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# Whispers and Roars: Analysing Chinese Grand Strategy Through Content Analysis

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**Grand Strategy in the 21<sup>st</sup> Century**



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## **Introduction**

‘Silent dragon’, ‘sleeping giant’, and ‘peaceful lion’ are all metaphorical expressions used by scholars to characterise China’s rise in the international system (Tyrell, 2019; Armstrong, 2012; Ho, 2015). These expressions convey the clash between two broad interpretations of China: a currently docile, tame, yet capable entity with an inherently savage nature. China’s rapid ascension has thus brought forward concerns of its character and motivations, as its increasing capacity to operate as an international superpower poses a threat to the established hegemon in the United States (US).

On one hand, scholars reflect on Chinese behaviour with relative optimism, highlighting their deep engagement in the international economic community as an assurance of its desire to maintain the status-quo and continue benefiting from it (Friedberg, 2005). On the other hand, accelerating militarisation and regional aggression are, what certain scholars deem, signals of Chinese revisionist intentions of obtaining hegemony and rivalling the US (Doshi, 2021). Such discrepancy is also found between Chinese proclamations of peace, such as “[t]here is no iron law that dictates that a rising power will inevitably seek hegemony” (SCIO, 2023), and its observable behaviour.

Ultimately, this poses a question on how Beijing perceives its international position relative to the US, and their future motivations for it. One can characterise said motivations as Chinese grand strategy, which henceforth will be defined as how China prioritises, mobilises military, diplomatic, political, and economic sources of power to ensure their interests. This definition is borrowed from van Hoof’s (2017) conceptualisation of grand strategy and will serve as the primary subject of analysis of this paper.

## **Literature Review**

There has been no shortage of scholars investigating Chinese grand strategy since its ascension as a great power, as conventional international relations wisdom cautions that periods of power transition may be chaotic, unstable, and violent. Depending on China’s behaviour, both the international and academic community eagerly await to see if China and the USA will be able to overcome the Thucydides Trap, in which uncertainty about the rising power’s ambitions creates threat perception and tensions escalate between the two (Allison, 2017).

On one hand, the “status-quo” camp of literature ascertains that China has no interest in actively challenging the US. Status-quo proponents use the liberal logic of economic interdependence, in which trade flows and investment act as pacifying mechanisms for state behaviour due to the potential economic losses of conflict (Friedberg, 2005). This highlights the relevance of Chinese domestic bureaucrats as key agents and beneficiaries of the current international world order, as transnational capital is a key source of Chinese economic growth and by extension political legitimacy (Harris, 2012).

On the contrary, the “revisionist” camp argues that China’s observable behaviour reflects its intention to overturn the current international system and rise to the top. Using the same concept of economic interdependence, revisionist scholars reach a rival conclusion, that investment in the Global South may be a case of elite capture (Cha, 2023), and China’s central position in the international trade network may create opportunities for weaponizing their market and resources (Farrell & Newman, 2019).

The debate between “status-quo” and “revisionist” extends in the military and institutional domain. While “status-quo” arguments find military accumulation and institutional presence to be a necessary motivation for great powers to establish themselves as legitimate, sovereign, and local hegemons (Legro, 2007), “revisionist” arguments privilege the coercive and offensive capabilities of those actions (Doshi, 2021). This reflects an inherent limitation to grand strategy analysis, in which different theoretical vantage points and academic fields can reach vastly contrasting interpretations from the same empirical evidence. Such a dichotomy should be avoided, as Chinese behaviour has both cooperative and restrictive mechanisms influencing it. Therefore, this article will use a theoretically and methodologically diverse toolset to analyse Chinese grand strategy holistically.

A methodological consequence of the uncertainty regarding China’s motivations has been the attempt to use primary data to gain insight on foreign policy goals. Mokry (2023) has used foreign policy statements to compare Sino-American national interest, however their choice in methodology restricts the analysis to only the frequency of statements, neglecting the context and strategic narrative of framing. This represents a missed opportunity to assess the full extent of Chinese motivations, as how they choose to communicate their strategic goals might be a useful indicator of how they wish to position themselves in the international system. Moreover, some have used Communist Party documents to look at China’s written

strategic plans, however, have kept a narrow focus on specific elements like the Belt and Road Initiative (BRI) (Alves & Lee, 2022) and the role of technology (Lin, 2021).

Political speeches have also seldomly been used to identify Chinese strategic communication. Pu (2017) finds that Chinese politicians use speeches to “status-signal” to domestic and foreign political actors. Yang (2023) illustrates how politicians use nationalism and solidarity framing when discussing foreign policy to domestic audiences, and Erpul (2019) looks at international audiences in isolation. There is also evidence that Chinese officials address domestic audiences differently (Erpul, 2019, p. 318), however a comparison of grand strategy framing between audience types does not exist, which is necessary to establish the salience of the audience as a variable.

Bringing all this together, this article identifies three main gaps in relation to Chinese grand strategy research.

- 1) It remains unclear whether China’s communication of a “status-quo” grand strategy is reflected in its behaviour.
- 2) Primary sources, particularly speeches, are an underutilised tool for studying grand strategy motivations.
- 3) Discursive and narrative patterns in speeches have not been examined by comparing audience types.

This results in a formulation of the following research question:

*How does China frame status-quo satisfaction to different audiences?*

## **Theoretical Framework**

### **A. Strategic Communication**

An underlying assumption of the research question is that politicians accurately represent their grand strategy intentions in speeches. This paper borrows theory from communications studies and political science, to motivate the assumption that speeches are credible representations of political goals. The concept of *strategic communication* encompasses frameworks from agenda-setting theory, persuasion theory, and framing theory, which together contribute to our understanding on how speeches create and reinforce political meaning.

Agenda-setting theory argues that political speeches shape public opinion by highlighting issues which are important to a politician's objectives. Examples include increased polarisation in rhetoric during times of political crisis, or increased media attention and discussion of subjects brought up in political speeches (Green et al., 2020; Jetter and Molina, 2022). Political speeches also have an agenda-setting mechanism for other political constituents. State addresses by governors send cues to the legislature to highlight their most important political goals, and Chinese governments use political communication to signal to foreign audiences (Heidbreder, 2012; Hartig, 2018).

Persuasion theory offers a similar mechanism, in which speeches utilise emotions, collective memory, and psychological tools to pursue political agendas. For instance, Rothman et al. (1999) find that gain-framing is more convincing as a rhetorical device, while several articles have been written on the persuasiveness of linguistic tools such as pronouns, metaphors and allusion (David, 2014). Therefore, when investigating the framing used by Chinese officials, it is expected that such linguistic tools will be employed to further persuade audiences of their strategic goals.

Lastly, framing theory posits that the subjective presentation of information can influence the interpretation of events and political issues (Goffman, 1974). In the case of Chinese political speeches, framing is conscious by politicians, and can act as gatekeepers of information and ideas, due to the highly centralised nature of the state. By choosing to emphasise aspects of the international community and attribute responsibility for the benefits and losses, the framing patterns of Chinese speeches can reveal their grand strategy goals and position perception.

Therefore, strategic communication concepts in relation to the agenda-setting, persuasive, and framing properties of speeches motivate the assumption that Chinese officials should be accurately conveying their strategic goals.

## **B. Commercial Liberalism**

Borrowing from liberal international relations theory, strands of liberalism will underpin some theoretical expectations for this paper. Chinese standing in the international system is primarily derived from its immense economic power and influence (McNally, 2012). This suggests that the interests of economic actors are integral to the international position of the Chinese state, as well as the domestic relationship among the CCP and the general population

(Harris, 2012). As a result, standard of living, transnational economic actors, and the Chinese political class are dependent on positive economic relations with the rest of the world.

This reflects the *commercial liberalism* theory in which Moravcsik highlights the role of domestic transnational actors which leverage their economic position to enforce their policy preferences (Moravcsik, 1997). Given the highly centralised nature of Chinese political power within the Chinese Communist Party (CCP), this also amplifies the expectation that private interests can translate into policy goals. The Chinese state is expected to behave as a rational actor and given the utility gains of international cooperation over conflict, their interests should align with furthering the status-quo. Similarly, Moravcsik argues that trade liberalisation and international institutional design emerges from negotiation amongst states to further mutual gains and economic opportunities. Hence, according to commercial liberalism, Chinese foreign policy will be influenced by the interests of the domestic elite. By extension China's grand strategy will be shaped by a combination of their transnational economic position and their political goals.

Not only does this create expectations of a status-quo grand strategy but given that the subject of analysis is internationally oriented speeches, this creates a reinforcing mechanism of additional positivity. It is more likely that Chinese officials want to assure the international community of their peaceful intentions to continue heeding the benefits of their partnership.

This culminates into the first research hypothesis:

*H<sub>1</sub> = International speeches will reflect higher framing of status-quo satisfaction.*

At the same time, as you depart from the international, China's increased involvement in its regional affairs has created expectations of growing interest in the region. Similarly, economic considerations may justify increased Chinese presence in regional affairs. For example, the BRI has created a surge in Chinese investment flows and transnational economic relationships, while bilateral investment treaties have become common to secure the financial rights of investors (Li & Zeng, 2019). Once again, the correlation between economic interests and political cooperation is evident, therefore suggesting that in regional affairs China would prioritise a stable economic environment. As China accumulates wealth and influence in the region, it is expected to behave as all great powers do, and Ikenberry (2016) argues that includes acting as a stabilising force to maintain regional order. Due to the economic interests at stake in China's regional relationships, as well as its desire to be perceived as a legitimate world power, a status-quo strategy may appear more sensible.



Therefore, China would aim to stabilise rather than disrupt the status-quo, and inspire confidence rather than uncertainty, ultimately suggesting that:

*H<sub>2a</sub>: Regional speeches will reflect lower framing of status-quo satisfaction.*

However, one should not underestimate the explanatory relevance theories which privilege power and security maximising behaviour. A realist perspective on world politics would argue that security in Asia is of greater significance to Chinese officials, as the ability to defend its territory and sovereignty is fundamental to state survival (Mearsheimer, 2001, pp. 29–54). Particularly in the case of regionally oriented speeches, Chinese officials may seek to communicate their authority to other neighbouring states, and even use strategic framing to elevate their position in relation to others. Due to geographical proximity, regional affairs may host more conflict, in the form of territory disputes, border aggression, and military power accumulation. Therefore, rhetoric not only must address these issues, but also ensure that state strength and sovereignty come first. This could lead to more aggressive Chinese behaviour directed to its neighbours, in order to establish itself as the regional hegemon.

As a result, an alternative hypothesis will also be tested, to look at the relevance of power and security maximising theory when dissecting Chinese grand strategy. This results in expectations of Chinese framing of status-quo dissatisfaction, as China may want to appear as an assertive and credible rival to US hegemony and presence in Asia. Therefore, it is possible that:

*H<sub>2b</sub>: Regional speeches will reflect higher framing of status-quo dissatisfaction.*

### **C. Ideational Liberalism**

Liberal international relations theory also highlights the importance of domestic social identities and values as a determinant of state preferences. Ideational liberalism suggests that states go beyond material interests when making foreign policy decisions, and instead also consider domestic social preferences (Moravcsik, 1997). Social identities are formed through state control on public goods, and concepts of territorial integrity, sovereignty, and legitimacy arise when foreign policy is justified to domestic audiences. Social identities are built up over time and are morphed by key historical context, and such is the case with China. Events such as the Opium Wars in the 19th century, foreign intervention in the 20th century, and the perceived unfairness experienced by China in the “century of humiliation” all contributed to a nationalist wave of national unity and a collective memory of oppression by the West

(Friedman, 1994; Wang, 2012). One may anticipate that the social identity of China may come in conflict with the international world order, and as ideational liberalism argues, contribute to foreign policy decisions. Therefore, Chinese grand strategy would account for the historical precedents of conflict and humiliation created by the West, and this may appear in present-day rhetoric.

This effect of nationalist rhetoric is likely to be captured in speeches addressed to domestic audiences, in order to provide legitimacy to the CCP as a credible representative of local interests. Therefore, the third and final hypothesis expects that:

*H<sub>3</sub>: Domestic speeches will reflect higher framing of status-quo dissatisfaction.*

## **Research Design**

### **A. Coding Frame**

To put the research question to the test, Qualitative Content Analysis (QCA) will be used. QCA is defined as “a research method for the subjective interpretation of the content of text data through the systematic classification process of coding and identifying themes or patterns” (Hsieh & Shannon, 2005, p. 1278). The choice is motivated by the desire to look into the narrative frames employed by Chinese officials to explain Chinese grand strategy.

To operationalise Chinese grand strategy, this article will evaluate the overall frame direction of argumentation through the variable of “satisfaction with the status-quo”. By further dissecting argumentation through a theory-based systematic coding frame, QCA also allows for important narrative frames to highlight themselves. This will provide further explanation into which elements of the international system keep Chinese grand strategy “status-quo” or “revisionist”. This enables the interpretation of Chinese grand strategy to become nuanced and highlight the conditions which create more cooperation or revisionist intentions in Chinese officials.

The coded unit will be quasi-sentences relating to the international system. This allows for a single sentence to convey two or more relevant messages regarding China’s status-quo satisfaction. An additional rule was also created, that consecutive sentences within the same paragraph which obtained the same Code were only coded once due to the excessive volume of units otherwise.

The full coding frame is attached in Appendix A, Table E and is an adaptation of Erpul's (2019) code book used in their narrative investigation of US and Chinese speeches in the United Nations (UN) General Assembly. The coding frame was adapted by merging narrative categories to achieve parsimony and cater to the manual coding of the speeches. Some categories were omitted which were deemed not relevant to status-quo satisfaction (e.g. "exceptionalism"). This poses a limitation of the current research design, as deductive coding and fewer framing categories limit the depth and range of possible narrative frames. Although the coding frame was revisited throughout the data collection process to ensure greater validity, it is possible that future research can attain greater reliability through automated inductive coding.

In the coding frame, the four main frame categories are "Expected Utility", "Peer Relations", "Policy Satisfaction", and "Value System". In turn, these categories will be motivated regarding their relevance to status-quo satisfaction. Firstly, "Expected Utility" remains consistent with structuralist theories of international relations, which privilege material and security considerations of state behaviour (Waltz, 2019). From a utility perspective, a rational state actor will reinforce mechanisms which yield benefits and disengage from systems which create uncertainty and losses. Similarly, elements of commercial liberalism are captured, as framing can express utility gains which satisfy the transnational capitalist elite (Moravcsik, 1997). Moreover, "Peer Relations" are a clear indication of how Chinese officials perceive other states, as the directional relationships in economic, ideological, and cooperative terms may indicate their satisfaction. The "Policy Satisfaction" category can vary in praise or critique, which illustrates the degree to which the structure and policies enacted under the current international order satisfy Chinese officials. This is consistent with Goldstein's assessment of revisionism through institutional capacity and reform (Goldstein, 2005). Lastly, "Value System" can vary in internationalism or sovereignty, which highlights the normative commitment to the current world order, or prioritises national interests instead. Elements of ideational liberalism are captured by this category, as the relevance of national identity can be stressed (Moravcsik, 1997).

## **B. Source Selection**

Data selection comes in the form of primary sources, with both policy documents and speeches being used. The choice is purposeful, as policy documents will express the formulated strategy of Chinese officials, whereas speeches will reflect the more abstract "organising principles" by which Chinese officials are motivated. This reflects Silove's

(2017) two conceptualisations of grand strategy as grand plans and organising principles. All policy documents and speeches are readily available and translated in English provided digitally by the Chinese foreign ministry. In their 2022 research, Mokry finds that there are insignificant differences between the translated and original Chinese documents, which should ease concerns on the authenticity of the material.

To ensure consistency, only speeches by President Xi Jinping are analysed, eliminating variations in expression between different officials. This focus aims to capture the core narrative frames employed by the primary architect of China's grand strategy.

