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Intertextuality and national identity: discourse of national conflicts in daily newspapers in the United States and China

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ABSTRACT As one of the most important sites in which and through which national agenda is articulated and disseminated, national newspapers play particularly important roles in creating national identities. Drawing on Norman Fairclough's (1992, 1995a, 2003) approach of intertextual analysis of news discourse within the paradigm of Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA), this study examines the effects of intertextuality on the discursive construction of national identities in the press. It does so by comparing how two daily newspapers in the United States and China employ specific discursive strategies to construct national identities and positions in their discourse of two particular events that represent moments of crisis and conflict in US–China relations. Focusing on *discourse*, *style*, and *genre*, which are respectively associated with representational, identificational, and actional meanings of discourse (Fairclough, 2003), this study aims to show how news texts draw on, echo, and bring together different intertextual resources realized in the forms of discourses, styles, and genres, and how the circulations and combinations of these intertextual relations in particular contexts construct specific understandings of national identities and positions.

KEY WORDS: *Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA), discourse, genre, intertextuality, national identity, newspaper discourse, style*

Introduction

In the past two decades, the concept of the nation as an imagined community and a mental construct has become increasingly influential among social theorists and analysts (Anderson, 1991; Hall, 1996; Wodak et al., 1999). Stuart Hall, for example, notes that '[a] national culture is a discourse – a way of constructing meanings which influences and organises both our actions and our conception

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of ourselves' (1996: 613). This social constructivist vision of the nation as an imagined community denaturalizes the traditional understanding of national societies as being fixed and stable in history and society, treating nations as 'systems of cultural representations' (Hall, 1996: 612). In a similar vein, Michael Billig (1995) explains nationalism as a form of ideology that makes nations appear natural. For nationalism to be able to occur, Billig argues, certain ideological habits of thought must be reproduced daily, and this is what he calls 'banal nationalism' (Billig, 1995). In a more recent study on nationality in the context of globalization, Wiley (2004) emphasizes the need to study meanings about the nation within particular social spaces and to see the nation as a particular kind of logic according to which social spaces can be organized (2004: 91). This view of the nation as an organizational logic focuses on the nation as a regulative system that brings together and reorganizes social, cultural, and political practices into meanings that people can identify with.

This study examines how meanings of national identities and ideologies are constructed in newspaper discourse. As an important social and linguistic site, newspapers have played a particularly important role in imagining the nation and creating nationalism (Anderson, 1991; Billig, 1995). In *Imagined Communities*, Anderson notes that like a 'nationalist novel,' newspapers make it possible for people to engage in national discourse and to think of themselves as a national community. This feeling of a national community is produced through the mass communication of ideas in newspapers, as well as the shared experience as readers, and the knowledge that people in the nation are performing the daily ritual of reading the same newspaper (Anderson, 1991). Along similar lines of exploring the role newspapers play in producing nationalistic thinking, Billig's (1995) account of the role newspapers play in building national discourse gives more attention to the agentive role the newspaper plays and is interested in how a national frame of reference could be 'flagged,' explicitly or implicitly, through the content of newspaper text. Billig argues that newspapers reproduce nationalist thinking through their various messages, stereotypes, and deictics. Focusing on British newspapers, he looks at how newspapers participate in the project of nation-building by nationalizing *the* news and positioning their readership in national terms. In doing so, newspapers 'remind' the readers of their own homeland and invite them to think about and reflect on the meaning of the nation (Billig, 1995).

With this understanding of the critical role newspapers play in building national identities, the present study aims to investigate the discursive strategies used in two major newspapers in the US and China to construct nationalist ideologies during moments of national and political conflicts between the two countries. In the past decade, the US and China have often been brought into a power equation in the media (Chang et al., 1998). An analysis of newspaper discourse in two countries with distinct socio-political systems puts national identities in a central place, making the nation both the context and an analytical unit for the study of national identities. Therefore, an analysis of the process of ideological constructions in the two countries' daily newspapers has both

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theoretical and practical significance in discourse studies and international political communication.

In this study, I focus specifically on *The New York Times*' and *China Daily*'s reports of two particular events that mark moments of crisis in the US–China relations in the past decade: the NATO bombing of the Chinese embassy in Yugoslavia in May 1999 during the Kosovo war, and the air collision between a US military airplane and a Chinese fighter jet in April 2001. The two newspapers are chosen because of their importance in their respective countries. As the largest metropolitan newspaper in the US, the importance of *The New York Times* hardly needs any discussion here. *China Daily* is chosen for the basic reason that it has been the most influential English language national newspaper in China since its first publication in 1981. Its language use provides a direct comparison with that in its American counterpart. However, the choice of *China Daily* for an examination of national identities and ideologies in this study is also based on other important considerations. *China Daily* is often considered as the English version of *People's Daily*, the latter being the most important newspaper in China and dubbed the 'official mouthpiece' of the Chinese Communist Party. *China Daily*'s reports of major political events often demonstrate a high degree of ideological congruency with *People's Daily* (Scollon, 2000; see the next section for more discussion of the press system in China). Furthermore, because it is an English language newspaper, *China Daily* plays an important role in creating China's national images and articulating the Chinese government's politics and foreign policy concerns and priorities to the international community. Therefore, *China Daily* provides a special site for the production of Chinese nationalist ideologies (Stone, 1994). Using analytical methods offered by Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA), I wish to demonstrate how the discourse of each newspaper creates meanings about China's national identities and ideologies that serve to justify national positions and interests of *us* and to criticize *them* during national conflicts. In order to explore the processes of ideological constructions in *The New York Times* and *China Daily*, it is necessary to consider the historical and socio-political contexts for US–China relations as they are represented in the media of the two countries as well as the two particular events under analysis in this study. It is to this discussion of socio-political backgrounds that the next section turns its attention.

Socio-political backgrounds

US–CHINA RELATIONS IN THE MEDIA

Founded on completely different political systems and cultural traditions, the US and China represent two different ideological systems in the post-Cold War era. It would go beyond the scope of this study to detail the political and cultural differences between the two countries. Instead, I wish to focus in this section on the two countries' views of each other as represented through their respective media systems over the last few decades.

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As Akhavan-Majid and Ramaprasad (1998) note, China has been a major focus of US foreign policy and has received substantial coverage by US newspapers since the US and China established diplomatic relations in 1972. Research on the US newspaper coverage of China has shown a clear dominance of 'anti-communist' ideology within the United States (Herman and Chomsky, 2002). Kobland et al. (1992), for example, point out in their study that a predominant theme in the US coverage of China has been the 'deceitfulness of communists,' and that coverage of communist states has almost invariably 'focused on the problems and failures of Marxist governments' (1992: 66). Similarly, Kim (2000) finds obvious differences in *The New York Times*' and *Washington Post*'s coverage of two similar East Asian political movements in the 1980s: the Kwangju student demonstrations in 1980 in South Korea, and the Tian'anmen Square demonstrations in 1989 in China. According to Kim, the two American newspapers' reports of the Tian'anmen demonstrations clearly focused on the evils and guilt of the Chinese communist government that cruelly repressed the legitimate demands of the demonstrators. In contrast, the reports of the Kwangju demonstrations depict a picture of rebellious insurrections (Kim, 2000: 26–7). These differences, Kim suggests, are consistent with the US government's positions and foreign policy decisions on the two incidents. This anti-communist ideology continues to dominate the US coverage of China after the Tian'anmen incident which, according to Wang, emphasized a communist regime that is 'corrupt, incompetent, and unyielding' (1991: 59).

On the Chinese side, since the Chinese Communist Party (CCP) took over China in 1949, the country's political system has operated under the influence of communist ideology and remained intact over the last five decades. This communist influence is seen in the country's news media system which has been expected to advocate the thinking and policies of the CCP and the Chinese government among the Chinese people (Zhao, 1998). Since the 1990s, the function of the Chinese media has gradually changed from a direct ideological transmission from the Party to the public, to a vehicle for constructing social reality within the Chinese context (Chang et al., 1993: 176). Chang et al.'s (1994) study of news contents of two primary media sources in China, China's Central Television National Network and the newspaper *People's Daily*, also suggests that the primary function of news in the Chinese media in the 1990s was to construct social knowledge and reality for the general public (Chang et al., 1994). While the process of ideological control and transmission in the Chinese media may have become less direct since the 1990s, the Chinese mass media continue to play the role of spreading the CCP policy and reinforcing the social, political, and economic goals of the government.

The Chinese media's response to the 'anti-communist ideology' in the US media coverage of China during the 1990s is generally characterized by strong nationalist concerns (Zhang, 1998). Some Chinese media scholars claimed that the US media had a tendency to demonize China by consistently focusing on human rights problems and reminding the American public of the negative images of the Tian'anmen incident (Liu and Li, 1996; Song et al., 1996). Such coverage, these scholars asserted, portrayed China as a tightly-run, brutal

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dictatorship with prison-like conditions, and demonstrated the inhumanity and ruthlessness of the Chinese communist leadership. In the mid-1990s, with the publication of best-sellers such as *Behind the Demonization of China* and *China Can Say No* by well-known scholars in China, there was growing nationalism in the Chinese media and concern over the American media portrayal of China.

This nationalist reaction to the American media coverage of China in the 1990s and the contrasting ideologies between the two countries provide an important background for the study of the construction of nationalist ideologies in the two countries' daily newspapers. Taking place against this general backdrop of the US–China relations, the two events under analysis in this study offer unique opportunities to investigate meanings about national identities and nationalism in news discourse. In the next section, I offer a brief overview of the political situations of the two events as they pertain to the study of nationalist discourse.

THE EVENTS

On 7 May 1999, the Chinese Embassy in Yugoslavia was bombed by NATO weapons, resulting in the deaths of three Chinese journalists. This event shook the whole of China, causing the greatest demonstrations and protests throughout China since the Tian'anmen incident. The Chinese government reacted to the bombing when the then Chinese Vice-President Hu Jintao made a televised speech on 9 May 1999, calling the attack on the Chinese Embassy a 'criminal act in violation of international laws and norms of international relations.' Hu expressed the Chinese government's supports of all legal protest activities and said that the Chinese government reserved the right to take further action. On several different occasions, the then President Jiang Zemin said that the bombing of the Chinese Embassy by NATO was an infringement of Chinese sovereignty and an affront to its dignity, and that NATO must bear all responsibility for events arising from the bombing. News items related to the bombing hit the front pages in all major newspapers in China and occupied a significant part of space in Chinese newspapers in the two weeks that followed the bombing.

