

General Images of America in China since 1972

--- Some Reviews on the Questionnaires

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Abstract

For more than 200 years, America's images in Chinese popular as well as public discourse have experienced both positive and negative phases. This paper is exploring the general images of America in China, focusing on 6 critical periods when Sino-U.S. relations was at the cross-road. The author chose three regions: Shanghai, Jiangsu and Anhui as the subjects of the questionnaires. To follow ground-to-up method, the subjects are all ordinary people and they are supposed to represent the tendency of popular discourse regarding the general images of America in China. The author finds that the general images of America have experienced ups and downs since *Shanghai Communique* signed in 1972, and one of the driving forces is the two-way operation between the public and the popular discourse, which in the end affects or constrains the thinking of Chinese decision makers who are responsible for China policy towards U.S.

Keywords: Image, America, Sino-U.S. relations, Popular discourse, Public discourse

1. Introduction

The year 2002 welcomes the 30 years anniversary of *Shanghai Communique*, which marks the beginning of the normalization between China and America. In memory of the historical event, China and America, both sides held a series of conferences and workshops, discussing the ups and downs of the Sino-U.S. relations. In China, Chinese media was fully involved into the nation-wide discussion and celebration. Even the ordinary people, from taxi drivers to retired people, from college students to migrant workers, were talking about the two sides relations in the street or at dinner tables or in the classroom. Such a nation-wide enthusiastic involvement could find its equal in the 1980s when China and America was in their long "Honey Moon" period before Tiananmen Incident broke out. To understand and find out what, how and why Chinese ordinary people are driven into this topic, and what real images of America in their eyes, the author decided to set some questionnaires together with some ground-to-up investigations and interviews to see the evolution of the America's images in China over the past 30 years. When designing the questionnaires, the author chose 6 critical periods when Sino-U.S. relations was at the cross-road as the observing points and located the investigation as well as field study on three different regions like Shanghai (developed), Jiangsu(developing) and Anhui(undeveloped) in terms of the economic development to facilitate this paper upon the questionnaires and interviews. Since the paper is to explore the relationship between the popular discourse (Note 1) and the public discourse (Note 2), the author follows ground-to-up method instead of up-down-to-ground. The subjects are all ordinary people and they are supposed to represent the tendency of popular discourse regarding the general images of America in China.

2. Literature Review

There are roughly two schools in this subject research. One is called insider out, the other is called insider. In 2000, a leading book written from the perspective of insider out, entitled "Limited Adversaries, Sino-American Mutual Images in the Post-Cold War Era" got published by Oxford University Press., which discussed the

U.S.-China mutual images in the post-Tiananmen and post-Cold War context. This book theoretically and empirically explored three broad questions as what the cognitive structures and ingredients of Sino-American mutual images are, and how they converge or conflict with each other. The author is a Chinese American, and he starts with the current mutual images of the American and Chinese elites as a base line to examine how the mutual images evolved since the 1970s and what patterns of perceptual change have emerged. The author interviewed many Chinese and American elites to develop his theme that mutual images might affect the bilateral relationship over time. This is the first book to touch a comparative study of U.S.-China mutual images. Its contribution lies in his personal interviews with both Chinese and American elites, most of them are track II people from think tanks as well as his broad-view and comprehensive understanding of both China and America. The author is a well professionally trained political scientist, who knows how to objectively build up his research framework and reflect or illustrate his findings, which is more academic and professional than those who also wrote some books regarding American images in Chinese eyes as the insider out (Note 3). Among the second school scholars (Note 4), a cornerstone book covering the American images in China got published earlier in 1996 by a Chinese scholar Yusheng, Yang. The book "Chinese Views of America: A Historical Interpretation" is quite different from the above book in two ways: one is that this research only focused on China side, the other is it is empirically written as an insider with fully referring to the Chinese archives and documents to come up with a clear picture of the real images of Americans in the eyes of Chinese. The author, as a historian, started his exploration dated back to 1784 when "THE EMPRESS OF CHINA" came to Canton, China. He firstly focused his research mostly on Chinese intellectuals who had been to America as well as those who were open-minded diplomats and senior governors before the Communist government came to power in 1949. The author finds that Chinese elites had some sort of American complex due to what general Americans and the government had done to and in China as well as what their personal experience in America or in American-owned schools, hospitals and etc. in China. In the second part of the book, the author found out that during the Mao's era before the normalization of Sino-U.S. relations, the general images of America was twisted irrationally as monsters or devils due to the sharp different ideology during the Cold War. The author concluded that Chinese popular discourse was manipulated and controlled by the public discourse which was totally dominated by the Party Propaganda Bureau. But things changed greatly after China was more open to the world after 1978. And the author noted that and then fully discussed why the Chinese people were so pro-America that nearly everyone regarded America as a dreamed country or the Heaven to realize their American dream. The author assumes that economy, democracy as well as liberty are the three driving forces. In effect, the general images of America in both popular and public discourse vary at different time and different regions at different time. But to what extend, what pulls and pushes, how and why such an evolution and differences happen still remains unknown and covered. Therefore, this research paper is intended to find out the above whys, what and how.

