

# Adversaries: Sino-US relations trend analysis 1999-2001

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**Adversaries: :**

**Sino-US Relations Trend Analysis 1999-2001**

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by

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## **Abstract**

This thesis presents a quantitative analysis of Sino-US diplomatic trends during the period from January 1st, 1999, to December 31st, 2001. Through web scraping of the People's Daily database, approximately 2,800 relevant articles were collected and processed through R. The semantic analysis was based on a simple point system using the NTUSD dictionary to calculate the tonal value of articles. The analysis is broken down into quarterly periods, beginning with Q1 1999, which exhibited no significant variation in sentiment until a significant negative data point was recorded in March attributed to an article on the human rights record of the US. Overall, the trend of Sino-US relations as reflected by this analysis in large part follows existing literature, but the positive general tones and the speed at which negative events are removed from coverage are significant.

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## Introduction

In the annual National Security Strategy published by the Biden administration in 2022, relations between the People's Republic of China and the United States have degraded to one of "strategic competition".<sup>1</sup> More than two decades after China entered the WTO and reintegrated itself with the global economy, its integration seems to have come to a standstill. While competition between nations fosters technological investments and overall growth, China, unlike other rising powers such as India, possesses both the means of competition and the means of upsetting the status quo.

The post-Cold War world order, up until the present day, has been dominated in large part by the United States. However, China's rise and swift socio-economic development could upset the current structure. When taking into consideration the ideological and structural divide between the "established global order" and the Chinese system, the potential for conflict between the United States and China poses the risk of spiraling into a Neo-Cold War stance, effectively terminating the near 30-year period of relative hegemonic balance following the fall of the Soviet Union.

Recent events, such as the invasion of Ukraine by the Russian Federation, have proven that rules-based international order is often ill-equipped in preventing conflicts. While the Russian invasion could be attributed to many factors such as strategic miscalculation leading to flawed decision making, the sanctions and condemnations prior to the invasion were in-

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1. Biden Administration, *National Security Strategy* (Washington, DC: United States Government).

effective nonetheless.<sup>2</sup> Therefore, mapping diplomatic interactions to navigate rising tension between China and the United States is more critical than ever. However, due to the lack of available documents and the inherent secrecy surrounding the policy-making process of the CCP and the Chinese government, predictive analysis of present-day policy proves somewhat unreliable. With this in mind coupled with the lack of institutionalization within the Chinese system, a historical lens may prove useful to assessing Sino-US diplomatic dynamics.<sup>3</sup>

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2. Laurin-Whitney Gottbrath, *Putin's war: A year of miscalculations* [in en], February 2023, accessed April 12, 2023, <https://www.axios.com/2023/02/22/russia-putin-miscalculations-invasion-ukraine>.

3. Joseph Fewsmith, *Rethinking Chinese Politics* (New York, NY: Cambridge University Press, 2021).

## Chapter 1

### Overview and Background

#### Historical Overview

For China, after embracing the policy of "Reform and Opening Up" in the 1980s, the reintegration of a regulated market economy prepared the country for explosive growth. In keeping with the initially successful five-year development plan adopted from the USSR by Chen Yun and Zhou Enlai, China maintained the structure of centralized economic planning in large projects and key sectors while liberalizing its market.<sup>1</sup> Most notably, the overall economic goals rose from five-percent annual growth (sixth five-year plan 1981-1985) to double-digit growth in the eighth plan from 1991 to 1995.<sup>2</sup> To sustain these ambitious growth targets, one of the biggest priorities for the Chinese administration was to join the World Trade Organization (WTO) in exchange for favorable tariff rates and trade policies to mobilize the low cost of manufacturing domestically for an international market.

For the United States, the turn of the century saw an election in 2000. While the country became the global hegemon following the collapse of the Soviet Union and enjoyed the benefits caused by a lack of significant competition, new security threats carried over from Cold War-era policies in regions such as the Middle East and Eastern Europe that

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1. Cai Fang, Ross Garnaut, and Ligang Song, "40 years of China's reform and development: How reform captured China's demographic dividend," in *China's 40 Years of Reform and Development: 1978-2018* (ANU Press, 2018), 5-26, accessed March 29, 2023, <http://www.jstor.org/stable/j.ctv5cgbnk.9>.

2. Fang, Garnaut, and Song, 7.

caused significant issues for both the Clinton and Bush administrations.<sup>345</sup> Without the Soviet Union as the primary threat and before the global war on terrorism, China presented itself as both a land of opportunity and a potentially challenging adversary.<sup>6</sup> This thesis seeks to analyze the impact of historical events such as the NATO operation in Yugoslavia as a part of the Kosovo War with the resulting bombing of the Chinese Embassy in Belgrade, 9/11 and the resulting conflicts in the Middle East, as well as China's successful petition to join the WTO on Sino-US relations and whether they played a role in influencing Chinese state rhetoric. To this end, this paper will perform a textual analysis of all issues of People's Daily, the primary publication of the CCP, thru its Publicity (propaganda) Department via the Central Committee of the CCP (Zhongxuanbu), from January 1, 1999, through December 31, 2001.<sup>7</sup>

### Literature Analysis

Existing works on Sino-US relations during the turn of the century are diverse; for the purpose of this literature analysis, there were three main viewpoints on the direction and trend of Sino-US relations during the turn of the century.

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3. Clinton Administration, *A National Security Strategy for a New Century* (Washington, DC: United States Government).

4. Clinton Administration, *A National Security Strategy for a New Century* (Washington, DC: United States Government).

5. Bush Administration, *The National Security Strategy of the United States of America* (Washington, DC: United States Government).

6. Clinton Administration, *A National Security Strategy for a New Century*, 46.

7. David Shambaugh, "China's Propaganda System: Institutions, Processes and Efficacy," *The China Journal*, no. 57 (2007): 25-58, accessed March 29, 2023, <http://www.jstor.org/stable/20066240>.

First, some view the start of the 21st century as an opportune moment to introduce liberalization and perhaps even democracy in China.<sup>8</sup> Consistent with reforms enacted in the 1980s, coupled with a general rise in living standards, China effectively experienced a period of Westernization and economic liberalization. This also translated into some instances of foreign policy, such as enhanced cooperation with the Association of Southeast Asian Nations (ASEAN) and increased dialogue with the European Union.<sup>9</sup>

Second, some observers view the start of the 21st century as a moment of learning for China. Having only recently recovered from the incredibly damaging legacy of the Cultural Revolution and the 1989 unrest, China struggled to find its place in the world and sought to increase its influence and gain international prestige and recognition.<sup>10</sup> This is illustrated by the increased participation in international organizations such as the United Nations and diplomatic actions within East Asia, with a focus on painting China as the "good neighbor".<sup>11</sup>

Third, some view the turn of the century as the beginning of Sino-US competition.<sup>12</sup> China, having gained significant industrial progress and a diplomatic foothold, began its planning for competition on all fronts ranging from trade to military power, seeking to

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8. Henry S. Rowen, "The Short March: China's Road to Democracy," *The National Interest*, no. 45 (1996): 61–70, accessed March 29, 2023, <http://www.jstor.org/stable/42895114>.

9. John Wong and Sarah Chan, "China-Asean Free Trade Agreement: Shaping Future Economic Relations," *Asian Survey* 43, no. 3 (2003): 507–526, accessed March 29, 2023, <http://www.jstor.org/stable/10.1525/as.2003.43.3.507>.

10. David Shambaugh, "China Engages Asia: Reshaping the Regional Order," *International Security* 29, no. 3 (2004): 64–99, accessed March 29, 2023, <http://www.jstor.org/stable/4137556>.

11. Shambaugh, 1.

12. Richard Bernstein and Ross H. Munro, "The Coming Conflict with America," *Foreign Affairs* 76, no. 2 (1997): 18–32, accessed March 29, 2023, <http://www.jstor.org/stable/20047934>.

