

# Flinders University

## Centre for United States and Asia Policy Studies

### Internship paper No. I01 / 2014

The Internship is a program between Carnegie Mellon University Australia and the Centre for United States and Asia Policy Studies. Paper supervisor was Dr Michael Sullivan, Flinders University.

#### **A Media Approach to China-US Relations**

Zipeng Li, Master of Science in Public Policy and Management student

CUSAPS is located within the [School of International Studies](#)

Zipeng Li, MSPPM  
Heinz College  
Carnegie Mellon University

## **A Media Approach to China-U.S. Relations**

---- A comparative study of Chinese and U.S. newspaper reports on the summit  
between Xi Jinping and Obama in June 2013

### **Introduction**

In international relations, the bilateral relationship between the U.S. and China is among the most important and influential (BBC News, 2014) because of their respective power and influence. The U.S. is a superpower economically, politically and culturally. It is ranked the world's No. 1 economy, while its political values, such as liberal democracy and individual freedom, are promoted as "universal" around the world. U.S. cultural products, such as Hollywood movies, can be found worldwide. China, in turn, is one of the fastest rising powers. The GDP growth rate of China has been more than 7% for decades. It is the second largest economy and largest trading nation. The U.S. is the world's largest debtor nation, while China has the largest surpluses. While the U.S. military is the most advanced of any and has a global reach, China has embarked on defence modernisation and a rapid military build-up. The effects of bilateral relations not only impact China and the U.S. They impact in increasingly dominant ways on the Asia-Pacific region, and, increasingly, on world politics.

China-U.S. relations experienced three main stages after the establishment of the People's Republic of China in 1949. During the first period from 1949 to 1979, the People's Republic of China did not establish diplomatic relations with the United States. The second period, from 1979 to 1989, began with the turning point that the People's Republic of China and the United States published the Joint Communiqué in Shanghai (Taiwandocuments.org, 2014). During this period, there were several high-level official visits between China and the United States. The third period is from

1989 until the present. During this period, relations between China and the United States generally moved forward, though with some setbacks. Economic relations are extensive, if not without controversies over trade and currency issues. However, incidents like the Tiananmen Massacre in June 1989, the U.S. bombing of the Chinese embassy in Belgrade on 7<sup>th</sup>, May 1999, and the aircraft collision, or “Hainan Island Incident” on 1<sup>st</sup>, April 2001 increased tensions in China-U.S. relations. All in all, the general trend for China-U.S. relations since 1949 is towards increased cooperation and mutual understanding, especially since the 1970s, despite setbacks, tensions and differences in key areas.

With China’s rise to perhaps great power status in the 21<sup>st</sup> century, China-U.S. relations have grown in importance and become more complicated. How does China view the U.S.? What is the impression of the U.S. towards a rising China? Is a rising China a threat to the U.S. and the existing international system? Saich believes that China is a status quo power and has no intention of challenging the system as a “revolutionary power” (Saich, 2012). Nonetheless, a rising China changes the balance of power in Asia Pacific and raises questions about the maintenance of regional order, which rests on the U.S. primacy and adherence to universal norms and rules for the practices of international diplomacy. It is the realisation that China’s rise alters relations that prompted the U.S. to announce a “re-pivot” to or “rebalancing” of its foreign, security and economic policies towards the Pacific. The declared intention by the U.S. of exercising leadership over a “Pacific century” posed significant new challenges for China, which had determined previously that U.S. power and interests were in decline in the region. Chinese commentaries on the “re-pivot” warned about the dangers of hegemony and questioned the return of Cold War thinking and alliance networks.

Among all the bilateral diplomacy, Presidential Summits are the most important and attract the most media coverage and scrutiny. The level of interest was high from the beginning, when, in 1979, China’s “paramount leader” Deng Xiaoping made the first visit to the U.S. by a Chinese leader since 1949. Subsequently, all of China’s three Presidents have visited the U.S. Jiang Zemin (1993 - 2003) visited the United States in 1997 and again in 2002, meeting with Presidents Clinton and Bush respectively. His successor, Hu Jintao (2003 - 2013), met President Bush in 2006. In June, 2013, China’s new President, Xi Jinping had an informal, two day “working summit” with President Obama in Sunnylands, Rancho Mirage, California. Appendix

is the review of the presidential level visits between China and U.S. since President Nixon's visit to China in 1972.