3. Hypotheses

In this study, the researcher attempted to test the hypotheses by analyzing the answers the chosen subjects gave to the QUESTIONNAIRES the researcher had worked out, in order to obtain evidence to prove the hypotheses.

The hypotheses are:

- 1) Mass media plays a very important role in shaping people's view of the images of America in China, and this is a two-way operation between the public discourse and popular discourse.
- 2) Traditional cold war ideology still more or less influences the public discourse regarding the images of America. As the result, the popular discourse is affected to some great extend.
- 3) The interaction between the public discourse and popular discourse may in the long run affect or set obstacles for the elite groups and the Chinese policy-makers when dealing with Sino-U.S. relations, and as a result, Sino-U.S. relations may more or less be inevitably affected.

4. Conceptual Framework and Methodology

4.1 The significance of the topic

A Sino-U.S. relation for long has been a hot issue in Chinese academic circle, especially after the normalization of the two sides in the 1970s. Taking all the literature and the historical reviews into consideration, the author came to realize that hard power as politics, military as well as economy is more debated as some sort of decisive elements in Sino-American relations while soft power as culture, tradition, social values upon which public opinions are based is not well regarded. The previous analyses, constrained by the perspective of hard power studies, tend to follow the up-down-to-ground method that leaves much to be improved. In fact, psychological or ideological perceptual dimensions, the psychological fragility and swift change of Chinese peoples' images of

America over the years have never stopped to exert some sort of constraining effects on the well-being of the bilateral relationship in the past three decades. This phenomenon reinforces the importance of exploring the formation and evolution of the general images of America in China since 1972, especially the ordinary people's view of America in China, which may interpret the whys, how and what the ups and downs of the bilateral relations occurred frequently.

4.2 Methods and data

The core of this research is a set of written questions in the form of a questionnaire conducted in the three different regions like Shanghai, Jiangsu and Anhui as well as a set of more than seven hundred interviews conducted both as individual and group in the three regions. To make clear of the nature of this research, some methodological problems need to be discussed.

4.2.1 Questionnaire development

Altogether, the author worked out two different questionnaires. QUESTIONNAIRE A employed a combination of open-ended and closed-ended questions for several reasons. While closed-ended questions are more suitable to measure the interviewees' knowledge of historic facts and attitudes toward "American image" issue, they are not well-suited to measure the interviewees' perceptions of their own, especially those intellectually sophisticated people who tend to present their own answers instead of putting theirs into a few categories or turning theirs into numbers for they always think closed-ended questions leave no room for their rich thoughts. Given the nature of inadequacy of closed-ended questions, open-ended questions are added to help produce a desirable balance for the needs of this research. Therefore QUESTIONNAIRE A requires the chosen subjects to tick his/her choice numbered A/B/C/, or write down their own answer in "D" blanket if they feel it necessary. All the choices given are the popular images in the public discourse during the 6 periods in China to examine whether the popular discourse is agreed with or against the public discourse.