”replace the United States as the dominant power in Asia”.<sup>13</sup> Examples of this include the modernization of the People’s Liberation Army (PLA), redefined claims on the South China Sea, more aggressive posture and language regarding Taiwan, and enhanced cooperation with Russia.

While this thesis does intend to focus its data analysis from the Chinese perspective, this literature analysis section will also include policy documents and works focusing on US policies towards China.

#### Literature Analysis 1: United States National Security Strategies from 1998 thru 2002

The National Security Strategy of the United States, published yearly by the incumbent administration as mandated by Public Law 99-433 section 603, provides an overview of policy priorities and threat analysis of the most significant issues concerning US national security.<sup>14</sup>

Important to note here is despite the legal requirement for the President to transmit an unclassified and a classified copy of the National Security Strategy (henceforth NSS), according to the DoD Historical Office, reports ”frequently [...] come in late or not at all”.<sup>15</sup> Thus, due to the lack of NSS published in 2001, the scope here is expanded to include October 1998, December 1999, December 2000, and September 2002. When looking at the publications during the time in question, the administration changeover from Clinton to

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13. Bernstein and Munro, “The Coming Conflict with America,” 19.

14. *Public Law 99-433*, 99th Congress, 1986.

15. Department of Defense, “National Security Strategy,” accessed March 29, 2023, <https://history.defense.gov/Historical-Sources/National-Security-Strategy/>.

Bush certainly realigned political priorities and played a role in determining the contents of these published documents.

### **1998 National Security Strategy**

In 1998, the published strategy focused on identifying a path forward for the US in a post-Cold War world.<sup>16</sup> NSS published late 1998 based its policy recommendation and analysis on maintaining US military and economic superiority through multilateral cooperation, such as expanding both military and economic ties with countries previously behind the iron curtain, as illustrated with Poland, Hungary, and the Czech Republic's NATO enrollment in 1999.<sup>17</sup>

It is apparent that while the threat of Russia has diminished with the end of the Cold War and the collapse of the Soviet Union, the policy of preventative deterrence remains.<sup>18</sup> As it pertains to this thesis, the administration's position on China seeks to integrate the PRC into the "system of rules and norms" governing international relations, furthermore focusing on weapons nonproliferation and promotion of democratic ideals within China.<sup>19</sup>

This publication further rejects the possibility of isolationist policy as it pertains to China partially due to economic factors while seeking to increase high-level dialogue, which was adversely impacted by the 1989 protest and subsequent crackdown.<sup>20</sup> Integration

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16. Clinton Administration, *A National Security Strategy for a New Century*.

17. Clinton Administration.

18. Clinton Administration.

19. Clinton Administration, 46.

20. Clinton Administration, 46.

of China into the global system is encouraged in this publication, where China's economic potential and role in stabilizing the Asia Financial crisis is recognized as a "helpful partner in international efforts".<sup>21</sup>

### 1999 National Security Strategy

The next issue of the US National Security Strategy was published in December 1999. The end-of-the-year publication is particularly notable as during NATO's participation in the Kosovo War and subsequent bombing operations against Yugoslavia, the Chinese Embassy in Belgrade was struck by US forces, resulting in casualties and injuries.<sup>22</sup> This event led to significantly increased tension between China and the United States.<sup>23</sup>

While not definitively linked, it is possible that this publication's softened tone, particularly concerning the promotion of democracy in China, may have ties to the Belgrade event.<sup>24</sup> This stipulation is based on the assumption that the Clinton administration saw challenging China on controversial issues following tense negotiations surrounding the Belgrade event as detrimental especially as China seeks to regain national pride lost during the incident.<sup>25</sup> Other than this significant setback, the overall policy of economic engagement

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21. Clinton Administration, *A National Security Strategy for a New Century*, 46.

22. Steven Lee Myers, "NATO Raid Hits China Embassy," *The New York Times*.

23. Elisabeth Rosenthal, "China Protesters Rage at America," *The New York Times*.

24. Clinton Administration, *A National Security Strategy for a New Century*.

25. Seth Faison, "Talks Halt On Bombing Of Embassy In Belgrade" [in en-US], *The New York Times*, July 1999, chap. World, accessed April 12, 2023, <https://www.nytimes.com/1999/07/17/world/talks-halt-on-bombing-of-embassy-in-belgrade.html>.

has not changed.<sup>26</sup> China remains a major regional player, and the undertone of cooperation remains.

## 2000 National Security Strategy

In the last National Security Strategy published by the Clinton administration, China's mention increased notably compared to the 1999 issue. One of the most notable policy shifts comes from China's entry into the World Trade Organization (WTO).

In the past two publications, trade with China was identified as a net positive for the United States.<sup>27</sup> This was especially true in 1998, where the publication denounced isolationist efforts aimed at limiting China's trade capacities.<sup>28</sup> However, the wording used in the 2000 issue showed a note of reluctance not previously seen — "holding Chinese leaders to the conditions of entry into the WTO, which offers the best hope of international reform."<sup>29</sup> China aggressively reacts to any potential criticism and rebuke of its domestic policies. (See rebuke of US domestic challenges published on February 28th 2000 by People's Daily) China also holds a rigid view of its sovereignty. The WTO, while a priority for China as identified earlier in this thesis, was not meant to be a vector for political change to the Chinese Leadership in strong contrast to the administration's goal.<sup>30</sup>

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26. Clinton Administration, *A National Security Strategy for a New Century*.

27. Clinton Administration, *A National Security Strategy for a New Century*.

28. Clinton Administration.

29. Clinton Administration, *A National Security Strategy for a Global Age* (Washington, DC: United States Government), Preface.

30. Clinton Administration, 3.

On the military front, increased tension in the Taiwan Strait was identified as one of the factors in the trend of "increased asymmetrical warfare against the United States," which, contrary to the notion of China as a past enemy, seems to elevate China's threat status, especially as it becomes a "major power."<sup>31</sup>

## **2002 National Security Strategy**

There was no 2001 publication of the NSS, which, while not unusual, makes it difficult to isolate the changes made to US policy during that year. Thus, this thesis will address the 2002 publication of the NSS.

Unsurprisingly, the 2002 publication focuses on terrorism and threats to the US homeland following 9/11. China-oriented policies are limited here, focusing mostly on trade with a positive outlook compared to the 2000 publication.<sup>32</sup> However, this NSS breaks from the past trend of ignoring the potential rise of great power competition. Instead, it addresses it on a limited, albeit positive, scope.<sup>33</sup>

The Bush administration appears less concerned with the collaborative efforts between Russia and China, citing both countries and India as undergoing potentially positive transformations.<sup>34</sup> However, it is possible that this outlook was seen through the context of the threat of terrorism and the drastically increased need for international cooperation from all sides in combating this new threat.

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31. Clinton Administration, *A National Security Strategy for a Global Age*, 29, 61.

32. Bush Administration, *The National Security Strategy of the United States of America*, 18, 26–28.

33. Bush Administration, Preface.

34. Bush Administration, 26.

## National Security Strategies Aggregated Data

Keywords	1998	1999	2000	2002
China	47	33	53	18
Taiwan	2	4	2	4
Democra-	145	155	199	32
Trade	90	70	97	50

Table 1.1. Keyword Hits in NSS Published by Year

### Literature Analysis 2: 1999 New Year Address as published in the People's Daily

In lieu of a national security strategy publication for China, one source of gathering potential policy outlook and trends could be found in the New Year's address published in the People's Daily.<sup>35</sup> The New Year's address is an important annual tradition in Chinese politics and is usually delivered by the top leaders of the Chinese Communist Party to the Chinese people. While the addresses are typically filled with congratulatory remarks and well-wishes, they can also provide insights into the policy priorities of the Chinese government.