This tragedy took place during the Kosovo war starting in March 1999 when NATO began air strikes on Serbian military targets after failing to persuade the Serb nationalist leader, Slobodan Milosevic, to stop attacks on Kosovo. On the issue of the Kosovo crisis, China had long held the position that the 'Kosovo issue should be solved in a just and reasonable way through negotiations and under the prerequisite of respect for Yugoslavia's sovereignty and territorial integrity while ensuring the rights and interests of all the ethnic groups in Kosovo' ('China Reiterates Stance,' 1999). The then Chinese Prime Minister, Zhu Rongji, said in the 3 April 1999 edition of Toronto's *Globe and Mail* that 'all the internal matters should be left for the country itself to resolve' ('The Kosovo Crisis,' 1999). China therefore had had a critical attitude towards the NATO air campaign and openly declared its position against the NATO attacks on Serbia since March 1999. This critical attitude reached its peak with the NATO attack of the Chinese Embassy on 7 May 1999. In response to the attack, the Chinese

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government demanded that NATO openly and officially apologize for its act and suspended high-level military contacts with the United States.

The second event of the collision between a US military aircraft and a Chinese fighter jet took place two years after the NATO bombing of the Chinese Embassy in Yugoslavia. It is another event that exacerbated the political and military tensions between the US and China. On 1 April 2001, a US surveillance plane and a Chinese fighter jet collided in the South China Sea when the US plane was engaged in electronic spying southeast of China's Hainan Island. The US plane was monitoring Chinese military communications, while two jets were monitoring it. The collision resulted in the crash of one of the Chinese jets and the death of its pilot. The American crew made an emergency landing on Hainan Island, where the crew members and the plane were then detained. In trying to determine what caused the collision and who was at fault, both sides painted completely different pictures of the story, blaming the other side for the accident. For a few days after the collision, the two sides were in a confrontational standoff, with the Chinese government demanding a formal apology from the United States, and the Bush administration demanding that the plane and its crew be returned to the US. This incident represents a major international confrontation between the two countries. Like the NATO bombing of the Chinese Embassy in Yugoslavia, this event and the official declarations from each side exhibited two strikingly different national interests, and provoked nationalist thinking and sentiments both in the US and China. Within the context of this discussion on moments of crisis in US–China relations, and drawing on CDA as an analytical framework, this article focuses on examining how specific understandings of national identities and ideologies, largely those of China, are constructed through various intertextual relations in *The New York Times*' and *China Daily*'s discourse of the two events. The next section turns to a discussion of the theoretical framework that has informed the intertextual analysis of news discourse in this study.

Theoretical framework

Research on media discourse within the paradigm of CDA in the past 20 years has largely established the media as a social and discursive institution which regulates and organizes social life as well as the production of social knowledge, values, and beliefs through linguistic means (Van Dijk, 1993; Fairclough, 1995b; Fowler, 1996). Variations of language use in the media often constitute particular representations of the world, social identities, and relations, projecting certain versions of reality depending on the media's institutional purposes, positions, and interests. In his approach to media discourse, Fairclough suggests that linguistic variations in the representational process at various levels of text production implicate and are implicated by the circulation of different discourses: 'a discourse as a type of language associated with a particular representation, from a specific point of view, of a social practice' (1995a: 41). This vision of media language and texts as discursively constrained, situated, and motivated suggests the importance of social and discursive practices in

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the study of media texts, and the need for an account of the organization of meanings through interactions between different discourses in media texts. In other words, studying how media texts draw upon, reorganize, and transform different discourses will provide insights into the processes of ideological and 'reality' construction in the media.

This focus on interactive and discursively conceived notions of media texts can be traced back to Bakhtin's (1981) notion of *heteroglossia* – dialogized interrelation of languages and discourses that involves multiple voices speaking through text. According to Bakhtin, there is no creation of language in the discourse that is not influenced by certain social groups, classes, discourses, conditions or relationships. As he puts it:

> There is interwoven with . . . generic stratification of language a professional stratification of language, in the broad sense of the term "professional": the language of the lawyer, the doctor, the businessman, the politician, the public education teacher and so forth, and these sometimes coincide with, and sometimes depart from, the stratification into genres. (Bakhtin, 1981: 289)

He further writes:

> At any given moment of its historical existence, language is heteroglot from top to bottom: it represents the co-existence of socio-ideological contradictions between the present and the past, between differing epochs of the past, between different socio-ideological groups in the present, between tendencies, schools, circles and so forth, all given a bodily form. These 'languages' of heteroglossia intersect each other in a variety of ways, forming new socially typifying 'languages.' (p. 291)

Central to Bakhtin's vision of language and text are the notions of stratification and intentionality. For Bakhtin, stratification is a process in which language departs from a unitary and fixed state in order to redefine and reorganize a new stratum of its own. The process of stratification of language is a result of the interactions between different features of language in different contexts. Bakhtin's main concern here is with the 'intentional dimensions' of language's stratification which denotate and express the specific points of view, purposes, approaches, and ways of thinking that influence the particular ways in which languages are stratified. It is in the process of stratification and recontextualization that the original languages, power relations, and belief systems are redefined and new forms of discourses are formed. For Bakhtin, the ways that languages are reorganized or stratified involve specific ideological and sociopolitical positions that have implications for the identities of their advocates. Heteroglossia, therefore, is the competition of different voices, identities and positions to maintain, adopt, or abandon power and control.

Bakhtin's theory of language and discourse as being engaged in ongoing interactions with other languages and discourses in order to create new forms of language and discourse is important for a critical examination of the production of media texts, as it enables us to view media texts, not as singular, unified, and guaranteed productions, but as arising out of historically and socioculturally specific contexts with certain intentions. In the vein of Bakhtinian tradition, media discourse is treated in this study not only in terms of its content, but also

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as an *intention* that reorganizes and regulates other discursive practices in a new order. Media representations, understood in this way, are reconceptualizations of observable linguistic markers according to specific intentions of those involved in the process of media production.

This focus on the interactions between languages and discourses in various contexts calls for a CDA methodology that pays attention to the textual and intertextual features of texts. Informed by Bakhtin's dialogic vision of text, Fairclough (1992) maps out a version of CDA that attends to heterogeneous elements in text construction. Seeing the text as constituting social relations and practices, Fairclough explains intertextuality as 'the property texts have of being full of snatches of other texts, which may be explicitly demarcated or merged in, and which the text may assimilate, contradict, ironically echo, and so forth' (1992: 84). Fairclough also makes distinctions between 'manifest intertextuality' and 'constitutive intertextuality.' While the former refers to how quoted utterances are selected, changed, and contextualized, the latter is concerned with how texts are made up of heterogeneous elements: generic conventions, discourse types, register, and style (1992: 85). For Fairclough, such intertextual analysis can account for the ways in which texts are produced in relation to specific social and discursive practices in certain contexts, taking into consideration the dynamic processes of recontextualization and reconceptualization of different discourses.

Fairclough (2003) further suggests that the abstract social and discursive practices can be conceptualized in concrete forms of text by using the concepts of *genre*, *discourse*, and *style* – three different yet interrelated ways in which discourse figures in social practice. Fairclough sees genres as 'the specifically discoursal aspects of ways of acting and interacting in the course of social events' which have relative stability and fixity (2003: 65). Interview, for example, is a genre recurrent in social occasions of interviewing people. An analysis of a text in terms of genre, thus, can reveal how those recurrent text-types within it mark and contribute to particular social occasions. Discourses, according to Fairclough, are 'ways of representing aspects of the world,' and 'different discourses are different perspectives on the world . . . associated with the different relations people have to the world . . .' (2003: 124). Analyzing discourses can provide insights into the relationships between various social positions and identities represented in the text. Finally, Fairclough defines styles as 'the discoursal aspect of ways of being, identities' linked to the process of identification – 'how people identify themselves and are identified by others' (an example being a politician's way of using linguistic resources for self-identifying) (2003: 159). This view of style as identity construction shares a sociolinguistic approach to style that considers style as an individual writer/speaker's use of language as a resource to evoke particular personae. Focusing on the agency of social actor, for example, Coupland (2001) argues that 'style . . . can . . . be construed as a special case of the presentation of self, within particular relational contexts – articulating relational goals and identity goals' (p. 197). Similar to Fairclough, Coupland emphasizes the identificational processes in which style is involved, and views style as communicative achievements rather than just situational variations.

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This means that the writer/speaker is not just a responder to context, but a performer of context, defining situations, identities, relationships, and goals. Studying style from the perspective of persona management and identification, thus, is critical for an examination of the world views, values, ideologies, and positions people are committed to.

Fairclough (2003) also suggests that each of the three aspects or focuses of discourse and intertextuality shapes and is shaped by various aspects of text organization and a range of linguistic features of text. While a particular linguistic relation or category such as modality may be relevant to all of the three types of meaning (actional, representational, and identificational), there are specific features or aspects of text that are primarily associated with either genres, or discourses, or styles. For example, genres may be mainly shaped by features such as the overall generic structure of a text, semantic and formal relations between clauses and sentences, speech function, mood etc; discourses can be defined by issues such as the representations of social events, processes, social actors, and so forth; and styles can be constructed through issues of modality and evaluation (statements showing authors' commitments to values).

The three analytical focuses Fairclough offers in his approach to intertextuality allow us to see text as a material form through which we can start examining various social relationships embedded in it. They also treat text as multidimensional, constituted by a variety of intertextual resources that are available in the process of text production. Drawing on the three analytical focuses in Fairclough's framework of intertextual analysis, I intend to unravel the various intertextual relations and references in *The New York Times*' and *China Daily*'s reports of the NATO bombing of the Chinese Embassy and the air collision through an analysis of the discourses, styles, and genres circulating in each newspaper's discourse of the two events. Again, the distinctions between the three aspects of intertextuality are more theoretical than operational – discourses, styles, and genres may be simultaneously at work in a text. Nevertheless, through an analysis of the three aspects of discourse, I hope to uncover the different ways in which intertextuality figures in the news texts under analysis in this study in order to understand the distributions of specific forms of intertextual resources in the news media, as well as the historical and sociocultural relationships (re)conceptualized in the two newspapers' representations of the two events. It is to the analysis of these intertextual relationships in the news texts that the next section turns its attention.

