

# **The Chinese Print Media Coverage of 9/11 since 2001**

**Chapter Authors: Gao, Mobo C. F. and Liang, Ming**

Book Editor: Tomasz Pludowski [tomaszpludowski@o2.pl]

## **Introduction**

The significance of the Chinese media coverage of 9/11 extends far more than just reporting of the event. It is of course accepted wisdom that no media just report. They select, set agenda and interpret events for someone's political, social and economic benefit. However, the Chinese official media never shy away from their claim that media are propaganda. Therefore, it is interesting to see how and in what way the Chinese media use the reporting of 9/11 for their propaganda purpose. Or indeed it is interesting to see, by analysing the Chinese reporting of 9/11, if three decades of reform and change in China since the death of Mao have changed the Chinese media from an explicit propaganda superstructure to a more complex and multi-faceted machinery that has to cater for different sectors of interest in the society.

The Chinese coverage is important and significant for us also because of its love and hate relationship with the United States of America (Gao 2000). One would expect that US allies like Israel, the UK, Japan and Australia would report the event in certain way and non-allies in the Arabic countries would report the event in come other way. However, the Chinese situation is very complex for a number of reasons. On the one hand Washington welcomes the change and economic development in China. On the other hand, it fears that the rise of China is a threat to its status quo dominance, especially when China is still seen as a communist country. On the one hand, China needs the US market and at least its hands off attitude if not cooperation to develop its economy. On the other hand, China is deeply suspicious of Washington's intention and strategies towards China, especially in relation to the issue of Taiwan. Therefore, it is very interesting to see how these complex issues and relations are reflected in the Chinese reporting of 9/11.

The US-China relation is further complicated by the human rights focus by the international community (Gao, Donald and Zhang 2003), to no small extent prompted by the US government and Western media prior to 9/11. China is more than annoyed that the US claims to be the human rights gatekeeper by the latter's constantly pointing a finger at China. It is therefore especially significant to see how the Chinese media use the reporting of 9/11 to make a greater claim to crackdown on separatist movement, for instance, in the province of Xinjiang where the Uighurs are known as some kind of Muslims (Gladney 1991 and 1998). China is already perceived to have changed its views of terrorism, stopping short of its usual support of anti-capitalist government forces in other countries (Luard 2003). So has the US changed its tone if not the fundamental policy orientation. Washington initially refused to recognize any al-Qaeda involvement in Xinjiang, and according to one report Uighur separatists are hoping that "now that the U.S. military has established a presence in Central Asia, Uighurs will receive U.S support similar to that given to Tibetans in the past — military training and arms transfer that assisted Tibetan terrorism against Chinese in Tibet" (Christoffersen 2002). That kind of assumption cannot be taken for granted anymore.

This chapter will examine only the print media. This is mainly for two reasons. The first reason is practical. Audio-visual media are so much and very difficult to get hold of without committing huge resources that require a long term project whereas print media is comparatively easy to access. Secondly, and this is more important, the chapter, for the complex reasons outlined above, aims to examine three categories of media: the official, semi-official and the unofficial. There may be audio-visual resources for official and even semi-official media reporting there is hardly any unofficial visual media publication available because unofficial media outlets are almost all e-media, i.e., internet and websites.

For the official media we select to examine the *renmin ribao* (People's Daily) which is the mouthpiece of the CCP and the Chinese government. For the semi-official media we select to examine *nanfang zhoubao* (the Southern Weekend). Finally for the unofficial media we select the e-media. Regarding e-media "Chinese media" do not confine to China in terms of national boundary. Much of the e-media discussion takes place on sites that are hosted outside of China but contributions may be from people inside of China or Chinese citizens or dissidents living outside of China.

We intend to examine the coverage of the first month from 11<sup>th</sup> of September 2001 of the three categories of media. From then on we select only the anniversary of 9/11 from 2002 to 2004. The rationale for this sampling is first obviously the consideration of the feasibility of the research. There is simply too much work to research on every day's issue of a daily paper. Secondly and more importantly, September 2001 and every anniversary since then are assumed to have the most concentrated coverage of the issue. Our method is basically content analysis to see how the three categories of media are different, if indeed they are, in terms of narratives, messages and emotional attitudes that reflect values and beliefs.

### **The Chinese Official Reporting**

Chinese official reporting of the 9/11 as represented by *the People's Daily* has, as expected, nothing that is really surprising. It represented the official line very accurately and dutifully. Soon after the event within the month of September 2001, there were many reports, almost every day, on the number of death, on the spot witness accounts of the event, the Chinese casualties, the effect on the US and world stock market, the airlines, the tourist industry and the US economy. It also reported US and UN resolutions and announcements, quite neutrally. Above all it reported how the US and UK were building up their preparation for the war in Afghanistan. This much is not unusual and it was reported by media in other countries as well, as expected.

However, there are some interesting features that are worth noting. One is that the Chinese official announcement always stressed that they "had always been" (*yi guan*) opposed to "any and every form of terrorist violent activities" (*yi qie xingshi de kongbu zhuyi baoli huodong*). This was expressed in the Foreign Ministry Spokesperson news brief on the 12<sup>th</sup> September 2001, expressed by Qian Qichen, the veteran Chinese diplomat and Vice-Premier of the State Council in his telephone conversation with Colin Powell on the 14<sup>th</sup> September 2001 as well as by Jia Chun Wang the Public Security Minister on 18<sup>th</sup> September 2001. On the 12<sup>th</sup> September

2001 Jiang Zemin the President of the PRC in his condoling message sent to President Bush of the USA, also expressed that idea.

It is interesting also that the Chinese official position was rather reluctantly drawn into this discourse of terrorism. In the 12<sup>th</sup> September condoling message Jiang did not directly relate 9/11 to the term terrorism. It first states that we were shocked by the “serious attacks” (*yanzhong xiji*) and then says that we were opposed to any form of terrorist violent activities. It has to be pointed out that the paper did report that the 9/11 violence was condemned all over the world as reflected in two items of its reporting when it used the headlines of “condemnation all over the world” and “condemnation by everyone” and this “everyone” even includes North Korea, Yugoslavia and Syria. In showing support and sympathy of the US, the paper reported that Jiang Zemin had a telephone conversation with President Bush on the 13<sup>th</sup> of September to express his consolation for the dead and to condemn terrorism. It also reported that the Chinese State Tourist Bureau took a decision to help American tourists in China who might have difficulties in returning home immediately after 9/11.