In the 1999 publication issued on January 1st, President Jiang Zemin focused on the 1998 achievements of enduring the Asia financial crisis and the reintegration of Macau under the One Country Two Systems model, maintaining a theme of international involvement and China's growing importance in regional affairs.<sup>36</sup>

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35. While there were whitepapers published by the Ministry of National Defense during 1999 and 2001, the whitepapers do not reveal much beyond existing sources. Rather than pointing out key international objectives, these two papers focused domestically and were thus not included in this analysis.

36. People's Daily, "Jiang Zemin's 1999 New Year Address," *People's Daily*.

### Literature Analysis 3: Current Sino-U.S. Relations in Strategic Perspective

In the December 1998 issue of *Contemporary South East Asia*, Denny Roy published an article focusing on the state of Sino-US relations following the presidential visit by Bill Clinton in 1998.<sup>37</sup> While this publication does not directly address the time period that this thesis explores, the late 1998 publication date provides a useful background on the state of Sino-US relations prior to any events in 1999. This article establishes a baseline for diplomacy between the two nations.

As Roy points out, following the clashes between 1995-1996 in the Taiwan Strait, coupled with the crackdowns back in 1989, Sino-US relations had deteriorated significantly compared to their high point following the Nixon visit in 1972 and the subsequent "honeymoon" period.<sup>38</sup> Roy characterizes the overall state of Sino-US relations as neutral both before and after the 1998 summit, and perhaps most importantly, he emphasizes that there were "no major changes" in relations.<sup>39</sup>

Roy interprets China's stance on the US as one of careful confrontation, with both the leadership and the people seeing the US through a distorted lens, partly due to the historical roles the US has played in the region as well as due to more recent transgressions such as the Yinhe (Galaxy) incident.<sup>40</sup> To Roy, there is a shift from an uncompromising policy to a movement towards "accommodation" by the Clinton administration, as illustrated by the

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37. Denny Roy, "Current Sino-U.S. Relations in Strategic Perspective," *Contemporary Southeast Asia* 20, no. 3 (1998): 225, accessed March 29, 2023, <http://www.jstor.org/stable/25798427>.

38. Roy, 225.

39. Roy, 226.

40. Roy, 228.

visit and accommodation of the Chinese perspective as it relates to Taiwan during the June 30th speech proclaiming "we don't support independence for Taiwan", a clear departure from the vague promises of "one-china" in any preceding administrations.<sup>41</sup>

Regarding trade, especially with the World Trade Organization (WTO), Roy identifies the presence of debate over whether China is exploiting the opportunities given by the WTO or whether it is a meaningful participant.<sup>42</sup> Furthermore, the lack of strategic areas of common interest prevents many instances of cooperation.<sup>43</sup>

#### Literature Analysis 4: Current Sino-U.S. Relations in Strategic Perspective

This article, published in December 2000, highlights the emerging cracks in the balance between the United States and China. As Wu observes, the US interest in Asia increasingly conflicts with China's as the country gains more power and extends its influence.<sup>44</sup>

According to Wu, Beijing feels strongly that its strategic interests in Asia are being challenged by the US goal of constructing Pax Americana.<sup>45</sup> Wu's argument is centered around the principle that Beijing does not aspire to restore a sino-centric regional order.<sup>46</sup> With this principle in mind, Wu sees China as less aggressive in its security policies and more reactive in nature. While this argument may not match present-day policies, at the time of

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41. Roy, "Current Sino-U.S. Relations in Strategic Perspective," 231.

42. Roy, 233.

43. Roy, 233.

44. WU XINBO, "U.S. Security Policy in Asia: Implications for China—U.S. Relations," *Contemporary Southeast Asia* 22, no. 3 (2000): 479, accessed March 29, 2023, <http://www.jstor.org/stable/25798508>.

45. XINBO, 479.

46. XINBO, 480.

authorship, China's influence and power projection paled in comparison to the United States. Additionally, in the 2000s, China was receptive to security cooperation, such as containment policies related to the Korean Peninsula.<sup>47</sup>

As Wu correctly identifies, by the 2000s, Taiwan reunification became the foremost policy goal of the PRC and the most significant point of contention with US policy. Negotiating a way around China's aggressive stance on Taiwan is critical in maintaining relations.<sup>48</sup> This key policy difference may increase the potential for conflict within Asia.

#### Literature Analysis 5: The Short March: China's Road to Democracy

This article, published in the Fall of 1996, approaches diplomacy with China from an interesting angle. Rowen focuses on the potential of Western influence in instilling democracy and systematic change within China, with a proposed "twenty years more or less" timeline.<sup>49</sup> While this article is not current to the period, it does provide a good perspective on what influenced some decision-makers to integrate China globally.

Rowen bases his argument on three main factors. First, economic growth as a result of internal reforms and global influence will create a new middle class.<sup>50</sup> Second, the increasing pace of institutionalization and the propagation of the rule of law will rein in governmental organs, and the developing market economy will demand further codification

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47. XINBO, "U.S. Security Policy in Asia: Implications for China—U.S. Relations," 486.

48. XINBO, 492.

49. Rowen, "The Short March: China's Road to Democracy," 70.

50. Rowen, 67.

and enforcement of laws.<sup>51</sup> Lastly, Rowen connects the growth of media access to increased information delivered to the grassroots level, effectively leading to change from below as criticism against the government begins to appear in different forums.<sup>52</sup>

While certainly idealistic, Rowen bases much of his analysis on what occurred in South Korea and Taiwan, both of which once had repressive governments and both liberalized in similar manners.<sup>53</sup> However, this notion of interpreting China on the same scale as other East Asian states ignore local factors unique to China. This work remains a great reflection of the fears Chinese leadership may have toward further economic integration.

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51. Rowen, "The Short March: China's Road to Democracy," 65.

52. Rowen, 66.

53. Rowen.

## Chapter 2

### Methods and Data Analysis

#### Methodology

While there is a considerable body of literature discussing the evolution of Sino-US diplomatic trends, this thesis takes a quantitative approach to trend analysis. Over two weeks approximately 100,000 observations were collected via the People's Daily database. The text was then processed into CSV format and given unique identifiers associated with the publication date as well as the article's title. The raw data were segmented into years and processed through R to eliminate any extraneous or irrelevant mentions, such as domestic articles and images. To this end, a custom keyword list was used to filter out any extraneous articles, an abridged list of terms can be found at the end of this document. Following further processing, we identified around 2,800 relevant articles published between January 1, 1999, and December 31, 2001.

To sustain this data analysis, text collected and identified must be tokenized, this was done via the "JiebaR" package. While filler words are often removed in analysis, this was not performed here as it could impact the article character count, skewing the data.

The semantic analysis conducted was based on a tuned version of the NTUSD simplified Chinese dictionary created by National Taiwan University, using a simple point system. One "negative" keyword hit would result in the deduction of one point, while one "positive" keyword hit would result in the addition of one point. While this system is imperfect as it fails to account for context and established rhetoric, it sufficiently provides a reference for the intended tone conveyed by the article. To ensure data accuracy, random samples were

taken during the analysis process, which were later subjected to manual review on the same scale with no significant variation.