One anticipated criticism is the deceptive or manipulative nature which speeches may have. Such concerns have been considered when interpreting the language and framing used by Xi Jinping, and the Analysis section will attempt to shed light on possible underlying messages in his speeches. Furthermore, the speeches will be compared to the international context which precedes them, as well as Chinese behaviour at the time. A potential inconsistency between speeches and behaviour is not necessarily a methodological failure, but rather a credible contribution to arguments of China's paradoxical actions.

### **C. Sampling Strategy**

To make full use of our sample, a research period between March 2015 and January 2024 will be employed. This paper does not include the first three years of Xi Jinping's presidency, due to the absence of archives prior to 2015. This research period will allow us to track key changes in the international environment throughout the years to the greatest extent.

For policy documents, the two reports on the 19th and 20th National Party Congress will be used. The reports are highly extensive and cover the main strategic aims of the CCP. The five-year gap between the two Congresses, 2017 and 2022, will be useful to observe change, particularly in the relevance of key events such as the US trade war, the 2019 Hong Kong protests, the 2020 COVID pandemic, and the persistent territorial disputes in the South China Sea. The policy documents will be considered separately to speeches but will act as a reference to Chinese grand strategy communication to domestic audiences.

The differentiation between international, regional, and domestic speeches will rely upon who Xi Jinping is addressing. International speeches are usually delivered abroad to a multinational audience which is more foreign policy oriented. The domestic speeches will be

addressing Chinese audiences and will have a broader thematic scope, but still will be able to reveal political messages. To serve as an intermediary between the two, regional speeches will also be considered, which address an international audience, but of greater geographical proximity to China. This will take the form of geopolitical partnerships such as the Association of Southeast Asian Nations (ASEAN), the Shanghai Cooperation Organisation (SCO), or the Asia-Pacific Economic Cooperation. This enables the analysis to be more robust with clearer interpretation of the effect of audience type on grand strategy framing.

A stratified sampling strategy will be used to get up to three international, and five regional and domestic speeches each year. This creates a balance between the sample of each audience type, as internationally oriented speeches are more frequent and publicly published. A detailed table of the number of speeches by year can be found in Appendix A, Table D. The domestic speeches are underrepresented in the sample due to source availability, however the methodological choice of *Qualitative* content analysis suggests that the analysis will not be constrained by the number of references, as the narrative (in)consistency is what matters.

## **Findings**

This section is dedicated to presenting the findings of the research paper. Section A will present the frequency of narrative frames employed by Xi Jinping. Section B will delve deeper into the qualitative elements of the narrative frames, looking at the language and strategic frames used in each source type. Ultimately the next chapter in the Analysis section will compare the findings to our initial hypothesis and conclude on implications for Chinese grand strategy.

### **A. Frequency**

In Appendix B, Table A summarises the count of the 1148 data points collected across the speeches and two National Congress Reports, by coding frame and direction. Tables B through E show each recorded unit in detail.

Regarding the overall sentiment of Chinese status-quo satisfaction, there is a strong dominance of positive framing, accounting for 77% of results. For political speeches when accounting for sample size, there is a general trend of positive framing across all categories. One exception is Policy Satisfaction framing which is balanced leaning towards negative. For internationally oriented speeches, the most dominant framing category was Value System,

whereas for regionally and domestically oriented speeches Expected Utility frames prevail, but only by a small margin.

For the two Party Congress Reports, Expected Utility and Policy Satisfaction framing remained positive, whereas Peer Relations and Value Systems revealed higher levels of dissatisfaction with the status-quo. Policy Satisfaction was seldom addressed, due to the domestic nature of the speeches and irrelevance to the audience.

A preliminary conclusion would be that all speeches reveal positive sentiment and status-quo satisfaction, whereas the Congress Reports reveal the opposite. The following section will reveal the details of strategic framing and the content used by Xi Jinping.

## B. Framing

Not only did status-quo (dis)satisfaction vary across speeches and audience type, but so did the focus of the framing used. Table 1 provides a summary of results obtained.

*Table 1: Summary of speech results by coding frame x audience type.*

<b>Coding Frame</b>	<b>International</b>	<b>Regional</b>	<b>Domestic</b>
<b>Expected Utility</b>	Focus on <i>economic</i> utility gains for <i>all</i> countries, with <i>Asian-led institutions</i> providing infrastructure, connectivity, and governance gains.	Focus on <i>security utility gains</i> from cooperation, with the BRI fostering development in the region.	China's central position in global cooperation in <i>providing utility gains</i> to the world.
<b>Peer Relations</b>	A focus on developing countries and <i>South-South cooperation</i> , with a notable <i>concern on distributional gains</i> from development.	Specific focus on supporting geographically Asian countries to <i>foster Asian unity</i> .	Unique references to <i>Taiwan, Hong Kong, and regional countries</i> , with both positive and negative conclusions for their relationship.
<b>Policy Satisfaction</b>	A call for reform on global governance to ensure a <i>fairer international system</i> .	Praise of UN-led economic institutions, while <i>WTO institutional mechanisms need reform</i> .	<i>Commitment to global rules and norms</i> , with references to reform for greater <i>equality</i> between states.
<b>Value System</b>	<i>Norm commitment to internationalism</i> , with	Values of peace, cooperation, and unity,	Domestic reform to adhere to international

values of respect, peace, and development going hand in hand.	with <i>increased reference to territorial integrity</i> and principles of non-interference.	rules and norms. Principles of national unity and sovereignty are also present.
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Internationally oriented speeches highlighted the positive elements of international cooperation. Both in regard to utility gains, in the form of economic benefits and development, but also through the normative values spread by internationalism. Not only were there explicit references to the desire of China to uphold the status-quo, e.g. “Economic hegemony is even more objectionable...” (1.1), but the same is revealed through the way they frame international affairs. For instance, international norm commitment is apparent through the mentions of justice, fairness, and peace as foundational guiding principles of Chinese domestic reform, e.g. “...the one sure path is through coordination and cooperation.” (1.6). At the same time, Chinese rhetoric appears to embody these values when referring to the importance of equality between states and developmental assistance, e.g. “...increase the representation and voice of emerging markets and developing countries...” (1.6).

The international audience also provides an opportunity for China to express its grievances. Particularly in the form of Policy (Dis)Satisfaction, the call for reform of institutional mechanisms is a common theme in speeches at economic fora. The reform should “reject the outdated Cold War mentality...” (1.14) and ensure greater coordination to “...bring to the world more certainty, stability and positive energy.” (1.25). They criticise the presence of “...vested interests...” (1.6) and argue that international regulation cannot keep up with “...new developments in the global economy” (1.7).

For regional speeches, the utility gains of the international system extend to security and Asian stability. The relevance of economic issues to Chinese foreign policy is evidenced through the emphasis on developmental opportunities and the centrality of international economic institutions. The UN is referenced as a benchmark of norm setting (2.25), and the World Trade Organisation is praised for the multilateral gains encouraged through trade liberalisation. While the beneficiary of utility gains remains the entire world (2.26), there is a notable trend in which regional benefits are framed as the precursor to global development, e.g. “...and Asia remains an engine driving world economic growth.” (2.2). In the same vein, friendly relations with neighbouring countries are a priority, and Beijing-led institutions are framed as providing mechanisms to enable that, e.g. “China is ready to use financing platforms such as the Silk Road Fund...to meet the investment needs of SCO member states.”

(2.1). Security and stability are also provided by regional institutions, both against violent, e.g. “...help Central Asian countries strengthen capacity building on law enforcement...” (2.29), and non-violent threats, e.g. “...and uphold regional and global public health security.” (2.15).

The elements of dissatisfaction in regional speeches are less explicit than international speeches. For instance, general statements of “economic uncertainty” (2.12), “global instability” (2.16), and “downward pressures” (2.2) are used to describe the problems of interdependence and the condition of the international system. Over time, the issues are defined and addressed, with 2020 acting as a turning point across all political speeches towards lower Expected Utility. Moreover, the topic of the South China Sea appears for the first time in regional speeches. While China remains committed to dialogue to settle territorial disputes, their “sovereignty and rights and interests” (2.5) will be prioritised. There are references to upholding principles of non-interference and respecting independent choices of development (2.25), which although are not addressing specific actors in the international community, can be perceived as disapproval of actions undertaken by countries in the region. Specifically, such references only appear in speeches of non-economic audiences, which address the Asian community as a whole.

For domestic speeches, the findings are closely related to trends observed in international and regional speeches. Utility gains are emphasised, and China expresses commitment and praise to international rules and institutions. While reform of the WTO and the global governance systems is necessary (3.4), this should be done to increase representation of developing countries rather than to correct institutional failures (3.8). A unique element of domestic speeches is reference to Taiwanese compatriots and the “One Country, Two Systems” principle. This policy developed by Deng Xiaoping was put in place to describe the governance of special administrative regions in Hong Kong and Macao, in which the regions are a part of ‘one’ China, but they retain autonomy in all matters. This policy has been proposed to unify Taiwan to mainland China, and such desires are apparent in the domestic speeches exclusively. The absence of this important aspect of Chinese foreign policy is likely to have been omitted from international and regional speeches due to the unpopularity of the proposal and criticism it gets.

The methodological choice to include an analysis of Chinese grand strategy “plans” through the National Congress reports proved instrumental, as the results paint a stark, and more



revisionist contrast to the results obtained by speeches. In Table 2, the summary of results of the 19th and 20th National Congress of the CPP are provided.

*Table 2: Summary of National Congress Report results by coding frame x year.*

<b>Coding Frame</b>	<b>19th National Congress, 2017</b>	<b>20th National Congress, 2022</b>
<b>Expected Utility</b>	<i>China lends benefits in the economic, environmental, and security domain to the entire world.</i>	Developmental opportunities and cooperation gains are <i>being challenged</i> by uncertainty and the COVID 19 pandemic.
<b>Peer Relations</b>	Emphasis on regional relationships, with “ <i>One Country, Two States</i> ” policy being justified, and references to historical aggression against the Chinese state.	Elements for <i>peaceful resolution</i> of conflict in Hong Kong, Macao, and Taiwan, but framing remains negative.
<b>Policy Satisfaction</b>	<i>Upholding multilateral institutions and UN-led order but promote reform to achieve equality between states.</i>	Some elements of institutional reform needed for international organisations. <i>yet must maintain the current economic landscape.</i>
<b>Value System</b>	<i>Maritime rights, sovereignty, and territorial integrity</i> are the utmost priority of the Chinese state.	Opposing hegemony and power politics, but values of sovereignty and autonomy, <i>will be defended by force.</i>

The reports reveal a high drop in status-quo satisfaction, from 77% on speeches to 54%. Expected Utility is the only category which remained largely positive, yet by the 2022 National Congress, even developmental opportunities were being challenged by external forces such as the COVID-19 pandemic. By contrast, Peer Relations and Value System categories registered dissatisfaction with the status-quo, with the South China Sea territory dispute and challenges to sovereignty and territorial integrity being the main grievances. Although China repeated its intention for peaceful resolution in the regional and domestic speeches, the 2022 National Congress Report had a unique reference to “...never promise to renounce the use of force, and [they] reserve the option of taking all measures necessary.”. China’s increased aggression in rhetoric and its criticisms of the status-quo became more apparent in the 2022 National Party Congress, with the 2017 National Party Congress showcasing a more balanced relationship between China and its neighbours. This remains

consistent with the increasingly turbulent international environment and increasing confrontations in the South China Sea.

The above section aimed to describe the results obtained from the QCA. Trends and important concepts were highlighted, and the “Analysis” section which follows will relate the findings to our hypotheses and implications for Chinese grand strategy. Overall, it can be concluded that both in frequency and content, all speeches regardless of audience type showcase a positive perception of the status-quo, while the National Congress reports reveal elements of revisionism.

## **Analysis**

The following section will compare the results obtained to the theoretical expectations created by the theories of commercial liberalism and ideational liberalism. Concepts of strategic communication will also be considered to evaluate interpretations for Chinese grand strategy. A further comparison will be made between the results of speeches versus China’s satisfaction in the National Congress reports.

### **A. International Speeches**

Using commercial liberalism, international speeches were expected to emphasise status-quo satisfaction due to the economic interests amplified by international cooperation. Most speeches analysed were delivered in economic fora and Beijing-led institutions, indicating an audience of foreign and domestic economic stakeholders interested in Chinese business practices. Not only is it vital for China to continue engagement in international institutions, but China must also frame cooperation in a positive light. Framing Theory suggests that political speeches highlight subjects which serve the interests of the speaker, with the aim to align public perceptions with policy goals. It is likely that Xi Jinping uses the opportunity to address the international audience to emphasise China’s satisfaction with economic cooperation, in order to further its investment opportunities through the BRI and continue holding a central role in economic networks.

Even when China criticises the international environment, it is done with the intent to improve rather than dismantle the status-quo. When asking for reform of mechanisms in economic institutions, the critique serves the purpose of advancing positive relationships with developing countries. This reflects a pattern of strategic framing, in which elements of

dissatisfaction, in utility losses or calls for reform, are followed by a positive Value System assessment of further cooperation, interconnectedness, and unity. Therefore, even though international speeches have the highest count of status-quo dissatisfaction references, the overall interpretation is that only by deepening cooperation and maintaining the dynamics of internationalism can such shortcomings be overcome.

Goddard (2018) referred to the rule-based revolution which China can undertake in international institutions as “bridging revisionism”. However, the findings of this paper do not reveal a desire of China for “deep, internal changes”, but rather marginal shifts to increase representation and efficiency in international institutions. China is, also, seldomly framed as the agent of change, as China expresses “support”, and aims to continue “advances for reform” rather than lead them. One may argue that the regional institutions established by China act as a rival to the Bretton-Woods financial institutions of Washington, and by design aim to reform the distributions of the international system. However, there are no references to Beijing-led institutions in the two National Congress reports evaluated, with the exception one mention of the SCO in 2022. If China was planning to leverage the role of regional institutions, or its economic influence through the BRI, one may assume that the topics would appear in the future plans of the CCP, at least by means of praise or highlighting the opportunities provided by them. Therefore, this paper finds that regional institutions are relevant to the international community through their utility gains and cooperation opportunities, rather than relevant to the domestic political goals of China.

In sum, China appears satisfied with the status-quo, and references for reform occur with the aim to integrate the liberal principles of equality and openness into institutions. The audience being international stakeholders allows for the discussion of important agenda-setting topics, both in terms of perpetuating practical cooperation with other states, and through using the speeches as a platform to share ideas for reform. As commercial liberalism predicted, utility gains and the interests of transnational economic actors were used as motivations for status-quo satisfaction. Therefore, this paper supports the hypothesis that international speeches have higher framing of status-quo satisfaction.

## **B. Regional Speeches**

Regional speeches were used to test two hypotheses, one of higher status-quo satisfaction due to elements of commercial liberalism which foster economic cooperation with its neighbours,

but also one of higher status-quo dissatisfaction due to concepts of power competition and authority.

At first glance, regional speeches were overwhelmingly positive. They had the highest proportion of status-quo satisfaction, at 81% of total results. A possible explanation for this is the theoretical prerequisites of commercial liberalism. Partially due to China's socialist economic system, some of its largest companies in the international market are owned by the government itself. For instance, the China National Petroleum Corporation is one of the five largest revenue corporations in the world, and plays a leading role in resource extraction, production, and distribution. Similarly, through the BRI, state-owned enterprises in the field of infrastructure and construction have managed to establish economic ties with over 140 countries across thousands of bilateral projects. Although the economic system is characterised by socialist principles, the economic elite behaves as a transnational capitalist class, in which they control the means of production and capital accumulation through global economic engagement (Harris, 2012). Therefore, the economic elite can not only leverage its power and position, but by design state-owned companies are directly involved foreign policy. Thus, state-owned companies' economic and political interests are conflated, evident in China's strategic communication.