See QUESTIONNAIRE A

General Images of America in My Eyes	
Direction: Please tick you choice before the ones which you think appropriate or write down your own choice in "D" blanket.	
1) Before 1972, the image of America is:	
a) U.S. imperialist	b) Paper Tiger
c) American Devil	d) _____
2) After the signature of « <i>Shanghai Communiqué</i> », the image of America is:	
a) a western country	b) The United States of America
c) a super power	d) _____
3) The image of America in the 80s is :	
a) an old friend of Chinese	b) a super power
c) The First World	d) _____
4) After "Tiananmen Incident", the image of America is:	
a) A hegemony nation	b) a dual-standard nation
c) Human Rights Watcher	d) _____
5) After the issues of "Bombing of Embassy "and" hitting of aircrafts, the image of America is:	
a) A hegemony nation	b) Enemy
c) neither friend nor enemy	d) _____
6) After September 11 th attack, the image of America is:	
a) A peace keeper	b) A hegemony nation
c) leader of anti-terrorists	d) _____
Age _____	Profession _____
Thanks!	

In the meanwhile, to testify the relationship between the discourse and the philosophy regarding the bilateral relations, the author developed QUESTIONNAIRE B for some certain subjects from the three regions concerning the topic of “Prospect of Sino-U.S. Relations.”

See QUESTIONNAIRE B

Prospect of Sino-U.S. Relations	
Age_____	Profession_____
Direction: Please choose one of the four which you think much closer to your preference.	
1) Both fragile and stable	2) Greatly improved 3) Neither friend nor enemy 4) Adversary
Thanks	

4.2.2 Face-to-face interviews

In this research, the author also applied the well-structured, face-to-face interview with the subjects from the three regions as the primary data-collecting method. And all the interviewees are ordinary people who have the least direct personal connections with the policy makers in the government or have the fewest privileges or opportunities to articulate their images of America in public writing except in private conversations among themselves. So the face-to-face interview can not only provide opportunities for them to make their opinions known publicly but also can provide insights into their mindsets more directly than merely reading what they have done on the questionnaires. Therefore, together with the questionnaires, this approach can produce an original data set to form a dimensional lens through which the author as well as readers can get a panoramic view of the interviewees.

To make the interviews valid, reliable and comparable, three investigators or interviewers are sent to the three regions with the same set of questions at hand. The first investigator came from the Agency of CCP History, Xuancheng, Anhui; the second from the Division of Public Affairs, Wuxi, Jiangsu; the author is the third interviewer, responsible for the Shanghai region. In Anhui, among the interviewees, we have interviewed both retired civil servants from Wuhu city, Xiancheng City as well as workers, medical staffs, students and unemployed people in the two cities. In Jiangsu, we had more medical staffs from No.4 Hospital and workers from some joint factories and some students, retired or unemployed people from Dadingcun, Wuxi. In Shanghai, we had the interviewees from Shanghai International Studies University (SISU), Tongji University, Shanghai Koito and some individuals from Yangpu and Putuo districts. Among them, Students (including graduates and high school students), technicians, engineers, civil servants, professors and retired or unemployed workers are included.

The face-to-face interviews are made possible by way of both group interviews and individual ones accordingly. Generally, at universities, factories, hospitals, we applied the group interview, and in other situations, we often took the individual interview approach instead. Such interviews aimed at establishing a degree of rapport with the respondents, from which the real perceptions or honest feelings about the image of America could be revealed.

4.2.3 Sampling

Over the period of Jan.4th to Feb.10th, 2003, the author chose Shanghai, Jiangsu and Anhui, based upon the different economic levels, as the subjects of the questionnaires. Because the intention of this research is to capture the mainstream of the ordinary people’s images of America in China, it is possible for the author to draw a random sample from each stratum in the three regions and then to join the subsamples to form the total sample. However, for funds and human resources reasons, it is not possible to determine the exact population for each stratum in each region, yet it is feasible to have the samples classified into five groups as Students (including graduates), medical staffs, factory workers, civil servants (including the retired ones) and the unemployed as well to do a comparative study between the developed, the developing and the undeveloped regions as well as the different groups to see whether it reflects a consensus or differences regarding the general images of America in different regions. Since the author wants to test her hypothesis as: Mass media plays a very important role in shaping people’s view of the images of America in China, there is no age limitation in the samples and the oldest is 89, the youngest is 17.

5. Results

QUESTIONNAIRE A is sent to the subjects both individually and by group. The total number of the questionnaire sheet dispatched is up to 2 000 copies, and the recalled copies are 1 201. See Table 1.