Due to the volume of data points and the turbulent nature of diplomatic ties, the analysis will be broken down into quarters, starting with the first quarter of 1999. To eliminate a large amount of misidentification, articles with a raw value between negative five and positive five as largely neutral, while articles beyond this bound were considered positive or negative. An absolute neutral value was also documented to control for articles with a raw score of 0.<sup>1</sup>

### Overall Results

Overall, from 1999 through 2001, we observed a weak positive/neutral tone in articles involving the United States, with the tonal value hovering under 7. On average, 2001 had the lowest positive tonal value at 1.522. However, this was partially due to the lack of positive rhetoric post 9/11, as sympathetic rhetoric was not accounted for as "positive" within the dictionary used. Table 2.1 provides the raw data output for tonal evaluation, while the data is scaled beyond this point.<sup>2</sup>

	Mean	Tv=0	-5<Tv<5	Tv<-5	Tv>5	Total Observations
1999	3.136	51	471	264	357	1092
2000	6.978	43	443	143	437	1023
2001	1.522	38	351	168	192	711

Table 2.1. Number of Articles by Tonal Value

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1. Raw score refers to column "sentiment score" in the processed data. In tables this will be referred to as Tv or tonal value. An additional metric used for analysis is the "sentiment ratio" or Tr (tonal ratio), this metric is calculated by dividing the raw score by the word token count of each article which were then scaled between positive and negative one.

2. The scaled data refers to sentiment ratio.

## Quarterly Analysis

### First Quarter, 1999

While the first quarter of 1999 did not exhibit any significant variation in the indexed articles, a notable negative data point was plotted on March 2nd, attributed to an article titled "The Human Rights Record of the United States" (*meiguoderenquanjilu*). The publication of this article can be linked to a series of negative publications centered on the United States following NATO actions in former Yugoslavia. At the end of April, no significant negative trend can be identified; the number of positive and negative articles roughly mirrors each other. Notable events that occurred during this quarter include high-level talks around mid-January and the planning phases of Chinese Prime Minister Zhu Rongji's visit to the United States. Despite these notable events, no significant change can be seen in the sentiment output.

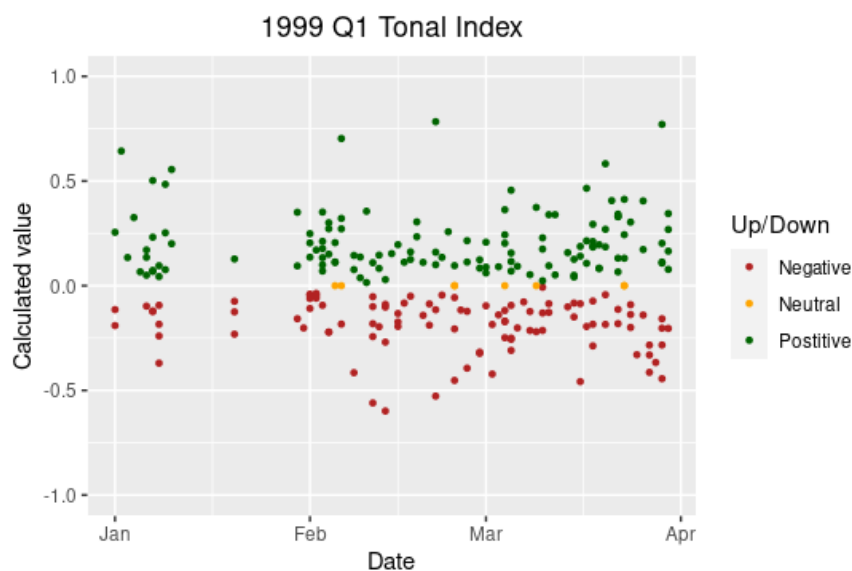


Figure 2.1. Tonal Ratio Plot for First Quarter 1999

## Second Quarter, 1999

In the first half of the second quarter of 1999, a number of positive articles attributed to the US were recorded despite rising tensions due to the aforementioned NATO actions in Yugoslavia. On May 8th, the Chinese Embassy in Yugoslavia was bombed by US forces; while the specifics of this incident remain in dispute, this thesis does not seek to identify the parties responsible. Instead, trend-wise, there is a notable increase in the lower bound of negative articles, especially significant as, upon manual inspection of the data, any recorded positive articles often mention other nations, while the US is mentioned only in passing. As such, while the plot does exhibit a number of positive results during the second half of Q2 1999, a more objective analysis confirms an increase in both the frequency and intensity of negative sentiments associated with the US.

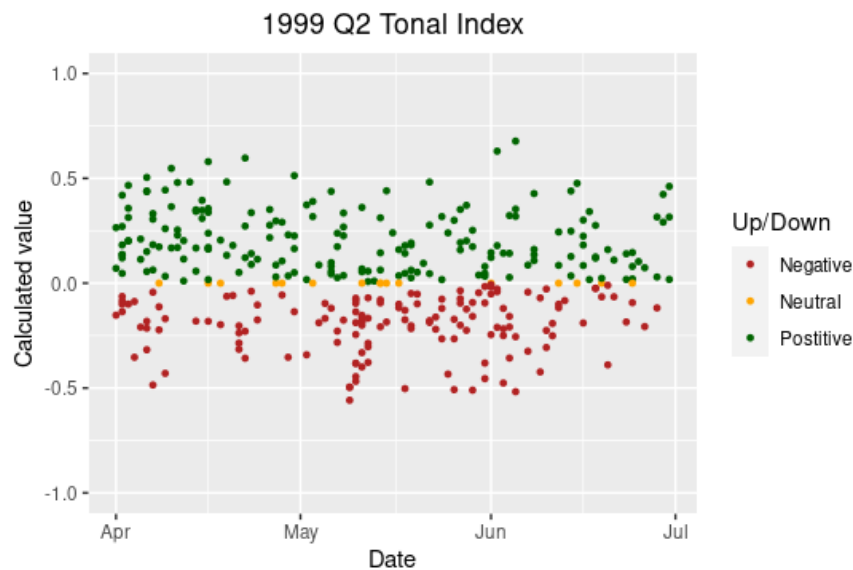


Figure 2.2. Tonal Ratio Plot for Second Quarter 1999

### Third Quarter, 1999

Despite the notable negative sentiments following the embassy attack in the past quarter, the trend of article tones largely returned to baseline in this quarter. The sentiment was distributed almost equally between positive and negative ends. However, a few highly critical articles were published, such as the reporting on hate crimes in the US published on July 8th. Interestingly, the most critical articles did not focus on the attack in Yugoslavia, but rather on the issues surrounding Chinese territorial claims in Taiwan and Tibet. More specifically, the Taiwan Security Enhancement Act passed on July 13th had a significant impact on tonal statistics.

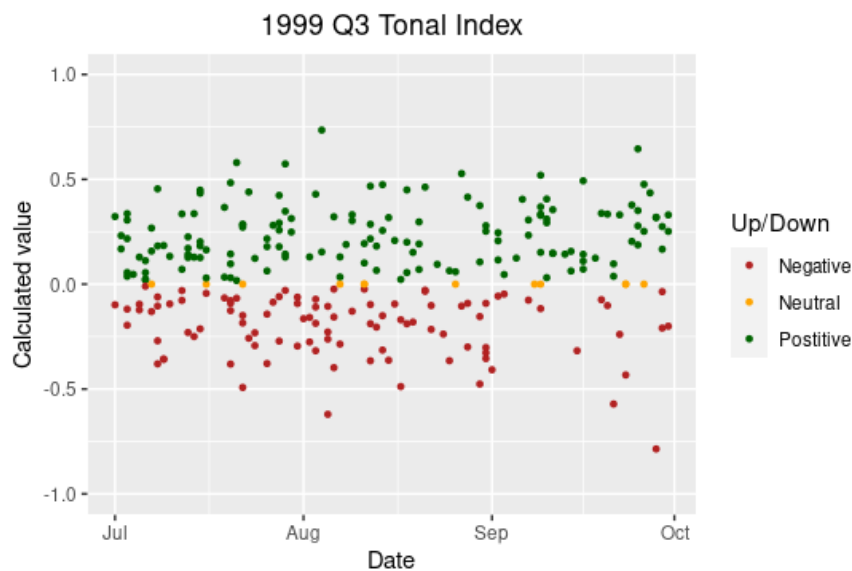


Figure 2.3. Tonal Ratio Plot for Third Quarter 1999

### Fourth Quarter, 1999

Towards the end of the year, the sentiment shifted to a positive focus, particularly as more issues and barriers regarding China's WTO petition were resolved during this time. In mid-late October, positive sentiment increased following the earlier talks on WTO member-

ship in Washington DC. This sentiment was further reflected by one of the most positive data points recorded over the three years analyzed, featuring reportage on the trade agreement signed on November 15th, which secured China's WTO entry. On the adjusted scale, the sentiment score of 0.38 translated to roughly 115 positive word hits. This is the ninth-highest recorded data point and the highest data point that directly addresses the US government, as other data points address foreign governments or organizations.