The analysis

For the purpose of the analysis in this study, I look at the front-page news articles on the two events that appeared in *The New York Times* and *China Daily*. The choice of front-page articles for an examination of ideological constructions is motivated by the general importance of front-page articles in indicating a newspaper's interests, concerns, and positions. Inclusions of topics and detailed information about backgrounds, contexts, people, consequences, evaluations, and so on in

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TABLE 1. *Number of front-page news articles on the two events*

	*Bombing of the Chinese embassy**	*Air collision***
The New York Times	9	28
China Daily	31	23

* This collection covers the period from 8 to 30 May 1999.
** This collection covers the period from 2 to 25 April 2001.

front-page articles have implications in a newspaper's ideological orientations (Van Dijk, 1988, 1989). Furthermore, the various structural parts and types of information included in front-page news articles provide an appropriate site for investigating the intertextual relations within a news text. For these reasons, I collected all the front-page news items related to the two events that appeared in the two newspapers throughout May 1999 and April 2001. This generated a total of 91 articles on the two events from the two newspapers, as summarized in Table 1. In the following analysis, I focus on a few sample articles from this database.

DISCOURSES AND REPRESENTATIONAL MEANINGS

As discussed previously, an analysis of discourses in Fairclough's framework is an attempt to understand ways of representing different aspects of the world in discourse, including representations of social events, processes, social actors, and so on. In the analysis in this section, I focus specifically on the representations of social actors in the two newspapers' discourses of the NATO bombing of the Chinese embassy through an analysis of quotation patterns in the two newspapers' front-page reports of the event. As a salient aspect of the representation of meaning in news discourse, social actors or news participants can be represented in different ways, with implications on the power relations constructed between different actors or groups (Van Dijk, 1989; Van Leeuwen, 1996). Adapting from the categories Van Leeuwen (1996) identifies for the representation of social actors in English discourse, Fairclough (2003) discusses several choices that the English language offers in referring to people, among which are: *inclusion/exclusion* of social actors; *grammatical role* (whether a social actor is realized in a subject position, as a prepositional object, or as a possessive noun or pronoun); *activated/passivated* (whether a social actor is represented as an agent or a patient); *personal/impersonal* (whether a social actor is represented personally or impersonally); *named/classified* (whether a social actor is referred to by name or as a category); and *specific/generic* (whether a social actor is represented specifically or generically) (pp. 145–6).

Drawing on these categories, I will discuss in this section the ways in which different social actors are referred to in the two newspapers by looking specifically at the quotation patterns in their respective reports of the NATO bombing of the Chinese embassy. In news discourse, quotations and reports of news actors' speech, both direct and indirect, are an important aspect of referring

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to news actors and constitute what Fairclough calls 'manifest intertextuality' of text. Quotations of news actors are neither transparent nor simple citations. Rather, they involve (re)interpretations of events and power relations between news participants (Teo, 2000). In the process of their selections, quotations, and changes of the speech of various news actors, news texts redefine the power structure and create meanings about the world that news actors inhabit (Van Dijk, 1989). Therefore, the study of the representation of social actors through quotation patterns – the systematic empowering of certain actors and groups and silencing of others – sheds light on a newspaper's perspectives on the relations social actors have with the world and with other actors, and the ways in which news events and actors are interpreted and represented by the newspaper.

Table 2 summarizes the quotations of news actors in the front-page news articles in each newspaper's reports of the NATO bombing of the Chinese embassy in the week that followed the bombing. As we can see from Table 2, news actors quoted in *The New York Times*' and *China Daily*'s reports of the bombing can be generally classified into four groups: NATO/US officials, Chinese leaders/officials, Chinese protesters, and international officials. A comparison of the patterns of actors quoted in the two newspapers demonstrates a clear difference. In *The New York Times*' reports of the bombing, NATO and the United States officials are quoted, either directly or indirectly, much more frequently than Chinese officials. The extensive reference to remarks, statements, and comments made by NATO and US officials, and the silencing of Chinese officials are evident in the front-page article of 9 May 1999 titled 'NATO Says It Thought Embassy Was Arms Agency,' in which almost all quotes are attributed to NATO-related officials without any reference to Chinese leaders. NATO officials and its spokesman are repeatedly quoted in this article to explain NATO's actions in Kosovo and the bombing of the Chinese embassy. NATO spokesman, Jamie Shea, for example, is quoted directly and his speech occupies one whole paragraph at the end of the article: 'NATO did not intentionally target the Chinese Embassy in Belgrade last night, . . . The wrong building was attacked. This was a terrible accident.' The inclusion of Shea's speech in direct reporting and devoting one separate paragraph to his explanation and justification of the bombing enhance the prominence and salience of Shea's position and role in the event. In this article, the only non-NATO actors whose activities or speech are included for report are 'people in Belgrade:' 'People in Belgrade said that it was difficult to confuse the Chinese Embassy with the intended target.' The representation of these people here, who represent the only counter position to NATO's explanation of the bombing as an accident in this article, is generic and anonymous, excluding their individual identities from the report. Furthermore, the speech of these people is summarized rather than directly quoted, and is placed among and buried by the predominance of the speech of NATO officials, making the presence of these people and their position almost irrelevant or unimportant.

The abundant inclusion of NATO/US officials' words and activities in *The New York Times*' representation of the bombing is in contrast with its systematic

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TABLE 2. *Quotation patterns of front-page news articles in* The New York Times' *and* China Daily's *reports of the bombing of the Chinese embassy*

Voices quoted	*News participants quoted in* The New York Times	*News participants quoted in* China Daily
Voices of NATO/ US Officials	• NATO (2, 8/5/99) * • NATO's statement (4, 8/5/99) • NATO officials (8/5/99) • a senior Pentagon official (8/5/99) • an [Clinton] administration official (2, 8/5/99) • officials (8/5/99) • Maj. Gen. David Grange (8/5/99) • NATO and Pentagon officials (8/5/99) • allied officials (3, 9/5/99) • NATO officials (9/5/99) • a NATO official (2, 9/5/99) • a military spokesman for NATO (9/5/99) • Javier Solana, NATO's Secretary General (9/5/99) • NATO spokesman, Jamie Shea (9/5/99) • an embassy spokesman (10/5/99) • American diplomats (10/5/99) • a White House spokesman (10/5/99) • American officials (6, 10/5/99)	

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Voices of Chinese Leaders/ Officials	• China (8/5/99) • the Chinese representative at the United Nations, Qin Huasun (2, 8/5/99)	• Vice-President Hu Jintao (9, 10/5/99) • a senior policeman (10/5/99) • Qiang Wei, director of Beijing's Bureau of Public Security (10/5/99) • Liu De, deputy director of the bureau • policy officials (10/5/99) • Chinese Vice-Foreign Minister Wang Yingfan (10/5/99) • Chinese Permanent Representative to the UN Qin Huasun (10/5/99) • Foreign Minister Tang Jiaxuan (3, 11/5/99) • Foreign Ministry spokesman Zhu Bangzhao (11/5/99; 9, 12/5/99) • Chinese ambassador to the United States Li Zhaoxing (4, 11/5/99) • the head of China's mission to the United Nations (11/5/99) • Ambassador (to the United Nations) Qiao Zonghuai (3, 11/5/99) • President Jiang Zeming (7, 11/5/99; 14, 12/5/99; 6, 13/5/99) • Li Ruihuan, Chairman of the National Committee of the Chinese People's Political Consultative Conference (2, 11/5/99) • Wang, a senior official of the Foreign Ministry (4, 11/5/99) • Premier Zhu Rongji (4, 12/5/99; 7, 13/5/99)

(*Continued*)

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TABLE 2. *(Continued)*

Voices quoted	*News participants quoted in* The New York Times	*News participants quoted in* China Daily
Voices of Chinese Protesters	• an embassy spokesman (3, 9/5/99) • Ma Zhanglu (a student) (9/5/99) • all protesters (2, 9/5/99) • students (9/5/99) • Wang Bin, an interpreter (9/5/99) • Guo Qionghu (a student) (9/5/99) • Yu He, a bank employee (9/5/99) • a Chinese internet chat room (9/5/99) • American Diplomats (10/5/99) • Bill Palmer, an embassy spokesman (2, 10/5/99) • a White House spokesman (10/5/99) • Zhang Xingxing (a student) (10/5/99) • Ding Min (a protester) (10/5/99) • an American student living in Beijing (10/5/99) • Ding Rong (a protester) (10/5/99) • a senior Chinese diplomat Liu Xiaoming (11/5/99) • a Tibetan Monk (11/5/99) • Ambassador James Sasser and other officials (11/5/99)	• Pu naiqi, who works for Beijing Housing Construction Group (10/5/99) • Chang Tao, a junior from Beijing Agricultural University (10/5/99) • The All-China Federation of Trade Unions (10/5/99) • Xinhua reports (10/5/99) • Military experts and veteran diplomats from the China Institute for International Strategic Studies (10/5/99) • Li Jijun, vice-president of Chinese Academy of Military Sciences (10/5/99) • Li Daoyu, former Chinese ambassador to the United States (10/5/99) • Gu Xiulian, vice-chairman of the All- China Women's Federation (10/5/99) • Gao Zongze, the newly elected president of the All-China Lawyers Association (10/5/99) • 50 prestigious scholars from the Chinese Academy of Social Sciences (10/5/99)