When reporting the impending war in Afghanistan, the paper skilfully used its reporting of Chinese leaders’ exchange with foreign leaders to push the Chinese official opposition to the war and its advocacy of going through international organizations and of conducting the war against terrorism under the existing principle of international laws and regulations. This is important for the Chinese government for two main reasons. The first reason is that China did not want to be sidelined by the US and UK and to some extent Europe in international affairs. By going through international mechanism such as the United Nations China would be able to play a role. The second reason, which is more important for the Chinese government, is that China wanted to safeguard the principle of national sovereignty and principle of national territorial integrity. Thus the paper reported that Jiang Zemin, in his telephone conversation with the British Prime Minister Blair, pointed out that war against terrorism had to be conducted according to international law and along the lines of the commonly accepted international principles. By the same token it reported that in his telephone conversation with the Russian President Putin, Jiang expressed his wish that China and Russia should work together to strengthen the international mechanism to deal with terrorism. Equally it reported Jiang’s telephone conversation with the French President Chirac which stressed the importance of international cooperation in combating terrorism.

Along the same lines of official position, i.e. the importance of national territorial integrity and that of against all forms of terrorism, *the People’s Daily* reported that the Taliban condemned the US and UK war against Afghanistan and accused it as an act of terrorism. To show that the Taliban regime was reasonable the paper went a length to explain that the Taliban was willing to arrest and put bin Laden on trial if the US could present evidence of his crime. It also reported Taliban’s firm stand that they would not hand in bin Laden unless evidence was presented. In expressing its position against the US-UK war in Afghanistan the paper used its correspondent’s interviews with the locals in the country to appeal for peace with a headline of “We Need Peace”.

In further developing the thesis of opposing “all forms of terrorism” the paper reported that the Palestine leader Arafat’s plea that the world should not forget

Israel's state terrorism simply because the US was attacked. It also reported that Cuba held an anniversary to commemorate the 10/06 Incident. The incident refers to the bomb explosion of a Cuban airline on the 6<sup>th</sup> of October 1976 which killed all the 73 passengers on board. The report quoted Castro that the anniversary was first to express the support and sympathy of the American people and secondly to request other countries to stop terrorist activities against Cuba. The paper also reported various government announcements and people pro tests all over the world against the US-UK war in Afghanistan.

By the time first anniversary of the 9/11 came to 2002 *the People's Daily* had a mixture of new themes. By reporting correspondences from different countries the paper set to express the theme that the anti-terrorist war activities by the US has made the world a less safe and much more worrying place. From its correspondence from the US, the paper reported that the Americans were still recovering from the fact that their country could also be attacked and wounded. It reported that one of the most visible consequences was that the Americans were much and much more nationalistic.

Its correspondence from France told of an interviewee's argument that terrorist attack on the US was a result of its support of Israel. Its correspondent from Russia reported some Russian's resentment that though Putin was one of the first to send message of sympathy to the US after 9/11, the US had no sympathy for the Russians when they were attacked by terrorists. Its correspondent from Pakistan reported that according to one survey 60% of the people were resentful of the US and its behaviour. It also reported that the people did not feel safe anymore, that their movement and activities were restricted and that their income went down as a result of decline of tourism. Its report from Syria stated that the Syrians had changed from having sympathy for the US to resentment and anger. The people interviewed indicated that there had been movement and activities to boycott US products. Finally it reported that four out of the five Central Asian state had military contract with the US as a result of war against terrorism. The correspondent reported that some of the people interviewed were convinced that these countries were to be de-stabilized as a result of Western democratic values and US life style values.

The second anniversary of the 9/11 witnessed a focus of another theme in *the People's Daily* coverage. The theme was US unilateralism. In an article that comprehensively reflects the past and future of anti-terrorism, the paper states that terrorism and anti-terrorism were not something that occurred after the 9/11. Since 1962 the United Nations one after another passed 12 resolutions and regulations in its efforts against international terrorism and in preventing terrorism. It argues that the US war in Iraq had nothing to do with terrorism. Instead, it harmed the UN efforts against terrorism because by marginalizing the UN the US damaged its effort to fight against terrorism. War on terrorism will succeed only if all nations act and work together, it says. In another article entitled "the trap of unilateralism" the paper argues that the US propaganda of "rogue states" and "Axes of Evil" makes one think of the Cold War.

In its second anniversary summery reflections (*Liang Zhounian jian xu*), the paper asserts that in terms of mentality the US wars in Afghanistan and Iraq were the same as the 9/11 attacks in that both wanted to deter the enemy and shock them to the core. Both failed to fulfil their aims. Since the US acted alone (yi jia shuo le suan) they

cannot expect others to help them now when they are in a mess. The past two years seem to show that the theory of clashes of civilizations is correct. But it is more of inequality of civilizations. Behind this unequal civilizations is the inequality between the South and North. Only when this inequality is addressed will the final solution found for the problem of terrorism, the paper concludes.

The third anniversary of the 9/11 was almost a non event. There is only one short reporting from the US itself. The report contains a photo showing someone is placing a concrete road block on the pavement near the US House of Representatives as a measure to prevent terrorism, with a headline “anti-terrorism road block” which can either mean road block in preventing terrorism or mean the road is blocked for anti-terrorism. The report says the US still does not feel safe.

### **Semi-Official Coverage**

The Chinese print media until recently, i.e. until the reform was well under its way in the 1990s, was not only tightly controlled but also neatly categorized. There are central papers such as the *People's Daily*, sectorial papers such as the *Chinese Youth*, and *Guangming Ribao* (the *Guangming Daily*) which is meant for the Chinese intellectuals, *Jiefangjun bao* (The People's Liberation Army paper) and provincial papers and local such as *Guangdong ribao* (*Guangdong Daily*). The central papers are distributed nationally whereas provincial and local papers are not available outside their own location except in libraries. However, since the reform some new papers have emerged that not only defy this kind of neat categories but also more cosmopolitan in content.

*Nanfang zhoumo* is one of these newly emerged papers. It is located in Guangdong Province but is widely distributed all over China because of its content coverage. It is not sectorial and it is not provincial. It is one of the daring papers in China in terms of content coverage. It often carries coverage that is critical of local governments and highlights topics of the day. It is rumoured that some provincial bureaucrats complained to the CCP central authorities that *Nanfang zhoumo* had no right to interfere internal affairs of other provinces since it is not a government central paper. An example of how the paper sets agenda is its reportage of Li Changping and his exposure of rural situation in China.<sup>1</sup> The paper is therefore also controversial. It is accused by the leftists that it is pro-capitalism and pro-globalization. It is accused, for instance, for not reporting the horrendous migrant working conditions in Guangdong and for its support of the continuation of bank accounts opened in pseudo-names. For all the above reasons, the paper is selected as a sample of the semi-official coverage of 9/11.

---

<sup>1</sup> Li Changping was a CCP Party Secretary of a township in Henan Province. After his failed attempt to rectify the serious levy and tax problems on the peasantry in the township under his leadership he wrote a letter to the then Premier Zhu Rongji to report the seriousness of the situation. Zhu was actually very sympathetic and supportive of Li's efforts of reform. After the failure in his second attempt of reform, even with the support of the Premier from Beijing, Li resigned from his post and wrote a book to tell the situation. For a review of the affair and Li's book see Mobo Gao, "Li Changping, Wo xiang zongli shuo shihua [I Told the Truth to the Premier], *The China Journal*, No. 48 (July) 2002, pp. 175-177.