This paper conducts a media analysis of the June 2013 Summit, concentrating on newspaper coverage. It is accepted that this form of media plays an important role in communicating information and informed commentary to the public. Despite the emergence of "new media" and its extensive coverage in both China and the U.S. of the Xi-Obama Summit, in competition with traditional newspapers, this paper excludes consideration of new media because its role in reporting earlier summits was either non-existent or comparatively not as important.

In this paper, I focus on Chinese and U.S. newspaper reports of the 2013 Leader's Summit. The Chinese newspapers chosen for this media analysis are *Beijing Daily*, which is representative of state run media, and *Southern Metropolis Daily*, which is a more independent, commercial newspaper published in Guangdong Province. For the U.S., *The New York Times* and *Washington Post* are chosen because of their long-standing authority and reputation as quality "broadsheets". In the Factiva database, we limited searching key words to "Xi Jinping, Obama". As the working summit was in June 2013, we set the time range for research from May to July to cover the newspaper reports of the summits prelude and aftermath. After removing duplicated reports from the searching results, we get 48 newspaper reports from *The New York Times*, 29 from *Washington Post*, 17 from *Beijing Daily*, and 23 from *Southern Metropolis Daily*.

This research paper's exploration of the coverage of the Summit considers five questions. First, did each country's newspapers pursue an identifiable political "agenda" when reporting the summit, and if so, what? Secondly, can we identify the possible reasons for trying to pursue a particular agenda? Thirdly, how did each country's newspapers describe China-U.S. relations? Fourthly, what were the newspapers' expectations leading into the summit? Finally, how were the outcomes of the Summit reported and assessed? Were expectations met?

## **Significance of the Study**

This study is significant because of its unique focus on both media and Presidential visits. The former reveals aspects of social understanding and the latter provides the

subject matter, which reflects national prestige and pride in an international environment marked by both competition and cooperation.

Its significance is also apparent in identifying anticipated outcomes:

Firstly, the study aims at improving the mutual understanding of people from China and U.S. of their counterparts' nation. In the past, people in China or U.S. tended to view each other either wearing rose-coloured glasses (Ping *et al.*, 2009) or through a contrasting, negative orientation. By analysing newspaper reports, these contrasting attitudes will be revealed and the underlying biases analysed.

China-U.S. bilateral relations are important not only for these two countries, but also for Asia-Pacific region, and even for the world. As a superpower, the U.S. exerts great influence over international relations economically, politically and culturally. China is one of the fastest rising global powers. In 2013, China-U.S. trade value reached US\$5.21 Billion (Intl.ce.cn, 2014). Bilateral economic ties generate national power for the economic development of both countries and benefit the recovery of the world economy. Stable China-U.S. political relations help to stabilize the Asia-Pacific region. Culturally, Hollywood movies and NBA games from the U.S. are popular in China. In 2013, there are 235,597 Chinese students studying in the United States (Studyinthestates.dhs.gov, 2014). There is more cooperation and mutual understanding between China and the U.S. compared to previously, even though some tensions, such as cyber-security, remain. This study will reveal underlying understandings of national power from both sides.

Chinese media is experiencing commercialization in an authoritarian state (Stockmann, 2013). This study can help understand the process of change and the prospects for more. Similarly, the U.S. media seeks to inculcate its readers with views consistent with the interests of its corporations and elites (McChesney, 1997). Those propositions can also be considered by this study. By doing a comparison of media reports of different Presidential level visits, we can explore the evolution of media in each country. The difference between the media in China and the U.S. can also exhibit to readers.

Finally, this study will reflect on the relevance of the major theories of international politics, Realism, Liberalism and Marxism, by ascertaining their influence on newspaper reports. The hypotheses to be tested derive from these viewpoints. The study will indicate which or which combination of them fits best for explaining the media reporting from both nations.