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- Ambassador Sasser (2, 11/5/99)
- a 22-year-old marketing major at Beijing University (12/5/99)
- students (6, 12/5/99)
- Yu Jie, a popular liberal essayist (12/5/99)
- Chen Wanyi (a protester) (12/5/99)
- Lin Yijin (a protester) (12/5/99)
- a 22-year-old international business major from Northeastern China (12/5/99)
- a group of students at the National Minorities University in Beijing (12/5/99)
- Jiao Li, a student at the Beijing Transport Technology College (12/5/99)
- Tao Wenzhao, a research fellow of American Studies (10/5/99)
- Gao Wen, director of Computer Institute under the Chinese Academy of Science (10/5/99)
- Shi Guangsheng, minister of foreign trade and economic co-operation (10/5/99)
- Master Jinghui, vice-president of the Buddhist Association (10/5/99)
- a spokesman from the Hong Kong Overseas Chinese General Association (10/5/99)
- Zhang Xuesong, chairman of the Students' Association of Remin Univeristy (10/5/99)
- Chief Executive of the Hong Kong Special Administration Region, Tung Chee-hwa (10/5/99)
- Ji Qingdi, a resident (10/5/99)
- Shi Yuhai, a salesman in Shanghai (10/5/99)
- Tom Bork, an American scholar teaching in Beijing (10/5/99)
- Su Ge, a professor of international relations (10/5/99)

(*Continued*)

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TABLE 2. *(Continued)*

Voices quoted	*News participants quoted in* The New York Times	*News participants quoted in* China Daily
Voice of International Reactions	• Yugoslav authorities (8/5/99) • The Yugoslav Government (8/5/99) • Yugoslav officials (8/5/99) • the spokesman of The United Nations Secretary General, Kofi Annan (8/5/99) • a Yugoslav Cabinet Minister, Goran Matic (8/5/99) • people in Belgrade (9/5/99)	• Russian Foreign Minister Igor Ivanor (10/5/99) • Iranian state-run television (10/5/99) • Yugoslav Government (10/5/99) • Yeltsin (2, 11/5/99) • Yugoslav President Slobodan Milosevic (2, 11/5/99) • Kazakh President Nursultan Nazarbayev (11/5/99) • Moscow Mayor Yuri Luzhkov (11/5/99) • The Indonesian Government (11/5/99) • Malaysian Deputy Speaker of the House of Representative (11/5/99) • Finnish Communist Party Chairman Yrjo Hakanen (11/5/99) • both the Cambodian and Greek governments (11/5/99) • Russian Presidential special envoy Viktor Chernomyrdin (2, 11/5/99) • NATO Secretary-General Javier Solana (11/5/99) • Italian Prime Minister Massimo D'Alema (2, 12/5/99)

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- Aidan White, general secretary of the International Federation of Journalists (12/5/99)
- British parliament members (12/5/99)
- the chairman of the Democratic Socialist Party of Germany (12/5/99)
- Peruvian President Alberto Fujimori (12/5/99)
- Sergey Lavrov, Russian permanent representative to the United Nations (12/5/99)
- German Chancellor Gerhard Schroeder (2, 5, 12/5/99)
- Russian State Duma Speaker Gennady Seleznyov (2, 13/5/99)
- Thai Prime Minister Chuan Leekpai (13/5/99)
- Zimbabwean President Robert Mugabe (13/5/99)
- Kenyan Foreign Minister Bonaya Godana (13/5/99)

* The numbers before the commas within the parentheses refer to the number of times a news actor is quoted by a newspaper on the given date. The absence of a number before a comma means the news actor is quoted once. The dates after the commas refer to the dates on which a news actor is quoted in a newspaper.

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exclusion of voices and positions of Chinese officials. As Table 2 shows, throughout the newspaper's front-page reports of the bombing of the Chinese embassy, Chinese officials are quoted only three times to report their reactions to the bombing, one being a generic and impersonal reference to 'China' and the other two from the same person – the Chinese representative at the United Nations. In the first case, representing the reactions of Chinese officials to the bombing with the generic and impersonal noun 'China' takes the focus away from Chinese leaders as people with thoughts and emotions on this event, and represents them instead structurally as an organizational unit, creating the representational effect of dehumanizing Chinese officials. The absence of Chinese officials, both in quantity and in diversity, silences Chinese leaders, leaving the presence and the role of Chinese leaders in the incident invisible. Unlike the extensive attention given to the statements and activities of NATO/US officials, activities and words of the Chinese Government and officials in response to the bombing are either excluded, deactivated, or reported from the perspective of US officials or the reporting voice. In the following example from *The New York Times*' first front-page article on the bombing, the two references to Chinese officials, 'the Chinese Embassy' and 'officials in Beijing,' are realized as objects in prepositional phrases as opposed to assuming the role of agents in the subject positions:

> The White House immediately reached out to the Chinese Embassy in Washington to inform it about the strike, an Administration official said. Later, the American Ambassador to China, James Sasser, spoke with officials in Beijing, the Washington official said.

In both references, the activities of the Chinese officials are also reported through quotes from US officials, with no quotes assigned to the Chinese actors. Such a representation of Chinese officials downplays their salience and agency in the incident, treating their activities and positions as inconsequential in understanding the bombing – the activities of Chinese officials in the incident are worth knowing only when they have something to do with the activities of American officials and when they are perceived as relevant by US officials. Given that the news is about the bombing of a Chinese embassy that involves the deaths of three Chinese citizens, the exclusion of officials from China is especially surprising. The inclusion of voices of NATO/US officials and silencing of voices from Chinese leaders, therefore, are especially powerful in showing that only insights and opinions of members of *us* are essential for understanding the bombing, whereas perspectives of *them* are irrelevant or unimportant. By centering NATO/US officials and marginalizing Chinese officials, *The New York Times* constructs the NATO bombing of the Chinese embassy as an 'internal' event that affects and is affected by only NATO's military actions, rather than an 'external' incident that has consequences on the country attacked.

Although Chinese leaders and officials are largely excluded in *The New York Times*' discourse of the bombing, the newspaper includes substantial references to Chinese protesters' speech and activities, giving the reader many opportunities to hear their voices and perspectives. As we can see from Table 2, *The New York Times*

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attributes many quotes, many of which are direct quotes, to various Chinese protesters. The extensive inclusions of the speech of Chinese protesters, however, are motivated by a different reason and achieve a different effect in comparison to inclusions of the speech of NATO officials. Not so much to give power or importance to the opinions or perspectives of the protesters, these quotes about reactions from Chinese protesters are included and even emphasized to dramatize the protest stories. In doing so, the newspaper not only appeals to the reader's interest and curiosity, but more importantly highlights the extreme irrationality and recklessness in the protesters' actions and words. The article titled 'China Students Are Caught Up By Nationalism' on 12 May 1999, for example, quotes a protesting student's words directly: 'Many of my classmates have been going through their things and planning to burn all American products, at least those they can do without.' Using a detached presentation of the student's speech as it is, this direct quote from the student *shows* (as opposed to *tells*) the reader the student's speech, emphasizing the comic elements in the student's comment and evoking a sense of irrationality and fanaticism in the speech. In fact, the many direct quotes attributed to Chinese protesters not only do not give more power or authority to the protesters, as they would do to direct quotes from NATO officials, but they further marginalize the protesters by drawing the reader's attention to a scene of exotic, fanatic, and somewhat comic demonstrations (as seen in the newspaper's report of protesters 'pelt[ing] [the US] embassy buildings with eggs, stones, paint balloons and chunks of concrete'), creating an opposition between the powerful (NATO and the US) who have control over the situation and the powerless (the protesters) who show their anger in helpless ways. It is also worth noting that most of *The New York Times*' references to Chinese protesters are specific and named – individual protesters are represented by names. Again, rather than enhancing the prominence of the identities of individual protesters, these personal representations of Chinese protesters associate the positions and views articulated in the words of Chinese protesters with individual emotional responses rather than rationalized or institutionalized thoughts or decisions.

The representation of social actors through quotation patterns in *The New York Times* therefore serves to empower and justify what *we* do and say and to ignore or exoticize what *they* do, constructing an ideological framework within which the reader is encouraged to interpret the significance and role of the news actors accordingly. A similar strategy of empowering *us* and disempowering *them* is also in operation in *China Daily*'s reports of the bombing. The first thing to notice in Table 2 about *China Daily*'s representation of social actors is that there is hardly any quote attributed to NATO/US officials throughout *China Daily*'s reports of the bombing. Instead, most of the quotes are given to various Chinese leaders and protesters as well as figures from the international community. Table 2 also shows that social actors who are quoted in *China Daily* range from student demonstrators to random residents of Beijing, from police officers to military experts and diplomats, from Chinese government leaders to officials of various Chinese organizations, and from leaders of religious organizations to international leaders. By including positions of various social

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actors and groups, *China Daily* constructs the bombing as an incident that has affected every individual and organization in China, and evoked wide political and emotional responses from the Chinese people and the larger international community alike. Invariably, all the quotes from the Chinese protesters and officials of various organizations express their condemnation of the NATO bombing and support of the Chinese Government's position. While highlighting the importance of the perspectives and responses of the Chinese Government and people, the inclusions of quotes from a wide array of social actors both in and outside China project a world in which the whole of China is unified in its response to the bombing, and the Chinese response is supported by the wider international world. In doing so, *China Daily* creates a divided ideological world between *us* (people in China and in the world who support peace and justice) and *them* (NATO perpetrators who are condemned). Different from *The New York Times*' construction of the bombing as an internal NATO military action, *China Daily*'s representation of social actors through quotes constructs the bombing as a crime that generated condemnations from around the world. This 'us and them' division is also made evident in the ways in which protesters refer to themselves and the positions they identify with in direct quotes. One protesting student, Cheng Tao, for example, is quoted as saying 'We want a satisfactory apology otherwise the anger will consume us.' The first person plural pronouns 'we' and 'us' in Cheng's speech construct an inclusive 'we-community' that includes all protesters, the Chinese Government, and the international community who supports 'us.'

The most prominent actor quoted in *China Daily*'s reports of the bombing is Chinese President Jiang Zemin, who is quoted repeatedly throughout the newspaper's reports. The article titled 'Jiang slamming act of aggression' on 12 May (see Appendix 1), for example, is devoted almost entirely to Jiang's comments on the bombing. Some of Jiang's speech in this article is rendered in free indirect speech. In some paragraphs, the clauses begin with the citations of Jiang's words without any explicit linguistic markers that identify the boundaries of the citations. For example, the absence of quotation marks or quotatives (such as 'Jiang said') in paragraph 7 blurs the speech presentation of the quotation, making it difficult for the reader to determine whether the statement 'The US-led NATO . . . has conducted barbaric bombing on Yugoslavia, a sovereign state' is a quote from Jiang or the reporter's own interpretation of the event. This representation of Jiang's perspective in free indirect style merges Jiang's position with the reporter's, and creates a high degree of identification of the reporter's perspective with Jiang's, allowing the newspaper to represent the event from Jiang's perspective. In most cases, however, the quotations of Jiang's speech are followed or preceded by the quotative 'Jiang said' or its variants. Highlighting Jiang's position, the use of such quotatives attributes an authoritative status to Jiang and his words, reinforcing their value in understanding and responding to the bombing.

