Its Fragments: Colonial and Postcolonial Histories*. Princeton, New Jersey: Princeton University Press, 1993.
- "The Chinese celebrate their roaring economy, as they struggle with its costs." *The 2008 Pew Global Attitudes Survey in China*. The Pew Global Attitudes Project. 22 July, 2008.
- Chu, Jenny. "CDT Interview Series: Chinese Journalists Talk About the Olympics, Tibet, and Cross-Cultural Understanding, Part 3." *China Digital Times*. 27 July 2008. Accessed 7 Mar 2009. <<http://chinadigitaltimes.net/2008/07/cdt-interview-series->

[chinese-journalists-talk-about-the-olympics-tibet-and-cross-cultural-understanding-3/>](#)

Coombs, Rhyen. "CDT Interview Series: Chinese Journalists Talk About the Olympics, Tibet, and Cross-Cultural Understanding, Part 2." *China Digital Times*. 15 July 2008. Accessed 7 Mar 2009. <<http://chinadigitaltimes.net/2008/07/cdt-interview-series-chinese-journalists-talk-about-the-olympics-tibet-and-cross-cultural-understanding-2/>>

Dahl, Robert A. *A Preface to Democratic Theory*. Illinois: University of Chicago Press, 2006.

Downs, Ericka Strecker and Phillip C. Saunders. "Legitimacy and the Limits of Nationalism: China and the Diaoyu Islands." *International Security* 23.3 (Winter 1998-1999): 114-46.

Edwards, Dan. "You Just Want Us To Look Bad." *Newmatilda.com*. 21 Nov 2008. Accessed 7 Mar 2009. <<http://newmatilda.com/2008/11/21/you-just-want-us-look-bad>>

Fewsmith, Joseph. *China since Tiananmen*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2001.

Forney, Matthew. "China's Loyal Youth." *The New York Times*. 13 April 2008. Accessed 17 Dec 2008. <<http://www.nytimes.com/2008/04/13/opinion/13forney.html?adxnml=1&adxnmlx=1228392093-rVk8RPPyVDF9yQ28iTrcqA>>

French, Howard. "The need for unanimity in China exacts a hidden price." *International Herald Tribune*. 24 Apr 2008. Accessed 7 Mar 2009. <<http://www.iht.com/articles/2008/04/24/asia/letter.php>>

Friedman, Edward. "China: A Threat to or Threatened by Democracy?" *Dissent Magazine*. Winter 2009. Accessed 30 Apr 2009. <<http://dissentmagazine.org/article/?article=1318>>

Gellner, Ernest. *Nations and Nationalism*. Ithaca, New York: Cornell University Press, 1983.

Gifford, Rob. *China Road*. New York: Random House Trade Paperbacks, 2008.

"Global Economic Gloom – China and India Notable Exceptions." *24-Nation Pew Global Attitudes Survey*. The Pew Global Attitudes Project. 12 June 2008.

Godwin, Meredith. "CDT Interview Series: Chinese Journalists Talk About the Olympics, Tibet, and Cross-Cultural Understanding, Part 1." *China Digital Times*. 7

July 2008. Accessed 7 Mar 2009. <<http://chinadigitaltimes.net/2008/07/interview-with-a-chinese-journalist/>>

Goldman, Kiran. "CDT Interview Series: Chinese Journalists Talk About the Olympics, Tibet, and Cross-Cultural Understanding, Part 4." *China Digital Times*. 31 July 2008. Accessed 7 Mar 2009. <<http://chinadigitaltimes.net/2008/07/cdt-interview-series-chinese-journalists-talk-about-the-olympics-tibet-and-cross-cultural-understanding-4/>>

Gries, Peter Hayes. *China's New Nationalism: Pride, Politics, and Diplomacy*. Berkeley and Los Angeles, California: University of California Press, 2004.

Haskell, Jennifer. "A new kind of Chinese nationalism." *China Elections & Governance*. 27 May 2008. Accessed 17 Dec 2008. <<http://en.chinaelections.org/newsinfo.asp?newsid=17659>>

Hauben, Ronda. "Netizens Defy Western Media Fictions of China." *OhmyNews*. 9 May 2008. Accessed 7 Mar 2009. <http://english.ohmynews.com/articleview/article_view.asp?menu=c10400&no=382523&rel_no=1>

Hobsbawm, E.J. *Nations and Nationalism since 1780: Programme, Myth, Reality*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1990.

Hughes, Christopher R. "Chinese nationalism in the global era." *OpenDemocracy*. 17 Apr 2006. Accessed 17 Dec 2008. <http://www.opendemocracy.net/democracy-china/nationalism_3456.jsp>

Kang, Stephanie. "Adidas Ad Campaign Invokes Chinese Nationalism." *The Wall Street Journal*. 3 July 2008. Accessed 17 Dec 2008. <http://online.wsj.com/article/SB121502881464123819.html?mod=googlenews_wsj>

Kohn, Hans. *The Idea of Nationalism: A Study in its Origins and Background*. New York: Collier Books, 1967.