## **Literature Review**

Existing studies of newspapers in society note the role that they have and continue to play in promoting shared values and processes to deal with conflicting interests. Newspaper is a powerful communication tool for both citizens and the state, reflecting the voices of powerful elites, while also allowing expression of different and dissenting points of view (Baker, 2002). By processing and reflecting on the news of the day, media does more than communicate. Newspapers contribute greatly to the politics of “imagined communities” within nations, allowing the refraction, according to Anderson, of “world events” into a specific imagined “world reader” (Anderson, 1991). Thus studying how newspapers reflect the outside world aids in understanding the image a community holds of itself.

There is a considerable literature aligned closely to this research proposal. The issue of how U.S. television influences public perceptions of foreign nations has been tested using two levels of agenda setting theories (Wanta, *et al.*, 2004). Their study verifies the linkages between the projected images in the media and the perceived images among the public. So, it was shown that the more comprehensive media coverage a nation receives, the more important the nation is to U.S. interests. It was shown also at the second level that the more negative the media coverage a nation receives, the more negative the public perception of that nation. The proposed study assesses those conclusions within the confines set by the scope of study.

Further, of relevance to this paper is a further study, which analyzed images of China found in the reports of four major U.S. newspapers from 2000 to 2002 (Liss, 2010). It found U.S. newspaper reports tend to form a negative image of China. Another tried to answer the question “how foreign countries change their image in American press by resorting to American public relation firm” (Manheim and Albritton, 1984). This paper might provide further insights into the dynamic nature of reporting and image creation. It also verified the potential of media to influence public opinion and public policy.

## **Method**

Quantitative and qualitative methods will be used together in this research paper. The research will proceed by identifying key items, words and phrases, which will be

searched for in the newspaper coverage. These key terms are generated by the hypotheses to be tested and these, in turn, derive from three theoretical perspectives in international politics, namely, Realism, Liberalism, and Marxism.

A content analysis of the two Chinese and two U.S. newspapers is the main method used in this research paper. The content analysis will be done by collecting data and building statistics for key words in the newspaper coverage. The statistics will focus on two kinds of words: First, the particular aspects of China-U.S. relations the newspapers covered, such as economic ties, diplomacy, security or human rights; and secondly, the research paper will try and identify specific key words and the extent to which they are repeated, especially “adjectives” and “adverbs” which may signify a particular political agenda in the coverage. On the basis of the content analysis, the research paper establishes a timeline to plot changes in the number of reports before, during, and after the Summit. This will determine when media interest in the Summit was at its highest, and why, and when it declined and how quickly. The curve’s “peak amplitude,” or “height,” and trend line are an indication of the newspapers’ expectations before and level of satisfaction with the results of the summit.

## **Hypothesis based on theories**

### **Realism**

According to Realism theory, world politics is driven by competitive self-interest. It stresses material factors as determinants of national power and the decisive factor for competition outcomes and the nation’s ability to act independently. Power derives from material factors such as size, population, military material and manpower and wealth.

Based on this theory, I expect the newspaper reports to allude to the determinants of state power. Hypothesis are generated, as follow:

The first hypothesis is economic factors like trade and investment will be given high priority in both Chinese and U.S. newspaper reports for the summit. Both sides will be interested in and so will report the relative national standings. The key items chosen to test the hypothesis are economy, trade and investment.

The rise of China represents a challenge and creates the potential for conflict between China and U.S. The second hypothesis is the frequency and style of

references to tension in general or to particular issues of conflict, such as the status of Taiwan, will indicate the relevance of this theory. The key items chosen to test the hypothesis are challenge, conflict, tension, Taiwan and cyber-security.

Military power is an important part of a country's power. The third hypothesis is that military standing, including technology and spending, will be found in each country's newspapers. The key items chosen to test the hypothesis are military, military technology and military spending.

Population is a source of power in which China predominates. The fourth hypothesis is that population will be a subject of reports. The key item chosen to test the hypothesis is population.

## **Liberalism**

Liberalism in international relations, or "liberal internationalism" supports the ideas of human rights, democracy, freedom of speech and freedom of media. Liberalism is seen as an inevitable consequence of national development and the concomitant interaction among states. It proceeds through the emergence and development of universal norms, rules and international institutions, which limit national autonomy.