In paragraph 12, Jiang is quoted directly, with his statements represented in direct speech within quotations marks: 'The great People's Republic of China will never be bullied, the great Chinese nation will never be humiliated,

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and the great Chinese people will never be conquered.' Jiang's statements here use three clauses that are parallel syntactically, semantically, and lexically, conveying a strong sense of emotion as the meanings expressed in each clause strengthen each other. As Roeh and Nir note in their discussion of the rhetorical effects of parallelism in speech representation in news discourse, 'Parallelisms, . . . where syntax, lexicon, meter, and vocal properties all interact and reinforce each other, produce a particularly powerful, rhetorically seductive expression' (1990: 235). Therefore, while reinforcing the discourse of condemnation that is consistently constructed in *China Daily*'s reports of the bombing, the inclusion of a direct speech from Jiang and the parallelism and politically loaded lexes ('bullied,' 'humiliated,' and 'conquered') in it also convey the newspaper's empowerment of Jiang, creating a perspective on the event that is fully articulated by Jiang.

The representations of social actors in the two newspapers thus create different understandings of the event that are related to the varying images constructed for China by the two newspapers. With its silencing of Chinese leaders and extensive references to the irrational words of Chinese protesters, *The New York Times* constructs an image of China overwhelmed with unhealthy nationalism marked by the extremism and fanaticism seen in the words and actions of the protesters. In contrast, through representations of words and positions of various Chinese leaders, individuals, social groups, and international officials who condemn the bombing, *China Daily* develops an image of China unified through a discourse of condemnation of NATO and support of the Chinese government's position. The representations of social actors in the two newspapers' quotation patterns provide important insights into the processes in which the two newspapers construct specific understandings of national images and positions, revealing the ideological position of each newspaper during moments of national conflicts. In the next section, I focus on styles in the two newspapers' discourses of conflicts between the US and China.

STYLE AND IDENTIFICATIONAL MEANING

The discussion in the previous section has established that the view of style taken up in this study sees it as a way of constructing social and personal identities in discourse. The analysis of styles in this section, then, looks at the process of identification with certain ideologies or identities within news texts. Taking the first front-page article on the air collision incident in each newspaper as examples and focusing on the issue of the authors' identity constructions, I hope to demonstrate how the two texts and their authors are engaged in a process of identifying themselves and being identified by others through manipulations of styles. In doing so, I focus on the broad textual feature of *evaluation* and discuss other textual features as they are relevant to the process of identification through evaluation. Defined by Fairclough (2003) as statements or ways in which authors commit themselves to certain values by explicitly or implicitly expressing what is right or wrong, good or bad (p. 164), evaluation, as Fairclough insists, is an important way for people to identify themselves and construct certain identities or personae for themselves.

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The first front-page article on the air collision that appeared in *The New York Times*, entitled 'US Plane in China after it Collides with Chinese Jet' (see Appendix 2) demonstrates an intertextual mixture of various identities constructed textually. The author opens the article with what can be called an abstract that summarizes the main action and consequence of the collision (see Van Dijk, 1988, and Bell, 1991 for a more detailed explication of the structure of news). In paragraph one, she gives background information pertaining to the conventional questions of 'what,' 'when,' 'where,' 'who,' and 'how'. Setting the scene for the reader, the author establishes in this opening paragraph a configuration of narrative structure of the article with several statements of fact which continue into the subsequent paragraphs (paragraphs 3–7). Using a series of past tense, the author offers additional details in these paragraphs about the collision and reactions from both the US side and the Chinese side. In these opening narrative paragraphs, the author establishes herself as a mere narrator of the collision story whose primary responsibility is to inform the audience of what happened.

A closer look at the text shows that although the author is reporting the details of the collision, she does so in a noticeably evaluative way. The author's identity as a detached narrator or reporter shifts as she inserts evaluative and interpretive statements of the collision into the statements of facts. For instance, she embeds into a fundamentally factual statement in the opening sentence that summarizes the incident evaluations that indicate, though implicitly, her commitment to a version of truth: 'A United States Navy spy plane on a routine surveillance mission near the Chinese coast collided on Sunday with a Chinese fighter jet that was closely tailing it.' Rather than merely reporting the activity of the Chinese jet in a matter-of-fact way, the relative clause 'that was closely tailing it' in this opening sentence serves more as a judgment of the activity of the Chinese jet with the implication that it was flying too close to the US plane and thus caused the collision. The adjective 'routine' that describes the US plane's surveillance mission also functions as an evaluative expression that presupposes the US plane's activity as being nothing more than a normal practice and thus free of responsibility for the collision. By embedding these evaluative comments into an overtly factual statement, the author identifies herself with one particular version of the story, taking on an identity not only as a reporter but also as a knower of the 'truth.' Similarly, in reporting the reactions and activities of the Bush administration in response to the collision in paragraph 5, the author offers an additional exposition with the insertion of the phrase 'finding themselves dealing for the first time with a sensitive military incident with the Chinese.' Using this phrase to comment on the significance of the incident for the Bush administration, the author shifts again from a reporter to a commentator by providing the audience with a framework in which to interpret the national significance of the collision in order to guide their reading of the incident. Furthermore, describing the collision as 'a sensitive military incident' not only commits the author to a specific way of understanding the nature of the incident, but also allows her to impose her understanding on the audience, contributing to her identity as a guide in interpreting the incident.

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The author's identity as an authoritative guide is reinforced by the use of direct speech in paragraph 6 where she directly quotes the speech of an administration official: 'The question now is do we have access to the crew, when do we get the crew back, and how do we get the aircraft back. . . . This is going to be a test of everyone's ability to stay cool and work things out.' The insertion of an expert's comment here again functions to guide the reader's interpretation of the event. Further, when the reader is exposed to the author's report of the details of the incident in the previous paragraphs, the use of direct speech here fuses the authorial voice with the reported voice, making the boundaries between the two unnoticeable to the reader. It is unclear, for example, whether the statement that 'This is going to be a test of everyone's ability to stay cool and work things out' is a prediction made by the quoted voice or if it also reflects the authorial perspective. This ambiguity allows the author to identify herself with the quoted voice and to report and comment authoritatively on how the incident is going to be resolved.

Opposite to the fusion of the reported voice and the authorial voice is the separation of the two in reporting the speech of the Chinese Foreign Ministry spokesman in paragraph 26. Here, Mr Zhu's speech is separated into sections, and some phrases such as 'direct cause' and 'a stern representation and protests to the US side' are placed in quotation marks:

> The 'direct cause' of the collision, he said, was that 'the US plane violated aviation rules and suddenly veered toward and approached the Chinese plane.' In the ensuing collision, the nose and wing of the United States plane had clipped the Chinese fighter, he said, adding that the Chinese had issued 'a stern representation and protests to the US side.'

Rather than emphasizing the values and significance of the quoted words, placing some of Mr Zhu's words within quotation marks here draws the reader's attention to these particular parts in Mr Zhu's speech to encourage the reader to interpret them critically. Bakhtin/Volosinov discusses the use of such 'scare quotes' within indirect discourse. While dissociating the author from what is reported and quoted, the use of quotation marks often shows the author's critical attitude and 'disapproval' of the reported speech (Volosinov, 1973: 131). Therefore, the use of scare quotes in this paragraph distinguishes the author from the quoted voice, implying the author's critical reception of Mr Zhu's words. Instead of directly offering authorial evaluation and interpretation of the reported speech, and by extension the cause of the collision, the author unobtrusively embeds the authorial position into the report, committing herself to a position different from that articulated by Mr Zhu.

Thus, while the author is reporting details of the incident, she constantly explains, evaluates, and interprets the incident for the reader. Her evaluations become more explicit in paragraphs 8, 9, 10, and 11 when she offers evaluations and explanations of the incident that provide the reader with additional information related to the significance of the incident in US–China relations. Far from being background information that is often included in news reports as backdrops for the current events, these statements about how the collision

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might affect President Bush's decision on selling arms to Taiwan and make China rethink its strategies in interacting with the Bush Administration, neither of which is directly related to the 'Background' for the collision, are included to make the reader aware of the specific political context in which the significance of the collision should be interpreted and understood. Here, the author shifts the tense from the past to the ongoing present to direct the reader's attention to the lasting impact of the incident on US–China relations. With these statements which are essentially evaluative in the discourse, the author is able to write authoritatively on what the incident means to US–China relations and assume the power to tell the audience what and how to think in regards to the collision.

The mixture of various authorial identities in this article becomes more complex as the author shifts to a more dialogical character engaged in conversations with her audience. Paragraph 11, for example, begins with the word 'now' preceding two descriptive phrases:

> Now, with a Chinese Air Force pilot missing and one of America's most sophisticated surveillance planes sitting lame on a tarmac – a tempting intelligence bonanza for the Chinese military – Mr Bush and his Chinese counterpart, President Jiang Zemin, are faced with a new diplomatic tangle before they have even met.

Rather than being a temporal deixis, the use of 'now' here is reminiscent of its role as a discourse marker used to initiate a new topic in casual conversations. Introducing a statement which semantically and structurally follows the two preceding descriptive phrases beginning with 'with,' the use of 'now' reminds the reader of information about the Chinese pilot and the American plane that has already been introduced in the text, and of the connection between such information and the following statement about the diplomatic challenge between Bush and Jiang. In other words, the conversational 'now' here is the author's attempt to point the reader to the previous discourse about the collision that is already part of the reader's knowledge, the present discourse about the diplomatic consequences, as well as the interdiscursive connections between the two discourses. Using a conversational marker to introduce a new discourse contributes to the author's identity as a dialogical character engaging with the audience rather than simply writing a monologic report. In making her evaluation and interpretation of the underlying connections between various discourses surrounding the collision explicit, the author also encourages the readers to identify with her commitment to the evaluation and interpretation.