As the paper is a weekender, when its coverage of 9/11 appeared it was already the 13<sup>th</sup> September. The first four pages of the paper were all devoted to 9/11. The first page carried a headline in big and black characters *meiguo yu xi zhi hou de shijie* (the world after the American attack). The whole page, while quoting what is said by world leading personalities and the US officials, is divided into three sections. The first is *beitong yu qianze* (pain and condemnation), the second is *meiguo hui bu hui baofu* (will the US revenge?) and the third *shijie jingji xue shang jia shuang* (snow on top of frost on the world economy). The headline on the second page is: "Black Tuesday, Black USA". On this page it also carried photos of the scenes that we saw in the Western media such as the collapsing of the two towers amid smoke, people escaping from the attack covered by dust rain and the unbelievable horror on the faces of these who were watching what was happening. In describing the event the paper has four subheadings to categorize the event. The first subheading is "misfortune fell from the sky", the second "Manhattan, a shocking 120 minutes", the third "Washington: everywhere on fire" and the fourth "speedy reaction". Page three was devoted to the brief introduction of the World Trade Towers, the Pentagon and the US anti-air attack institutions and technology. Finally the headline on page four is "Apart from 'God bless you'...". Under this headline there are remarks made about 9/11 by different people and these remarks are categorized into six groups. The US officials and Tony Blair's responses are categorized as "The will of the US is being tested". The response from Arafat and the U.N. Secretary-General are categorized as "Terrorism will not promote any cause of justice" while the responses from the French Chirac, the Russian Putin and Israel Sharon belong to the same category of "This is a challenge to all humanity". On the other hand, the responses from the Taliban, Libya and bin Laden (who denied that he had anything to do with it) are categorized as "This may be a plot by certain government".

The second weekend after 9/11 fell on 20<sup>th</sup> September and *Nanfang zhoumo* again had four-page front coverage. It first carried a report attempting to analyse the connection between bin Laden and the Taliban. The reporter named Fu An mostly quotes US sources and only at the end adds that financial and military support of bin Laden actually came from the US when it wanted him to fight the Soviet troops in Afghanistan. It then published an opinion piece by Zhang Guoqing of the Institute of American Studies of the Chinese Academy of Social Sciences. Zhang argues that 9/11 has presented President Bush four opportunities: 1) to unite his people, 2) to rectify domestic politics involving issues such as ethnicity, class and violence, 3) to re-shape foreign policies and 4) to reduce trade obstacles and to speed up globalization. Not surprisingly in the last opportunity Zhang mentions China's WTO membership issue. On the same page three military specialists introduce the technical specifications of the B-2 Stealth Bomber that the US is likely to use to revenge 9/11. Another page of this weekend issue was devoted to the introduction of the Taliban, with a grotesque of picture of a smiling Taliban soldier holding a Stinger Missile in front of a man being hanged. However, the reportage under the name of Fu An from Beijing, attempts to show that the Taliban has done some very positive things in Afghanistan within seven years in power and these include suppressing the war lord and therefore restoring peace in the country, free delivery of food to the poor, reduction of taxes and the successful prohibition of drug crop production. Fu further argues that the American sanction and international isolation not only made the people in the country suffer but also pushed the Taliban to the extreme version of Islam state. On page three of the same issue, the paper, while carrying a briefing of the elite anti-terrorist military units

in the world (USA, Germany, Russia, France and UK), published an opinion piece by Wang Fuchun of the Beijing Institute of International Relations. Wang argues that though terrorism may be crueler, more violent and less rule-binding than normal warfare it is nevertheless a war and asymmetry warfare of the weak against the strong that may be very effective. Therefore to use violence to fight terrorism would not work but actually reduce the moral strength of those who suffer from terrorism.

There is only one piece on the weekend of 27<sup>th</sup> September 2001, which focuses on the possible energy crisis as a consequence of 9/11 and what China should do to cope with the situation. The paper invites four academics to discuss the issue. Hu Angang of Qinghua University and the Chinese Academy of Social Sciences asserts that energy crisis in China is right in front of us. Chen Xinhua of the International Energy Organization suggests that China should take five measures to cope with the situation: 1) strategic storage of oil, 2) diversification of import sources, 3) more efficiency in consumption, 4) insurance of transportation channel of energy and 5) an energy emergency organization. While Chen Hui of the State Council Development Centre thinks China should use the international market to buy and sell oil to its advantage Wu Yuanwei thinks in the next 30 years coal should still be main energy source for China.

On the weekend of 4<sup>th</sup> October 2001, the paper has one page devoted to a discussion of how to prevent terrorism from the point of science and technology such as airport security check. Finally on the weekend of 18<sup>th</sup> October 2001 the paper had two articles on page three covering 9/11. One by Liu Xiaobiao of the China International Broadcasting Station and Liu Ying of Beijing Institute of Communication discusses whether 9/11 indicates clashes of civilization since the some Muslims became the innocent victims of the war on terror and since five of the seven "rogue states" named by the US are Islam countries. Finally an opinion piece by Tong Zhongying of Qinghua University argues that 9/11 shows that globalization brings freedom; but if there is no international order freedom is in danger. On page 27, an author named Feng Duan discusses what has effects that 9/11 had the internet and e-media.

The first anniversary came with a reporting of how the families of several US victims of on the 9/11 event commemorate the event. The reportage summarizes the emotion and activities of these families by stating that they commemorated the anniversary by working, being quiet, enjoying life, expressing friendship, affection and love. In a word, their commemoration was expressed through hope.

One opinion piece by Xu Tianqing of Zhongshan University comments the effect of 9/11 on the US economy. Xu argues that US economy started its path on depression before 9/11 and 9/11 attacks sent a damaging message to consumer confidence. What the US should do was to take measures to restore confidence of the US citizens. Instead, the US took the opportunity to exercise hegemony behaviour and listed some countries as "rogue states". It increased military expenditure to an unprecedented level and thus further accelerate the economic downturn.

Another commentator expresses similar view. By quoting the *New York Times* columnist Paul Krugman, He Fan of the Chinese Academy of Social Sciences argues that if anything it was the Enron collapse that changed the prospect of the US economy. In criticizing a widely accepted view that 9/11 was an act of anti-

globalization, He Fan argues that 9/11 could only be carried out by people who benefited from globalization. The bin Ladens were not peasants. They were educated in the best education institutions in the US and Europe, they learnt piloting skills in these countries and they were carrying US dollars. Surely they had more in common with Bush than they had with a peasant in Afghanistan or Western China, He Fan concludes.