QUESTIONNAIRE B is sent to the grouped subjects by age and profession. As for the total number interviewed, please refer to Table 2.

The response to QUESTIONNAIRE A is:

Period	Images of America	Number	percentage	Words in “D” blanket
Before 1972	U.S. imperialist	773	64.5%	Yankee
	Paper tiger	466	38.9%	Old-line
	American devil	360	30.1%	Imperialism
After <i>Shanghai Communique</i>	A western country	373	31.1%	Old-line
	The United States of America	571	47.7%	Imperialism (only one case)
	A super power	295	24.6%	
In the 1980s	An old friend of Chinese	150	12.5%	America
	A super power	675	56.3%	
	The First World	395	33.0%	
After Tiananmen Incident	A hegemony nation	674	54.0%	Subversive activist
	A dual-standard nation	483	40.3%	A rogue nation
	Human rights watcher	72	6.0%	Pacific policeman, A nation with aggressive ambitions Interventionist
After the bombing of embassy and the hitting of aircrafts	A hegemony nation	808	67.4%	World policeman
	Enemy neither friend nor enemy	297	25.0%	American Devil
		121	10.1%	A rogue nation Enemy forever
After Sept. 11 th attack	Peace keeper (Note 6)	157	13.1%	A stupid world policeman
	A hegemony nation	775	65.5%	America unfaithful friend
	Leader of anti-terrorists	257	21.5%	Enemy forever

Note: The subjects are permitted to make more choices with one question.

There are some interesting results in the above response. Firstly, an eye catching phenomenon is: Cases for “D” choice are much fewer than cases for A/ B/ C/ choices, and all the filled images in “D” are negative except for the only one as “America”. Also See Table 3.

Secondly, a particular character shared by the three regions is: The top choice for images in each period is the same in the three regions. The only exception in the top choice in the fourth period by Anhui is: 129 cases for “a double standard nation”. See Table 4.

Thirdly, the three regions also remain some differences in the fourth, fifth, as well as the sixth period choices. In Shanghai, among the 34 for “Human Rights Watcher”, 25 are undergraduates or graduates under 28; another five are between 39-58 years old, B.A. or BS, M.A. holder; one is a senior school student, aged 17; three are unemployed. In the case of “Peace keeper”, 29 out of 42 are over 40, 11 are between 20-30, 2 are over 50. In Jiangsu case, 18 out of 38 for “Human Rights Watcher” are medical staff, aged between 30-43, one is 22 years old; 11 are teachers, aged between 25-45; 2 are workers; the rest 7 are free lancers. In Anhui case, 19 out of 21 for “A rogue nation” are retired civil servants, 2 are currently employed civil servants with more responsibility, all are over 55. See Table 5.

Fourthly, the difference in the case of “more choices” also remains in the three regions. See Table 6.

Due to fewer subjects both in Jiangsu and Shanghai for more choices and “D” choice when doing

QUESTIONNAIRE A, the interviewer interviewed some subjects in Jiangsu and Shanghai at random with the following questions.

Interviewer: Why not for “D”?

Interviewee: Because the given image is just what I think.

Interviewer: Then why not for more choices? You are free to make more choices with one question.

Interviewee: We have done a lot of exercises in multiple choices before, and we have got used to the model of “only one choice is right”. In addition, one choice for the image can basically tell my perspective for American image.

Such an interview was carried either individually or by group, the total interviewed number is 170. Answers to the two questions are basically the same, no distinctive differences in different groups.

As far as the subjects in Anhui is concerned, the interviewer also did some personal interviews but with different questions.

Interviewer: You seem to prefer “more choices”. Could you tell me why you did that way?

Interviewee: I think all the given choices in A/B /C are just what I prefer.

To those who have made some choices in A/ B/ or C, but still filled some words in “D”, the interviewer did some personal interviews with them.

Interviewer: Since you have made choices with A/ B/ or C, then why you still chose to write words in “D”?

Interviewee: Since we are free to do what we want to do with the questionnaire, I think only when I write down what I want to say, can the images of America in my eye’s mind be fully expressed.

The total interviewing with the Anhui subjects numbers 20, of whom, 14 are retired civil servants, 6 are mid-aged civil servants. Their responses are basically the same.