Similarly, commercial liberalism can account for the overwhelming positive references towards neighbouring countries. Commercial liberalism focuses on the rationality of states, defined as "...action on the basis of a prior, specific, and consistent set of preferences." (Moravcsik, 1997, p. 525). In this case, actions can be considered to be foreign policy decisions and grand strategy, and their preferences can be the combination of domestic and international interests of stakeholders. There are several efficiency and utility gains which arise from positive economic and diplomatic relationships with neighbouring countries, making the status-quo strategy more sensible than revisionist aggression. For instance, economists have shown that due to Asia's geographical isolation and higher international transportation costs, regional trade relationships are necessary for the economic sustainability of the continent (Grafe et al., 2005). Currently, Asia makes up 48% of China's export market (Workman, 2022), and through regional integration efforts like the SCO and ASEAN, trade liberalisation, investment facilitation, and bilateral agreements have become essential for China's "good neighbour policy" (Fei, 2010). "Good neighbour" diplomacy is defined as the principles of Chinese officials to maintain good relationships with neighbours and enhance harmony, peace, and common enrichment (Tsai et al., 2011). As commercial liberalism

posits, the stakes are high for economic actors with existing investments, hence by domestic interest groups pushing for a policy of stability with its neighbours they can deter the losses of potential conflict (Moravscik, 1997, p. 530).

Similarly, commercial liberalism explanations can account for China's perceptions of the varying success of international system policies. For regional speeches, the Policy Satisfaction category was the most contentious, with 'Praise' trumping 'Reform' by a small margin of 24 to 21. This can be explained by the integral role which international institutions play in the distribution of gains and losses in the international system. As institutions such as the WTO facilitate economic cooperation and establish the guidelines for free and fair trade, it is reasonable that China has a vested interest in the perceived success of the organisation. By praising the efficiency gains of the WTO, China frames the international system in a positive light and reminds other countries of the benefits obtained by the current status-quo. By showing dissatisfaction and calling for reform of institutional mechanisms to increase justice and equality between states, China once again employs arguments of economic interests. Xi Jinping expresses that by supporting its neighbours in their acquisition of institutional power, or by reforming economic governance to protect investment, then China itself may conduct business with greater flexibility and faith in the system. Therefore, even if China showcases elements of revisionism in the 'Policy Satisfaction' category, their overall conclusion is that reform is necessary to improve the international standing of *other* countries, while ensuring *global* developmental opportunities.

This is why this paper finds little to no evidence that China is attempting to establish itself as a regional hegemon and enact authority over its neighbouring countries. At least in the case of regional speeches, China emphasises that peace and amicable relations are integral to the security and developmental prospects of the continent. Perhaps due to the nature of regional speeches with a majority being delivered in Beijing-led economic fora, once again the results show the influence of domestic economic interests translating into overwhelmingly positive strategic framing. Therefore, given that China emphasises the importance of regional relationships for the collective security, development and prosperity of all, this paper finds evidence to support the first hypothesis, which argues that regional speeches will reveal higher framing of status-quo satisfaction. In the same vein, there is insufficient evidence of regional provocation and Chinese exceptionalism, ultimately not supporting the hypothesis that regional speeches will have higher framing of status-quo dissatisfaction.

### C. Domestic Speeches

The large discrepancy between status-quo satisfaction in domestic speeches compared to the National Congress reports is quite puzzling. The initial hypothesis predicted that domestic speeches would reveal higher framing of status-quo dissatisfaction due to elements of ideational liberalism and nationalist rhetoric as a tool for national identity formation. The choice of methodology was also informed by the liberal theory, as by allowing each coding frame to vary in both content and direction, this remains consistent with Moravscik's (1997) understanding that domestic preferences can elicit both an openness and a retraction from the international system (p. 545). However, in the case of domestic *speeches* the theoretical expectation was not met, and Chinese framing of status-quo satisfaction remained predominantly positive.

While topics of national sovereignty and territorial disputes did appear in domestic speeches, the proposed solutions were compromise, cooperation, and peaceful negotiation. Even though certain relationships were framed in a negative light, such as Taiwan and Hong Kong, there is still insufficient evidence to suggest that China privileges itself over other countries in the region. What became apparent is that Taiwan does not pose a strategic opportunity for power accumulation, as the rhetoric used by Xi Jinping paints Taiwan as an ideological challenge to regime cohesion. This also supports Legro's (2007) argument that China's desire to unify with Taiwan is explained by broader ideological considerations rather than material capabilities for furthering their international position. Nonetheless, domestic speeches do not reveal higher framing of status-quo dissatisfaction, and with 71% positive references this is only a small decrease from international speeches.

However, this paper is not quick to completely disregard the hypothesis and theoretical expectations of the importance of ideational liberalism. Using two sources to evaluate the framing for domestic audiences, this paper reveals that revisionist elements appear only in the closed political setting of the CCP Congress. The domestic speeches were delivered to Chinese civilian audiences, whereas the Congress Reports are a summary of decisions undertaken by the political elite of China on their grand strategy plans. One possible reason for the discrepancy in results between the two sources is that one of the assumptions of strategic communication is not met. Strategic communication assumes that politicians use speeches to convey important policy decisions and persuade their electorates (Kernell, 2006). However, the institutional structure of the Chinese political system means that candidate selection and electoral procedures are tightly controlled by the CCP and in the case of

internal CCP elections, not open to the public. This removes an important accountability mechanism in which populations can ‘punish’ politicians for not staying true to their promises by not supporting them in re-election. Therefore, Xi Jinping can preach a policy of peace and cooperation in its domestic speeches, but present more aggressive policy proposals behind closed doors with no repercussions. Similarly, Johnston (2017) contributes to this argument by highlighting that elite nationalism may be a plausible motivation for Chinese revisionism, as the absence of audience costs from the general population and the suppression of public opinion by propaganda reinforces the influence of the few decision-making actors in the Chinese state.

Does this mean that true Chinese grand strategy is what is proposed in the National Party Congresses? If that is the case, then one would conclude that China is quite dissatisfied with the status-quo, and that framing used is consistent with ideational liberal theory. The audience of the Congresses is made up of members of the CCP, and over Xi Jinping’s presidency he argued that only the CCP can unite the nation together under the principles of collectivism, cohesion, and sovereignty (Rosenberger, 2020, p. 363). This is apparent by the way that Xi frames both status-quo satisfaction and dissatisfaction to his peers. When China argues that the international system provides economic opportunities that should be exploited, they present China as the leading cause of the successes of trade liberalisation and globalisation. When China argues that the international community is intervening in domestic affairs and challenges its territorial integrity, they use linguistic tools such as historical metaphors to tap into the collective memory of Chinese nationalism. The Opium Wars, Japanese aggression, and the Cold War are brought up as examples in which China has been challenged by (Western) aggression. This is also consistent with research which finds the “century of humiliation” being used as a narrative to justify national resurgence under the CCP (Callahan, 2005). In doing so, Xi Jinping can frame China in opposition to other powers, and present Chinese values as unique and antithetical to other states in the international system. Therefore, while status-quo dissatisfaction did not appear in domestic speeches, there is still some evidence that ideational liberalism concepts of the importance of domestic identity formation and nationalism may have increased references to status-quo dissatisfaction in National Congress reports.

## **Conclusion**

In conclusion, this paper finds that studying the ‘audience’ as a variable of Chinese status-quo satisfaction is valuable for understanding Chinese grand strategy. In line with

commercial liberalism, in both international and regional speeches Xi Jinping showcased a commitment to the international community to maintain stability and expand the opportunities of multilateral economic collaboration. The speeches were used as a reassurance mechanism to both domestic and international interest groups, that China is an asset to the international community, and that despite its rapid material accumulation their intentions are peaceful. For domestic speeches, a similar conclusion is made, and despite theoretical expectations of higher revisionism, China presents itself as satisfied with the status-quo. However, the methodological plurality of the research was able to uncover a disparity between Chinese grand strategy framing in speeches and the National Congress reports. By identifying higher framing of status-quo dissatisfaction delivered to the closed CCP audience, this paper argues that concerns about Chinese transparency and contradiction is warranted.

While China preaches a strong commitment to maintaining the status-quo, its rhetoric in the Congress reports, as well as its observable behaviour in the international system suggest the opposite. After all, if China cannot credibly convince its neighbours in Taiwan or Vietnam that its behaviour is part of state consolidation and not outward expansion, then the *perception* of Chinese revisionist intent is what will prevail. Due to China's conflicting messages, there could be misinterpretation of China's signalling, ultimately resulting in tensions escalating (Cunningham and Fravel, 2015). This distinction renders a possible "status-quo" strategy almost obsolete, as failures to communicate their intentions clearly and convincingly, are what can turn this power transition into armed conflict. Therefore, while this paper illustrates results which at face value appear optimistic about Chinese grand strategy, the contrast between speeches and the reports reveals that domestic national consolidation and cohesion may change the international priorities of the Chinese state.

This research can be refined to enhance the validity of results. This paper accurately predicted that as we depart from an international audience towards a more local and politically relevant one, the framing of Chinese grand strategy may differ. Not only should the coding frame be expanded to capture more nuanced explanations for status-quo (dis)satisfaction, but so should the diversity in sources. The discrepancy in results between speeches and Congress reports as a resource should act as a motivation to further investigate Chinese strategic communication in primary data of higher political relevance. Although political speeches can certainly reveal political goals, a more accurate resource would be closed party documents and communication between CCP officials. There are



methodological limitations to obtaining such data, as is why this paper was confined to the digitally available resources. One can hope that as China repeatedly affirms its commitment to domestic institutional reform for greater transparency and liberalisation, then shortly its political system may reflect such aspirations.

In sum, as Goldstein (2005) contends, Chinese grand strategy is too complex to be labelled either status-quo or revisionist. China's behaviour is unique in its multidimensional consequences, due to the highly interdependent and globalised environment of the 21st century. As time progresses it is natural that established powers may fear an ambiguous rising power, but only through further engagement can their true intentions be revealed. Therefore, this paper advises that the international community does not simply reject China's rise because it is "the devil we don't know" (Brooks, Ikenberry, & Wohlforth, 2013, pg. 10), but rather embrace the multipolarity of the international system and make qualified conclusions on their own.

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## Appendix A

*Table A: Index for internationally oriented speeches.*

<b>Number</b>	<b>Date</b>	<b>Title</b>
1.1	2015.04.22	<a href="#">Carry Forward the Bandung Spirit for Win-win Cooperation</a>
1.2	2015.09.23	<a href="#">Address by H.E. Xi Jinping President of the People's Republic of China At the China-US Governors' Forum</a>
1.3	2015.09.28	<a href="#">China is Here for Peace</a>
1.4	2016.01.16	<a href="#">Address by President Xi Jinping of China At the Opening Ceremony of The Asian Infrastructure Investment Bank</a>
1.5	2016.06.06	<a href="#">Making Unremitting Efforts for a New Model of Major-Country Relationship Between China and the United States</a>
1.6	2016.09.03	<a href="#">Keynote Speech by H.E. Xi Jinping, President of the People's Republic of China, at the Opening Ceremony of the B20 Summit</a>
1.7	2017.04.06	<a href="#">Xi Jinping's keynote speech at the World Economic Forum</a>
1.8	2017.09.06	<a href="#">Full text of President Xi's remarks at Dialogue of Emerging Market and Developing Countries</a>
1.9	2017.12.08	<a href="#">Full text: President Xi's congratulatory message to South-South Human Rights Forum</a>
1.10	2018.07.26	<a href="#">Full text of Chinese president's speech at BRICS Business Forum in South Africa</a>
1.11	2018.09.03	<a href="#">Full text of Xi's speech at opening ceremony of 2018 FOCAC Beijing Summit</a>
1.12	2018.12.01	<a href="#">Full text of Xi's remarks at Session I of G20 summit in Buenos Aires</a>
1.13	2019.04.27	<a href="#">Remarks by H.E. Xi Jinping President of the People's Republic of China At the Press Conference of The Second Belt and Road Forum for International Cooperation</a>
1.14	2019.06.05	<a href="#">Written Interview by H.E. Xi Jinping President of the People's Republic of China With Mainstream Russian Media Organizations</a>
1.15	2019.11.25	<a href="#">Full text of Chinese president's remarks at BRICS Brasilia Summit</a>
1.16	2020.03.27	<a href="#">Full text of Xi's remarks at Extraordinary G20 Leaders' Summit</a>

1.17	2020.05.19	<a href="#">Full text: Speech by President Xi Jinping at opening of 73rd World Health Assembly</a>
1.18	2020.11.13	<a href="#">Speech by Chinese President Xi Jinping at 3rd Paris Peace Forum</a>
1.19	2021.02.10	<a href="#">Full Text: Keynote Speech by Chinese President Xi Jinping at the China-CEEC Summit</a>
1.20	2021.05.22	<a href="#">Remarks by Chinese President Xi Jinping at the Global Health Summit</a>
1.21	2021.10.12	<a href="#">Full text: Chinese President Xi Jinping's keynote speech at COP15 leaders' summit</a>
1.22	2022.02.06	<a href="#">Full text: Toast by President Xi at welcoming banquet of Olympic Winter Games Beijing 2022</a>
1.23	2022.06.23	<a href="#">Full text: President Xi's keynote speech at opening ceremony of BRICS Business Forum</a>
1.24	2022.11.16	<a href="#">Full text of Xi's remarks at Session I of G20 summit in Bali</a>
1.25	2023.08.24	<a href="#">Full text: Remarks by Chinese President Xi Jinping at the 15th BRICS Summit</a>
1.26	2023.10.19	<a href="#">Full text of Xi Jinping's keynote speech at 3rd Belt and Road Forum for Int'l Cooperation</a>
1.27	2023.11.17	<a href="#">Full text of Xi's speech at Welcome Dinner by Friendly Organizations in the United States</a>

*Table B: Index of regionally oriented speeches.*

<b>Number</b>	<b>Date</b>	<b>Title</b>
2.1	2015.07.10	<a href="#">Statement by H.E. Xi Jinping President of the People's Republic of China At the 15th Meeting of the Council of the Heads of State of The Shanghai Cooperation Organization Member States</a>
2.2	2015.11.07	<a href="#">Forging a Strong Partnership to Enhance Prosperity of Asia</a>
2.3	2015.11.19	<a href="#">Remarks by H.E. Xi Jinping President of the People's Republic of China At Session One of the 23rd APEC Economic Leaders' Meeting</a>
2.4	2015.11.06	<a href="#">Work Together to Write a New Chapter of China-Vietnam Friendship</a>
2.5	2016.04.28	<a href="#">Jointly Create a Better Future of Peace and Prosperity for Asia Through Dialogue and Consensus</a>

2.6	2017.11.10	<a href="#">Full text of President Xi's signed article on Vietnamese media</a>
2.7	2017.11.13	<a href="#">Full text of President Xi's address at APEC CEO Summit</a>
2.8	2017.11.14	<a href="#">Full text of Chinese President Xi's signed article on Lao media</a>
2.9	2018.06.11	<a href="#">Full text of President Xi's speech at the 18th SCO Qingdao summit</a>
2.10	2018.11.29	<a href="#">Full text of Xi's remarks at 26th APEC Economic Leaders' Meeting</a>
2.11	2018.11.19	<a href="#">Full text of Xi's signed article on Philippine newspapers</a>
2.12	2019.05.15	<a href="#">Deepening Exchanges and Mutual Learning Among Civilizations For an Asian Community with a Shared Future</a>
2.13	2019.06.15	<a href="#">Working Together for New Progress of Security and Development in Asia</a>
2.14	2019.06.14	<a href="#">Staying Focused and Taking Solid Actions For a Brighter Future of the Shanghai Cooperation Organization</a>
2.15	2020.11.11	<a href="#">Remarks by Chinese President Xi Jinping at 20th meeting of SCO Council of Heads of State</a>
2.16	2020.11.19	<a href="#">Keynote speech by Chinese President Xi Jinping at APEC CEO Dialogues</a>
2.17	2020.11.21	<a href="#">Full text of Xi's remarks at 27th APEC Economic Leaders' Meeting</a>
2.18	2020.11.27	<a href="#">Xi's remarks at opening ceremony of China-ASEAN Expo, Business and Investment Summit</a>
2.19	2020.01.18	<a href="#">Remarks by H.E. Xi Jinping President of the People's Republic of China At Launch Ceremony of Celebrations for 70th Anniversary of China-Myanmar Diplomatic Relations &amp; China-Myanmar Year of Culture and Tourism</a>
2.20	2021.07.21	<a href="#">Full text: Remarks by Xi Jinping at the APEC Informal Economic Leaders' Retreat</a>
2.21	2021.09.17	<a href="#">Full text of Chinese President Xi Jinping's remarks at 21st SCO meeting</a>
2.22	2021.09.04	<a href="#">Full text: Address by Xi at 6th Eastern Economic Forum opening ceremony</a>