One correspondent sent a report entitled "US, Are You Still Safe?" accompanied with a picture of armed police guarding the British Embassy in Washington. On the same page of the paper, there is an old question and new answer section in which three questions were asked. The first question is: why is it necessary to combat terrorism? And the answer is provided by Pan Wei, a Professor of international relations at Beijing University. Basically he says that international terrorism has to be suppressed because it is 'uncivilized'. It is uncivilized because it does not obey the rules of engagement. On the other hand state terrorism is "civilized" because it obeys rules and it is sensitive to all kinds of international factors. The second question is "why had 9/11 made the US so nervous?" and the answer is given by Ni Luoxiong, Director of the Institute of War and Culture at East China University of Technology. The answer is of two aspects. The first aspect is that 9/11 shows that terrorism renders US military power, however awesome and however powerfully the best in the world, impotent. The second aspect is that it has made the US realize that it can also be vulnerable. The third question is "How did 9/11 benefit the US military?" and the answer is given by Xue Pan, a Ph.D. candidate at Yale University. Xue Pan uses the example of how the US military now could use Yale's Career Service to recruit its students, something that was never allowed before. Yale has to give in to this demand because the US government threatens to withdraw its financial support of US\$328 million, 16% of Yale's operational cost, if Yale does not comply with the military demand.

In a reportage of interviews with three Americans from three different states of the US, Chen Xiaowei wants to find out how the Americans answer two questions. The first question concerns a survey which shows that more than half of the Europeans think that the US foreign policies are partially responsible for the 9/11 attacks. The second question is to ask whether they think the US should attack Iraq. All the three interviewees absolutely deny that the US foreign policy had anything to do with 9/11 and only one of the three thinks that the US should not launch a war with Iraq.

The paper also published an article by Lu Hongbing that presents a picture of how modern technology provides new opportunity for reporting 9/11. The article discusses the websites of 9/11, the DIY journalists working on 9/11 and role of the blogs. It then lists several websites as example and these include [www.sept11photo.org](http://www.sept11photo.org), [www.sept11thememorial.com](http://www.sept11thememorial.com) and [www.msnbc.com/news/msnsp-9.11\\_front.asp](http://www.msnbc.com/news/msnsp-9.11_front.asp).

A commentary named by Wang Shuangyan thinks that 9/11 has pushed humanity to a cross road where we have to choose between violence against violence or appeasement (he jie) measures to stop the bottle neck of terrorism. Although many assume that terrorist attack on the US is attack on US freedom, anyone who takes a rational analysis will realize that terrorism against the US indicates clearly that the US-centred approach to its interest and power has offended some countries and some people's interest and feelings. The commentator continues to assert that 9/11 was a



watershed event for the US for it has not only provided an opportunity to control its hegemonic behaviour but it also gives it a seduction to continue its hegemonic action. Whatever direction the US takes will decide the future of the world in the next 50 years at least. For China 9/11 influences the external factors that decisive in China's rise or fall. The most positive aspect for China is that 9/11 provides an opportunity for US to work together with the US.

A much longer and sophisticated commentary by Wang Yikui, an academic from the Institute of American Studies of Fudan University, also appeared during the second anniversary. The author quotes Western sources to demonstrate that the US has moved to a more closed society and therefore abandoned some of the very values that it was proud of itself. It is also a sad fact that the US has withdrawn from consensus actions with other nations in combating environmental degradation and in a fairer world trade arrangement. We ought to condemn 9/11 for its killing of the innocent civilians but also condemn it for the opportunity that it gave the US to embark on its road to a New Empire. And the latter is the real tragedy. The commentary then argues that the wars in Afghanistan and Iraq were just excuses for such an ambition for no evidence has been found that al Qaeda had planned the 9/11 attacks or there were weapons of mass destruction in Iraq. Wang Yikui further argues that US is an exceptional country only in the sense that, unlike other nations, it does not have an ethnic identity. Therefore it has been seeking enemies to build up its identity. During the Cold War the US enemy was communism and at the end of the Cold War the enemy was to be other civilizations (clashes of civilizations) and China (the China threat). 9/11 diverted its attention to identify terrorists as enemies and the list of these enemies became longer and longer. But the US is still looking for the "smoking gun". The Iraqi War has already exposed the lie of justice and the Emperor's New Clothes. It is clear now that be they terrorists or North Korea, their actions are all reactive to the US behaviour and very often are reactions desperate actions out of no choice. The rules of international affairs and the world are unchanged. There is nothing new and the announcement that "everything has changed since 9/11" is nothing but a real lie, Wang Yikui concludes.

By the time when the 3<sup>rd</sup> anniversary arrived the paper took a quite detached but sober attitude. There were two commentaries on the issue of 9/11. To add to the sense that this is not just an American thing accompanying one commentary authored by Song Wei there was a picture of flowers and a huge teddy bear placed at the place where the school children were killed in the Russian terrorist incident that occurred just few days previously. Beside the picture there is a poem commemorating the Russian children who died in the incident.

The commentary by Song Wei also mentions the train station explosion in the Madrid that killed 202 people. The commentary asserts that terrorism is a phenomenon since ancient times but has reached an unprecedented scale recently. By using the ancient Chinese Daoist philosophical idea that whatever rises will also decline Song Wei declares that the end of terrorism is not far away. The reason offered for this is that terrorism today in its ends and means it has lost its legitimacy. The kind of terrorism that took place under the circumstances of colonialism was legitimate. But terrorism took a new form since the end of colonialism and that was in the name of religion and extreme nationalism, which reached its height after the end of the Cold War. For Song Wei the terrorism has come to its dead end because of its stupidity of confronting

every one in every direction. The US supported terrorism in certain countries for a long time during the Cold War. So did the former Soviet Union. But now terrorists can find now backers.

In a rather longer commentary Ma Jian has a far more complicated picture of terrorism. First it points out the discrepancy between the UN which listed more 40 organizations as terrorist while the US list includes 77 organizations in 2004, 16 more than what was included in its own 2003 list. Secondly the commentator admits that evidence seems to suggest that most of the terrorist activities, with the exception of those took place in Israel and Chechnya, are not only in religious nature but also have connection with the Al Qaeda. The commentary then lists all terrorist activities since 2001 including those in the Philippines, Spain, and Russia. But curiously the commentator does not include the Uighur separatist activities. Contrary to Song Wei, Ma Jian concludes that despite of all the efforts and success in combating terrorism all over the world anti-terrorism has a long long way to go and the reason is that nations of the world cannot unite together in its fighting against terrorism. They cannot unite because they cannot have a unified definition of what terrorism is and therefore cannot have the same identification of who terrorist is.