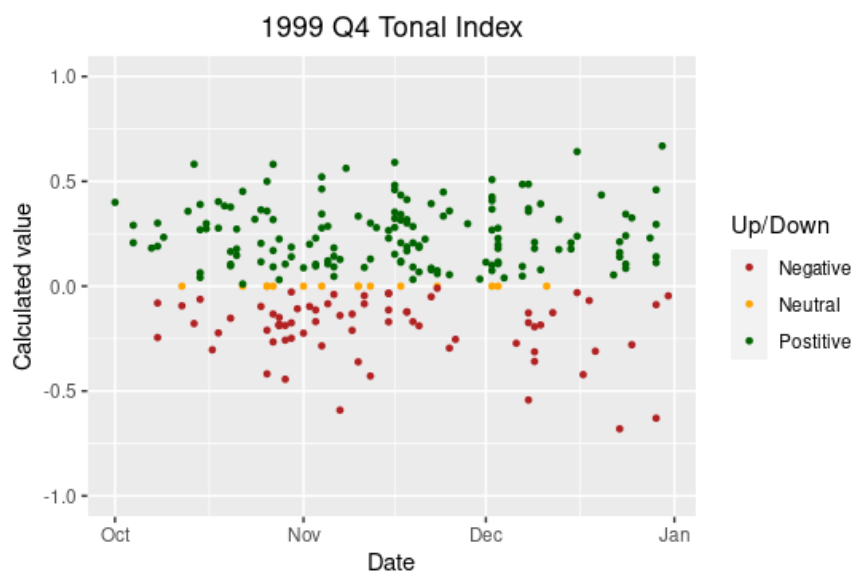


Figure 2.4. Tonal Ratio Plot for Fourth Quarter 1999

### First Quarter, 2000

In the first quarter of the new millennium, the general tone was positive, which was very much in line with the end of 1999. However, there was one notable exception: an article titled "The Human Rights Situation in The United States in 1999," prepared by the news office of the State Council, PRC. This article heavily criticized the Clinton administration on a range of issues, including domestic behaviors and foreign intervention via NATO. Published partly in response to human rights critiques directed towards China, this report was one of

the few overwhelmingly negative articles published in 2000 and had the lowest score among all recorded articles analyzed by this thesis.

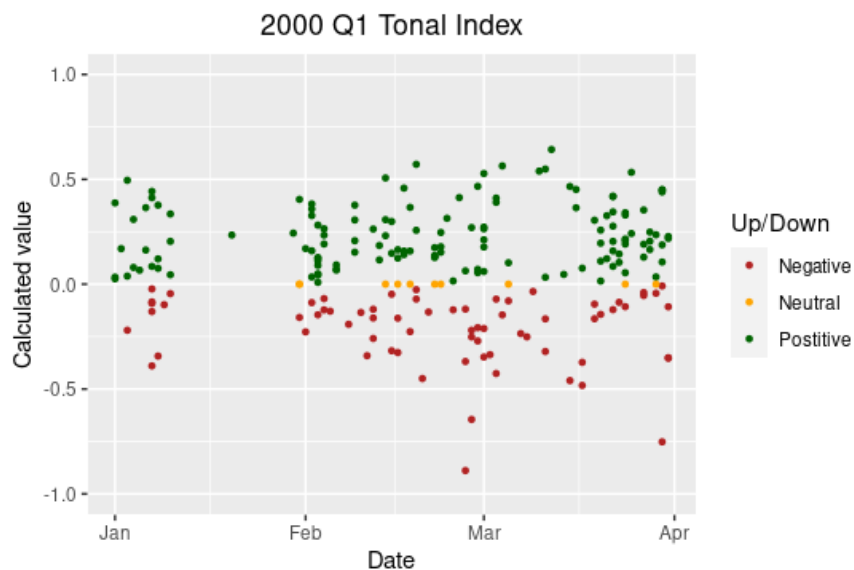


Figure 2.5. Tonal Ratio Plot for First Quarter 2000

## Second Quarter, 2000

The second quarter presented many of the same positive overtones in the articles published, with positive sentiments often addressing bilateral trade and other economic-related issues. Additionally, on the issue of establishing permanent normalized trade relations, the tones used in articles related to the topic expressed measurable positive overtones, with an index often around 0.01, indicating significant positive sentiment. During this quarter, negative articles often involved issues relating to Falun Gong, a persistent topic in political and diplomatic discourse at the turn of the century.

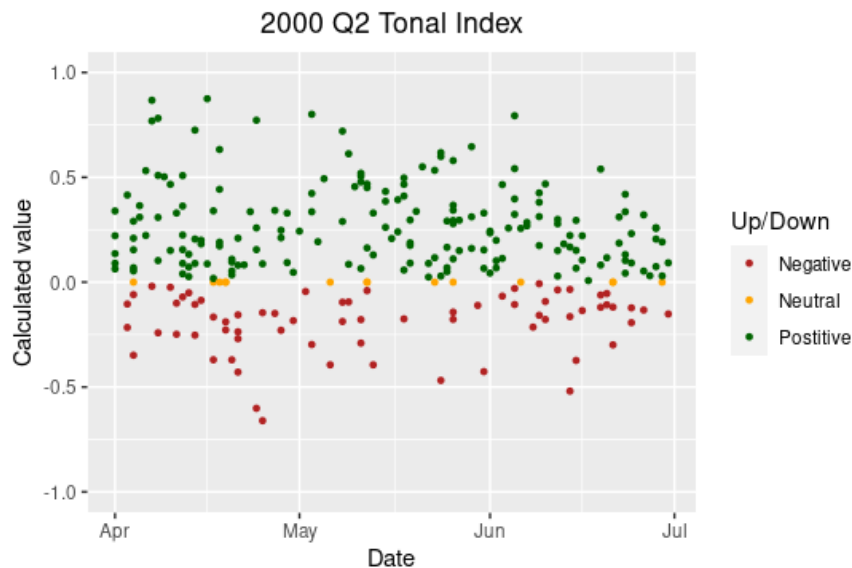


Figure 2.6. Tonal Ratio Plot for Second Quarter 2000

### Third Quarter, 2000

In line with notable events such as the passage of the trade normalization bill in the US Congress on July 21st, positive articles corresponded to the dates of these positive developments. The high-indexed positive values of 0.453 and 0.403 were not attributed to the US government but instead to organizations working in the US and the effect of Chinese culture in the United States (*zhonghuawenhuameiguoxing*).