This gives rise to the following hypotheses:

First, the U.S. media will report on issues of human rights, democratic reforms and state control of speech and the media. The Chinese media will be relatively silent on these issues, or question whether such ideas are "western" and not suitable for China. The key items chosen to test the hypothesis are human rights, democracy, democratic reform, state control, speech, and media.

As an authoritarian state, China will emphasize sovereignty and resist liberalism, especially encroachments by international organizations. Thus, the second hypothesis based on Liberalism is there will be few reports on issues like human rights, democracy and freedom of speech and relatively frequent support for handling relations bilaterally without interference by multilateral institutions and agreements, which China might otherwise be a member of or signatory to. The key items chosen to test the hypothesis are human rights, democracy, and freedom of speech. I will also focus on Chinese newspapers' attitude to multilateral institutions and agreements.



The third hypothesis is discussion of the role of international institutions like the UN, APEC and so on will be raised and supported by U.S. reports more than by the Chinese media. The key items chosen to test the hypothesis are the UN and APEC. I will also compare the attitude of newspaper reports from U.S. and China.

## **Marxism**

Marxism is based on a “materialist” understanding of societal development. It argues that forces of production determine social relations and are reflected in the role of the state. With the improvement of production forces, human society progresses through stages and, from this perspective, China’s socialism is a step beyond the US’s capitalist system. In its international, theoretical form, Marxism is known as World System Theory (Wallerstein, 2004) and focuses on alliances within classes, so that the US reflects the interests of the capitalist class. By contrast, China stands for socialism and sees itself as a counterweight in the international sphere to the potential exploitation of third world nations, so-called peripheral nations, by the core capitalist economies.

This theoretical perspective gives rise to the following hypothesis:

The first hypothesis is there will be a class focus in the newspapers’ reports. As China is socialist country, the U.S. is capitalist country, there will be ideological conflict reflected in newspaper reports in both nations. Possibly, there will be criticism in Chinese newspaper about the conflict between the working class and bourgeois. The key items chosen to test the hypothesis are working class, bourgeois, socialism and capitalism.

The second hypothesis is that Chinese newspapers are expected to assume that there will be exploitation by the U.S. of third world countries. The key items chosen to test the hypothesis are exploitation and third world countries.

The third hypothesis is as a reflection of ideological conflict; that there will be some anti-socialism sentiment in U.S. newspapers’ reports. The key term chosen to test the hypothesis is socialism.

Based on these hypotheses, the following statistics for key items in *The New York Times*, *Washington Post*, *Beijing Daily* and *Southern Metropolis Daily* were generated by the content analysis.

# Hypothesis Test

Theory	Hypothesis	Key Items	Count				Total
			New York	Washington	Beijing	Southern	
Realism	Economy Focus	Economy (经济)	19	23	114	45	201
		Trade (贸易)	45	34	8	22	109
		Investment (投资)	26	19	8	6	59
	Potential Conflict	Challenge (挑战)	20	14	22	12	68
		Conflict (冲突)	22	15	13	11	61
		Tension (紧张)	23	7	0	3	33
		Concern (担心)	37	18	0	0	55
		Taiwan (台湾)	8	3	4	1	16
		Cyber- (网络)	111	107	26	34	278
		Cyber-security (网络安全)	15	0	16	19	50
		Snowden (斯诺登)	169	41	3	0	213
	Military Power	Military (军)	67	46	19	16	148
		Military Technology (军事科技)	0	0	0	0	0
		Military Spending (军费)	0	0	0	0	0
	Liberalism	Democracy Perspective	Human Rights (人权)	39	12	6	0
Democracy (民主)			6	6	2	2	16
Democratic Reform (民主改革)			1	1	0	0	2
State Control (国家控制)			0	0	0	0	0
Speech (言论)			18	9	0	0	27
Media (媒体)			36	12	4	14	66
International Institutions		United Nation (联合国)	1	3	7	0	11
		APEC (亚太经合组织)	0	0	2	0	2
		WTO (世界贸易组织)	0	2	0	0	2
Marxism		Class Focus	Working Class (工人阶级)	0	0	0	0
	Bourgeois		0	0	0	0	0