### **Unofficial Coverage**

By unofficial coverage here we mean the e-media. Specifically we mean what has appeared on websites such as BBS and blogs. BBS and blogs are sampled because they were more spontaneous and less constrained in expressing emotion as a lot of them were put up in pseudo-names. Some of the e-discussions are taken from a website by *da ji yuan*, which is the mouthpiece of Falungong. This decision is taken not because we think Falungon is more reliable but because they seem to have the best archive system to store what appeared years ago. Some of the websites are actually located in China and some are located outside of China but accessible to participants inside China. Because of the very nature of the e-media, the definition of what is Chinese media cannot be assumed to be within the Chinese national boundaries. Some of the participants of the e-media contribution may not reside in China or may not even be Chinese citizens. They are considered part of the Chinese unofficial media because first they are in Chinese language and secondly they are of ethnic Chinese origin and thirdly and more importantly, they do not only either respond to or address Chinese policies and attitudes but also are actually engaged with Chinese inside China by debating with them. Therefore in this section what is meant by “coverage” is less of news reporting but more of opinions expressed in the debates between what are usually referred to as Chinese nationalists/leftists and Chinese liberals/dissidents.

When the news of the 9/11 attacks reached the Chinese there were immediately two contrasting unofficial reactions and responses. One was blatant jubilation and the other was condemnation not only of the 9/11 attacks but also the Chinese who thought the Americans deserved the attacks. Soon after 9/11 democratic dissidents called for a meeting in Washington. On the meeting entitled “China’s past, present and future: from the perspective of 9/11” the well-known Wei Jingsheng condemned some Chinese who were happy that America was attacked and those who even lit firecrackers to celebrate. He implied that the Chinese government used the occasion to arouse Anti-Americanism in China (Da Can Kao 2001).

One un-named person told how all the known response in the streets of Beijing was: the US deserved it (Si xiang ping lu 2001). Some e-media debate participants openly expressed their support for the attack and hailed these who took part in the attack as heroes (Du Daobing, 2003). On the other hand, Chinese dissidents not only expressed sympathy and support for the US government but also actually identified themselves with the US. Ren Bumei, a well-known dissident, declares that he feels ashamed of many of the Chinese responses expressed in BBS (Ren Bumei 2001). Yu Jie, another well-known dissident residing in China describes how he was crying in front of the TV with an American missionary friend (who brings the Gospel to the Chinese, Yu adds) and accuses Yan Xuetong, a professor of Qinghua University, as an animal, evil and Satan because the latter stated that the US was only harvesting what it had sowed (Yu Jie 2001). Another democracy activist Zhao Dagong declares that the US is the symbol of human civilization, democracy and freedom, a country that holds for justice and peace and a country that represents the future of humanity. Zhao sighs he wants to hide his ethnic identity after knowing how the Chinese expressed delight at seeing the US got punished (Zhao Dagong 2001).

Chinese dissidents either want to move to live in the USA or have a very positive attitude towards the country. One of the reasons is that USA government actively encourages Chinese dissidents by providing protection, scholarship, visa and other means of political and financial support. It has been providing millions of dollars to support Chinese dissident activities. For instance the well-known dissident Yu Jie was invited by the Bureau of Educational and Cultural Affairs, US Department of State, to visit Washington, New York, Boston and other places for two months to give talks on China (Li Hongkuan 2003).

The Chinese dissidents are usually referred to as *minyun fenzi* (democracy activists) because their main argument against the China is that it is not a democratic country that respects human rights. However, increasingly on the e-media the Chinese dissidents are referred to as *fen shi pai* (whateverists).<sup>2</sup> The image of America as the paradise for freedom and feeling against the Chinese political system is so strong that some Chinese dissidents would go as far as to support whatever the US government says or does and opposes whatever the Chinese government says or does. Therefore it is not surprising that one of the first expressions of support and sympathy for the US came from the Chinese Democratic Movement Alliances Overseas. In its declaration, the Alliances assert that the root of terrorism is communism (Da ji yuan 2001).

Some of these dissidents openly declare that they worship (*cong bei*) America (An Qi 1998). One well-known dissident declares that he would rather be an animal of a foreign country than a China person (Zheng Yi 2004). When the Iraqi invasion started one dissident academic in Hong Kong says in an e-message that he envies the Iraqis because people all over the world went to the street to protest against the US invasion and protest against the death of innocent people. Why is there not any one protesting

---

<sup>2</sup> The term *fan shi pai* was used by Deng Xiaoping and his followers to attack those who wanted to follow Mao's policies after the chairman was dead: whatever Mao said must be followed and whatever Mao did is correct. The phrase originated in the early 1980s when Deng Xiaoping and the reformists used it to knock down those inside the CCP who wanted to adhere to Mao's policies.

against the death of people in China, as a result of accidents and SARS for instance? (Wu Guoguang 2003).

Liu Xiaobo is one of the most actively engaged in criticizing anything Chinese on the one hand and in defending the US on the other hand. Immediately after 9/11 he drafted an open letter to President Bush and the Americans on cyberspace for signatures. In this letter, co-drafted with Bao Junxin, Liu declares that attacks have nothing to do with race, nationality and are challenge to life, freedom and peace by evil forces. 9/11 is a tragedy of all humanity and a super sacrifice by the Americans for global freedom. The letter ends with “tonight we are all Americans (Bao Junxin and Liu Xiaobo 2001). His tone and words were much stronger and emotional than these those in the French *Le Mond*, so much so that Liu and others who signed the letter from then on referred to by their opponents as “a one night stand Americans”(Qing Zheng 2002). The letter collected 1015 signatures through cyberspace by 14<sup>th</sup> October 2001. Before drafting the letter Liu wrote a self-declaration piece to swear that he wanted to sacrifice his life to rescue the people in the towers and wished that he was a rock that fell together with the building (Liu Xiaobo 2001).

The Iraqi War, as expected, further accelerated the fight between the democratic dissidents and Chinese nationalists and leftists. Yu Jie, one of the principal signatures of the open letter in 2001 initiated the letter of *zhong guo zhi shi fen zi guan yu sheng yuan mei guo cui hui sa da mu du cai zheng quan de sheng ming* (A declaration by Chinese intellectuals in supporting US government’s destruction of Saddam’s dictatorial regime) in 2003. In the letter YU says that Mao is the predecessor of Saddam, that human rights takes priority over national sovereignty and that US did not behave unilaterally, but multilaterally because US values of democracy and human rights are universal (Yu Jie 2003)

Liu Xiaobo, who once openly declared that China could only be saved by being colonized for two or three hundred years (Cheng Dan 2003), argues that even though the US invasion was self-interest motivated the war was good for human kind, as all other wars that the US participated with sole exception of the Vietnam War (Liu Xiaobo 2003). In a poem entitled “To the American Soldiers”, Jiao Guobiao, a professor of Beijing University, expresses his extreme worries and ache for the American soldiers in Iraq. Jiao, in very poetic language, says that the uniform of the US soldiers symbolizes green hope in the Arabic desert, that the camels need to be replaced by US soldiers (the following extract of the poem is our translation) .