2.23	2021.11.11	<a href="#">Full text: Keynote speech by Chinese President Xi Jinping at APEC CEO Summit</a>
2.24	2021.11.22	<a href="#">Full text: Xi's speech on 30 years of China-ASEAN Dialogue Relations</a>
2.25	2022.04.21	<a href="#">Full text: President Xi's keynote speech at the opening ceremony of BFA annual conference 2022</a>
2.26	2022.09.17	<a href="#">Full text of Xi's speech at SCO Samarkand summit</a>
2.27	2022.11.17	<a href="#">Full text: Joint Statement between The People's Republic of China and The Republic of Indonesia</a>
2.28	2022.11.18	<a href="#">Full text of Xi's written speech at APEC CEO Summit</a>
2.29	2023.05.19	<a href="#">Full text of Xi Jinping's keynote speech at China-Central Asia Summit</a>
2.30	2023.07.05	<a href="#">Full text of Xi's address at SCO summit</a>
2.31	2023.11.19	<a href="#">Full text of Xi's speech at the 30th APEC Economic Leaders' Meeting</a>
2.32	2023.11.17	<a href="#">Full text of Xi's written speech at Asia-Pacific Economic Cooperation CEO Summit</a>
2.33	2023.12.14	<a href="#">Full text of Xi's speech at meeting with representatives of young Chinese, Vietnamese</a>

*Table C: Index for domestically oriented speeches.*

<b>Number</b>	<b>Date</b>	<b>Title</b>
3.1	2015.09.03	<a href="#">Speech at the Reception Commemorating The 70th Anniversary of the Victory of The Chinese People's War of Resistance Against Japanese Aggression And the World Anti-Fascist War</a>
3.2	2016.01.01	<a href="#">Chinese President Xi Jinping's 2016 New Year Message</a>
3.3	2017.09.01	<a href="#">Full text of President Xi's remarks on eradicating extreme poverty made public</a>

3.4	2018.11.06	<a href="#">Full text of Xi's speech at opening ceremony of 1st China International Import Expo</a>
3.5	2019.09.30	<a href="#">Speech by Xi Jinping At the Reception in Celebration of the 70th Anniversary of The Founding of the People's Republic of China</a>
3.6	2019.11.06	<a href="#">Keynote speech by President Xi at opening ceremony of 2nd CIIE</a>
3.7	2020.05.05	<a href="#">Full Text: Keynote speech by President Xi at opening ceremony of 3rd CIIE</a>
3.8	2021.07.08	<a href="#">Full Text: Keynote address by Xi Jinping at CPC and World Political Parties Summit</a>
3.9	2021.09.03	<a href="#">Full text of Xi's remarks at global trade in services summit of 2021 CIFTIS</a>
3.10	2021.11.05	<a href="#">Full text: Keynote Speech by Chinese President Xi Jinping at the opening ceremony of the 4th China International Import Expo</a>
3.11	2022.05.12	<a href="#">Full text of Xi Jinping's speech at ceremony marking centenary of Communist Youth League of China</a>
3.12	2022.05.20	<a href="#">Xi's address at conference of 70th anniv. of CCPIT and Global Trade and Investment Promotion Summit</a>
3.13	2022.06.13	<a href="#">Full text of Xi Jinping's congratulatory letter to Ta Kung Pao on its 120th anniversary</a>
3.14	2022.11.05	<a href="#">Full text: Remarks by President Xi at the opening ceremony of the fifth CIIE</a>
3.15	2022.12.07	<a href="#">Full text of Xi Jinping's speech at memorial meeting for Comrade Jiang Zemin</a>
3.16	2023.01.01	<a href="#">Full text: 2023 New Year Address by President Xi Jinping</a>
3.17	2023.01.22	<a href="#">Full text of Xi Jinping's speech at 2023 Spring Festival gathering</a>
3.18	2023.03.15	<a href="#">Full text of Xi Jinping's speech at first session of 14th NPC</a>
3.19	2023.07.28	<a href="#">Full text: Toast by President Xi at welcoming banquet of Chengdu Universiade opening ceremony</a>
3.20	2023.09.25	<a href="#">Full text: Xi's remarks at welcoming banquet of Hangzhou Asiad opening ceremony</a>

Table D: Count of speeches by audience x year.

	2015	2016	2017	2018	2019	2020	2021	2022	2023	Total
<b>International</b>	3	3	3	3	3	3	3	3	3	27
<b>Regional</b>	4	1	3	3	3	5	5	4	5	33
<b>Domestic</b>	1	1	1	1	2	1	3	5	5	20
<b>Total</b>	8	5	7	7	8	9	11	12	13	80

Table E: Coding Frame.

Category	Subcategory	Description	Frame in relation to status-quo	Indicators	Code
Expected Utility	Gains	Code for utterances of positive and hopeful expectations resulting from upholding the status-quo cooperation. Can be economic, diplomatic, and material power gains for the state itself.	Satisfaction	“From the Tazara Railway to the Belt and Road Initiative, we have done what we could to help other developing countries, and have offered the world new opportunities through our own development.”	EU+
	Losses	Code for utterances of negative expectations or uncertainty resulting from maintaining status-quo cooperation. Can be economic, diplomatic, and material power losses for the state itself.	Disatisfaction	“The move toward multi-polarity... have all been accompanied by growing challenges of various sorts...”	EU-
Peer relations	Positive	Code for utterances of positive perceptions of foreign peers’ behaviour and relationships. Positive implications for power distribution and status in the international system.	Satisfaction	“China is a friend that Africa can count on.”	PR+
	Negative	Code for utterances of negative perceptions of foreign peers’ behaviour and relationships.	Disatisfaction	“...resolutely oppose foreign interference and separatist activities aimed at Taiwan	PR-

Category	Subcategory	Description	Frame in relation to status-quo	Indicators	Code
		Negative implications for power distribution and status in the international system.		independence...”	
Policy Satisfaction	Praise	Code for utterances of praise of policies and arrangements previously enacted in the status-quo, with the desire to uphold and repeat commitments.	Satisfaction	“China, together with 30 other countries, has also launched an Initiative for Belt and Road Partnership on COVID-19 Vaccines Cooperation...”	PS+
	Critique	Code for utterances of critique of policies and arrangements established by the status-quo, with the explicit desire to reform them.	Dissatisfaction	“China...maintains that the relevant Voting Rights Review should faithfully reflect the changes in the international economic landscape and raise the voice of developing countries.”	PS-
Value System	Internationalism	Code for utterances which highlight the positives of international and liberal values of cooperation.	Satisfaction	“Solidarity and cooperation are the most powerful weapons.”	VS+
	Sovereignty	Code for utterances which highlight sovereignty and themes of nationalism in relation to other agents in the international system.	Dissatisfaction	“The Chinese people, having suffered so much from foreign aggression and internal turmoil in modern times...”	VS-

## Appendix B

*Table A: Count of Frame Category results by source.*

<b>Coding Frame + Direction</b>	<b>Inter-national</b>	<b>Regional</b>	<b>Domestic</b>	<b>19th Party Congress</b>	<b>20th Party Congress</b>	<b>Total</b>
<b>EU+</b>	81	130	30	10	9	260
<b>EU-</b>	31	34	13	3	4	85
<b>PR+</b>	120	99	25	4	7	255
<b>PR-</b>	20	9	5	4	10	48
<b>PS+</b>	27	24	9	2	4	66
<b>PS-</b>	37	21	10	1	3	72
<b>VS+</b>	159	102	28	6	10	305
<b>VS-</b>	13	15	8	11	10	57
<b>Total</b>	488	434	128	41	57	1148

*Table B: Results for internationally oriented speeches.*

<b>Source</b>	<b>Recorded Unit</b>	<b>Code</b>
1.1	“...Bandung Spirit of solidarity, friendship and cooperation, galvanizing the national liberation movement ... accelerating the global process of decolonization. “	VS+
1.1	“The Bandung Conference, indeed, stands as a major milestone for the solidarity and cooperation between Asian and African peoples.”	PR+
1.1	“By playing an increasingly important role in regional and international affairs, the stature of the Asian and African countries in the world strategic landscape has been elevated steadily.”	PR+

1.1	“North-South gap remains staggering.”	PR-
1.1	“Asian and African countries still face multiple difficulties and challenges in upholding sovereignty and security...”	VS-
1.1	“...by pushing for a new type of international relations featuring win-win cooperation...”	VS+
1.1	“...push Asian-African cooperation constantly to a higher level, so that we will always stay as good friends, good partners and good brothers.”	PR+
1.1	“By working closely together, Asian and African countries will gain far more than what their combined strengths could produce.”	EU+
1.1	“Though diverse in social system, history, culture and values, they present a colorful tapestry of civilizations. We should seek common ground while shelving differences, and be open and inclusive.”	VS+
1.1	“We therefore welcome active participation and constructive contribution by countries from other regions.”	PR+
1.1	“They ought to look to one another for comfort and come to each other's aid in times of difficulty.”	VS+
1.1	“Asian and African countries should step up unity and cooperation...”	VS+
1.1	“...with the developing countries in Latin America, South Pacific and other regions.”	PR+
1.1	“...encourage dialogue and exchanges among regional organizations of developing countries and explore new frameworks for South-South cooperation.”	VS+
1.1	“It is necessary to increase the representation and voice of the developing countries in the various international systems...”	PR-
1.1	“Balanced global development will remain elusive if a group of countries is allowed to get richer and richer while another group gets trapped in prolonged poverty and backwardness.”	PR-
1.1	“Mutual respect and equality in state-to-state relations forms the political foundation in North-South cooperation.”	VS+
1.1	“It is necessary to respect the sovereignty, independence and territorial integrity of all countries, respect their independent choices of social system and development path, oppose any interference in the internal affairs of other countries and reject the behavior to impose one's will on others.”	VS-
1.1	“Helping developing countries to achieve development so as to close the North-South gap is the bounden responsibility and obligation of the developed countries.”	VS+
1.1	“...and build a more fair and balanced new global development partnership by strengthening the developing countries' capacity for independent development.”	PR-
1.1	“It is necessary to abandon such outdated thinking as Cold War mentality and zero-sum game.”	PS-
1.1	“...find a new path featuring security by all, of all and for all, and work together for lasting peace and stability in regions and around the world.”	VS+
1.1	“As a champion and staunch advocate for Asian-African solidarity and cooperation, China has given its firm and persistent support to the just cause of Asian and African countries...”	PR+
1.1	“China, in its efforts to safeguard sovereignty, promote reunification and build the nation...”	VS-
1.1	“Under the new circumstances, China will stay firmly committed to closer Asian-African cooperation.”	PR+

1.1	“By the end of this year, China will extend zero-tariff treatment to 97% of tax items from all the least developed countries having diplomatic ties with China.”	PS+
1.1	“...working with other countries to secure peace and stability at regional and global levels and achieve common development and prosperity.”	VS+
1.1	“China will offer 100,000 training opportunities for candidates from developing countries in Asia and Africa and host the annual Asia-Africa Youth Festival...”	PR+
1.1	“...enforcing strict Party discipline...”	VS-
1.1	“The Chinese dream, which is highly compatible with the dreams of other people in Asia, Africa and beyond, will bring benefit not only to the Chinese people but also to the people all over the world.”	VS+
1.1	“...China will continue to pursue an independent foreign policy of peace, an opening-up strategy of mutual benefit, and a balanced approach to principles and interests.	VS+
1.1	“Looking ahead, we should carry forward the Bandung Spirit and make our dream for rejuvenated Asia and Africa come true.”	PR+
1.2	“State-to-state relations ultimately rely on the support of the people and serve the people.”	VS+
1.2	“Going forward, it will continue to draw strength from and deliver benefits to them.”	PS+
1.2	“Thirty-one Chinese provinces/regions/cities have established 43 sister province/state relations and 200 sister-city relations with 50 American states.”	PR+
1.2	“Among the six Chinese provinces and cities around the table, some have the US as their largest trading partner, some have attracted tens of hundreds of American businesses, and some registered a 40% increase in their trade with the US in one single year.”	EU+
1.2	“China-US relations have, on the whole, maintained steady growth, with deepening practical cooperation in all areas.”	PR+
1.2	“First, the two sides need to tap into opportunities emanating from our huge economic aggregates.”	EU+
1.2	“We welcome closer cooperation between American states and their counterparts in China.”	PR+
1.2	“China will stay committed to reform and opening-up...”	VS+
1.2	“The US and other countries are welcome to actively participate in the "Belt and Road" Initiative.”	PR+
1.2	“Many areas in China and the US boast unique local strengths, which are highly complementary.”	PR+
1.2	“Washington, with its strengths in environmental protection, coastline protection in particular, can step up its cooperation with those Chinese provinces that invest heavily in this area or coastal provinces in China.”	PR+
1.2	“The first China-US Climate Leaders Summit recently held in Los Angeles was a great success.”	PS+
1.2	“Exchange and cooperation in environmental protection at the local level should be part and parcel of our joint efforts to address climate change and promote sustainable development.”	EU+
1.2	“I deeply value the cultural and people-to-people exchanges between our two countries.”	VS+

1.2	“Cooperation in the above-mentioned areas will promote growth and create jobs, thus bringing benefits to our peoples.”	EU+
1.2	“China will support a total of 50,000 Chinese and American students to study in each other's countries, and the US will provide opportunities to as many as one million American students to learn Chinese by 2020.”	PS+
1.2	“I hope that we can all add building blocks to the bridge of Chinese-American friendship.”	PR+
1.2	“I hope you will seize the moment, build on the momentum and work together to write a new chapter of China-US sub-national cooperation.”	PR+
1.3	“Peace is the common aspiration and lofty goal shared by all mankind.”	VS+
1.3	“The UN Charter and the Hammarskjold principles, as the fundamental guidelines for peacekeeping operations, should continue to be adhered to.”	PS+
1.3	“A better coordinated peacekeeping partnership should be established between the United Nations and relevant regional organizations.”	PS-
1.3	“In the long run, the international community and the United Nations should support African countries in increasing their own capacity in keeping peace and stability...”	PR+
1.3	“...so that African issues can be addressed in an African way.”	VS-
1.3	“First, China will join the new UN Peacekeeping Capability Readiness System and ...build a peacekeeping standby force of 8,000 troops.”	PS+
1.3	“...China will provide free military aid of US\$100 million to the African Union...”	PR+
1.3	“But even so, I want this feather to carry the wish for peace.”	VS+
1.4	“We owe the above-mentioned progress and achievements to the strong dedication and collaboration of all AIIB members...”	PR+
1.4	“Member states demonstrated a strong cooperative spirit throughout the negotiation...”	VS+
1.4	“We are confident that when faced with the task of advancing world peace and development...”	VS+
1.4	“It will serve to channel more resources, particularly private investment, into infrastructure projects to promote regional connectivity and economic integration.”	EU+
1.4	“The founding and opening of the AIIB also means a great deal to the reform of the global economic governance system.”	PS-
1.4	“... make the global economic governance system more just, equitable and effective.”	PR-
1.4	“It is our hope that member states will continue to work with one heart and one mind...”	VS+
1.4	“... the AIIB could grow fast and strong and add to the strength of multilateral development banks, thus contributing even more to global development.”	EU+
1.4	“The institution and existing multilateral development banks may complement each other for mutual strength.”	VS+