One thing should be pointed out here is: 11 subjects from Anhui wrote down some irrelevant words in “D” blanket of the sixth period like “It serves U.S. right.”; “It’s due punishment for U.S.”; “U.S. just got what it deserves.”; “It’s time for U.S. to seek the reason in itself.” And one from Jiangsu wrote: “Stew in one’s own juice”. No subject from Shanghai did that.

To those who are below 35, the interviewer did some personal interviews with the following questions:

Interviewer: Please tell me why you chose “U.S. imperialism” or “Paper tiger” as the general images for America before 1972? You know at that time you were only a little kid. (Or: You were not born.)

Interviewee: My parents told me that. And the mass media and books, text books all said that way.

Interviewer: Why not work your own mind before making the choice?

Interviewee: Everyone says that. We have no reason to keep skeptical about the said history.

Such an interview was then extended to those who were over 35 by group, the interviewees numbered up to 246, the responses remain basically the same, no distinctive differences in different groups.

As far as QUESTIONNAIRE B is concerned, the result reflects as followed.

Prospect of Sino-U.S. Relations

Age	Number of interviewees	Both fragile and stable No.& %	Greatly improved No.& %	Neither friend nor enemy No.& %	Adversary No.& %
20-35	60	29 (48.3%)	4 (6.7%)	8 (13.3)	19 (31.7%)
35-50	60	27 (45%)	3 (5%)	10 (16.7%)	20 (33.3%)
50-	60	23 (38.3%)	4 (6.7%)	17 (28.3%)	16 (26.7%)

Prospect of Sino-U.S. Relations

profession	Number of interviewees	Both fragile and stable No.& %	Greatly improved No.& %	Neither Friend nor enemy No.& %	Adversary No.& %
Student	60	27 (45%)	5 (8.3%)	7 (11.7%)	21 (35%)
Worker	60	13 (21.7%)	6 (10%)	21 (35%)	20 (33.3%)
Civil servant	60	24 (40%)	6 (10%)	17 (28.3%)	13 (21.7%)

6. Findings

The results showed in Tables and responses to personal interviews enhanced the author's findings as:

1) Results of QUESTIONNAIRE A by the three regions basically remain similar, though there are some differences both in regions and groups. Well-educated people seem more rational, objective and less influenced by the internal mass media.

2) Popular discourse in less developed regions tends to be more radical. The traditional cold war ideology as "anti-imperialism" seems unshaken. People's interests in participating in political activities and enthusiasm are quite strong while the popular discourse in the developed regions is more rational. People's interests in participating in political activities are less strong, and the ideology of realism is strongly embraced here. As far as the developing regions are concerned, people there tend to be sitting on the fence or just follow others' suit. Their response to political issues varies with the situations.

3) Some sort of plural tendency in the popular discourse in the 1980s distinguishes itself in Shanghai, especially in the second and third periods. See Table 7.

4) All the face-to-face interviews show that most Chinese learn about America from the internal newspapers, magazines, TV programs and other public channels in China. And non-academic readings about American history, society, politics and culture are what young generation prefers.

5) Both QUESTIONNAIRE A and face-to-face interviews tell that public discourse in the 1950s, 1960s and 1970s acted on the popular discourse extremely and the popular discourse in China was just the reflection of the public discourse. Nevertheless, such an exclusive function has been challenged along with the process of democracy and pluralism in China since the 1980s. The response to Questionnaire A and Table5 also tell in some regions, popular discourse has started to be disagreed with the mainstream public discourse, especially when some incidents occur regarding the Sino-U.S. relations. Those who have strong "historical memory" or "collective memory" may respond with strong anti-imperialism and nationalism while some may respond rationally.

6) The results of QUESTIONNAIRE B reflect that ordinary people are less optimistic about the prospect of Sino-U.S. relations. Most young people tend to act on their own emotions. So in most cases, the general images of America in Chinese popular discourse vary with the people's emotions.

7) The response to QUESTIONNAIRE B shows that discourse has strong connection with one's philosophy, which tells that the relationship between the two is somewhat interacting.