Ah American soldier!  
You willingly go to Hell to fight evil  
If you die humanity will lose its backbone of justice  
If the US loses the war humanity will return to the dark ages of the Middle Ages  
If not this life I want to be an American soldier in my next life.  
I would like to join and I wish to die.  
Shoot me! Shoot me!

So the poem goes (Jiao Guobiao 2003). The pro-American stand by the Chinese dissidents were so blatant that even a BBC correspondent, when commenting on the electronic media debate by the Chinese on the Iraqi war, has to admit that these

Chinese love America and are pro-Bush more than the Americans themselves (Wei Cheng 2003).

Judging by the figures of internet signatures, however, those who were against the war far outnumbered those liberals/dissidents who supported it. Headed by Han Deqiang, Kuang Xinnian and Tong Xiaoxi, a letter entitled *zhong guo ge jie fan dui meiguo zhengfu dui yilake zhenzheng jihua de shengming* (A Declaration against the US War Plan in Iraq Signed by Chinese of Various Circles) was published on *shi ji sha long* <http://forum.cc.org.cn/luntan/china> on the 10th of February 2003. The letter soon attracted fierce attack from the dissidents. One scholar of Chinese ethnic origin who signed his name argues that there has never been such fierce attack on any internet declaration or petition before. The reasons, he argues, are first because during the 1990s China was dominated by liberal discourse and secondly because this time, unlike previous occasions, it was an opposition of the US and that was something that the liberal could not accept (Bing Lang 2003). Some accused those who signed the declaration against the war were on the side of terrorists (Dong hai yi wu 2003). Dong hai yi wu is clearly a pseudo name, of a well-known active e-media participant. Zhu Xueqin is a well known liberal scholar in China and he accuses those who signed the declaration violated two important principles. The first principle is that one cannot use the anti-war stand as an excuse for being anti-American. The second principle is that sympathy should be not given to the Iraqi dictator (Zhu 2003).

The anti-war participants fought back. A participant based in Japan, in his rebut of Liu Xiaobo's assertion that UK and US are the mainstream of human civilization and that the former is the mother of modern civilization and the latter crystallization of modern civilisations, Cheng Dan questions whether Liu was paid by the US to work in China (Cheng Dan 2003).

## **Conclusion**

Our examination of the three categories of print media coverage of 9/11 shows that the official media clearly is still the mouthpiece of the CCP and the Chinese government. Its coverage does not step away from stating Chinese government official positions. Three of these positions are clearly stressed: 1) we "have always" opposed terrorism, 2) we oppose terrorism of "all forms", and 3) the war against terrorism should be conducted within the existing international framework. The three positions carry forward three messages: 1) we are not brutal regime that violates human rights, 2) there are terrorists in China and 3) the role of the U N should be maintained and so should be the legitimacy of national sovereignty.

The semi-official media, on the other hand, has a much broader coverage, from international relations to economic consequences. It seeks opinions from academics and it also tries to get some sense of what people over the world feel about 9/11. It does acknowledge that the attacks are terrorists and that they should be condemned, if not for anything else for the loss of innocent civilian lives. On the other hand it tends to have a much nuanced analysis of the cause of 9/11.

Finally the unofficial media, the cyberspace brings a more emotional and more disputed picture to the public. It is less a coverage than thematic debates. There were debates on the cause, the significance as well as attitude to 9/11. There are also

debates on the US-UK war in Iraq. Which attitude one takes depend on one's value and belief system concerning not only how to judge the US and its behaviour but also issues such as freedom, democracy, God (may dis sidents are Christians), human rights, and indeed the meaning of life. There is a clear division between the two fractions in terms of how to evaluate not only what is happening in the US but also in China, not only what has happened in the past but also what should be the future direction of China.

## References

### *Named sources*

An Qi, "bu pa gu li cai you du li—zhuan fang zi you zhuan gao ren Cao Changqing" (Independence from can only come from non-fear of isolation—exclusive interview with free lance writer Cao Changqing, *Can Sao*, No. 5 1998, [WWW.caochanbgqing.com](http://WWW.caochanbgqing.com), accessed on the 13<sup>th</sup> May 2004.

Bao Junxin and Liu Xiaobo, "zhi Bushi zongtong he Meiguo renmin de gongkai xin," (Open Letter to President Bush and the American People), <http://www.dajiyuan.com>, 12<sup>th</sup> September 2001, accessed on the 19<sup>th</sup> April 2005.

Bing Lang, "cong wang luo qian ming shuo dao xixiang de fen hua," (On Internet Signatures and fractions of ideologies), *Shi ji sha long lun tan*, <http://forum.cc.org.cn/luntan/china/showcontent>, accessed on 17<sup>th</sup> February 2003.

Cheng Dan, "“Liu Xiaobo shi duli xuezhe haishi mei di guyong?” (Is L iu Xiaobo an Independent Scholar or An American Mercenary?), *riben jiu ge wang* <http://www.danielviolins.com/jg/>, accessed on the 21<sup>st</sup> march 2003.

Cheng dan, "Liu Xiaobo shuo: mei guo zhi min di 200 nia n shi zhong guo de wei yi xi wang," (Lix Xiaobo says: China's only hope is for the US colonization for 200 years), *Wan wei lun tan* [www.creaders.org/forums/politics/messages/466937.html](http://www.creaders.org/forums/politics/messages/466937.html), accessed on the 24<sup>th</sup> February 2003.

Center for Public Integrity, <http://www.publicintergrity.org/wow/report.aspx?aid=75>

Christoffersen, Gayer, "Constituting the Urgur i n U.S.-Chian ?Relations: The Geopolitics of Identity Formation in the War on Terrorism," *Strategic Insight*, 2<sup>nd</sup> September 2002, the Center for Contemporary Conflict (CCC) <http://www.ccc.npa.navy.mil/resepResources/si/sept02/eastAsia.aso>, accessed on 25<sup>th</sup> October, 2002.

Da Can Kao Daily News, "hua fu zhao kai 9.11 kong bu xi ji shi jian hou kan zhong guo hui yi" (a meeting to look at China after the 9/11 terrorist attack ), <http://www.bignews.org/>, accessed on the 16<sup>th</sup> October 2001.

Dong hai yi wu, "zuo xiu gao shao Han Deqiang," ( Smart Actor Han Deqiang),

*Xin shiji (New Century Net)*, <http://www.ncn.org/zwgInfo/daKAY.asp?ID=21948&d=3/1/2003>, accessed on the 7<sup>th</sup> February, 2003.

Du Daobing, “qizhi xiamming de zhan zai Liu Xiaobo yi bian,” (Resolutely and clearly stand by the side of Liu Xiaobo), *Xin shi ji (New Century Net)*, <http://www.ncn.org/zwgInfo/da-KAY.asp?ID=21948&d=2/27/2003>, accessed on the 7<sup>th</sup> February, 2003.