Kurlantzick, Joshua. "China's next-generation nationalists." *Los Angeles Times*. 6 May 2008. Accessed 17 Dec 2008. <<http://www.latimes.com/news/opinion/la-oe-kurlantzick6-2008may06,0,3394254.story>>

Kurlantzick, Joshua. "Fragile China." *Democracy: A Journal of Ideas*, Winter 2006. Carnegie Endowment for International Peace.

Lee Jung Nam. "The Revival of Chinese Nationalism: Perspectives of Chinese Intellectuals." *Asian Perspective* 30.4 (2006): 141-65.

- Levenson, Joseph R. *Confucian China and Its Modern Fate*. Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1968.
- Lewis, Martin, and Karen Wigen. *The Myth of Continents: A Critique of Metageography*. Berkeley: University of California Press, 1997.
- Li, Peter, Marjori H. Li, and Steven Mark, eds. *Culture & Politics in China: An Anatomy of Tiananmen Square*. New Brunswick and London: Transaction Publishers, 1991.
- Lieberthal, Kenneth. *Governing China: From Revolution Through Reform*. New York: W. W. North & Company, 2004.
- Liew, Leong H., and Shaoguan Wang, eds. *Nationalism, Democracy and National Integration in China*. London and New York: RoutledgeCurzon, 2004.
- Liu, Handing. "It Is Scariest When There Are Only Two Kinds of Voices – Extreme Nationalists Versus Nihilists in China." *Freezing Point, China Youth Daily*. 5 Nov 2008. Accessed 3 Apr 2009. <http://www.zonaeuropa.com/20081106_1.htm>
- Liu, Jiaying and David Bandurski. "'New nationalism' adds to the list of pressures facing China's media." *China Media Project*. 17 Oct 2008. Accessed 3 Apr 2009. <<http://cmp.hku.hk/2008/10/17/1289/>>
- Mooney, Paul. "Internet Fans Flames of Chinese Nationalism." *Yale Global*. 4 Apr 2005. Accessed 17 Dec 2008. <<http://yaleglobal.yale.edu/display.article?id=5516>>
- Osnos, Evan. "Angry Youth: The new generation's neon nationalists." *The New Yorker*. 28 July 2008. Accessed 17 Dec 2008. <http://www.newyorker.com/reporting/2008/07/28/080728fa_fact_osnos?currentPage=all>
- Osnos, Evan. "Crazy English: The national scramble to learn a new language before the Olympics." *The New Yorker*. 28 Apr 2008. Accessed 7 Mar 2009. <http://www.newyorker.com/reporting/2008/04/28/080428fa_fact_osnos?currentPage=all>
- Parker, Emily. "The Roots of Chinese Nationalism." *The Wall Street Journal*. 1 Apr 2008. Accessed 3 Apr 2009. <<http://online.wsj.com/article/SB120701186550979029.html>>
- "Prosperity Brings Satisfaction – and Hope: China's Optimism." *2005 Pew Global Attitudes Survey*. The Pew Global Attitudes Project. 16 Nov 2005.
- Qiang, Xiao. "Interview with Anti-CNN Founder Qi Hanting." *China Digital Times*. 21 Dec 2008. Accessed 7 Mar 2009. <<http://chinadigitaltimes.net/2008/12/interview-with-anti-cnn-founder-qi-hanting/>>

- Said, Edward W. *Orientalism*. New York: Vintage Books, 1978.
- Sausmikat, Nora. "More Legitimacy for One-Party Rule? The CCP's Ideological Adjustments and Intra-Party Reforms." *Asien* 99 (Apr 2006): 70-91.
- Schwarz, Vera. *The Chinese Enlightenment*. Berkeley and Los Angeles, CA: University of California Press, 1986.
- Shambaugh, David. *China's Communist Party: Atrophy and Adaptation*. Washington, D.C.: Woodrow Wilson Center Press, 2008.
- Shambaugh, David. "China's competing nationalism." *International Herald Tribune*. 5 May 2008. Accessed 17 Dec 2008.
<<http://www.iht.com/articles/2008/05/05/opinion/edshambaugh.php>>
- Shambaugh, David. "Insecure China Is Stoking Xenophobic Nationalism." *International Herald Tribune*. 15 May 1999. Accessed 17 Dec 2008.
<<http://www.iht.com/articles/1999/05/15/eddavid.2.t.php>>
- Shen, Simon. "Holding Nationalist Flags Against Red Flags." *East Asia* 24.3 (Sept 2007): 229-250.
- Shen, Tong, with Marianne Yen. *Almost a Revolution*. Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 1990.
- Shirk, Susan. *Fragile Superpower*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2007.
- Spencer, Richard. "To Protest is Normal." *Telegraph.co.uk*. 22 Apr 2008. Accessed 3 Apr 2009.
<http://blogs.telegraph.co.uk/richard_spencer/blog/2008/04/22/to_protest_is_normal>
- "Statistical Report of the Development of Chinese Internet, 1st Edition." China Internet Network Information Center. 13 Oct 1997. Accessed 7 Mar 2009.
<<http://www.cnnic.cn/en/index/00/02/index.htm>>
- "Statistical Survey Report on the Internet Development in China, 22nd Edition." China Internet Network Information Center. July 2008. Accessed 7 Mar 2009.
<<http://www.cnnic.cn/en/index/00/02/index.htm>>
- "Survey Report on Internet Development in Rural China 2007." China Internet Network Information Center. Aug 2007.