8) Last but not the least, Table 3, Table 5 and some face-to-face interviews expose that less developed regions bear much stronger cold war ideology and stronger "collective memory" against U.S. It is emotion more than ratiom that acts as a decisive element in what they respond or act. Most of all, people are easy to be assembled to fight for or against what they think it just or evil. And if such nationalism is aroused, it would take more efforts to bring it down.

7. Analyses

When all these results and findings are taken into account, the author feels it necessary to look back into the history for why and to testify the hypothesis.

In Anhui, the interviewer once interviewed a senior retired civil servant for the question why people think U.S. "Imperialism" or "Paper Tiger" before 1972. The interviewee told that they were growing up with the propaganda that "U.S. imperialism is man-eating, paper tiger" in songs, films, poems, prose, textbooks, novels

and any other public readings. In retrospect, the author proved it by finding a lot of articles, essays, works bearing strong anti-U.S. imperialism ideology, and most of them were written by Chinese intellectuals who were experts in the field of international studies and American history. The images of U.S. in Chinese mainstream newspapers and magazines were all negative. Living in such an exclusive era, the internal mass media was the only channel from which Chinese people know of the outside and America. And that explains that the Chinese society at that time was a consensus one, and popular discourse just reflected what the public discourse said.

When it comes to the results in the second and third period of QUESTIONNAIRE A, the author finds a striking tendency of pluralism in the popular discourse, and nearly no anti-U.S. words in “D” blanket. This emerging situation agreed with the coming Sino-U.S. normalization and “Honey Moon of Sino-U.S. Relations” in the late 1970s and 1980s, during which Chinese mainstream newspapers and magazines like People’s Daily, Red Flag, Wenhui Daily and etc. published lots of articles and papers talking about the positive images of America. Many well-known novelists, poets, experts in Sino-U.S. relations, even some policy makers and diplomatists like Deng Xiao-ping, Huang Zheng made speeches or wrote articles singing high praise of American people and Sino-U.S. relations.(Note 5) Such a historical change also brought out the change in Chinese’s perspective of America from “enemy” to “our old friend”. Furthermore, the internal mass media stopped to be the only channel from which Chinese people know about America. The exchanges of scholars in both countries not only added to provide other channels for both Chinese and Americans to look outside, but also helped to improve the two-side relations by changing the rooted views towards each side. Such a change in perspective also brought out the change in the public discourse. And in turn, the ordinary people in China, influenced by the changed public discourse, also changed their discourse concerning the image of America. On one hand, they repeated what the public discourse talked about, on the other hand, because of the Chinese “Open to the World” policy, they tended to be more active in public activities out of their own free wills to form a plural society along with the process of democracy and freedom in China. So the typical character in the popular discourse during these two periods is that people stopped to take “one-side attitude” towards U.S., but to use their own mind to think about the outside instead.

In 1989, “Tiananmen Incident” changed the “Honey Moon Relations” into a confrontation. American government enforced some tough sanctions against China in politics, military and trade to defend what they called “Human Rights”. Such kinds of sanctions were reported widely in China, which again refreshed the Chinese “collective memory” and “historical memory” against America. To push back America was regarded as a part of patriotism in China. And “A double standard nation” was first used to refer to America during such a critical time, which immediately became a popular image of America in China. A factor in QUESTIONNAIRE A is more than 100 cases for the image of “A double standard nation” in the three regions, which testifies that though an emerging plural society was forming in China, the public discourse still had some sort of inducing function on the popular discourse, especially when Sino-U.S. relations was at the cross road. Such an inducing function once reached its climax separately in 1996, 1999, 2001 when such unexpected issues as Li Denghui’s visit to U.S.; bombing of Chinese embassy and the hitting of aircrafts. Of all the public readings, “Say NO to U.S.” series readings which was first published in 1996 almost dominated the tendency of popular readings covering Sino-U.S. relations and American issues, which is a case in point.