### Fourth Quarter, 2000

While arms sales to Taiwan may have impacted diplomatic relations, they had no significant influence on recorded sentiments. Instead, trade and bilateral relations remained the most frequently discussed topics. With the commemoration of the 50th anniversary of the Korean War in China, numerous articles were published to celebrate Chinese efforts. However, these articles did not paint the United States in a notably negative light. This could

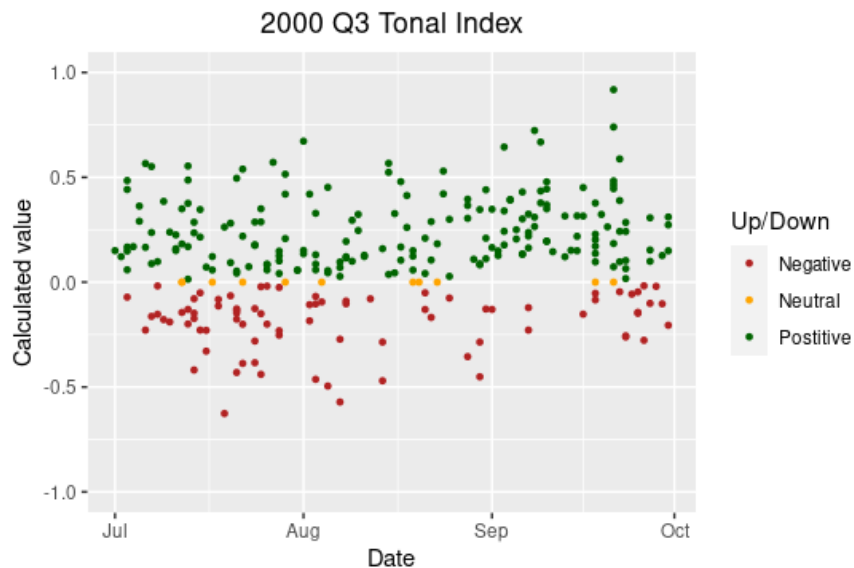


Figure 2.7. Tonal Ratio Plot for Third Quarter 2000

be due to the visit by the Secretary of State to North Korea, which may have discouraged overly critical comments on historical issues.

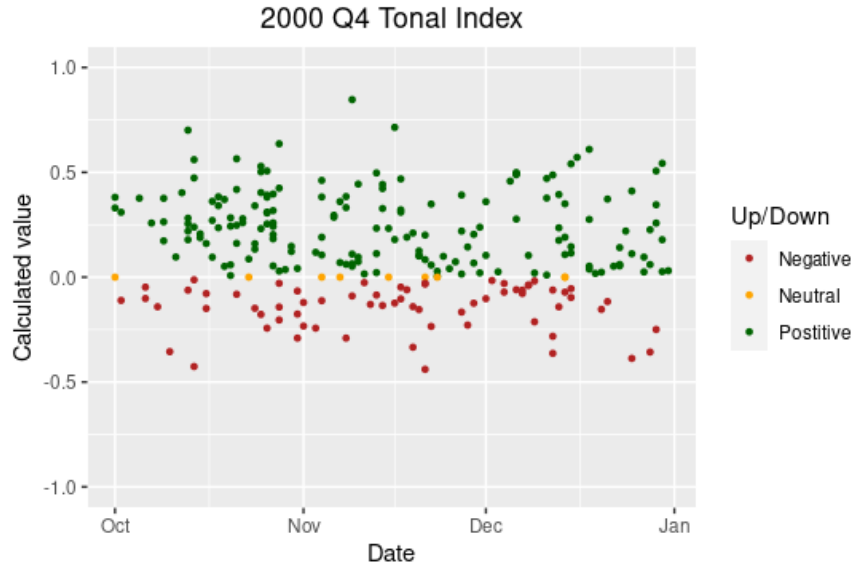


Figure 2.8. Tonal Ratio Plot for Fourth Quarter 2000

## First Quarter, 2001

The most significant observation in the first quarter of 2001 is the lack of data points in the month of January. While this is most likely not a data issue, I am manually reviewing each article just in case. No significant trend or variation can be determined. The rise of positive sentiment in the mid-end of March is not attributed to the US government and its present policy but rather to historical connections and the anniversary of ping-pong diplomacy.

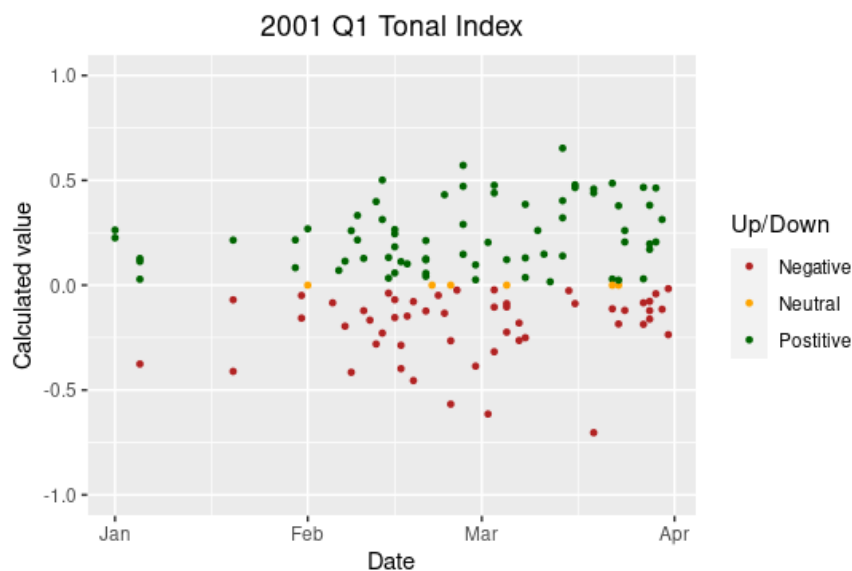


Figure 2.9. Tonal Ratio Plot for First Quarter 2001

## Second Quarter, 2001

The second quarter of 2001 exhibits no notable pattern or trend in rhetorical discourse. The positive outlier recorded in early April is attributed to a speech addressing Sino-South America relations, with mentions of the US in passing. As the content of the speech is overwhelmingly positive, it influences the tonal value, presenting a significant outlier. Presidential dialogue in mid-April, improved trade, and the resolution of the EP-3

collision all contributed to an overall improvement in sentiment in the second half of the quarter.

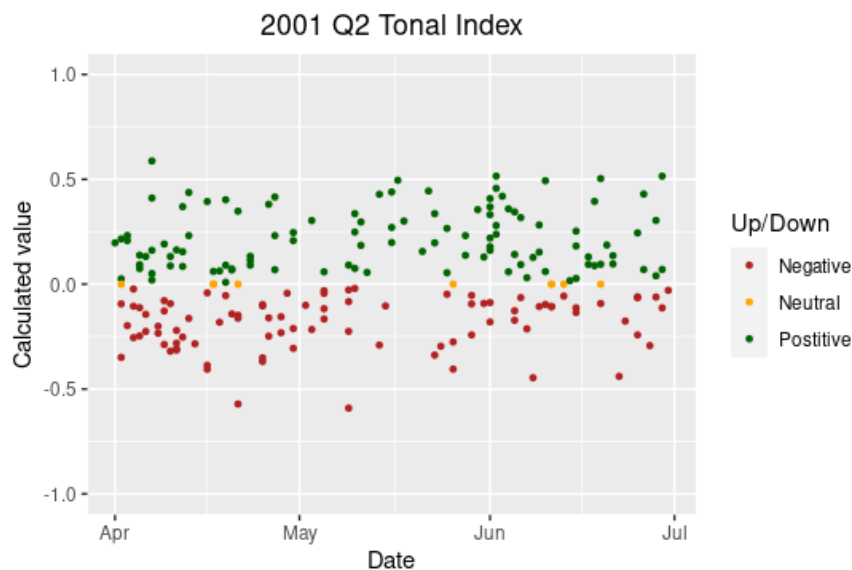


Figure 2.10. Tonal Ratio Plot for Second Quarter 2001

### Third Quarter, 2001

The third quarter of 2001 saw the deadliest terror attack on American soil. This quarter presented significant issues in data analysis. As noted earlier, mapping out supportive articles as positive influenced the results around September, seen with the cluster of negative articles present in figure 2.11. However, the rise of positive articles observed around mid-September is still accurate. The cluster of negative articles in late September, however, does not accurately interpret the sentiment. The articles published in this time period pivot closer to reserved tones rather than opposition and critique of the US post-attack response. The analytical and reserved language is to be expected in line with previous records of the Chinese response to significant US interventions in regions around the world.