1.4	“The AIIB could become a professional and efficient platform...”	PS-
1.4	“...to promote infrastructure related investment and financing for the benefit of all sides.”	EU+
1.4	“...this is a way to allow multilateral development institutions to contribute more to infrastructure connectivity and sustainable economic development in the region.”	EU+
1.4	“Such a unique strength makes it a bridge and a bond to facilitate both South-South cooperation and North-South cooperation.”	PR+
1.4	“It should learn from the experience and best practices of existing multilateral development banks...”	PS+
1.4	“Mutual learning and sharing helps the AIIB function according to high standards.”	VS+
1.4	“It will enable China to undertake more international obligations, promote improvement of the current international economic system and provide more international public goods.”	EU+
1.4	“...and on opening wider to the outside world with more emphasis given to advancing high-level and two-way opening up.”	VS+
1.4	“... and bring more opportunities and benefits to Asia and beyond.”	PR+
1.4	“The door of China's opening up will never shut...”	VS+
1.4	“...and China welcomes all countries to ride on its development.”	PR+
1.4	“It is designed to facilitate common development in the region and the world at large.”	EU+
1.4	“To succeed, it needs to count on the solidarity, cooperation and synergy of all sides.”	VS+
1.5	“...to build a new model of major-country relationship between China and the United States.”	PR+
1.5	“We witnessed record highs in trade and two-way investment...”	EU+
1.5	“Such cooperation has brought tangible benefits to both countries and given a strong boost to peace, stability and development...”	VS+
1.5	“I believe, is that the two sides need to stay committed to the principles of non-confrontation, non-conflict, mutual respect and win-win cooperation...”	VS+
1.5	“The move toward multi-polarity... have all been accompanied by growing challenges of various sorts...”	EU-
1.5	“It is a time when ideas of zero-sum game and conflicts and confrontation must give way to common development and win-win cooperation.”	VS+
1.5	“It thus falls upon China and the US, the largest developing and developed country respectively... to act in the fundamental interests of our people and people of the world...”	PR+
1.5	“China and the US need to increase mutual trust.”	PR+
1.5	“...China-US cooperation has grown steadily in both width and depth, bringing real benefits to our people.”	EU+

1.5	“This way, we could bring more real benefits to our people and provide more public goods for greater peace...of the world.”	VS+
1.5	“What is most important is to refrain from taking the differences as excuses for confrontation.”	VS+
1.5	“China pursues a neighborhood diplomacy of amity, sincerity, mutual benefit and inclusiveness, and is committed to advancing peace, stability and development in the Asia-Pacific region.”	VS+
1.5	“The extensive common interests between China and the US in the Asia-Pacific...”	PR+
1.5	“Mutual understanding and friendship of the peoples provides the basis for the growth of China-US relations.”	VS+
1.5	“What we need to do is to build more platforms and keep facilitating these exchanges, so that the friendship between our people will go on from generation to generation.”	PS+
1.5	“China's development will be guided by the principle of innovative, coordinated, green, open and shared development.”	VS+
1.5	“...and China will have even closer cooperation with the US and other countries.”	PR+
1.5	“The S&ED and the CPE have played a significant role in increasing strategic mutual trust, expanding mutually-beneficial cooperation, and deepening friendship among the people.”	PR+
1.5	“For China and the US, as long as we stay focused on our goal and persevere in our efforts, we will be able to ... deliver greater benefits not just to the people of our two countries but to people of all countries in the world.”	EU+
1.6	“Modernizing a big country with a population of more than 1.3 billion is an endeavor never undertaken in the history of mankind, and this means China must pursue its own path of development.”	VS-
1.6	“Thanks to this reform and opening-up endeavor, China has lifted over 700 million people out of poverty...”	EU+
1.6	“We have pursued an independent foreign policy of peace and a fundamental policy of opening-up.”	VS+
1.6	“...we have been actively involved in building a fairer and more equitable international order.”	PR-
1.6	“And indeed, we have friends all over the world.”	PR+
1.6	“It is a new starting point for China to further integrate itself into the world and open itself wider to the world.”	VS+
1.6	“With these efforts, we can energize the market and achieve coordinated development.”	EU+
1.6	“We will continue to explore new institutional mechanism, break through the resistance of vested interests...”	PS-
1.6	“Since the beginning of reform and opening-up, China has lifted more than 700 million people out of poverty...”	EU+
1.6	“We will continue to be fully involved in economic globalization and support the multilateral trading regime.”	PS+
1.6	“We will also accelerate negotiation on FTAs and investment treaties with relevant countries ...”	PS+
1.6	“China's development has benefited from the international community.”	EU+

1.6	“Here, I wish to stress that the new mechanisms and initiatives launched by China are not intended to reinvent the wheels or target any other country.”	PS+
1.6	“It is meant to build not China's own backyard garden, but a garden shared by all countries.”	VS+
1.6	“Currently, protectionism is rising; global trade and investment are sluggish; the multilateral trading regime faces bottlenecks...”	EU-
1.6	“... they require all countries to work together to maximize and quicken their positive effects while minimizing the potential negative impacts.	EU+
1.6	“...we need to innovate our macroeconomic policies and effectively combine fiscal and monetary policies with structural reform policies.”	PS-
1.6	“The path of world economic development shows that openness brings progress and isolation leads to backwardness.”	VS+
1.6	“What it implies is the importance of building an open world economy.”	VS+
1.6	“No country could seek development on its own; and the one sure path is through coordination and cooperation.”	VS+
1.6	“We need to maximize the positive spillovers and minimize the negative external impacts...”	EU-
1.6	“We also need to encourage mutual learning to address asymmetries in systems, policies and standards.”	PR-
1.6	“China has put forward the global infrastructure connectivity alliance initiative to... give greater funds and intellectual support to infrastructure projects to speed up the process of global infrastructure connectivity.”	EU+
1.6	“We hope to convey a message to the international community that the G20 works for the interest of not just its 20 members, but the whole world.”	VS+
1.6	“No country can develop solely on its own or resolve all problems without working with others.”	VS+
1.6	“It is important to reject the outdated Cold War mentality...”	PS-
1.6	“We call on all countries to cherish the hard-won peace ...and play a constructive role in maintaining global and regional stability.”	VS+
1.6	“To seek harmony and coexistence is in the genes of the Chinese nation throughout history.”	VS+
1.6	“China will continue to fulfill its international obligations ...”	PS+
1.6	“Partnership is the most valuable asset of the G20 and the choice of all countries as they rise up together to global challenges.”	VS+
1.6	“The world will be a better place only when everyone is better off.”	VS+
1.6	“We need to... improve macroeconomic policy coordination mechanisms... and ensure their positive rather than negative spillovers.”	PS-

1.6	"... uphold the vision of win-win results... and ensure that such cooperation delivers outcomes to meet people's expectations."	EU+
1.6	"We need to enable people of different countries, cultures and historical backgrounds to deepen exchange..."	VS+
1.6	"Global economic governance should be based on equality...increase the representation and voice of emerging markets and developing countries..."	PS-
1.6	"Global economic governance should embrace openness."	VS+
1.7	"On the one hand, with growing material wealth ... human civilization has developed as never before."	EU+
1.7	"On the other hand, frequent regional conflicts, global challenges like terrorism and refugees, as well as poverty, unemployment and widening income gap have all added to the uncertainties of the world"	EU-
1.7	"Economic globalization ... has now become the Pandora's box in the eyes of many."	PS-
1.7	"...and its solution lies in making peace, promoting reconciliation and restoring stability."	VS+
1.7	"...it is the consequence of excessive chase of profit by financial capital and grave failure of financial regulation."	PS-
1.7	"Economic globalization has powered global growth and facilitated movement of goods and capital, advances in science, technology and civilization, and interactions among peoples."	EU+
1.7	"But we should also recognize that economic globalization is a double-edged sword."	EU-
1.7	"Rather, we should adapt to and guide economic globalization, cushion its negative impact..."	PS-
1.7	"and deliver its benefits to all countries and all nations."	VS+
1.7	"But we came to the conclusion that integration into the global economy is a historical trend."	VS+
1.7	"Any attempt to cut off the flow of capital, technologies, products, industries and people between economies... is simply not possible."	VS+
1.7	"...the right thing to do is to seize every opportunity, jointly meet challenges and chart the right course for economic globalization."	VS+
1.7	"...I spoke about the necessity to make the process of economic globalization more invigorated, more inclusive and more sustainable."	PS-
1.7	"...to ensure that different countries, different social strata ...all share in the benefits of economic globalization."	PR+
1.7	"...the gap between the poor and the rich and between the South and the North is widening."	PR-
1.7	"The root cause is that the three critical issues in the economic sphere have not been effectively addressed."	PS-
1.7	"Second, inadequate global economic governance makes it difficult to adapt to new developments in the global economy."	PS-
1.7	"Third, uneven global development makes it difficult to meet people's expectations for better lives."	PR-

1.7	“We should adopt new policy instruments and advance structural reform...”	PS-
1.7	“...we should pursue a well-coordinated and inter-connected approach to develop a model of open and win-win cooperation.”	VS+
1.7	“Only when it adapts to new dynamics in the international economic architecture can the global governance system sustain global growth.”	PS-
1.7	“...are all equal members of the international community.”	PR+
1.7	“The 2010 IMF quota reform has entered into force, and its momentum should be sustained.”	PS-
1.7	“Priority should be given to addressing poverty, unemployment, the widening income gap and the concerns of the disadvantaged to promote social equity and justice.”	VS+
1.7	“As long as we keep to the goal of building a community of shared future for mankind and work hand in hand to fulfill our responsibilities and overcome difficulties, we will be able to create a better world and deliver better lives for our peoples.”	VS+
1.7	“China has become the world’s second largest economy thanks to 38 years of reform and opening-up.”	VS+
1.7	“...still less should it impose its own development path on others.”	VS-
1.7	“China is committed to a fundamental policy of opening-up and pursues a win-win opening-up strategy.”	VS+
1.7	“China has not only benefited from economic globalization but also contributed to it.”	EU+
1.7	“We will open our arms to the people of other countries and welcome them aboard the express train of China’s development.”	VS+
1.7	“We will expand market access for foreign investors, build high-standard pilot free trade zones, strengthen protection of property rights, and level the playing field to make China’s market more transparent and better regulated.”	PS+
1.7	“China will keep its door wide open and not close it.”	VS+
1.7	“China will vigorously foster an external environment of opening-up for common development.”	VS+
1.7	“The “Belt and Road” initiative originated in China, but it has delivered benefits well beyond its borders.”	EU+
1.8	“That said, we should not lose sight of the growing risks of downward pressure and uncertainties in the world economy.”	EU-
1.8	“...need to pull together and work hand in hand more confidently to foster a favorable environment for greater development, and make bigger contribution to global growth.”	VS+
1.8	“The beggar-thy-neighbor practice or zero-sum game will not help world economic growth...”	PS-
1.8	“We need to advocate an open world economy, firmly support the multilateral trading regime, oppose protectionism, and rebalance economic globalization to make it more inclusive and equitable.”	VS+
1.8	“We need to promote greater representation and voice of the emerging market ...”	PS-

1.8	“We need to call on the international community to place development high on the agenda of macro-policy coordination, better leverage the role of the United Nations, make good use of the High-level Political Forum on Sustainable Development, and accelerate the implementation of the Sustainable Development Agenda.”	PS+
1.8	“... we need to ensure that the reform will focus on development and bring more input to truly serve the need of developing countries.”	PS-
1.8	“We need to enhance complementarity of our development strategies...”	VS+
1.8	“Fourth, we need to work more closely to build extensive development partnerships.”	VS+
1.8	“Thanks to these efforts, we have attained early harvests on economic, social, environmental and many other fronts.”	EU+
1.8	“...to boost cooperation on development and help fellow developing countries in implementing the Sustainable Development Agenda.”	PR+
1.8	“The Belt and Road is as much a path of cooperation as one of hope and mutual benefit.”	VS+
1.8	“Let us work together to blaze a new path to development that is fair, open, comprehensive and innovative.”	VS+
1.9	“In the meantime, human rights must and can only be promoted in light of specific national conditions and people's needs.”	VS+
1.9	“The Chinese people would like to work in concert with people in other developing countries ...”	PR+
1.9	“...how to help people in developing countries enjoy human rights more fully and to achieve common prosperity and development for mankind.”	VS+
1.10	“We as BRICS leaders unanimously agreed to strengthen our strategic partnership, consolidate the cooperation architecture with its three main drivers...”	PR+
1.10	“...guided by the BRICS spirit of openness, inclusiveness and win-win cooperation...”	VS+
1.10	“Indeed, our cooperation has contributed much to global economic recovery and growth.”	EU+
1.10	“...promoting the common development of both BRICS countries and other countries in the world....”	PR+
1.10	“We must seize this important opportunity to enable emerging markets and developing countries to achieve leapfrog development.”	EU+
1.10	“The collective rise of emerging market...will make global development more balanced...”	PR+
1.10	“... and global peace more firmly based.”	VS+
1.10	“Geopolitical hotspots keep emerging, and the dark shadow of terrorism and armed conflicts still haunts us.”	EU-
1.10	“and play a constructive role in building a new type of international relations and a community with a shared future for mankind.”	VS+
1.10	“First, we should pursue win-win cooperation to build an open economy.”	VS+
1.10	“Openness and cooperation are the sure way to achieve progress in science and technology and growth of productivity.”	EU-

1.10	“Economic hegemony is even more objectionable, as it will undermine the collective interests of the international community; those who pursue this course will only end up hurting themselves.”	VS+
1.10	“...only by opening themselves can different countries achieve mutual benefit, shared prosperity and sustainable development.”	VS+
1.10	“We should ensure that economic globalization will deliver more benefits.”	EU+
1.10	“We should help emerging markets and developing countries, African countries and the least developed countries...”	PR+
1.10	“...every country has an equal right to development.”	VS+
1.10	“Third, we should pursue inclusive growth to deliver benefits to people of all countries.”	PR+
1.10	“The North-South gap...remains huge.”	PR-
1.10	“We should strengthen cooperation with Africa...”	PR+
1.10	“We should actively carry out cooperation with African countries in such areas as poverty reduction, food security, innovation, infrastructure development and industrialization in a way compatible with their national conditions.”	EU+
1.10	“Obviously, the current international order is not a perfect one.”	EU-
1.10	“...such an international order should not be discarded at will, still less should it be dismantled and rebuilt all over again.”	PS+
1.10	“We should urge all parties to fully observe collectively adopted international rules...”	VS+
1.10	“...and we should treat all countries as equals regardless of their size...”	PR+
1.10	“We should promote common, comprehensive, cooperative and sustainable security...”	VS+
1.10	“...advance global economic governance reform and increase the representation and voice of emerging markets and developing countries.”	PS-
1.10	“We have embraced the world and integrated our country fully into it.”	VS+
1.10	“...China will ride the trend of the times and pursue innovation-driven, coordinated, green and open development for all.”	EU+
1.10	“We will take an active part in South-South cooperation to foster greater opportunities for common development of emerging markets and developing countries.”	PR+
1.10	“China will continue to develop itself with its door wide open.”	VS+
1.10	“...a major move to firmly support trade liberalization and open its market.”	VS+
1.10	“...guided by the principle of seeking shared benefits through extensive consultation and joint contribution...”	VS+