The year of 1996 saw the era of “Say NO to U.S.” in publishing industry in China. Lots of books, following up with Qiang, Song, Zang-zang, Zhang and Bian, Qiao’s book of *CHINA CAN SAY NO: Choices of Politics and Emotions in the Post Cold War*, a book entitled *WHY CHINA CAN SAY NO; STILL CHINA CAN SAY NO; CHINA:NOT ONLY SAY NO* and etc. got published to form “Say NO Series” readings in China. The first “Say NO” book by Qiang, Song et al. sold well. 50 000 copies of the first edition were put on the book market in May, 1996 and only weeks later were out of stock. Readers were enthusiastic about this book for its popular and emotional discourse, which later resulted in a heated nation-wide discussion about “Say NO to U.S.” in China. Numerous of articles, books entitled “Say NO to U.S.” appeared afterwards in public, from Beijing to any remote regions in China, mass media was inevitably covered with “Say NO Series”. A graduate student at the Institute for International Studies, Shanghai International Studies University (SISU) once did a research on the key terms concerning “Say NO Series” in her thesis by choosing three books: *China Can Say No (CCSN)*; *Behind Demonizing China(BDC)*; *China Road: In the Shadow of Globalization(CR)* as samples. The data she got as the followings:

Classification	key terms	CCSN	BDC	CR
Political image of America	Hegemony	55	37	69
	Racialism		26	10
	Colonialism			21
	Imperialism			11
	Super power	11		
Judgment on American values	Interference	14		
	Prejudice		27	
	Attacking		14	
	Cold war ideology		13	
	Defaming		19	
	Insulting		11	
	Monopolizing			14
Cognition of American ideal	Demonizing		78	
	Containing	48	11	
	ideology		23	19

Note: Those below 10 are not included here.

To the author's surprise, the key terms in the three books are all repeated time and again by the subjects or interviewees from the three regions. The fact is over 90% students interviewed said that they had at least read one or two "Say NO" books; over 86% medical staffs interviewed knew or read some chapters; over 80% workers or unemployed ones heard of them or read some chapters; over 70% civil servants could recite or use the key terms to summarize the images of America.

Another case in point is: In 1999, three years after the first edition of "China Can Say NO" published, a reader from Xiamen University, P.R.C. once phoned the author of the "Say NO" phenomenon at her University. She said that "Say NO" had become a popular term when they were talking about America, and even "Say NO" became a fashion on the campus.

Therefore the historical review and case studies above just explain under what circumstances such an inducing function of public discourse can work well. As a result, the interacting of the public discourse and popular discourse may culture some irrational nationalism out of patriotism, which would harm Sino-U.S. relations.

When it came to the hypothesis of the possibility that Sino-U.S. relations may get affected by the interacting relationship of the popular discourse and the public discourse, the author would like to presents other two typical cases to back up.

Case 1: After the "bombing of embassy" on May 8, 1999, all the Chinese mainstream newspapers, magazine, TV and broadcasting programs, stormed with articles, reports and essays exposing the evil deeds American government had done onto Chinese. Irritated students went out of classroom into the street for protesting against "American Savage", and immediately such a strong "anti-America" movement spread all over the country. "America is our enemy" or "Dawn with American imperialist" became a popular topic in China. In Beijing, some protests surrounded the U.S. embassy, breaking the windows or destroying some building structures, which made some U.S. diplomatists or China hands think a "New Boxing Movement" came, and therefore U.S. must be harder on China.

Case 2: After the 911 attack, China president Jiang Zeming telegraphed to president Bush on the very day to express his sympathy and solicitude to American people. And immediately the mainstream mass media in China reflected what happened in New York and Washington rather objectively. But the author felt surprised to read some messages on some Chinese websites saying "It serves U.S. right."; "U.S. just got what it deserves." A student reporter from SISU even told the author that when she interviewed some students on the campus, nearly every interviewee felt happy at the first thought upon that attack and regarded it as a sort of revenge for "bombing of Chinese embassy and hitting of the aircrafts". Meanwhile, many regional newspapers, especially popular newspapers published lots of articles, criticizing U.S. The shared attitude and sense is "America itself should be blamed". Though the author did find some people describing U.S. "leader of anti-terrorism" or "Human Rights Watcher" in QUESTIONNAIRE A, the number is much lower than that for "Hegemony". With so strong a "patriotism" or somewhat nationalism, these sub-mass media joined with the ordinary people to form some sort of public opinion, though not a dominating one, which more or less blocked the mainstream media

from reporting the event as it is. Such a situation has no doubt hindered the policy makers in China from taking more active position to stand by U.S. side to counter terrorists, and to improve the worsening Sino-U.S. relations after the hitting of aircrafts.