	( 资产阶级 )					
	Socialism ( 社会主义 )	0	0	0	1	1

For the first hypothesis based on the perspective of realism, “economy” was mentioned 201 times, “trade” 109 times and “investment” 59 times. The hypothesis that economic relations and issues will be given a high priority in both Chinese and U.S. newspaper reports is verified. The second hypothesis is that the terms “tension” and “conflict” will be repeated often. Altogether, “challenge” was referred to 68 times, “conflict” 61 times, “tension” 33 times, while “concern” was mentioned 55 times. Two specific issues, Taiwan was mentioned only 16 times, compared with 278 mentions of “cyber-” and 50 mentions of “cyber-security”. “Snowden” was mentioned 213 times. Using a horizontal comparison of *The New York Times*, *Washington Post* to *Beijing Daily*, *Southern Metropolis Daily*, there were generally more items related to bilateral tensions and potential conflict in the U.S. newspapers than in Chinese newspapers. The hypothesis that the themes of tension and conflict will figure prominently in the newspaper reports of the summit is verified.

The U.S. newspapers expressed clear concern about the potential for future conflict caused by a rising China. For its part, the new Chinese government is devoting considerable resources to the challenge, as a “rising power” in the Pacific, of how best to deal with U.S. primacy. The Chinese government fears that President Obama’s “re-pivot” to the Pacific, unveiled by President Obama while in Australia in December 2011, is intended to check China’s rise by reasserting the goal of U.S. leadership. Such fears were reflected in the Chinese media coverage of the Summit.

In response, the Chinese leadership is working on the concept of establishing a “new type of great power relations (*Xin Xing Da Guo Guan Xi*)” to allay the concerns of the U.S., and as a concept that effectively counters the “offensive realist perspective” among influential International Relations scholars in the U.S. that conflict is almost inevitable when the security interests of an existing great power are challenged by the determination of a “rising” great power to secure its expanding interests. In a sense, the emerging concept of a “new type of great power relations” is an extension of the concept of China’s “peaceful rise,” or “peaceful development (Zheng, 2005),” first proposed by Zheng Bijian at the Boao Forum for Asia in 2003 and adopted as a signature foreign policy principle by Hu Jintao. The *Beijing Daily*

referred to “new type of great power relations” 98 times during its coverage of the Summit. *The Southern Metropolis Daily*, referred to it 32 times. Commentaries in both newspapers strongly supported the idea that to get agreement on a “new type of great power relations” between a rising China and the U.S. would improve cooperation and reduce conflict, creating a good external political environment, especially in the Pacific, for the development of China, but without threatening the U.S.

The third hypothesis derived from the realist perspective in International Relations, is that comparative military standing, including technology and spending, will be covered in each country’s newspapers. According to the statistics derived from this research paper’s analysis of the data, there were, all together, 148 mentions of “military” in U.S. and China’s newspaper reports. However, “military technology” or “military spending” was not mentioned. Thus, while comparative military standing received substantial attention from newspaper reports, it was a little surprising that more specific aspects were not covered, especially the issue of China’s defence spending, which has been a cause of concern for the U.S.

In relation to the first hypothesis derived from the Liberal perspective in International Relations, “human rights” were referred to 57 times, while “democracy” was mentioned 16 times. Topics related to a Liberal agenda in international relations were a relatively high priority, verifying the hypothesis. Not surprisingly, there were many more references to “human rights” and “democracy” in the U.S. newspaper reports compared with the Chinese newspapers. In addition, the coverage contrasted considerably. The U.S. media tended to advocate “human rights” and “democracy” as desirable for China, while the Chinese media tended to defend China’s record, or argue that western ideas are not appropriate.

The second hypothesis derived from the Liberal perspective is that references to international institutions will be frequent, given their growing significance. However, among the reports, there were only 11 mentions of the “United Nation,” two mentions of “APEC,” while the “WTO” was mentioned only twice. International institutions did not gain any real interest in the newspaper coverage in either the U.S. or Chinese media. The second hypothesis was not verified. The reason for this is difficult to determine. It may be that the topic of international institutions was raised more extensively during the Summit, but did not interest the media because of the nature of the subject matter, or it may be that multilateralism and institution building

are out of favour in the U.S. and China and not high on either country's diplomatic agendas.