1.10	“It is our sincere hope that other BRICS countries, African countries and other emerging markets and developing countries will forge strong partnerships...”	PR+
1.10	“China and African countries are destined to be good friends, good brothers and good partners...”	PR+
1.10	“Our five BRICS countries have also made good progress in cooperation on trade facilitation, service trade, e-commerce, intellectual property rights and in other fields.”	EU+
1.10	“...that you will fully leverage your strengths to enhance win-win cooperation for common development between our five countries.”	EU+
1.11	“...in this lovely season for the reunion of the China-Africa big family at the 2018 Beijing Summit of the Forum on China-Africa Cooperation (FOCAC).”	PR+
1.11	“...that China-Africa friendship and cooperation have broad vistas, and that China and Africa can forge an even stronger comprehensive strategic and cooperative partnership!”	PR+
1.11	“With similar fate in the past and a common mission, China and Africa have extended sympathy to and helped each other throughout all the years.”	PR+
1.11	“China values sincerity, friendship and equality in pursuing cooperation.”	VS+
1.11	“...no interference in African countries' pursuit of development paths that fit their national conditions...”	VS-
1.11	“For China, we are always Africa's good friend, good partner and good brother.”	PR+
1.11	“China believes that the sure way to boost China-Africa cooperation is for both sides to leverage its respective strength.”	PR+
1.11	“China advances its cooperation with Africa to improve the well-being of Chinese and African peoples and deliver more benefits to them.”	EU+
1.11	“China will continue to improve institution building, develop new ideas and expand areas of cooperation...”	PS+
	“China takes an open and inclusive approach to cooperation.”	VS+
1.11	“China is fully aware that long-term stability, security, development and invigoration for Africa is not only the longing of the African people; it is also the responsibility of the international community.	PR+
1.11	“On the other hand, we also face challenges unseen before.”	EU-
1.11	“China will work with other countries to build a community with a shared future for mankind...”	VS+
1.11	“We hope to create new drivers to power common development through this new platform of international cooperation...”	EU+
1.11	“...and we hope to turn it into a road of peace, prosperity, openness, green development and innovation and a road that brings together different civilizations.”	VS+
1.11	“...China will get actively involved in global governance and stay committed to the vision of consultation, cooperation and benefit for all in global governance.”	PS+
1.11	“We call for increasing the representation and voice of developing countries in international affairs and support efforts to strengthen the South...”	PS-
1.11	“China will remain committed to opening-up.”	VS+



1.11	“China will work with Africa to achieve our shared goal of building a closer China-Africa community with a shared future and turn it into a pacesetter for building such a community for mankind.”	PR+
1.11	“We could increase political and policy dialogue at various levels, enhance mutual understanding and support on issues involving each other's core interests and major concerns...”	PS+
1.11	“Such efforts will enable us to uphold the common interests of China and Africa as well as other developing countries.”	PR+
1.11	“We could both seize the opportunity created by the complementarity between our respective development strategies and the major opportunities presented by the Belt and Road Initiative.”	EU+
1.11	“...we could expand areas of cooperation, unlock new cooperation potential, consolidate our traditional areas of cooperation, and foster new highlights of cooperation in the new economy.”	VS+
1.11	“Making lives better for our people is what we aim to achieve in growing China-Africa relations.”	PR+
1.11	“Fifth, let us build a China-Africa community with a shared future that enjoys common security.”	PR+
1.11	“We will strengthen exchange and cooperation with Africa on climate change, clean energy, prevention and control of desertification and soil erosion...”	PS+
1,11	“These ten cooperation plans have brought huge benefits to the African and Chinese peoples.”	EU+
1.11	“...on the basis of the ten cooperation plans already adopted, launch eight major initiatives in close collaboration with African countries in the next three years and beyond.”	PS+
1.11	“...we encourage Chinese companies to increase investment in Africa...”	PR+
1.11	“The least developed African countries participating in it will be exempted from paying exhibition stand fees.”	PR+
1.11	“China will train more medical specialists for Africa and continue to send medical teams that better meet Africa's needs.”	PR+
1.11	“China will continue to provide military aid to the AU...”	PR+
1.11	“These measures will provide young Africans with more training and job opportunities and open up more space for their development.”	EU+
1.12	“Today, the global economy, while maintaining growth on the whole, is still not free from the underlying impacts of the crisis.”	EU-
1.12	“...the trend toward openness and integration among countries is unstoppable despite ups and downs in the global economy.”	VS+
1.12	“Over the past decade, we have braced difficulties together, navigated the global economy out of recession and brought it back to the track of recovery and growth.”	EU+
1.12	“First, we should stay committed to openness and cooperation and uphold the multilateral trading system.”	VS+
1.12	“China supports necessary reform of the World Trade Organization.”	PS-
1.12	“We need to conduct extensive consultation to achieve gradual progress instead of imposing one's position on others.”	VS-
1.12	“We need to watch out for risks and challenges brought by the application of new technologies, and strengthen the legal and regulatory framework.”	EU-

1.12	“...we also need to keep our doors open and encourage the spread of new technologies and knowledge so that innovation will benefit more countries and peoples.”	VS+
1.12	“Development also provides a strong guarantee for greater equity and justice.”	VS+
1.12	“We should protect the development interests and space of developing countries so as to ensure global growth that is truly equitable.”	PR+
1.12	“We should continue to support Africa's development by helping Africa with its infrastructure and connectivity building and new industrialization.”	EU+
1.12	“China owes its progress to reform and opening-up, and will continue to advance on this path.”	VS+
1.13	“The "early harvests" of Belt and Road cooperation achieved so far have opened up greater space for national and global economic growth, provided a platform for enhancing international cooperation, and made a fresh contribution to building a community with a shared future for mankind.”	EU+
1.13	“...he parties have conducted consultation as equals, jointly shouldered responsibilities and enjoyed the benefits together.”	PR+
1.13	“...align our cooperation with universally accepted international rules and standards.”	VS+
1.13	“...to realize more effective connectivity between countries, promote stronger economic growth and closer international cooperation, and deliver better lives to our peoples.”	EU+
1.13	“We will continue to promote land, sea, air and cyber connectivity and develop high-quality, sustainable, resilient, affordable, inclusive and accessible infrastructure.”	PS+
1.13	“They are seen by all sides as good news for both China and the world at large and important opportunities for Belt and Road cooperation and development of the world economy.”	PR+
1.13	“...more and more friends and partners will join in Belt and Road cooperation, and the cooperation will enjoy higher quality and brighter prospects.”	EU+
1.14	“Every time I was there, I witnessed the deepening of friendship between our two peoples and the productive outcomes of our cooperation.”	PR+
1.14	“Our two countries enjoy strong political trust and can always count on each other's firm support on issues concerning our respective core interests and major concerns.”	PR+
1.14	“The long-term development of China-Russia relations is blessed by the strong support of our people, who forged a profound friendship as comrades-in-arms in our great, heroic fight against Fascist aggression.”	VS+
1.14	“We need to work closely to seek greater synergy between our development strategies, deeper convergence of our development interests, and closer people-to-people ties.”	VS+
1.14	“Economic cooperation and trade, as a key pillar of our relations, is crucial to the common development and revitalization of China and Russia.”	EU+
1.14	“...are especially valuable given the current complex environment of sluggish global trade and investment and surging protectionism in the world.”	EU-
1.14	“Our two countries are steadily implementing major cooperation projects in energy, transportation, agriculture, aviation, space and other fields.”	EU+
1.14	“...and harnessed various mechanisms for more frequent interactions and greater economic, trade and investment cooperation...”	EU+
1.14	“The most effective way to address them is to take an innovative and multi-pronged approach to expand cooperation areas.”	VS+

1.14	“The BRI put forth by China aims to deepen practical cooperation focusing on connectivity, jointly address risks and challenges facing humanity, and bring about mutual benefit and common development.”	EU+
1.14	“The BRI and the EAEU are both committed to facilitating the development and rejuvenation of the participating countries and regions and to promoting open and inclusive cooperation in our region.”	PR+
1.14	“Development and use of the Arctic shipping routes will provide new opportunities, a new platform and new impetus for synergizing the BRI and the EAEU.”	EU+
1.14	“...a plus for both China-Russia cooperation and world economic growth.”	PR+
1.14	“...making BRICS an important force that plays an active, stabilizing and constructive role in international affairs.”	EU+
1.14	“...makes it all the more important for our five countries to stay united in the spirit of equality and mutual assistance...”	PR+
1.14	“China and Russia are comprehensive strategic partners of coordination, and important members of BRICS.”	PR+
1.14	“...BRICS cooperation will yield still greater results to deliver more benefits to the people of our five countries.”	EU+
1.14	“In the 18 years since the SCO's inception, China and Russia have maintained close coordination and collaboration.”	PR+
1.14	“The Shanghai Spirit of mutual trust, mutual benefit, equality, consultation, respect for diversity of civilizations...”	VS+
1.14	“...firmly rejected such anachronistic ideas as clash of civilizations, Cold War mentality, and zero-sum game.”	PS-
1.14	“...and set up a paradigm of a new type of international relations featuring mutual respect, fairness and justice, and win-win cooperation.”	PS-
1.14	“China and Russia have worked with other member states to deepen all-round cooperation...”	PR+
1.14	“All these efforts have made the SCO irreplaceable for the lasting peace and stability of the whole region and the development and prosperity of individual countries.”	EU+
1.14	“Our Organization is an important and constructive force in Eurasia.”	EU+
1.14	“...and promoted a fairer and more equitable international order.”	PR-
1.14	“...to enhance unity, mutual trust and cooperation in various areas so that our Organization...”	VS+
1.14	“I have had closer interactions with President Putin than with any other foreign colleagues.”	PR+
1.14	“My engagement with President Putin is built on a high degree of mutual trust.”	PR+
1.14	“The Chinese and Syrian people have long enjoyed a traditional friendship.”	PR+
1.14	“As such, China stands ready to take part in Syria's reconstruction to the best of its capacity and help the Syrian people regain their normal life and work at an early day.”	EU+
1.14	“China opposes external intervention, unilateral sanctions, and the use or threat of force.”	VS-

1.14	“...and uphold international equity and justice, the purposes and principles of the UN Charter, and regional peace and stability...”	VS+
1.14	“With the US imposing maximum pressure and unilateral sanctions on Iran in recent months, tensions have been escalating...”	PR-
1.14	“China and Russia have highly aligned views and positions on the Iranian nuclear issue...”	PR+
1.15	“Meanwhile, the unstoppable rise of emerging markets and developing countries has injected strong impetus to the reform of the global economic governance system.”	PS-
1.15	“We must remain true to our unwavering commitment to development and strengthen solidarity and cooperation for the well-being of our people and for the development of our world.”	VS+
1.15	“As we speak, tensions continue in regional security situations; hotspot issues keep emerging; traditional and non-traditional security threats are interwoven.”	EU-
1.15	“...we need to uphold fairness and justice and promote win-win results...”	VS+
1.15	“Let us pursue greater development prospects through openness and innovation.”	VS+
1.15	“We must therefore seize the opportunities that come with reform and innovation.”	EU+
1.15	“At present, economic globalization is encountering setbacks, which reveal, to a certain degree, the flaws existing in the global governance system”	PS-
1.15	“On that basis, we can leverage "BRICS Plus" cooperation as a platform to increase dialogue with other countries and civilizations and win BRICS more friends and partners.”	PR+
1.15	“Going forward, China will open up still wider.”	VS+
1.15	“We will continue to enhance friendship and cooperation with all other countries on the basis of the Five Principles of Peaceful Coexistence.”	VS+
1.15	“All in all, China will work with the rest of the international community toward the goal of building a new type of international relationship and of building a community with a shared future for mankind.”	PR+
1.16	“At the most difficult moment in our fight against the outbreak, China received assistance and help from a lot of members of the global community.”	PR+
1.16	“As we speak, the COVID-19 outbreak is spreading worldwide, posing enormous threat to life and health and bringing formidable challenge to global public health security.”	EU-
1.16	“At such a moment, it is imperative for the international community to strengthen confidence, act with unity and work together in a collective response.”	VS+
1.16	“G20 members need to jointly help developing countries with weak public health systems enhance preparedness and response.”	PR+
1.16	“All must work together to build a strongest global network of control and treatment that the world has ever seen.”	VS+
1.16	“It is imperative that countries pool their strengths and speed up research and development of drugs, vaccines and testing capabilities in the hope to achieve early breakthrough to the benefit of all.”	PR+
1.16	“I call on G20 members to enhance anti-epidemic information sharing with the support of WHO and to promote control and treatment protocols that are comprehensive, systematic and effective.”	PS+
1.16	“For China, we will be happy to join other countries and scale up support for relevant international and regional organizations.”	PR+

1.16	“Countries need to leverage and coordinate their macro policies to counteract the negative impact and prevent the world economy from falling into recession.”	EU-
1.16	“We will continue to advance reform and opening-up, widen market access, improve the business environment, and expand imports and outbound investment to contribute to a stable world economy.”	PS+
1.16	“Together, we can send a strong signal and restore confidence for global economic recovery.”	VS+
1.17	“With love and compassion, we have forged extraordinary synergy in the fight against COVID-19.”	VS+
1.17	“All along, we have acted with openness, transparency and responsibility.”	VS+
1.17	“We need to step up information sharing, exchange experience and best practice, and pursue international cooperation on testing methods, clinical treatment, and vaccine and medicine research and development.”	EU+
1.17	“Third, we must provide greater support for Africa.”	PR+
1.17	“In view of the weaknesses and deficiencies exposed by COVID-19, we need to improve the governance system for public health security.”	PS-
1.17	“Solidarity and cooperation is our most powerful weapon for defeating the virus.”	VS+
1.17	“China stands for the vision of building a community with a shared future for mankind.”	VS+
1.17	“China will establish a cooperation mechanism for its hospitals to pair up with 30 African hospitals and accelerate the building of the Africa CDC headquarters to help the continent ramp up its disease preparedness and control capacity.”	PR+
1.17	“COVID-19 vaccine development and deployment in China, when available, will be made a global public good.”	PR+
1.17	“China will work with other G20 members to implement the Debt Service Suspension Initiative for the poorest countries.”	PR+
1.17	“To conclude, I call on all of us to come together and work as one.”	VS+
1.18	“Traditional and non-traditional security threats keep emerging.”	EU-
1.18	“China will honor its commitment to make Chinese vaccines a global public good.”	PR+
1.18	“Second, let us embrace openness and cooperation to jointly promote recovery.”	VS+
1.18	“China will earnestly act on the G20 debt service suspension initiative for the poorest countries.”	PR+
1.18	“We need to adhere to peaceful coexistence.”	VS+
1.18	“We need to respect other countries’ right to development and their independent choice of development paths and models.”	VS-
1.18	“China is committed to the path of peaceful development.”	VS+

1.18	“China will step up communication and coordination with France and other countries..	PR+
1.18	“Let us join hands to build a community with a shared future for mankind and bring greater benefit to people of our world.”	VS+
1.19	“Nine years on, China-CEEC cooperation has stood the test of time and intricate changes in the international landscape.”	PR+
1.19	“China-CEEC cooperation is based on mutual respect and has no political strings attached.”	VS+
1.19	“With its focus on real results, China-CEEC cooperation has served the purpose of supporting our respective development and bettering the lives of our people.”	EU+
1.19	“... and made sure that the fruits of cooperation are shared by all countries and communities.”	PR+
1.19	“China and CEE countries share the conviction that openness brings opportunities and inclusiveness ensures diversity.”	VS+
1.19	“We also welcome the participation of other countries and international organizations in our cooperation to achieve win-win results.	PR+
1.19	“Changes unseen in a century, coupled with the global COVID-19 pandemic, have had a far-reaching impact.”	EU-
1.19	“In the face of such unprecedented challenges, countries must come together and respond with solidarity and coordination like never before.”	VS+
1.19	“In 2020, overall China-EU relations made new progress despite the challenges caused by the pandemic.”	PR+
1.19	“To complete this task, China will work with CEE countries through solidarity, coordination and cooperation.”	PR+
1.19	“These efforts will contribute to a global community of health for all.”	EU+”
1.19	“China will continue to provide vaccines to countries in need to the best of its capability, and do what it can to make vaccines a global public good...”	PR+
1.19	“We need to stay committed to open cooperation.”	VS+
1.19	“...speed up such major projects as the Budapest-Belgrade Railway, and continue to support the development of the China-Europe Railway Express...”	PS+
1.19	“China will work with CEE countries to help the region share in the benefits of China-EU cooperation as early as possible.”	PR+
1.19	“More should be done toward mutually-beneficial trade and investment cooperation to promote balanced and sustainable trade growth.”	EU+
1.19	“It will thus boost global demand and create more opportunities for the rest of the world.”	EU+
1.19	“China will continue to open its door wider, with a focus on institutional opening-up that covers rules, regulations, management and standards.”	VS+