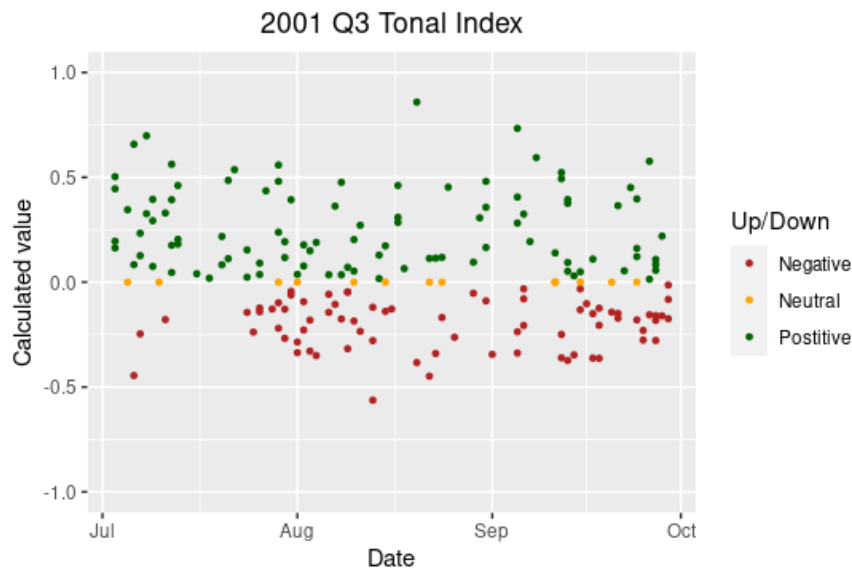


Figure 2.11. Tonal Ratio Plot for Third Quarter 2001

#### Fourth Quarter, 2001

The fourth and last quarter analyzed in this thesis reflects the global support for the United States post-attack. While negative articles were still present, many can be attributed to the phenomenon outlined in the previous paragraph. The calculated value of positive articles has also increased, representing a sentiment of sympathy and support. In December, as China completed its accession process to the WTO, the rise in positive sentiment coupled with the reduction in negative sentiment portrays a positive outlook on global trade reflected across all levels of the Chinese government as shown in figure 2.12. The focus is placed on further developing Sino-US relations and enhancing the global presence of China as it acclimates to its new position in global trade.

#### Interpretation

Much of the statistical results from this analysis do not contradict existing literature; however, the duration of influence that significant events can have on social discourse is sur-

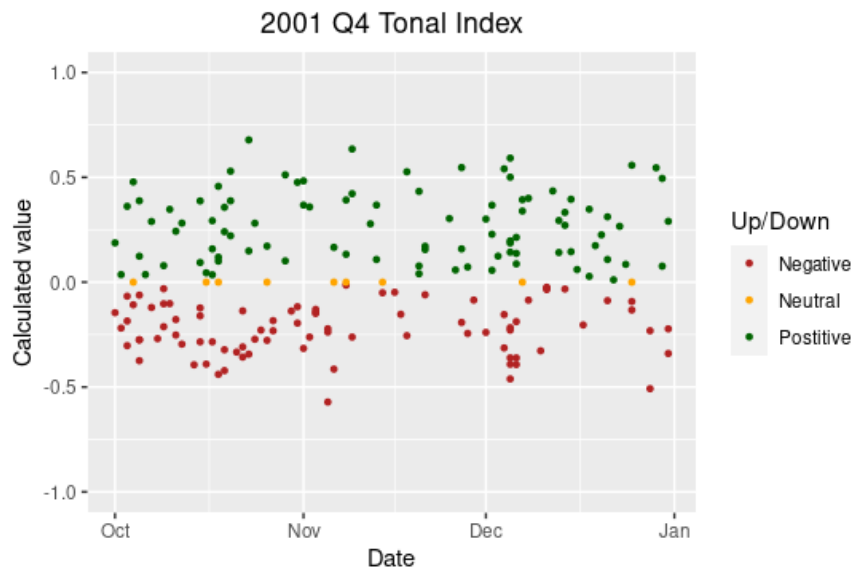


Figure 2.12. Tonal Ratio Plot for Fourth Quarter 2001

prising, particularly with the rhetoric surrounding the Yugoslavia incident in 1999. Looking at Figure 2.2, the cluster of negative articles around the May 7th date was pronounced, yet it only persisted for a short time. A portion of this variation could be attributed to the nature of People’s Daily as an official mouthpiece representing policy and high-level decisions, as lower-level publications such as the Observer posted highly scathing critiques.

The audience of publications also influenced coverage surrounding events, as persistent negative coverage in People’s Daily could be interpreted as an endorsement of actions by the CCP itself, thus explaining the tailored and reserved wording on controversial issues compared to alternative publications. In fact, the student response following the embassy bombing received significant international coverage, including publication in the United States. It could be that the propaganda organs opted for a quick de-escalation to prevent mass movements and further inciting potential violence against US entities.<sup>3</sup>

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3. Rosenthal, “China Protesters Rage at America.”

Another highly pronounced trend is the significant reduction of data points at the start of the year between January and February, in line with Chinese holidays and New Year celebrations. An interesting point that could be explored further is if People's Daily remains unique in this reduction of international coverage. This could be true, as during significant holidays, People's Daily must also carry announcements, celebratory articles, speeches and other politically important essays, something that local papers might not suffer from.

Looking at the overarching tone of the paper, it is clear that the editors chose to balance articles at any given time. On any day, one could likely find articles both praising and criticizing the United States. This balancing effort could be attributed to the role of People's Daily, as previously mentioned, but this warrants further investigation. Perhaps expanding the scope of the analysis to a 5-year period will provide more insightful data. This timeline only captured the latter half of Jiang Zemin's reign following his stabilizing efforts domestically; thus, analyzing a more politically important period could produce unique results.

Chinese reactions to joining the World Trade Organization can also be observed here. The overall trend is positive, as expected, but the degree to which articles related to the WTO scored on the tonal ratio scale was surprising. In fact, the article addressing the WTO membership success and normalization of trade between the United States and China sits far ahead of all other data points (See Figure 2.8). However, this limited focus on trade also reflects a reluctance to cooperate on other policy fronts such as environmental advocacy and human rights. In fact, the collaboration opportunities pointed out in the published National Security Strategies are hardly mentioned in positive articles, and more contentious

issues such as human rights do not appear at all, only in instances where China criticizes the United States.

## Conclusion

Sino-US relations between 1999 and 2001 can be described as a period of evolving confrontations. By the second term of the Jiang administration, the Soviet Union had weakened to the point where China shifted away from being an ally of the United States. As illustrated in the literature analysis, even up to 1996, some individuals remained persistent in their beliefs that China could and would rapidly democratize as trade increased and cultural exchanges became more common.<sup>4</sup> It is sufficient to say that the past twenty-seven years of CCP rule have effectively nullified this argument, but this does not mean that parts of the argument are without merit—the analysis performed in this thesis clearly illustrates that the Chinese leadership is receptive to international outreach, and this receptiveness can even extend to the positive portrayal of the United States in its main propaganda publication. The population was clearly influenced by these publications directly as well—as evidenced by the outcry following the Belgrade bombing.<sup>5</sup> From this analysis, China was receptive to change and influence at the turn of the century, yet this opportunity was not utilized. The period of peace following the fall of the Soviet Union and the taxing campaign on terror effectively provided the chance for China to grow into its current form, as an adversary increasingly unfazed by the United States and its influence.