The process of identification between the author and the reader is also seen in the author's attempt to address the reader's possible questions. In paragraph 16, the author incorporates in the opening descriptive statement on the vagueness of details of the incident the two questions of 'what happened today' and 'why it happened.' Not simply questions of the author's own, the two questions are also likely to echo the reader's, whose interest in more details of the collision is recognized here. Raising the two questions, then, creates a rhetorical situation in which both the author and the reader are engaged in a dialogue of trying to understand the cause of the incident. This dialogic character

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continues as the author draws on the reader's possible knowledge or memory of other existing discourses that the author sees as relevant to the current one in evaluating the incident. After raising the two questions, the author defines the collision as 'a dangerous aerial cat-and-mouse game that had echoes of periodic incidents with the Soviet Union during the Cold War.' Drawing on the reader's knowledge of the discourse of US–Soviet Union relations during the Cold War, the semantic content expressed in the relative clause provides the readers with a framework within which they can reflect on the two questions about 'what' and 'why' raised earlier, and by extension, the larger question of what the collision means to the two countries. Thus, the author is able to not only offer her own interpretation of the collision as an event comparable to the US–Soviet Union conflict during the Cold War, but also engage the reader in a reflection on the connections between various discourses related to the collision.

Compared to *The New York Times* article, the first front-page news item on the air collision in *China Daily*, entitled 'US Military Plane Bumps Chinese Jet' (see Appendix 3), is not only much shorter in length, but also structurally and stylistically less diversified. Despite its brevity and simplicity, however, the *China Daily* article also demonstrates a hybridization of shifting authorial identities as the author shifts between reporting the incident and making evaluative statements on it. Like *The New York Times* article, the author of the *China Daily* article begins with an 'abstract' that summarizes the event for the reader in the first two paragraphs, followed by a report of a series of events and consequences detailing the activities of the planes and the reactions from the Chinese to the collision and the missing pilot. The author ends with a 'Verbal Reaction' from the Chinese Foreign Ministry spokesman on China's arrangements for the crew members on board the US plane and China's stance on the collision (which is defined by *China Daily* as 'the US plane's intrusion into China's airspace'). In these narrative statements, the author primarily assumes the identity of a reporter.

As the article continues, the author includes increasingly explicit evaluative statements on the details of the collision, turning the article from reporting the collision to a series of statements on the faults of the US plane and the legitimacy of the activities of the Chinese jet. The author's shifting identities are seen in the stylistic differences between the first part of the article (paragraphs 1–4) and the second part (paragraphs 5–9). As has been discussed, the author focuses on providing information regarding 'what,' 'when,' and 'where' in the first part. In the second part, however, the author offers more details on how the US plane 'veered into' the Chinese jet by quoting extensively the Chinese Foreign Ministry spokesman who repeatedly emphasizes the faults of the US plane. As we have seen in the discussion of representations of social actors through quotation patterns, these quotations from an authority in the form of free indirect speech suggest a high degree of identification between the reported voice and the authorial voice. By quoting the Chinese authority extensively, the author commits himself to the evaluations made by the authority that justify the activities of the Chinese jet and blame the US plane. In doing so, the author projects himself as a supporter of the Chinese authority while reporting the event.

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As we have seen, while the author of *The New York Times* article is engaged in a more complex process of identification than the author of the *China Daily* article, both authors assume various identities in their respective articles: a reporter reporting the incident, a knower of 'truth,' an authority guiding the reader's interpretation of it, a conversation interlocutor sharing common interests and concerns with the audience, or a strong supporter of a perspective on the collision. Shifting between these different identities, the authors identify themselves with specific perspectives on the incident while also drawing the reader into the process of identification. As Fairclough (2003) emphasizes, the process of identity construction and identification always involves representational effects in discourse – ways of understanding and representing a news event are embedded in the identificational process. In the two authors' identificational processes, they project different representations of the images and roles of the US and China during the collision conflict they respectively identify with. While both authors represent the event as a major political and military conflict between the two countries, *The New York Times* author represents China as a major rival of, and threat to, the US's politics and military (as seen in the reference to the US–Soviet Union relations during the Cold War), who can cause conflicts such as the collision between the two countries. The *China Daily* article, in contrast, represents the US as the violator of international regulations and China as the follower of those regulations, and thus a victim of the US's violation of them.

GENRE AND ACTIONAL MEANING

In the rest of my analysis in this study, I focus my examination of the intertextual character of news texts on the circulations and transformations of different genres in a particular text. As discussed earlier, the view of genre developed in Fairclough's framework of intertextual analysis and adopted here sees genre as being linked to social practices and contributing to forms of social action and interaction in social events. My analysis of genre, then, considers how individual genres and the mixtures between them in a news text work to define specific social occasions and shape the transformations of discourse. I do so by focusing specifically on *China Daily*'s report of one particular event in the bombing incident that best exemplifies the ways in which social events are defined by the interactions between the genres circulating in *China Daily*'s discourse: the report of the funeral held in China for the three Chinese journalists killed in the bombing.

China Daily devotes two straight news articles, both appearing on 13 May 1999 and respectively entitled 'Nation Mourns Three Martyrs' and 'Martyrs' ashes, injured heroes return' (see Appendix 4), to the report of the funeral of the three Chinese journalists. Like other news articles, the front-page article 'Nation Mourns Three Martyrs' exhibits discourse features typical of the genre of a news report. It opens with a conventional 'Lead' that summarizes the time, location, and participants of the funeral, followed by a 'Verbal Reaction' that provides more details on the actions and words of major participants (Van Dijk, 1988). The inclusion of these details establishes a genre of news report

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that focuses on providing information about the funeral. This reportage genre, however, is mixed with some features that are reminiscent of a genre of eulogy for public figures. While providing information on 'what,' 'when,' 'where,' and 'who,' for example, the first paragraph contains fairly specific references to participants of the event, listing all the major Chinese leaders present at the funeral. Lengthy and specific references to top Chinese leaders are characteristic of the Chinese news media's reports of funerals for famous public figures, and thus they remind the reader of the occasion of a national funeral, which is echoed by the title 'Nation Mourns Three Martyrs.' The use of phrases such as 'condolences to the relatives of the dead' and 'sympathy to the martyr's relatives' further evokes a genre of eulogy in the context of a news report.

The eulogy genre becomes more dominant in the second article 'Martyrs' ashes, injured heroes return,' marking the event of the victims' ashes being returned to China not so much as 'news' but as a ceremony in *China Daily*'s discourse. Almost devoid of the generic conventions of a news report (summary, main events, background, consequences, and so on), this article begins with a sentence that summarizes the central event of the returning of the victims' ashes to Beijing. Although this sentence may serve as the 'Lead' of the report, it carries an undertone of mourning with the reference to 'a balmy, but melancholy Beijing.' The personification of Beijing here in the midst of a sentence that reports a fact shows an unusual mixture of fact and fiction, which suggests a combination of a news report with a ceremonious genre in the context of a news article. The purposes of paragraphs 4 and 5, again, are two-sided. While they can serve as the 'Background' for the current event of the funeral with their references to the political and military situation (NATO's bombing) that resulted in the deaths of the victims, and hence the funeral, the background information is provided in a nearly parallel structure in separate paragraphs: 'Missiles launched by the US-led NATO took away the lives of the young journalists' and 'NATO's ugly act also killed a Chinese mother.' As discussed previously, parallelism, in both western rhetoric and Chinese rhetoric, is often used to express the intensity of emotion and generates rhetorically and emotionally powerful language (Roeh and Nir, 1990). While the propositional content expressed in the two sentences provides a background for the funeral, the repetitive effect created by parallelism in the sentences reinforces the discourse of condemning NATO's bombing that is constructed throughout *China Daily*'s report of the bombing. In addition, the two parallel paragraphs demonstrate a mixture of public discourse, represented by the victims' statuses as Chinese journalists as well as the condemnation of NATO, and private discourse, suggested by the emphasis on the victims as a newly married couple and a Chinese mother. This emphasis on the victims' identities in their private family lives enhances the article's role as a eulogy of the victims whose deaths have impacts on their families. The private aspect of the deaths is echoed by the frequent references to the victims' families and relatives. One victim's husband, for example, is described as 'still suffering from shock' and not being able to 'accept his wife's death.' Thus, while reporting the physical details of the event as part of the public discourse, the

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article also emphasizes the emotions experienced by the victims' families and other participants as a result of the deaths, contributing to a ceremonious genre in the discourse of a funeral.

As a key element of the genre of eulogy and the social practices associated with it, a discourse of mourning is prevalent in *China Daily*'s report of the funeral in which China is constructed as a nation mourning the three victims. Words that suggest a scene of mourning such as 'console,' 'a white flower' (a traditional Chinese sign of mourning), 'cries' and 'weeping' appear frequently in the article. Moreover, as implied in the front-page title 'Nation Mourns Three Martyrs,' the private emotions experienced by individual human beings in mourning are interwoven with a public discourse of nationalism. The personification of the nation as a mourner in the title not only evokes images of the nation as a family mourning its lost members, but also gives both the victims and the mourners a group identity united by the nation. The nationalization of the deaths as well as the mourning is further reinforced through phrases such as 'piercing the hearts of hundreds of school children and representatives from all segments of the society who solemnly stood nearby,' that emphasizes the impact of the deaths on the larger national community. The nationalization of the mourning reminds us of funeral occasions created specifically for public figures whose deaths are recognized as sacrifices for the nation. This manifestation of nationalism and sacrifice of the victims is confirmed by Vice-president Hu Jintao when he states that 'People of the motherland thank all of you . . .' Working as a cohesive device, Hu's words identify 'people' (relatives, colleagues, and compatriots of the victims) with the nation itself and construct a national community that encompasses the sacrifices of the victims and the mourning people.