Gao, Mobo, C. F., “Sino-US Love and Hate Relations.” *Journal of Contemporary Asia*, Vol.30: 4 (Oct.) 2000: 547-561.

Gao, Mobo, C. F., Stephanie Hermelryk Donald and (Eric) Shaoquan Zhang, “National Sovereignty versus Moral Sovereignty: the Case of Australian Press Reporting of Taiwan,” with Stephanie Donald and Eric Zhang, *Asia Media* Vol. 30, No. 1, (2003): 22-30.

Gladney, Dru., *Muslim Chinese, Ethnic Nationalism in the People’s Republic of China*, Cambridge, Mass., Harvard University Press, 1991.

Gladney, Dru, ed., *Making Majorities: Constituting the Nation in Japan, Korea, China, Malaysia, Fiji, Turkey, and the United States*, Stanford California: Stanford University Press, 1998.

Gladney, Dru, “Clashed Civilizations? Muslim and Chinese Identities in the PRC,” in Dru C Gladney ed., 1998: 106-134.

Jiao Guobiao, “Zhi meiguo bing,” (To American soldiers), accessed from <http://www.readers.org>, on 2<sup>nd</sup> June, 2004.

Li Hongkuan, “zhongguo ziyou zuojia ying yao fang mei,” (Being Invited, Liberal Author Yu Jie visits the US) *da can kao*, <http://www.bignews.org/20030605.txt>, accessed on 6<sup>th</sup> June, 2003.

Liu Xiaobo, “mei guo gong yi zhu guan wei zi yi ke guan wei ren lei,” (American attack on Iraq: subjectively for self-interest but objective for the good of human kind), *Shi ji sha long lun tan*, <http://forum/cc.org.cn/luntan/china/showcontent1.phb3?eb=I&id=107705&id1-35816>, accessed on 3<sup>rd</sup> March 2003.

Liu Xiaobo, “we xiang wei henwei shengming, ziyou yu heping er zhan —xian gei da zainan zhong de xun nan zhe,” (I want to fight for the defence of life, freedom and peace—to those who sacrificed themselves in the big disaster), <http://www.dajiyuan.com> 11<sup>th</sup> September 2001, accessed on the 19<sup>th</sup> April 2005.

Luard, Tim, “China’s Changing Views of Terrorism,” *BBC* original link 16<sup>th</sup> December 2003, accessed on the 17<sup>th</sup> December 2003, via <http://www.Chinastudygroup.org/newsarchive.php?id=4006>.

Qing Zheng, “‘cong jin ye women shi meiguo ren’ dao ‘bu xu yi women de ming yi’,” (From “Tonight we are Americans” to “Not in Our Names”), internet correspondence, WSG [wangshaoguagn@cuhk.edu.hk](mailto:wangshaoguagn@cuhk.edu.hk), accessed on the 6<sup>th</sup> November 2002.

Ren Bumei, “quan ren lei zai kuxi,” (All the humanity is crying), appeared on *qing*

*nian lun tan* and re-publicized on <http://www.dajiyuan.com>, 12<sup>th</sup> September 2001, accessed on the 19<sup>th</sup> April 2005.

Wei Cheng, “Zhong wen wang shang xiao yan nong,” (the smoke is thick on the Chinese Debate on the web), *Wan wei lun tan* [www.creaders.org/forums/politics/messages/467501.html](http://www.creaders.org/forums/politics/messages/467501.html), accessed on the 25<sup>th</sup> February 2003.

Wu Guoguang, “xian mo yi la ke ren, (I envy the Iraqis) [www.creaders.org/forums/politics/messages/494794.html](http://www.creaders.org/forums/politics/messages/494794.html), accessed on 3<sup>rd</sup> April 2003.

Yu Jie, zhong guo zhi shi fen zi yu yi la ke wei ji (Chinese intellectuals and the Iraqi crisis), interview with Yu Jie by Ren Bumei, *Shi ji sha long lun tan*, <http://forum.cc.org.cn/luntan/china/showcontent1.phb3?eb=I&id=107705&id1-35901>, accessed on 3<sup>rd</sup> March 2003.

Yu Jie and Xu Jinru, “zhong guo zhi shi fen zi guan yu sheng yuan mei guo cui hui sa da mu du cai zheng quan de sheng ming,” *Shi ji sha long lun tan*, <http://forum.cc.org.cn/luntan/china/showcontent1.phb3?eb=I&id=100856&id1-3469>, accessed on 21<sup>st</sup> February 2003.

Yu Jie, Songzhong wei shui er ming,” (For whom the bell tolls), first appeared on *minzhu lun tan* (democracy forum) <http://asiademo.org/> and re-publicized on <http://www.dajiyuan.com>, 20<sup>th</sup> September, 2001.

Zhao Dagong, “shen wei zhongguo ren zhen de wu di zi rong,” (Being a Chinese I really cannot bear being seen), <http://www.dajiyuan.com>, 19<sup>th</sup> September, 2001, accessed on the 19<sup>th</sup> April 2005.

Zheng Yi, “Ning wei wai guo chou bu zuo zhong guo ren,” (rather be a foreign animal than a China person), [www.readers.org/forums/politics/messages/710505.html](http://www.readers.org/forums/politics/messages/710505.html), accessed on the 13<sup>th</sup> May 2004.

Zhu Xueqin, “min jian lun Zheng di yi bo,” (The first wave of Popular Politics), *Shi ji sha long lun tan*, <http://forum.cc.org.cn/luntan/china/showcontent1.phb3?eb=I&id=106003&id1=35555>, accessed on 28<sup>th</sup> February, 2003.

*The People's Daily (electronic version)*

“Jia Chuwang qiang diao fan dui yi qie xingshi de kongbu zhuyi” 18<sup>th</sup> September 2001.

“Qian Qichen yiyue yu Baoweier tong hua”, 14<sup>th</sup> September 2001.

“Waijiaobu fabu gonggao tanhua”, 12<sup>th</sup> September 2001.

“Jiang Zemin zhi dian Bushi,” 12<sup>th</sup> September 2001.

“Zhushi qianze”, 12<sup>th</sup> September 2001.



“Ge fang qianze gongbu fenzi yiji meiguo”, 13<sup>th</sup> September 2001.

“guojia luyou ju fabiao gonggao, jiang wei bun eng jishi hui guo de meiguo you ke ti gong bangzhu” 13<sup>th</sup> September 2001.

“Jiang yu Bushi tong dianhua: zhongguo qianze gongbu zhuyi,” 13<sup>th</sup> September 2001.

“Jiang Zemin yu Bulaier tong dianhua,” 19<sup>th</sup> September 2001.

Jiang Zemin yu Pujing tong dianhua”, 19<sup>th</sup> September 2001.