8. Conclusion

The results and findings based upon the questionnaires, interviews, historical review and analysis illustrate that the ups and downs of the general images of America in Chinese popular discourse, to a large extent, overlaps with the ups and downs of the general images of America in Chinese public discourse, while in between there exists some interacting relations, showing the popular discourse, on one hand, is influenced or restricted by the public discourse, but on the other hand, it may act or set conditions onto the public discourse, which in the long run, may affect and constrain or reshape the elite group's perspectives of America. Such emerging perspectives may set checks and balance onto China's America policy making. In sum, such a nation with a big population as China is, it is required that the Chinese traditional moral criticizing paradigm and cold war ideology be improved when being faced with the changing world. The policy makers as well as the ordinary Chinese people should get rid of some psychiatric type of "prisoner of the past" or "victim mentality" and think rationally rather than emotionally when being involved in the world affairs.

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Notes

Note 1. Here it refers to the popular terms used by Chinese ordinary people when talking about U.S.

Note 2. Here it refers to the key terms used by the press and media in China when dealing with the images of America.

Note 3. Another two best-selling books are: Li Zhou. (1992). *Manhattan's China Lady*, Beijing: Beijing Publishing House.; Xingqian Lian. (1989). *Lovely Americans*. Beijing: International Culture Press.

Note 4. Other books are: Jicai, Feng. (1989). *America is Naked*. Beijing: Over-seas Chinese Press.

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Note 5. For further information in this regard, please refer to Yusheng Yang. (1996). *Chinese Views of America: A Historical Interpretation*. Shanghai: Fudan University Press, (Chapters 9 &10).

Note 6. Comparatively, the tendency of a plural discourse in Jiangsu is less distinguished while the least in Anhui.

Table 1. Result of QUESTIONAIRE A

Place	Dispatched copies	Recalled copies	Valid copies	Invalid copies	Rate of reclamation (%)
Shanghai	500	362	362	0	72.4
Jiangsu	1 000	557	553	4	55.7
Anhui	500	282	282	0	56.4

Table 2. Result of QUESTIONAIRE B

Age	Number of interviewees	Profession	Number of interviewees
20-35	60	Student	60
35-50	60	Worker	60
50-	60	Civil servant	60

Table 3. Result of the choices in QUESTIONAIRE A

Place	for "D"	Cases for A/ B/ C	%
Anhui	68	1 582	4.30
Jiangsu	93	3 821	2.43
Shanghai	46	2 272	2.02

Table 4. Result of the differences in the three areas responding to QUESTIONAIRE A

NO. & % Place	Image U.S. Imperialism	U.S.A.	A super nation	A hegemony nation	A hegemony nation	A hegemony nation
Anhui	223 (44.6)	225 (45)	143 (28.6)	94 (18.8)	131 (26.2)	157 (31.4)
Jiangsu	343 (34.3)	215 (21.5)	382 (38.2)	349 (34.9)	431 (43.1)	380 (38)
Shanghai	207 (41.4)	131 (26.2)	150 (30)	204 (40.8)	246 (49.2)	238 (47.6)

Table 5. Result of the differences in the three areas responding to QUESTIONAIRE A

Place	Choices for "Human Rights Watcher"	Words in "D" choice No. & %	"Peace keeper" No.& %
Anhui	0 (0%)	A rogue nation 21 (4.2%)	2 (0.4%)
Jiangsu	38 (3.8%)	World policeman 28 (2.8%) American Devil , 11 (1.1%)	113 (11.3%)
Shanghai	34 (6.8%)	Enemy forever 3 (0.6%)	42 (8.4%)

Note: Of the 113 persons for "peace keeper" in Jiangsu, 81 put the quotation mark to the choice.

Table 6. Result of the difference in the three areas regarding "for more choices" in QUESTIONAIRE A

Place	for more choices	Percentage
Anhui	473	94.6%
Jiangsu	165	16.5%
Shanghai	62	12.4%

Table 7. The distinguishing plural tendency in the popular discourse in the 1980s in Shanghai

image % place	The United States of America	A western nation	A super nation	A super nation	The First World	An old friend of Chinese
Shanghai	36.2%	33.1%	29.8	41.4%	47.2%	7.7%