- Tang, Xiaobing. *Global Space and the Nationalist Discourse of Modernity: The Historical Thinking of Liang Qichao*. Stanford, California: Stanford University Press, 1996.
- Tisdall, Simon. "China's new nationalism may require careful negotiation." *The Guardian*. 28 July 2008. Accessed 3 Apr 2009.
<<http://www.guardian.co.uk/commentisfree/2008/jul/28/china.olympicgames2008>>
- Weiss, Jessica. "Powerful Patriots: Nationalism, Diplomacy, and the Strategic Logic of Anti-Foreign Protest under Authoritarian Rule." Doctoral thesis, University of California, San Diego, 2007.
- White, Gordon. *Riding the Tiger: The Politics of Economic Reform in Post-Mao China*. Stanford, California: Stanford University Press, 1993.
- Whiting, Allen. "Chinese Nationalism and Foreign Policy after Deng." *The China Quarterly* 142 (June 1995): 295-315.
- Wines, Michael. "A Dirty Pun Tweaks China's Online Censors." *The New York Times*. 11 March 2009. Accessed 21 Apr 2009.
<http://www.nytimes.com/2009/03/12/world/asia/12beast.html?_r=1&em>
- Wong, Edward. "The Games Began. Hearts Swelled." *The New York Times*. 16 Aug 2008. Accessed 7 Mar 2009.
<<http://www.nytimes.com/2008/08/17/sports/olympics/17wong.html?partner=rssnyt&emc=rss>>
- Xi, Jieying, Yunxiao Sun, and Jing Jian Xiao, eds. *Chinese Youth in Transition*. Burlington, VT: Ashgate Publishing Company, 2006.
- Xu, Boyuan, and Ryan Martinson. "Where China's 'angry youth' come from." *Morning China*. 15 July 2008. Accessed 7 Mar 2009.
<<http://www.wsichina.org/morningchina/article.asp?id=3248>>
- Xu, Luo. *Searching for Life's Meaning: Changes and Tensions in the Worldviews of Chinese Youth in the 1980s*. Ann Arbor: The University of Michigan Press, 2002.
- Yang, Jianli. "The Faces of Chinese Nationalism." *The Washington Post*. 5 May 2008. Accessed 7 Mar 2009. <<http://www.washingtonpost.com/wp-dyn/content/article/2008/05/04/AR2008050401599.html?sub=AR>>
- Yardley, Jim. "China's Leaders Are Resilient in Face of Change." *The New York Times*. 6 Aug 2008. Accessed 3 Apr 2009.
<http://www.nytimes.com/2008/08/07/sports/olympics/07nationalism.html?_r=1&hp&oref=slogin>

- Yew, Lee Kuan. "Two Images of China." *Forbes Magazine*. 16 June 2008. Accessed 17 Apr 2009. <<http://www.forbes.com/forbes/2008/0616/037.html>>
- Zakaria, Fareed. "Don't Feed China's Nationalism." *Newsweek*. 21 Apr 2008. Accessed 7 Mar 2009. <<http://www.newsweek.com/id/131751>>
- Zhao, Michael. "Be Patriotic? First Be Cool!" *China Digital Times*. 30 Apr 2008. Accessed 7 Mar 2009. <<http://chinadigitaltimes.net/2008/04/be-patriotic-first-be-cool/>>
- Zhao, Suisheng. "Chinese Nationalism and Its International Orientations." *Political Science Quarterly* 115.1 (Spring 2000): 1-33.
- , *A Nation-State by Construction: Dynamics of Modern Chinese Nationalism*. Stanford, California: Stanford University Press. 2004.
- , "The Olympics and Chinese Nationalism." *China Security* 4.3 (Summer 2008): 48-57.
- , ed. *Chinese Foreign Policy: Pragmatism and Strategic Behavior*. New York: M.E. Sharpe. 2004.
- Zheng, Yongnian. *Discovering Chinese Nationalism in China: Modernization, Identity, and International Relations*. New York, NY: Cambridge University Press. 1999.