What brings this discourse of mourning and discourse of nationalism together is a discourse of condemnation of NATO. As we recall from the analysis of discourses in a previous section, *China Daily*'s discourses of the bombing center around a condemnation of the NATO act by China as well as the international community. In *China Daily*'s discourse of condemnation, China is projected as a nation which uses peaceful and legitimate means to protest, and shares with the larger international community a discourse according to which peace and human life are important. By contrast, NATO and the United States are constructed as unilateral and excluded from this discourse of peace for their 'barbaric act,' 'atrocities,' and practices that are incongruent with this discourse. This condemnation becomes an overtone throughout *China Daily*'s reports of the bombing. All information about the Chinese and international reactions is presented in such a way that it reinforces the condemnation of the injustice and 'barbarity' of the bombing. In *China Daily*'s reports of the bombing, thus, the discourse of condemnation becomes a recontextualizing principle that reorganizes other discourses.

A similar process of using the discourse of condemnation as a (re)organizing principle to bring together other discourses is also in operation in *China Daily*'s discourse of the funeral. One discourse that emerges in conjunction with the condemnation of NATO is a heroization of the victims. In the article 'Nation Mourns Three Martyrs,' for example, President Jiang is quoted as praising the three

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journalists as 'heroes and the pride of the Chinese nation' who showed their 'dedication to the country,' and encouraging the victims' families to 'turn their grief into strength, inherit their unfulfilled will, and work harder.' The newspaper attributes a martyrdom to the victims by not only explicitly labeling them as 'martyrs' and 'heroes,' but also emphasizing their 'unfulfilled will' for people to follow, creating an image of China with its heroes and martyrs being engaged in an ongoing struggle against barbarity and aggression. The heroization of the victims in *China Daily*'s discourse in turn contributes to the discourse of nationalism by relating the sacrifice of heroes, suggested by 'grief,' to the motives for China to fight against aggression, symbolized by 'strength.' By attributing a heroic and martyrdom status to the victims, *China Daily*'s discourse of the funeral departs further from 'factual' news reports that are supposed to use a detached perspective in referring to news events or participants, and displays instead both personal and public emotions towards the victims and their sacrifices, reinforcing the ceremonious genre circulating in *China Daily*'s report of the funeral.

The discourse of nationalism is further enhanced through the inclusion of details emblematic of nation and nationalism. The Chinese national flag, for example, is mentioned three times in the report of the funeral: 'Their remains were borne by Zhu in two cinerary urns draped with the five-star national flag,' 'Shao's teenage son . . . slowly left the plane with a cinerary urn covered with a national flag,' and 'National flags and some flowers fluttered in a quiet breeze.' The detail that four guards of honor stood at attention, a ritual associated with national ceremonies, also contributes to the construction of a nationalistic discourse. The end of the article mentions the Museum of the Chinese Revolution as the place where the memorial items left behind by the three journalists will be stored. The reference to the Museum of the Chinese Revolution here performs the symbolic function of connecting the three journalists to Chinese revolutionary martyrs in history, establishing a historical continuity between the current event and China's struggles against aggressions in the past (an article on 14 May 1999 in *China Daily* refers to the three journalists as 'revolutionary martyrs' as quoted in President Jiang's speech, comparing the victims to martyrs in Chinese revolutionary history). This discourse of patriotism and nationalism, therefore, creates an image of the nation as being historically engaged in fights for peace and justice that the nation has always deemed important. In this sense, the eulogy genre is evoked in the newspaper's report of the funeral in order to transform the funeral into the nation's emotional responses to the 'atrocious act' of bombing as well as into an appraisal of the victims as martyrs and heroes.

What the above analysis has demonstrated is that *China Daily*'s report of the funeral is a complex event in which various forms of social action emerge. While it provides the public with details related to the funeral as we would expect in a news report, it is also engaged in a process of mourning the victims, heroizing them, nationalizing their deaths, and condemning the bombing by drawing on the eulogy genre. These various discourses, genres, and actions brought together in *China Daily*'s report of the funeral allow the newspaper to embed in its report of the funeral images of the nation and to articulate a particular national agenda for the reader.

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Conclusion

This study has explored the discursive constructions of national identities and positions during moments of national conflicts by examining intertextuality in terms of discourses, styles, and genres in two American and Chinese daily newspapers' reports of two events that mark moments of crisis in US–China relations. The three analytical focuses adopted in this study attend to different aspects of discourse and treat news text with regard to its representational, identificational, and actional meanings realized in various textual features. Such an approach to news discourse emphasizes the multidimensionality and multifunctionality of news text, and sees text as being inherently linked to the social and physical world in which it is produced, to the events happening in the world, and to people involved in the events (Halliday, 1994; Fairclough, 2003). Analyzing the distinctions and connections between representation, identification, and action in news texts not only enriches our understanding of news text, but also reinforces the social dimension of the details of a text, placing meanings of the text into specific socio-cultural contexts.

This attention to the multidimensionality of text and the dynamic process for its production is especially important for a critical examination of the construction of meanings about national identities and positions within the news media because it treats the notions of national identity and national position not as unitary or static, but as emerging in specific historical and socio-political events in certain conditions. The analysis of the intertextual properties in the two newspapers' discourses of national conflicts between the US and China shows us that meanings about national identities, images, and positions, especially those about China, are related to the particular events and the interactions between discourses, styles, or genres circulating in the news texts. We have seen that in the bombing event, *The New York Times* constructs an image of China caught up in wild nationalism with its irrational, fanatical, and essentially ineffectual protests to the bombing, whereas *China Daily* develops a discourse that projects China as a nation that promotes peace and justice through a condemnation of NATO's aggression and a heroization of its citizens engaged in fights against the aggression. In the collision event, *The New York Times* constructs China as the US's military and diplomatic rival which is a potential threat to the US's politics and military, whereas *China Daily* represents China as a nation which respects international regulations in its political and military activities. Thus, China is constructed as a nation with different, even competing, identities in both newspapers' discourses of national conflicts between the two countries. On the one hand, China is imagined as a nation bound up with its history, traditions and values, which are characterized by extreme nationalism in *The New York Times*' discourse, and by heroic struggles against western aggressions through peaceful means in *China Daily*'s discourse. On the other hand, China is construed as a nation with cosmopolitan influence which plays an important role in international politics, with the emphasis on its status as a competitor of western politics and ideology in *The New York Times*' discourse and on its efforts to follow international systems in *China Daily*'s discourse. These alternative constructions

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of China's national images and nationalist discourse emerge in relation to specific historical and political moments, informed by larger nationalist discourse-relative social practices that can be shaped by the ways people interact with the world, with others, and with themselves in discourse.

It is hoped that the multidimensional analysis of discourses, styles, and genres in news discourse in this study has brought some insights into the complex process of discursive constructions within news media, especially when it concerns issues related to national identities and positions. The question of why news texts are produced in the ways they are is always a complex one. While this study has looked at discourses, styles, and genres in analyzing various meanings about news texts, there are certainly other variables that may also shape our understandings of news texts, such as the medium of communication (e.g. TV news) and cultural specific media practices. It is beyond the scope of this project to study these variables in detail, but it would be meaningful to conduct further studies in these areas in order to make CDA a more socially and culturally relevant paradigm of critical linguistic inquiry.

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APPENDICES

APPENDIX 1: 'JIANG SLAMMING ACT OF AGGRESSION' FROM *CHINA DAILY*

Jiang slamming act of aggression

By Shao Zongwei

1. President Jiang Zemin said yesterday that the US-led NATO's missile attack on the Chinese embassy in Belgrade is a severe act of aggression against China's sovereignty.
2. When meeting Russian presidential special envoy Viktor Chernomyrdin, Jiang demanded that NATO give a clear explanation to the Chinese people in accordance with the requests of the Chinese Government, according to a Foreign Ministry spokeswoman.
3. Jiang and Chernomyrdin agreed that NATO should stop bombing immediately, and that this is the precondition to any political solution to the Kosovo crisis.
4. Commissioned to brief Chinese leaders on the efforts Russia has made towards a political solution to the Kosovo issue, Chernomyrdin arrived in Beijing on Monday night.
5. Expressing 'deep sorrow' for the families of the Chinese victims, Chernomyrdin said NATO's attack on the Chinese Embassy was an act of aggression. It demonstrated again that the Kosovo crisis must be solved politically within the United Nations, he added.
6. Jiang said he appreciated Russian President Boris Yeltsin's clear stance of solving the crisis through political means, adding that both of them condemned the attack during their Monday telephone conversation.
7. The US-led NATO, ignoring the UN Charter and relevant international laws and conventions, has conducted barbaric bombing on Yugoslavia, a sovereign state.
8. The Chinese Government and its people have firmly opposed this bombing from the beginning, Jiang said.
9. The missile attack on the embassy is a serious violation of Chinese sovereignty and an open provocation of the 1.2 billion Chinese people, said Jiang.
10. Chinese people have expressed their indignation through demonstrations, rallies, statements and forums, showing their passion, will and great patriotic power, Jiang said.
11. The people are determined to study and work hard to boost the nation's economic and national strength, and fight against NATO's atrocity with concrete deeds.
12. 'The great People's Republic of China will never be bullied, the great Chinese nation will never by humiliated, and the great Chinese people will never be conquered,' Jiang was quoted as saying.
13. Describing NATO's military attacks as absolute hegemony and typical 'gunboat diplomacy,' Jiang said this brutality has destroyed peace in the Balkans and the world.
14. Issues such as European security and international order in the post-Cold War era, and the realization of long-term peace and universal prosperity in the next century must be discussed and decided by people of each nation, he said.
15. As permanent members of the UN Security Council and important countries in the world, China and Russia shoulder common responsibilities in upholding justice and safeguarding peace, Jiang said.
16. He stressed that military interference is completely wrong and extremely dangerous.

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17. An immediate halt to the NATO bombing is the only correct way to solve the Kosovo crisis, he said.
18. Yeltsin had agreed with him on this during their telephone conversation, he said.
19. He expressed the hope that the two countries would strengthen consultation and co-operation in international issues, including the Kosovo issue.
20. This is an important reflection of the Sino–Russian strategic cooperative partnership geared towards the 21st century, Jiang added.