The first hypothesis related to a Marxist reading of International Relations is that there ought to be some form of class perspective in how the newspapers covered the Summit. From the statistics identifying "key items", "capitalism" was mentioned 4 times and "socialism" once. All mentions were in the Chinese media. Terms such as "working class" and "bourgeois" were not found in either the U.S. or Chinese newspapers. So the first hypothesis is not verified. The second hypothesis is that U.S. exploitation of the third world would be a focus. There was only one mention of "exploitation" in the four newspapers selected. The key item "third world" was not found. So, the statistics for the key items related to the Marxist perspective failed to verify the hypothesis. It also failed to verify the third hypothesis that "anti-socialism" would figure in U.S. newspapers, with no mention of "socialism" positive or otherwise. Neither was there critical commentary on "U.S. capitalism" in the Chinese media.

### **How do each country's newspaper describe China-U.S. relations?**

According to the study, Chinese newspaper tended to paint a big picture of China-U.S. relations. This is in line with the perspective on relations that Xi Jinping brought to the Summit. When describing China-U.S. relations, there were altogether 185 mentions of "important (*Zhong Yao*)" in the reports by *Beijing Daily* and *Southern Metropolis Daily*. The phrase "new type of great power relations" appeared in *Beijing Daily* 98 times and in *Southern Metropolis Daily* 32 times. With regards to the impact of China-U.S. relations, there are 212 references to "world (*Shi Jie*)" and 19 mentions of "human being (*Ren Lei*)" in *Beijing Daily* and *Southern Metropolis Daily*. Among those terms to appear most frequently in the news reports, several received little attention from Chinese newspapers. "Cyber-security (*Wang Luo An Quan*)" was mentioned 35 times in Chinese newspapers, largely in relation to threats to China's cyber-security, while "intellectual property (*Zhi Shi Chan Quan*)" was mentioned only 13 times in *Beijing Daily* and *Southern Metropolis Daily*. There were only three news reports mentioning "Snowden (*Si Nuo Deng*)" in Chinese newspapers.

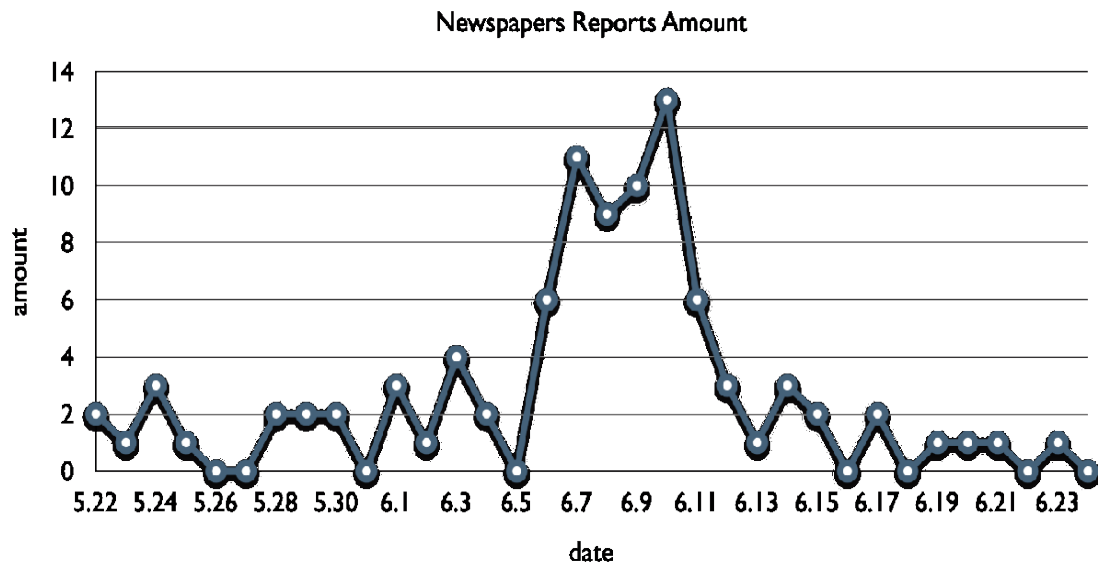
For the U.S. newspapers, the coverage of the Summit was characterised by greater uncertainty than the Chinese media about the health and direction of China-U.S.