1.20	“G20 members need to shoulder responsibilities in global cooperation against the virus.”	VS+
1.20	“...and lose no time in remedying deficiencies, closing loopholes and strengthening weak links...”	PS-
1.20	“It is essential to give continued support by such means as debt suspension and development aid to developing countries, especially vulnerable countries facing exceptional difficulties.”	PR+
1.20	“Today, the problem of uneven vaccination has become more acute.”	PR-
1.20	“It is imperative for us to reject vaccine nationalism...”	VS+
1.20	“... in order to make vaccines more accessible and affordable in developing countries.”	PR+
1.20	“It is important that we strengthen and leverage the role of the UN and the WHO and improve the global disease prevention and control system to better prevent and respond to future pandemics.”	PS-
1.20	“It is important that we uphold the spirit of extensive consultation, joint contribution and shared benefits...”	VS-
1.20	“China has honored its commitment by providing free vaccines to more than 80 developing countries in urgent need and exporting vaccines to 43 countries.”	PR+
1.20	“China supports its vaccine companies in transferring technologies to other developing countries and carrying out joint production with them.”	PR+
1.20	“...China also supports the World Trade Organization and other international institutions in making an early decision on this matter.”	PS+
1.21	“In this context, the international community must enhance cooperation, build consensus and pool strength to build a community of all life on Earth.”	VS+
1.21	“We need to speed up efforts to foster a green way of development and secure a win-win of economic growth and environmental protection, so as to build a homeland of coordinated advancement of economy and the environment.”	EU+
1.21	“...and let people across countries benefit more and in a fairer way from development outcomes...”	PR-
1.21	“For the sake of our common future, we need to join hands and start a new journey of high-quality development for humanity.”	VS+
1.21	“We also need to step up green international cooperation and share the fruits of green development among all countries.”	EU+
1.21	“...so as to make the global environmental governance system fairer and more equitable.”	PS-

1.21	"...and take the lead by investing 1.5 billion RMB yuan to support biodiversity protection in developing countries."	PR+
1.21	"Let us join hands, follow the philosophy of ecological civilization and shoulder our responsibility for future generations."	VS+
1.22	"We shall keep in mind the original aspiration of the Olympic Movement and jointly uphold world peace."	VS+
1.22	"The COVID-19 pandemic is still raging, while global issues including climate change and terrorism keep emerging."	EU-
1.22	"We need to practice true multilateralism."	VS+
1.22	"...stay true to humanity's common values of peace, development, equity, justice, democracy and freedom..."	VS+
1.23	"Various security challenges keep emerging."	EU-
1.23	"...the historical trend of openness and development will not reverse course..."	VS+
1.23	"First, we should embrace solidarity and coordination and jointly maintain world peace and stability."	VS+
1.23	"It reminds us that blind faith in the so-called "position of strength" and attempts to expand military alliances and seek one's own security at the expense of others will only land oneself in a security dilemma."	VS+
1.23	"Facing a volatile and unstable world..."	EU-
1.23	"...we should stay true to the pledge of the UN Charter and fulfill the mission of maintaining peace."	VS+
1.23	"Development holds the key to solving various difficult problems and delivering better lives to the people."	EU+
1.23	"Today, the global development process has hit major roadblocks, the momentum of international development cooperation is being weakened..."	EU-
1.23	"...and development gap between the North and the South keeps widening."	PR-
1.23	"...and promote cooperation in a wide range of areas such as poverty reduction, public health, education, digital connectivity and industrialization."	EU+
1.23	"At present, some important industrial and supply chains are suffering from deliberate disruptions, commodity prices remain high and are fluctuating, global inflation keeps rising, the international financial market is in turmoil, and global economic recovery is losing steam."	EU-



1.23	"...tiding over difficulties together and pursuing cooperation is the only way for us to forestall an economic crisis."	EU+
1.23	"... and avoid negative policy spillovers that may take a heavy toll on developing countries."	PR+
1.23	"...and willfully impose sanctions by using one's primary position in the international financial and monetary systems will only end up hurting one's own interests as well as those of others."	PS-
1.23	"Fourth, we should be inclusive and jointly expand openness and integration."	VS+
1.23	"A more open and inclusive world will create greater development opportunities for all and deliver a more prosperous future for all."	EU+
1.23	"Some countries attempt to decouple with others, sever supply chains and build "a small yard with high fences"."	EU-
1.23	"Anyone who attempts to turn back the wheel of history and block others' way will only have his own path blocked."	VS+
1.23	"We should stay committed to openness and inclusiveness, eliminate all barriers to the development of productivity, and steer globalization in the right direction."	VS+
1.23	"This will boost the free flow of capital and technology, unleash the full potential of innovation and creativity, and foster synergy in boosting global economic growth."	EU+
1.23	"This will ensure that all countries enjoy equal rights, follow the rules as equals, and share equal opportunities."	PR+
1.23	"China will continue to pursue opening-up against higher standards, develop new systems for a higher-standard open economy, and continue to foster a market- and law-based and internationalized business environment."	VS+
1.23	"...unlocked the potential of cooperation among the five countries, and made important contribution to the development of BRICS countries."	PR+
1.23	"I am convinced that as long as we hoist high the sail of mutual benefit and win-win and keep a steady hand on the tiller of solidarity and cooperation, we will break waves and steer the giant ship of BRICS countries toward a brighter future!"	VS+
1.24	"The world economy is getting more fragile."	EU-
1.24	"It is imperative that all countries embrace the vision of a community with a shared future for mankind, and advocate peace, development, and win-win cooperation."	VS+
1.24	"We should make global development more inclusive."	PR+
1.24	"Solidarity is strength, but division leads nowhere."	VS+

1.24	“Countries should respect each other, seek common grounds while reserving differences, live together in peace, and promote an open world economy.”	VS+
1.24	“Only solidarity and common development is the right choice to make.”	VS+
1.24	“Prosperity and stability cannot be possible in a world where the rich become richer while the poor are made poorer.”	PR-
1.24	“Frontrunners in development should sincerely help others develop, and provide more global public goods.”	EU+
1.24	“We are working with 100-plus countries and international organizations on the GDI, thus providing new impetus for the implementation of the 2030 Agenda for Sustainable Development.”	PR+
1.24	“Economic globalization is encountering headwinds, and the world economy is at risk of recession.”	EU-
1.24	“Everyone is having a hard time, but developing countries are bearing the brunt.”	PR-
1.24	“commitment to supporting the growth of developing countries and preventing divergent and unbalanced global recovery.”	PR+
1.24	“In particular, developed economies should mitigate the negative spillovers from their monetary policy adjustment, and keep their debts at sustainable levels.”	EU-
1.24	“Meanwhile, China is working with some G20 members on the debt treatment under the Common Framework for Debt Treatment beyond the DSSI, thus helping relevant developing countries navigate through the difficult time.”	PR+
1.24	“We should continue to uphold the WTO-centered multilateral trading system...”	PS+
1.24	"We look forward to working with all parties to foster an open, fair, and non-discriminatory environment for digital economy so as to narrow the North-South digital divide.”	PR+
1.24	“International cooperation is very important for fighting corruption.”	EU+
1.24	“The root cause of the ongoing crises is not production or demand, but interrupted supply chains and international cooperation.”	EU-
1.24	“The way out of this is for all countries to, with the coordination of the UN and other multilateral international organizations, enhance cooperation on market supervision and regulation...”	EU+
1.24	“Unilateral sanctions must be removed, and restrictions on relevant scientific and technological cooperation must be lifted.”	PS-
1.24	“Developing countries face more acute risks in food and energy security.”	PR-

1.24	“China will stay committed to the path of peaceful development, stay committed to deepening reform and opening-up, and stay committed to promoting national rejuvenation on all fronts through a Chinese path to modernization.”	VS+
1.25	“We gather at a time when the world has entered a new period of turbulence and transformation.”	EU-
1.25	“Our track record shows that we have consistently acted on the BRICS spirit of openness, inclusiveness and win-win cooperation, and taken BRICS cooperation to new heights in support of our five countries' development.”	VS+
1.25	“...and enhanced the voice and influence of emerging markets and developing countries.”	PR+
1.25	“We should always bear in mind our founding purpose of strengthening ourselves through unity, enhance cooperation across the board, and build a high-quality partnership.”	VS+
1.25	“We should help reform global governance to make it more just and equitable, and bring to the world more certainty, stability and positive energy.”	PS-
1.25	“Challenges for developing countries are even more formidable, hampering their efforts to realize the Sustainable Development Goals.”	PR-
1.25	“We should focus on practical cooperation, particularly in such fields as digital economy, green development, and supply chain, and bolster economic, trade and financial exchanges.”	EU+
1.25	“We should expand political and security cooperation to uphold peace and tranquility.”	VS+
1.25	“The Cold War mentality is still haunting our world, and the geopolitical situation is getting tense.”	EU-
1.25	“BRICS countries need to champion the spirit of inclusiveness, advocate peaceful coexistence and harmony between civilizations, and promote respect of all countries in independently choosing their modernization paths.”	VS+
1.25	“Strengthening global governance is the right choice if the international community intends to share development opportunities and tackle global challenges.”	PS-
1.25	“International rules must be written and upheld jointly by all countries based on the purposes and principles of the U.N. Charter, rather than dictated by those with the strongest muscles or the loudest voice.”	PR-
1.25	“BRICS countries should practice true multilateralism.”	VS+
1.25	“... push forward reform of the international financial and monetary systems and increase the representation and voice of developing countries.”	PS-
1.25	“We need to act on the BRICS spirit of openness, inclusiveness and win-win cooperation...”	VS+

1.25	“... to bring more countries into the BRICS family.”	PR+
1.25	“China is ready to work with BRICS partners....”	PR+
1.25	“...to pursue the vision of a community with a shared future for mankind, enhance the strategic partnership, and deepen cooperation across the board.”	VS+
1.26	“The BRI, drawing inspiration from the ancient Silk Road and focusing on enhancing connectivity, aims to enhance policy, infrastructure, trade, financial and people-to-people connectivity, inject new impetus into the global economy, create new opportunities for global development, and build a new platform for international economic cooperation.”	EU-
1.26	“... we have endeavored to build a global network of connectivity consisting of economic corridors, international transportation routes.”	EU+
1.26	“...power transmission networks are removing the development bottleneck caused by energy shortage...”	EU+
1.26	“...and fulfilling the dream of developing countries to achieve green and low-carbon development.	PR+
1.26	“When COVID-19 struck, the Belt and Road became a life-saving road.”	EU+
1.26	“Indeed, the BRI represents humanity's joint pursuit of development for all.”	VS+
1.26	“When countries embrace cooperation and act in concert, a deep chasm can be turned into a thoroughfare, land-locked countries can become land-linked, and a place of underdevelopment can be transformed into a land of prosperity.”	EU+
1.26	“We should all treat each other as friends and partners, respect and support each other, and help each other succeed.”	VS+
1.26	“We have learned that the Silk Road spirit of peace and cooperation, openness and inclusiveness, mutual learning and mutual benefit is the most important source of strength for Belt and Road cooperation”	VS+
1.26	“Such cooperation seeks to deliver a good life not only to people of just one country, but to people in other countries as well.”	EU+
1.26	“China will work with all parties involved to deepen Belt and Road partnerships of cooperation, usher this cooperation into a new stage of high-quality development, and make relentless efforts to achieve modernization for all countries.”	EU+
1.26	“China will establish pilot zones for Silk Road e-commerce cooperation, enter into free trade agreements and investment protection treaties with more countries.”	EU+
1.26	“China will work with its BRI partner countries to strengthen the building of multilateral cooperation platforms...”	PR+

1.26	“Belt and Road cooperation was proposed by China, but its benefits and opportunities are for the world to share.”	VS+
1.27	“San Francisco has also borne witness to the efforts by China and the United States in building a better world.”	PR+
1.27	“Several billion people have eventually shaken off poverty.”	EU+
1.27	“The Chinese people never forget the Flying Tigers.”	PR+
1.27	“I am convinced that once opened, the door of China-U.S. relations cannot be shut again.”	PR+
1.27	“We should build more bridges and pave more roads for people-to-people interactions.”	VS+
1.27	“The world needs China and the United States to work together for a better future.”	PR+
1.27	“China is ready to be a partner and friend of the United States.”	PR+
1.27	“Our paths are different, but both are the choice by our peoples, and both lead to the realization of the common values of humanity.”	VS+
1.27	“Peaceful coexistence is a basic norm for international relations, and is even more of a baseline that China and the United States should hold on to as two major countries.”	VS+
1.27	“China never bets against the United States, and never interferes in its internal affairs.”	VS-
1.27	“...proposed by China are open to all countries at all times including the United States.”	PR+
1.27	“China is also ready to participate in U.S.-proposed multilateral cooperation initiatives.”	PS+
1.27	“We agreed to make the cooperation list longer and the pie of cooperation bigger.”	EU+
1.27	“President Biden and I have agreed to set up a working group on counternarcotics to further our cooperation and help the United States tackle drug abuse.”	PR+
1.27	“We will continue to promote high-quality development and deliver the benefits of modernization to all.”	EU+
1.27	“We are committed to peaceful development to build a community with a shared future for mankind.”	VS+

1.27	“It benefits from and safeguards the current international order.”	EU+
1.27	“... China will never pursue hegemony or expansion, and will never impose its will on others.”	VS+
1.27	“We are ready to work with all countries to advance global modernization featuring peaceful development,”	PR+
1.27	“No matter how the global landscape evolves, the historical trend of peaceful coexistence between China and the United States will not change.”	PR+

Table C: Results for regionally oriented speeches.