“Jiang Zemin you faguo zongtong tong dianhua”, 19<sup>th</sup> September 2001.

“Taliban qianze meiying dui a dong wu”, 8<sup>th</sup> October 2001.

“women xuyao heping”, 2<sup>nd</sup> October 2001.

“Alafate jinchi baowei lingtu”. 3<sup>rd</sup> October 2001.

“Guba jinian 10.6 shijian 25 zhounian”, 8<sup>th</sup> October 2001.

“shijie ge di zhongfu fa yan he chunzhong yaoqiu meiguo bun eng yinwei fan gong er shang wu gu”, 1<sup>st</sup> October 2001.

“Qiang guo ye yi shou shang hai” 11<sup>th</sup> September 2002.

“an quan fang fan shi guanjian”, 11<sup>th</sup> September 2002.

“Eluosi bai gan jiaoji hua fangong” 11<sup>th</sup> September 2002.

“Bajisitan dongdang bu an kun an yan”, 11<sup>th</sup> September 2002.

“Zhongdong dui mei tongqing ye bu man” 11<sup>th</sup> September 2002.

Zhongya baixing rizi bu xiaoting”, 11<sup>th</sup> September 2002.

“Guoji fangong qian lu man man”, 11<sup>th</sup> September 2003.

“Dianbian zhuyi de kunjing”, 11<sup>th</sup> September 2003.

“Liang zhou nian nian xu”, 11<sup>th</sup> September 2003.

“fang gong lu zhang” 11<sup>th</sup> September 2004.

*Nanfang zhoumo (hard copies)*

Fu an, “Laden you Taliban shenme guanxi” (What is the connection between B in Laden and Taliban), *Nanfang zhoumo*, 20<sup>th</sup> September 2001, p 1.

Zhang Qingguo, “Bush de si ge jihui” (Bush’s four opportunities), *Nanfang zhoumo*, 20<sup>th</sup> September 2001, p 3.

Fu An, “jiduan de taliban, duo zai de afuhan” (The extremist Taliban, the Afghan istan that has so many misfortunes), *Nanfang zhoumo*, 20<sup>th</sup> September 2001, p 2.

Mo Mo, “fan kongbu: quanxin de zhanzheng,” (Anti -terrorism: a complete new war), *Nanfang zhoumo*, 20<sup>th</sup> September 2001, p 3.

Wang Fuchun, “kongbu zhuyi yu fei duicheng zhanlue” (terrorism and asymmetry war strategy), *Nanfang zhoumo*, 20<sup>th</sup> September 2001, p 4.

Ma Ke, “nengyuan weiji: jianyi yu fenqi” (energy crisis: suggestions and differences), *Nanfang zhoumo*, 27<sup>th</sup> September 2001, p 10.

Li Hujun, “women ruhe duifu kongbu zhuyi” (how do we cope with terrorism), *Nanfang zhoumo*, 4<sup>th</sup> October 2001, p 9.

Liu Xiaobiao and Liu Ying, “zhe shi wenming de chongtuo ma?” (is this clashes of civilization?), *Nanfang zhoumo*, 18<sup>th</sup> October 2001, p 3.

Tong Zhongying, “quanqiu hua, 9/11 shijian yu shijie cixu chongjian” (globalization, the 9/11 Incident and the rebuilding of the world order), *Nanfang zhoumo*, 18<sup>th</sup> October 2001, p 3.

Feng Duan, “9/11 zhihou de wang lue (the internet after 9/11), *Nanfang zhoumo*, 18<sup>th</sup> October 2001, p 27.

Xu Tianqing, “9.11 yu meiguo jingji xing shuai,” (9/11 and the rise and fall of the US economy), *Nanfang zhoumo*, 12<sup>th</sup> September 2002, p. B14.

He Fan, “women gai ruhe jinian 9.11,” (How should we commemorate 9/11?), *Nanfang zhoumo*, 5<sup>th</sup> September 2002, p. B14.

Shao Hongyan, “zui gai jinian 9.11 de ren ruhe jinian 9.11,” (how do the people who mostly ought to commemorate 9/11 commemorate 9/11), *Nanfang zhoumo* 12<sup>th</sup> September 2002, p. A10.

Mo Yu, “meiguo, ni hai anquan ma?” (US, Are You Still Safe?), *Nanfang zhoumo*, 12<sup>th</sup> September 2002, p. A10.

Wang Shuangyan, “9.11 bu zhi shi meiguo de zuobiao,” (9/11 is not only the zuobiao for the US), *Nanfang zhoumo*, 12<sup>th</sup> September 2002.

“jiu wen xin da,” (old questions and new answers), *Nanfang zhoumo*, 12<sup>th</sup> September 2002, p. A10.

Chen Xiaowei, “Meiguo ren zai xiang shenme?” (What are the Americans thinking?), *Nanfang zhoumo*, 12<sup>th</sup> September 2002, p. A9.

Lu Hongbing, “DIY xinen ren jilu 9.11,” (DIY Journalists record 9/11), *Nanfang zhoumo*, 12<sup>th</sup> September 2002, p. D31.

Wang Yikui, “9.11: beiju you xi kaishi,” (9/11: tragedy has begun since), *Nanfang zhoumo*, 18<sup>th</sup> September 2003, p. A8.

Song Wei, “zou xiang qiong tu mo lu de kongbu zhuyi,” (the terrorism that reached its dead end), *Nanfang zhoumo*, 9<sup>th</sup> September 2004, p. A8.

Ma Jian, “fan kong, zai 9.11 shidai,” (anti-terrorism during the post-9/11 period), *Nanfang zhoumo*, 9<sup>th</sup> September 2004, p. A8.

#### *Un-Named Sources*

Si xiang ping lun, re-publicized on <http://www.dajiyuan.com>, 12<sup>th</sup> September 2001, accessed on 19<sup>th</sup> April 2005.

Da ji yuan, )zhongguo minzhu yundong haiwai lianxi huiyi helan lian luo chu sheng ming,” (Declaration by the Holland Office of the Chinese Democratic Movement Alliances Overseas), <http://www.dajiyuan.com>, 11<sup>th</sup> September 2001, accessed on the 19<sup>th</sup> April 2005.

“Meiguo yu xi zhihou de shijie” (The world after the attacks on the US), *Nanfang zhoumo*, 13<sup>th</sup> September 2001, p. 3.

“Heise xingqi er, heise meilijian” (Black Tuesday, black USA ), *Nanfang zhoumo*, 13<sup>th</sup> September 2002, p.2.

“Shimou zhongxin, bei mei fang kong tixi jiqi ta” (The World Trade Centre, anti -air attack systems in North America and so on), *Nanfang zhoumo*, 13<sup>th</sup> September 2001, p 3

“Chu le “shangdi baoyou...” (Apart from “G od bless you”...), *Nanfang zhoumo*, 13<sup>th</sup> September 2001, p 4.