relations. There was far less propensity to praise the “greatness” of China-U.S. relations. “Snowden” appeared 169 times in *The New York Times* and 41 times in *The Washington Post*. They express concern for the future of the China-U.S. power balance, or specifically what China’s rise means for U.S. power. The term “concern” appeared 37 times in *The New York Times* and 18 times in *The Washington Post*. In their coverage “Snowden” appears more than either Xi Jinping or Barak Obama, with 210 mentions.

### **What were the expectations for the summit? Did the outcome meet the expectations?**

A timeline of the frequency of newspaper coverage of the Summit helps to test this hypothesis. The horizontal axis is from the end of May to the end of June. The vertical axis identifies the frequency of news reports from 0 to 14. From the timeline, we can see that from 22 May to 4 June, reports about the Xi-Obama Summit grew slightly. There is a sharp increase in the number of reports on the eve of the Summit during 5-7 June. It retained at a high level of coverage until 10 June, two days after the Summit concluded. Coverage then dropped quickly and significantly from 12 -13 June. This applies to both the U.S. and Chinese coverage.

Possible explanations for the sudden drop in news coverage, which suggests a “loss of interest”, is that the media had high expectations for the meeting, including not only the issues covered at the Summit, but also possible outcomes that might be announced. According to the four newspapers selected, the only agreement of note was about cooperation on global climate change. For sensitive topics for the U.S., such as cyber-security, trade and currency valuations, tensions in the South and East China Seas and human rights, there was little to point to. This may be one reason why media reports, at least in the U.S., dropped sharply immediately after the summit, with few subsequent reports.



### **Conclusion:**

Based on the statistics of the key items, the theoretical foundation of U.S. newspaper reports is the combination of Realism and Liberalism. While Chinese newspaper reports reflect more about Realism than Liberalism and Marxism. For the specific topics, U.S. newspapers tend to focus on economy issue and other sensitive issues like cyber security, military, and human rights. In the reports, they tend to directly face specific issues that may cause conflict and tension between China and the U.S. However, Chinese newspapers like to paint a big picture of the bilateral relations and use concept, such as “new type of great power relations”, to allay the potential conflict between China and the U.S. According to the timeline of the newspaper reports amount, Xi-Obama Summit didn’t meet the expectation of media and lose the interest of media very soon after the Summit. Possible reason may be that sensitive topics of currency valuations, tensions in the South and East China Seas and human rights were not given enough attention by government agenda setting, which is reflected by President speech.

The study also highlights two paths to future broader studies. The first one is the comparative study between the newspaper reports for each China-U.S. Summit in the history. By doing so, we may see the detailed evolution of newspaper report to China-U.S. Summit. The other one is the comparison between government agenda setting, which may be reflected by the speech of President, and media agenda setting for the Presidential Summit. Does government agenda have relation with media agenda? If so, will government agenda influence media agenda? If right, how can government

agenda influence media agenda? These questions require future research to answer.

### **Appendix: China-U.S. Summits since President Richard Nixon's visit to China in 1972.**

#### **Visits from Chinese Leaders to U.S. (News.sina.com.cn, 2014)**

No.	Date	Chinese Leader	U.S. President
1	1979.1.28-2.4	Deng Xiaoping(Vice Premier)	James E. Carter
2	1985.7.22-7.31	Li Xiannian	Ronald W. Reagan
3	1993.11.19	Jiang Zemin	Bill Clinton
4	1997.10.26-11.3	Jiang Zemin	Bill Clinton
5	2002.10.22-10.25	Jiang Zemin	George W. Bush
6	2005.9	Hu Jintao	George W. Bush
7	2013.6.7-6.8	Xi Jinping	Barack H. Obama