---

4. Rowen, “The Short March: China’s Road to Democracy.”

5. Rosenthal, “China Protesters Rage at America.”

## Appendix A

### Sample Code

#### Isolation Keyword Sample

```
----- Isolation Keyword Sample -----
1 "uncleaned" <- read_csv("1999 PD Cleaned.csv")
2 "img_rem" <- filter(uncleaned, article != " 图片")
3 "dup_img_rem" <- distinct(img_rem, article, .keep_all = TRUE)
4 ## DATA CLEANED, IMG, DUP REMOVED
5 "MEIGUO_edit" <- dup_img_rem %>% filter(grepl('美国', article) | grepl('美', article))
6 "ERROR_REMOVAL" <- MEIGUO_edit %>% filter(!grepl('美丽', article), !grepl('秀美',
  ↪ article),
7                                     !grepl('拉美', article), !grepl('美元',
  ↪ article),
8                                     !grepl('美景', article), !grepl('优美',
  ↪ article),
9                                     !grepl('美化', article),
10                                    !grepl('美容', article),
11                                    !grepl('美好 | 美丽 | 美好 | 美食 | 美容 |
  ↪ 美术 | 美满 | 美人 | 美誉 | 审美 | 美
  ↪ 钻', article))
```

## Semantics Analysis Sample

```
----- Semantics Analysis Sample -----
1   jieba_tokenizer <- worker()
2   tokenize_chinese <- function(text) {
3     tokens <- segment(text, jieba_tokenizer)
4     return(tokens)
5   }
6   tokenized_articles_df <- merged_1999 %>%
7     mutate(tokenized_content = lapply(cardtext, tokenize_chinese))
8   data(NTUSD_Mod)
9   positive_words <- NTUSD$positive_chs
10  negative_words <- NTUSD$negative_chs
11  calculate_sentiment_score <- function(tokens) {
12    tokens_df <- tibble(tokens = tokens)
13    sentiment_score <- tokens_df %>%
14      mutate(sentiment = case_when(
15        tokens %in% positive_words ~ 1,
16        tokens %in% negative_words ~ -1,
17        TRUE ~ 0
18      )) %>%
19      summarize(score = sum(sentiment)) %>%
20      mutate(score_normalized = score / n())
21    return(sentiment_score$score_normalized)
22  }
```

## Appendix B

### Generated Data Sample

#### Generated Data Example

9	2001年4月20日	c(第, "1", "版", "要闻", "专栏", " ", " ", "中", "美", "[...]	759	0.06775833	2001-04-20
9	2001年6月31日	c(第, "6", "版", "政治", "法律", "社会", "专栏", "北京", "夕阳 [...]	107	0.48064085	2001-08-31
9	2001年2月6日	c(第, "3", "版", "国际", "专栏", "综述", " ", " ", "南联盟" [...]	731	0.07035372	2001-02-06
9	2001年7月21日	c(第, "2", "版", "要闻", "专栏", "外交部", "发言人", "说", "美 [...]	106	0.48517520	2001-07-21
9	2001年2月15日	c(第, "3", "版", "国际", "专栏", " ", " ", "我", "哲学家", "[...]	210	0.24489796	2001-02-15
9	2001年11月12日	c(第, "3", "版", "国际", "专栏", "普京", "说", "俄美应", "建立 [...]	185	0.27799228	2001-11-12
9	2001年2月20日	c(第, "8", "版", "体育", "专栏", " ", " ", "欧美", "名将", "[...]	242	0.21251476	2001-02-20
9	2001年12月13日	c(第, "3", "版", "国际", "专栏", "美加", "两国", "祝贺", "我" [...]	175	0.29387755	2001-12-13
9	2001年4月13日	c(第, "2", "版", "国内", "要闻", "专栏", " ", " ", "美国", "[...]	222	0.23166023	2001-04-13
9	2001年5月10日	c(第, "3", "版", "国际", "专栏", " ", " ", "美", "国防部长" [...]	207	0.24844720	2001-05-10
9	2001年6月2日	c(第, "3", "版", "国际", "体育", "专栏", " ", " ", "美", "[...]	184	0.27950311	2001-06-02
9	2001年3月11日	c(第, "4", "版", "国际", "文件", "专栏", " ", " ", "金大中" [...]	348	0.14778325	2001-03-11
9	2000年4月4日	c(第, "7", "版", "国际", "专栏", " ", " ", "财富", "公布", "[...]	177	0.29055690	2000-04-04
9	2000年1月6日	c(第, "6", "版", "国际", "专栏", " ", " ", "三朝元老", "业绩 [...]	141	0.36474164	2000-01-06
9	2000年6月5日	c(第, "5", "版", "教育", "科技", "文化", "专栏", " ", " ", "[...]	95	0.54135338	2000-06-05
9	2000年11月8日	c(第, "6", "版", "国际", "专栏", " ", " ", "俄", "希望", "[...]	155	0.33179724	2000-11-08
9	2000年3月24日	c(第, "6", "版", "国际", "专栏", " ", " ", "克林顿", "呼吁" [...]	239	0.21518231	2000-03-24
9	2000年7月25日	c(第, "6", "版", "国际", "专栏", " ", " ", "我", "驻", "[...]	179	0.28731045	2000-07-25
9	2000年1月4日	c(第, "6", "版", "国际", "专栏", "连载", " ", " ", "播", "[...]	645	0.07973422	2000-01-04

Figure A.1. Sample of Dataframe Used in Plots

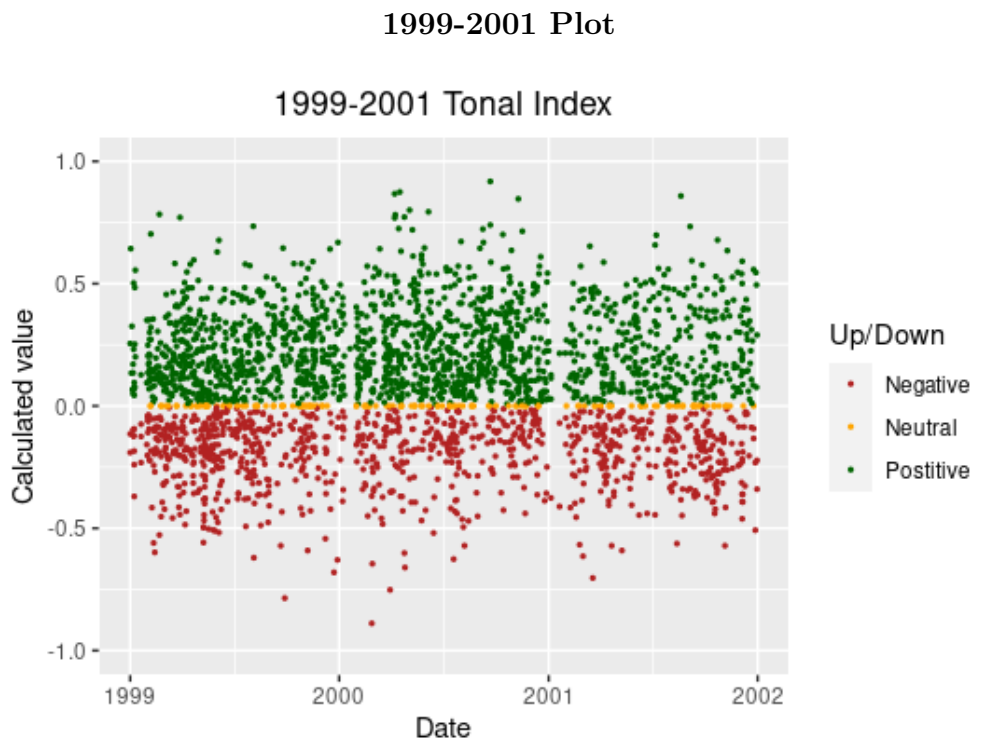


Figure A.2. Plot of All Sample Points 1999-2001

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