

**CHINA MORE READY TO
'SAY NO' AGAIN**

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Executive Summary

1. As China's comprehensive strength increases, the international community will find an increasingly assertive China more willing to say no to other countries.
2. In parallel to the increasing assertiveness, China is facing a resurgence in nationalism.
3. Nationalism takes many forms throughout China's contemporary nation-building history. The manifestation and characteristics of nationalism vary due to various domestic and international influences at a given time.
4. Since its reform and opening up thirty years ago, China has undergone three waves of nationalism. They share the common aim of developing China and gaining international prestige, but differ in their means and targets.
5. The first wave of nationalism was a rally in response to history while the second wave was a statement of political injustice and the third is an expression of China's economic rise.
6. The first wave of nationalism was active in the 1980s, characterised by a "learning from the west" culture and was exceptionally pro-America. In this wave of nationalism, the Chinese government and public was in consensus that China must learn from the West if it was to become strong.
7. The second wave of nationalism occurred in the 1990s. The rise of this wave of nationalism was largely the combined consequence of the shift of US' China policy, changing international environment, development of China's economy and rise of neo-leftist intellectuals in China.

8. In the second wave of nationalism, both the Chinese government and nationalists shared a common ground against the US' hardline stand towards China, but had different views on domestic issues.
9. The third wave of nationalism (Neo-Nationalism) presented itself at the beginning of the current century. It represents the marginalised voices of the "Fen Qing" (愤青), literally, angry youths.
10. The continual refusal of the western media to accept China has frustrated the Chinese youths. The West, especially its media, is in effect the agitator of China youths' "anti-West" sentiment, as shown in the Olympic torch relay in 2008 and the Xinjiang riots in 2009.
11. The growing popularity of the internet gave neo-nationalism an extra shot of vitality by providing them with an efficient and inexpensive platform to coordinate their activities with their overseas counterpart so as to launch cross-boundary events.
12. Though neo-nationalism has anti-America elements, the main protest is against mainstream liberal intellectuals and the Chinese government's foreign policies.
13. While neo-nationalism is a display of China's social diversity and represents one of China's many voices, its ferocity and loudness has made it a cause for concern. However, China's neo-nationalism's political influence is limited as the Chinese government is convinced that continuing its current reform is the only means to defuse the multiple social dilemmas.