#### **Visits from U.S. Presidents to China (News.sina.com.cn, 2014)**

No.	Date	U.S. President	Chinese Leader
1	1972.2.21-2.28	Richard M. Nixon	Mao Zedong
2	1975.12.1-12.5	Gerald R. Ford	Mao Zedong, Deng Xiaoping
3	1984.4.26-5.1	Ronald W. Reagan	Deng Xiaoping, Li Xiannian
4	1989.2.25- 2.26	George H. W. Bush (Senior)	Deng Xiaoping
5	1998.6.25-7.3	Bill Clinton	Jiang Zemin
6	2002.2.21- 2.22	George W. Bush	Jiang Zemin
7	2005.11.19-11.21	George W. Bush	Hu Jintao
8	2009. 11	Barack H. Obama	Hu Jintao

### **Reference:**

Ait.org.tw. 2014. *American Institute in Taiwan - Taiwan Relations Act*. [online]  
Available at: <http://www.ait.org.tw/en/taiwan-relations-act.html> [Accessed: 1 Apr



2014].

Anderson, B. R. O. 1991. *Imagined communities*. London: Verso.

Baker, C. E. 2002. *Media, markets, and democracy*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

BBC News. 2014. *Xi Jinping and Obama open summit*. [online] Available at: <http://www.bbc.com/news/world-asia-china-22798572> [Accessed: 1 Apr 2014].

Intl.ce.cn, (2014). *Shang Wu Bu: 2013 Nian Zhong Mei Shuang Bian Mao Yi E 5210 Yi Mei Yuan*. [online] Available at: [http://intl.ce.cn/specials/zxxx/201401/16/t20140116\\_2138950.shtml](http://intl.ce.cn/specials/zxxx/201401/16/t20140116_2138950.shtml) [Accessed 4 May. 2014].

Liss, A. and er, (2003). Images of China in the American Print Media: A survey from 2000 to 2002. *Journal of Contemporary China*, 12(35), pp.299--318.

Manheim, J. and Albritton, R. (1984). Changing national images: International public relations and media agenda setting. *The American Political Science Review*, pp.641--657.

McChesney, R. (1997). *Corporate media and the threat to democracy*. 1st ed. New York: Seven Stories Press.

News.bbc.co.uk. 2014. *BBC NEWS | Americas | Clinton seeks stronger Asia ties*. [online] Available at: <http://news.bbc.co.uk/2/hi/americas/7891511.stm> [Accessed: 1 Apr 2014].

News.sina.com.cn, (2014). *Zhong Mei Yuan Shou Hu Fang*. [online] Available at: <http://news.sina.com.cn/z/zmyshf/> [Accessed 4 May. 2014].

Nytimes.com. 2014. *Log In - The New York Times*. [online] Available at: [http://www.nytimes.com/2006/04/20/world/asia/20cnd-hu.html?\\_r=0](http://www.nytimes.com/2006/04/20/world/asia/20cnd-hu.html?_r=0) [Accessed: 1 Apr 2014].

Ping, H., Wenzhao, T., Rongjun, W., Zheng, Y. and Xingshu, Z. (2009). China-US Relations, Tending Towards Maturity. *The International Spectator*, 44(2), pp.9--16.

Saich, A. 2012. China, the USA, and Asia's Future. *John F. Kennedy School of Government, Harvard University*..

Stockmann, D. (2013). *Media commercialization and authoritarian rule in China*. 1st ed. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Studyinthestates.dhs.gov, (2014). *Study in the States - Number of Chinese Students Studying in the United States Increases*. [online] Available at: <http://studyinthestates.dhs.gov/2014/01/number-of-chinese-students-studying-in-the-united-states-increases> [Accessed 4 May. 2014].

Taiwandocuments.org. 2014. *Shanghai Communiqu (First Joint Communiqu of the United States of America andthe People's Republic of China)*. [online] Available at: <http://www.taiwandocuments.org/communique01.htm> [Accessed: 1 Apr 2014].

Wallerstein, I. M. 2004. *World-systems analysis*. Durham: Duke University Press.

Wanta, W., Golan, G. and Lee, C. (2004). Agenda setting and international news: Media influence on public perceptions of foreign nations. *Journalism \& Mass Communication Quarterly*, 81(2), pp.364--377.

Zheng, B. (2005). China's " peaceful rise" to great-power status. *Foreign Affairs*, pp.18--24.