APPENDIX 2: 'US PLANE IN CHINA AFTER IT COLLIDES WITH CHINESE JET' FROM *THE NEW YORK TIMES*

US plane in China after it collides with Chinese jet; navy crew is safe; Beijing reacts angrily after losing fighter in crash over sea

By Elisabeth Rosenthal with David E. Sanger

1. Beijing, Monday, April 2 – A United States Navy spy plane on a routine surveillance mission near the Chinese coast collided on Sunday with a Chinese fighter jet that was closely tailing it. The American plane made an emergency landing in China, and the United States said it was seeking the immediate return of the 24 crew members, all said to be in good condition, and of the sophisticated aircraft and all its intelligence equipment.
2. The midair crash occurred about 50 miles southeast of China's Hainan island, in what American officials described as international waters. The EP-3E Aries II aircraft, which had taken off from an American air base in Okinawa, Japan, issued a Mayday call but managed to make an emergency landing on the island. The Chinese plane crashed into the waters below.
3. China's foreign ministry spokesman, Zhu Bangzao, said a search was under way for the pilot, and Chinese state television broadcast an angry statement on Sunday night saying that 'the US side has total responsibility for this event.'
4. But Adm. Dennis Blair, Commander in Chief of the United States Pacific Command, said Chinese planes had become increasingly aggressive in tailing American military aircraft in recent months, even prompting the United States to register a protest. 'It's not a normal practice to play bumper cars in the air,' he said.
5. In Washington, President Bush's advisers, finding themselves dealing for the first time with a sensitive military incident with the Chinese, went to some lengths to avoid ascribing blame. And instead, they immediately focused their attention on an airport in the city of Lingshui, on Hainan, where the damaged plane was sitting on the tarmac. Whether the crew members were still on board was unclear.
6. 'The question now is do we have access to the crew, when do we get the crew back, and how do we get the aircraft back?' said one administration official. 'This is going to be a test of everyone's ability to stay cool and work things out.'
7. The White House, said diplomats from the American Embassy in Beijing, and other American officials based in China, were traveling to Hainan and would seek to escort the crew members out of the country and make sure the Chinese did not inspect or remove the equipment aboard the plane. It was not clear if the Americans erased any data they had collected or sought to disable any of their equipment.
8. The incident comes at a particularly sensitive moment of transition in Washington's relations with Beijing. Within weeks, President Bush is to make a decision on whether to sell sophisticated arms and radar equipment to Taiwan, and how the two countries

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handle this incident may color the internal debate within the Bush administration over what kind of technology to provide to the Taiwanese.

9. Chinese officials, meanwhile, are likely to use the incident to take their measure of the Bush administration. They are already highly sensitive to what they believe is a tougher posture toward China – one that views China as a military competitor first and a trade partner second.
10. Even before the Sunday incident, the first interactions between the new administration and Beijing's leaders have been difficult, marked by the recent defection to the United States of a high-level Chinese Army colonel, and China's detention of visiting American scholars.
11. Now, with a Chinese Air Force pilot missing and one of America's most sophisticated surveillance planes sitting lame on a tarmac – a tempting intelligence bonanza for the Chinese military – Mr Bush and his Chinese counterpart, President Jiang Zemin, are faced with a new diplomatic tangle before they have even met.
12. 'This has the potential to become a major international incident, especially if the Chinese try to examine what's on the pane or to make the crew get off,' said David Shambaugh, an expert on the Chinese military at George Washington University. 'This is a sophisticated surveillance aircraft, and the last thing the military wants is the Chinese crawling all over it. It's loaded with electronic surveillance gear that can hear and see into the mainland.'
13. Already, China's rough and tumble Internet chat rooms – always a sounding board for nationalistic sentiments – were filled mostly with angry invective, but also calls to stay calm.
14. 'Insist on pursuing the US pilot for criminal responsibility,' said one posting on the People's Daily Great Power Forum and 'Don't give the plane back – it costs over $100 million to get one of these.'
15. Two years ago, after NATO planes accidentally bombed the Chinese Embassy in Belgrade, killing three, many Chinese believed that the act was deliberate and complained that President Jiang had not stood up to American aggression. That incident provoked angry rock-throwing demonstrations outside the American Embassy here, and was resolved with millions of dollars in reparations.
16. The details of what happened today, and why it happened, are sketchy. While there is little doubt that neither side intended for the spy plane and the Chinese fighter to collide, the two countries have increasingly been involved in a dangerous aerial cat-and-mouse game that had echoes of periodic incidents with the Soviet Union during the Cold War.

[. . .]

26. The 'direct cause' of the collision, he said, was that 'the US plane violated aviation rules and suddenly veered toward and approached the Chinese plane.' In the ensuing collision, the nose and wing of the United States plane had clipped the Chinese fighter, he said, adding that the Chinese had issued 'a stern representation and protests to the US side.'

APPENDIX 3: 'US MILITARY PLANE BUMPS CHINESE JET' FROM *CHINA DAILY*

US military plane bumps Chinese jet

1. Xinhua: A US military surveillance plane bumped into and damaged a Chinese military jet over the South China Sea yesterday, according to the Foreign Ministry.
2. The US plane approached China's airspace southeast of China's Hainan Island, and two Chinese military jets scrambled to track it, Foreign Ministry spokesman Zhu Bangzao said.

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3. At 9:07 am, 104 kilometres southeast of Hainan Island, the US plane suddenly turned towards the Chinese jets, thus bumping into and damaging one of them, Zhu said.
4. The Chinese are very much concerned about the missing Chinese pilot from the crashed jet and are searching for him, Zhu said.
5. Without permission from the Chinese side, the US surveillance plane intruded into China's airspace and made an emergency landing at Lingshui Airport in Hainan at 9:33 am, the spokesman said.
6. It was normal for Chinese military jets to track the US surveillance plane over China's waters, Zhu said.
7. The direct cause of the damage and crash of the Chinese jet was that the US plane suddenly veered into the Chinese jet, which is against flight rules. Therefore, the US side should bear all the responsibility arising therefrom, Zhu said.
8. The Chinese side has made solemn representations and protested to the US side, he said.
9. China has made proper arrangements for all 24 crew members on board the US plane, Zhu said, adding that China reserves the right to further negotiate with the US side on the US plane's intrusion into China's airspace and landing at the Chinese airport without permission.

APPENDIX 4: 'NATION MOURNS THREE MARTYRS' AND 'MARTYRS' ASHES, INJURED HEROES RETURN' FROM *CHINA DAILY*

Nation mourns three martyrs

Top Chinese leaders Jiang Zemin, Li Peng, Zhu Rongji, Hu Jintao, Wei Jianxing and Li Lanqing went to the headquarters of Xinhua News Agency and Guangming Daily yesterday afternoon to mourn the three martyrs killed in NATO's missile attacks on the Chinese Embassy in Yugoslavia on Friday, and express their condolences to the relatives of the dead.

President Jiang praised 48-year-old Shao Yunhuan, 31-year-old Xu Xinghu and 28-year-old Zhu Ying as 'heroes and the pride of the Chinese nation.' He encouraged the three martyrs' relatives to turn their grief into strength, inherit their unfulfilled will, and work harder.

Li Ruihuan, a member of the Standing Committee of the Political Bureau of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of China (CPC), also sent a message of sympathy to the martyrs' relatives from South Korea, where he is on an official visit.

Escorted by their relatives, the ashes of the three martyrs returned home yesterday morning on board a special plane.

Shao's memorial hall has been established in a hall of the Xinhua News Mansion. The elegiac couplet praising Shao for her dedication to the country expressed the deep respect of all the Xinhua staff.

Jiang, also general secretary of the CPC Central Committee, arrived at the memorial hall at 3:00 pm, bowed three times in front of Shao's portrait and shook hands with her relatives.

Jiang told Shao's son, Cao Lei, that his mother was a heroine and the pride of the Chinese nation. He said he hoped Cao would follow his mother's unfulfilled wish.

Martyrs' ashes, injured heroes return

By Zhao Huanxin

The ashes of Xu Xinghu and Zhu Ying arrived in a balmy, but melancholy Beijing yesterday.

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Zhu Fulai, Zhu Ying's father, accompanied the couple's remains aboard a special plane dispatched to Yugoslavia.

Their remains were borne by Zhu in two cinerary urns draped with the five-star national flag.

Missiles launched by US-led NATO took away the lives of the young journalists – married only a few months ago – just a day before Mother's Day.

NATO's ugly act also killed a Chinese mother, 48-year-old Shao Yunhuan, a woman reporter with Xinhua News Agency.

Shao's teenage son, Cao Lei, slowly left the plane with a cinerary urn covered with a national flag, consoled and calmed by senior Chinese leaders, including Vice-President Hu Jintao, who was dressed in black and wore a white flower – a traditional Chinese sign of mourning.

Portraits of the deceased carried from the plane reminded people of their young and energetic personalities as well as their heroic efforts to reveal NATO's inexcusable atrocities in Yugoslavia.

Four guards of honor stood at attention as the remains were carried across the tarmac of the old terminal at the Beijing Capital International Airport. National flags and some flowers fluttered in a quiet breeze.

Cries were heard as people left the plane, piercing the hearts of hundreds of school children and representatives from all segments of the society who solemnly stood nearby, some of them weeping.

'It wasn't until the flight departed war-torn Belgrade last night that we began to feel a bit relaxed,' a worn hospital staff member surnamed Jiang told China Daily.

The airliner headed to Yugoslavia on Sunday with a special government mission aboard to investigate NATO's attack on the Chinese Embassy.

Jiang and his colleagues showed some memorial items which had belonged to Xu, a warfield diary and two pens which still smelt of explosives.

'They were dug out of the debris of the embassy building,' Jiang said.

A still-bloodied, bedridden, Cao Rongfei, husband of the deceased Shao Yunhuan and first secretary at the Chinese Embassy, could not bear to look at the picture of his beloved.

NATO's barbarous bombing has almost deprived Cao of his sight.

He is apparently still suffering from shock and has not been able to accept his wife's death.

'People of the motherland thank all of you and welcome all of you. We have been concerned about you at this time,' Hu Jintao, also Standing Committee member of the Political Bureau of the Communist Party of China Central Committee, told the heroes.

The Chinese wounded in NATO's attack were rushed to Beijing hospitals yesterday morning. They were in a stable condition.

Things left behind by the three Chinese journalists killed during the embassy attack will be collected by the Museum of the Chinese Revolution.



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