Source	Recorded Unit	Code
2.1	“Efforts have been intensified to maintain security and stability in our region.”	EU+
2.1	“...and mounting downward pressure on the economy of countries in the region, our region faces multiple difficulties and challenges in promoting security, stability and economic growth.”	EU-
2.1	“Featuring mutual trust, mutual benefit, equality, consultation, respecting diverse civilizations and seeking common development...”	VS+
2.1	“We should uphold international equity and justice, promote multilateralism and openness, respect each other's interests...”	VS+
2.1	“Upholding security and stability in our region is a common concern for all member states.”	EU+
2.1	“We should respond to new developments in Afghanistan, strengthen security cooperation with Afghanistan, help Afghan security forces build capacity, and play a bigger role in promoting national reconciliation and economic reconstruction in Afghanistan.”	PR+
2.1	“China welcomes the signing of the <i>Border Control Cooperation Agreement</i> among member states, as this will improve the legal basis for SCO security cooperation...”	PS+
2.1	“On the basis of promoting mutual benefit, the SCO should encourage its member states to create more cooperation opportunities and strive for early harvest in regional economic cooperation.”	EU+
2.1	“We should take even bigger steps to promote trade and investment facilitation and liberalization.”	VS+
2.1	“To conduct cooperation in investment, production capacity, equipment and infrastructure development between member states is important to fostering new growth areas and creating more jobs.”	EU+

2.1	“China has reached cooperation agreement with Kazakhstan and other countries in this area.”	PR+
2.1	“China is ready to use financing platforms such as the Silk Road Fund and the China-Eurasia Economic Cooperation Fund to meet the investment needs of SCO member states.”	PR+
2.1	“We hope that this initiative and the development plans of member states will complement each other; and we will work with relevant countries to form synergy between this initiative and the Eurasian Economic Union so as to advance the balanced development of Eurasia.”	EU+
2.1	“With mutual trust and respect between our peoples, we will be able to build a harmonious, peaceful and prosperous homeland.”	VS+
2.1	“China supports enhanced cooperation among SCO members in areas such as disaster relief, epidemic prevention and treatment and facilitation of people-to-people exchange.”	EU+
2.1	“After this summit, the SCO will launch the process of admitting India and Pakistan as new members.”	PR+
2.2	“...succeeded in building Singapore into one of the most advanced countries in Asia and a leading international economic, financial, shipping, and refining and petrochemicals center.”	PR+
2.2	“China and Singapore are friendly neighbors across the sea with a long history of amicable exchanges.”	PR+
2.2	“On its part, China's development has also created tremendous opportunities for Singapore's development.”	EU+
2.2	“Today, there are increasing political mutual trust and deepening practical cooperation between the two countries.”	VS+
2.2	“I am confident that with the concerted efforts of our two peoples, China-Singapore relationship will surely make new and even greater progress.”	PR+
2.2	“The Chinese and Southeast Asian civilizations have grown together through mutual enrichment over the millennia.”	PR+
2.2	“Since the ancient times, we Chinese have valued harmony in diversity and good-neighborliness, which have much in common with the values of the people of Southeast Asia.”	VS+
2.2	“In modern times, China and Southeast Asian countries encouraged and supported each other in the cause of independence and liberation, and we have inspired and worked with each other in economic and social development.”	PR+
2.2	“We assisted each other in overcoming the Asian financial crisis, the international financial crisis, the Indian Ocean tsunami and the devastating earthquake in Wenchuan, China.”	EU+
2.2	“The Southeast Asian countries established the ASEAN in the 1960s in an effort to enhance development through unity.”	EU+
2.2	“China is committed to developing friendly relations and cooperation with ASEAN.”	PR+

2.2	“China's neighborhood occupies a top priority on its diplomatic agenda, and China has the unshirkable responsibility to ensure peace, stability and development in its neighborhood.”	PR+
2.2	“China is dedicated to promoting a more just and equitable global governance system...”	PS-
2.2	“China is committed to pursuing partnership with its neighbors and a neighborhood diplomacy of amity, sincerity, mutual-benefit and inclusiveness and fostering a harmonious, secure and prosperous neighborhood.”	VS+
2.2	“China champions a vision of common, comprehensive, cooperative and sustainable security in Asia.”	EU+
2.2	“The belief in peaceful development is deeply rooted in the Chinese mind, and the vision of harmony and peaceful co-existence underpins China's neighborhood diplomacy.”	VS+
2.2	“The Chinese people, having suffered so much from foreign aggression and internal turmoil in modern times...”	VS-
2.2	“China is now on the road to development and prosperity, but we reject the logic that a country which grows strong is bound to pursue hegemony.”	VS+
2.2	“They may do so out of ignorance about China's past and present as well as its culture and policies, or they may do so out of misunderstanding of and bias against China.”	VS-
2.2	“China has received support from its neighbors in its development endeavors, and China's development, in turn, has benefitted its neighbors.”	PR+
2.2	“The fundamentals of Asia's economy are sound, and Asia remains an engine driving world economic growth.”	EU+
2.2	“On the other hand, the Asian economy also faces significant downward pressure caused by both internal and external factors.”	EU-
2.2	“But lack of mutual trust has given rise to disputes from time to time.”	VS-
2.2	“I have been thinking about how China's cooperation with the Southeastern Asian countries and its other neighbors can be deepened under the new circumstances to boost our common development.”	PR+
2.2	“Upholding peace in Asia is the shared historical responsibility of both China and its neighbors.”	PS-
2.2	“We should increase mutual trust, work together to uphold peace and stability...”	VS+
2.2	“We Asian countries should give priority to development to make life better for our peoples.”	EU+
2.2	“We should jointly address both traditional and non-traditional security issues.”	EU+



2.2	“We should stay committed to peaceful settlement of differences and disputes through friendly consultation...”	VS+
2.2	“By doing so, we can ensure long-term harmony and cooperation among the Asian countries.”	PR+
2.2	“It is the bounden duty of the Chinese government to uphold China's territorial sovereignty and legitimate maritime rights and interests.”	VS-
2.2	“Although some of the islands over which China has sovereignty have been occupied by others...”	PR-
2.2	“China has every capacity and confidence to work with ASEAN countries to maintain peace and stability in the South China Sea.”	PR+
2.2	“We welcome non-Asian countries to make a positive contribution to peace and development in Asia.”	PR+
2.2	“To achieve this goal, we will pursue a four-pronged strategy of deepening reform, advancing law-based governance...”	VS+
2.2	“Inclusive development means development for the people, by the people and its fruits shared by the people.”	EU+
2.2	“To achieve this goal, China will increase cooperation with all other countries, especially its neighbors, and China's development will bring greater opportunities for the world, particularly its neighbors.”	PR+
2.3	“Against the backdrop of sluggish recovery, weak demand and divergence in the world economy, Asia-Pacific economies are also confronted with such challenges as shaky foundation for growth, transition from old to new drivers and incomplete structural adjustment.”	EU-
2.3	“That said, the Asia-Pacific remains the locomotive of the world economy.”	EU+
2.3	“APEC should play a leading and coordinating role to strengthen the mechanism for the sharing of information on regional trade agreements, promote their coordinated development, and establish an institutional platform for the building of an open Asia-Pacific economy.”	EU+
2.3	“We should speed up the process and complete the building of the FTAAP as early as possible.”	PS+
2.3	“The Asian Infrastructure Investment Bank (AIIB) is an important platform for regional connectivity.”	EU+
2.3	“Last year, as the host of APEC, China actively engaged with Australia, the host of the G20, and enabled good coordination between the two mechanisms.”	PR+
2.3	“Last year in Beijing, we advocated mutual trust, inclusiveness, cooperation and mutual benefit as the guiding principles of Asia-Pacific partnership.”	VS+
2.4	“...both our two countries have traversed an arduous journey from humiliation to independence, from self-seclusion to reform and opening up...”	VS+

2.4	“Peace was and remains our gene, and the culture of peace has a long history in China.”	VS+
2.4	“In our struggles for independence and liberation, we fought side by side and supported each other and forged profound friendship.”	PR+
2.4	“China and Vietnam share extensive common interests, and friendship and cooperation underpin our relations.”	PR+
2.4	“Win-win cooperation between China and Vietnam in all areas should be deepened and enhanced because it has benefited our two peoples so much and helps promote peace, stability and prosperity in our region.”	EU+
2.4	“More importantly, our two countries form a community of intertwined interests with shared goals and future.”	PR+
2.4	“Both China and Vietnam adhere to leadership of the communist party and are committed to socialism as well as reform and opening up.”	VS+
2.4	“Today's world is undergoing profound changes, and the international system and order are becoming more just and equitable.”	PR+
2.4	“But our world is far from peaceful.”	EU-
2.4	“We stand ready to strengthen cooperation with Vietnam in various international and regional mechanisms so as to uphold our common interests and promote common development of our region.”	EU+
2.4	“Economic globalization and regional economic integration present similar opportunities and challenges to both our two countries.”	EU+
2.4	“The traditional friendship between our two peoples, which has stood the test of drastic changes in the international environment over the years...”	PR+
2.5	“That said, the planet where we live is not all tranquil.”	EU-
2.5	“As a world leader in economic development, Asia enjoys vibrant regional cooperation and integration and rising strategic status in the global development landscape.”	EU+
2.5	“On the other hand, some parts of our continent are still plagued by turbulence and conflicts caused by traditional security challenges while terrorism and other non-traditional security threats are posing rising dangers to Asia.”	EU-
2.5	“The situation cries out for ever closer regional security cooperation.”	VS+
2.5	“Developments in the region and the world over the past two years show that it takes concerted efforts to uphold regional security.”	EU+
2.5	“Countries in Asia share weal and woe and the future of our nations is closely tied with each other.”	PR+

2.5	“We need to deepen security cooperation and confidence-building in military, political, economic...so as to open up new prospects for security and development in Asia.”	EU+
2.5	“Only mutual understanding and mutual accommodation will bring about stability and only commitment to justice can ensure lasting security.”	VS+
2.5	“There exist multiple security cooperation frameworks in Asia, and they all contribute to regional security in their own way.”	EU+
2.5	“People around the world yearn for cooperation and inclusiveness.”	VS+
2.5	“We proposed and have taken the lead in practicing a new Asian approach of common, comprehensive, cooperative and sustainable security...”	EU+
2.5	“China is firmly committed to pursuing the peaceful development path, maintaining the international order with the purposes and principles of the UN Charter...”	VS+
2.5	“Over the years, China has worked together with the international community to tackle security risks, challenges and crises in the region and beyond, and have made positive contributions along the way.”	EU+
2.5	“The situation on the Korean Peninsula has been tense since the beginning of the year.”	EU-
2.5	“We hope that various parties will exercise restraint, avoid mutual provocation and escalation of tension...”	VS+
2.5	“China has taken an active part in the Istanbul Process on Afghanistan...”	PR+
2.5	“An early settlement of the Syrian issue and Palestine-Israel issue serves the interests of parties concerned and represents the common aspiration of the international community.”	PR+
2.5	“China has always called for the peaceful settlement of relevant issues through political negotiations, actively promoted talks and reconciliation through various means...”	VS+
2.5	“Let me stress that China is committed to maintaining peace and stability in the South China Sea.”	PR+
2.5	“We firmly stand by our sovereignty and rights and interests in the South China Sea...”	VS-
2.5	“...and remain committed to resolving disputes peacefully through friendly consultation and negotiation with countries directly concerned.”	VS+
2.5	“China's development will bring more opportunities and benefits to all countries and peoples.”	EU+
2.6	“As good neighbors, friends, comrades and partners whose future is closely interconnected, we need to uphold and further grow our relations...”	VS+

2.6	“We need to deepen cooperation and foster new prospects for our interconnected interests.”	EU+
2.6	“... China-Vietnam friendship, we need to well manage our differences and disagreements, and stay committed to seeking a fundamental and durable solution to the maritime issues acceptable to both sides through friendly consultation.”	VS+
2.6	“... engage in practical discussions on deepening regional economic integration, building the Free Trade Area in the Asia-Pacific, strengthening regional connectivity...”	EU+
2.6	“We look forward to a highly productive meeting that contributes to the common development and prosperity in the Asia-Pacific.”	PR+
2.7	“Over the last decade, the international community have worked in concert to steer the global economy back to the track of recovery.”	EU+
2.7	“The potential of structural reforms is being unlocked and its positive impact of boosting growth of various countries has become more evident.	EU+
2.7	“To achieve more comprehensive, higher quality and more sustainable development has become the shared goal of the international community.”	EU+
2.7	“over the last few decades, economic globalization has contributed greatly to global growth.”	EU+
2.7	“In pursuing economic globalization, we should make it more open and inclusive, more balanced, more equitable and beneficial to all.”	PS-
2.7	“We should uphold multilateralism, pursue shared growth through consultation and collaboration, forge closer partnerships, and build a community with a shared future for mankind.”	EU+
2.7	“... live up to our responsibility and work together to deliver a bright future of development and prosperity for the Asia-Pacific.”	PR+
2.7	“Openness brings progress, while self-seclusion leaves one behind.”	VS+
2.7	“Second, we should continue to pursue innovation-driven development and create new drivers of growth.”	EU+
2.7	“Digital economy and sharing economy are surging worldwide...”	EU+
2.7	“We should promote structural reform, remove all institutional and systemic barriers to innovation and energize the market.”	PS-
2.7	“Third, we should continue to enhance connectivity and achieve interconnected development.”	EU+
2.7	“We the Asia-Pacific economies are closely connected, and our interests are interlocked.”	PR+

2.7	“The Belt and Road Initiative calls for joint contribution and it has a clear focus, which is to promote infrastructure construction and connectivity, strengthen coordination on economic policies, enhance complementarity of development strategies and boost interconnected development to achieve common prosperity.”	EU+
2.7	“This initiative is from China, but it belongs to the world.”	PR+
2.7	“Fourth, we should continue to make economic development more inclusive and deliver its benefits to our people.”	PS-
2.7	“The current headwinds confronting economic globalization is mostly generated by the lack of inclusiveness in development.”	PR-
2.7	“We should deepen regional economic integration, develop an open and inclusive market and strengthen the bond of shared interests.”	EU+
2.7	“We should make inclusiveness and sharing a part of our development strategies, improve systems and institutions to uphold efficiency and fairness, and safeguard social equity and justice.”	PS-
2.7	“To resolve difficulties and problems on the way forward, we must deepen all-round reform.”	VS+
2.7	“All this will create a more powerful and extensive impact, present more opportunities of cooperation and enable more countries to board the express train of China's development.”	EU+
2.7	“China will not slow its steps in opening up itself.”	VS+
2.7	“Fifth, this is a new journey toward a new type of international relations and a community with a shared future for mankind.”	VS+
2.7	“We Chinese believe that peace is most precious and that there should be harmony among all nations.”	VS+
2.7	“We are committed to peaceful development and we will remain an anchor for peace and stability in the Asia-Pacific region and beyond.”	PR+
2.7	“China will, guided by the principle of upholding justice while pursuing shared interests...”	VS+
2.7	“All of our people in the Asia-Pacific deserve peace, stability and prosperity; and all of us in the region should jointly deliver a bright future for the Asia-Pacific.”	PR+
2.8	“China and Laos are friendly socialist neighbors with shared ideals, the same social systems and similar paths of development.”	PR+
2.8	“In recent years, China-Laos friendship has been further cemented and is showing fresh vitality.”	PR+
2.8	“China and Laos have always treated each other as equals ... in fully advancing economic, political, cultural and social development, and in accelerating modernization.”	EU+

2.8	“The transportation artery that will drive the development of Laos is a dream coming true.”	EU+
2.8	“China and Laos are friends and comrades who have a shared mission in advancing the great cause of building socialism with our respective characteristics.”	PR+
2.8	“We need to strengthen strategic communication and build a community of shared future based on mutual respect and mutual trust.”	VS+
2.8	“We need to expand practical cooperation and build a community of shared future for mutual benefit.”	VS+
2.9	“... we have forged a constructive partnership featuring non-alliance, non-confrontation and not targeting any third party.”	VS+
2.9	“While hegemony and power politics still persist in this world, the growing call for a more just and equitable international order must be heeded.”	PS-
2.9	“Democracy in international relations has become an unstoppable trend of the times.”	VS+
2.9	“While various traditional and non-traditional security threats keep emerging...”	EU-
2.9	“...the force for peace will prevail, for security and stability are what people long for.”	VS+
2.9	“While unilateralism, trade protectionism and backlash against globalization are taking new forms...”	EU-
2.9	“...the pursuit of cooperation for mutual benefit represents a surging trend.”	VS+
2.9	“We should bridge the gap in development and promote shared prosperity.”	PR+
2.9	“We should reject the Cold War mentality and confrontation between blocs and oppose the practices of seeking absolute security of oneself at the expense of others...”	PS-
2.9	“We should promote open and inclusive cooperation for win-win outcomes.”	VS+
2.9	“We should uphold WTO rules and support the multilateral trading system so as to build an open world economy.”	PS+
2.9	“We should champion equality, mutual learning, dialogue and inclusiveness between civilizations.”	VS+
2.9	“We should follow the principle of achieving shared growth through discussion and collaboration in engaging in global governance.”	EU+

2.9	“We should reform and improve the global governance system, and work with all other countries to build a community with shared future for humanity.”	PS-
2.9	“We should respect each other's choice of development paths and accommodate each other's core interests and major concerns.”	VS+
2.9	“We need to actively implement the 2019-2021 program of cooperation for combating "three evil forces" of terrorism, separatism and extremism...”	EU-
2.9	“We need to give full play to the role of the SCO-Afghanistan Contact Group to facilitate peace and reconstruction in Afghanistan.”	PR+
2.9	“We should increase complementarity of our respective development strategies, continue to advance the Belt and Road cooperation under the principle of delivering shared benefits...”	EU+
2.9	“By intensifying exchanges and cooperation ...we can contribute our share to resolving hotspot issues and improving global governance.”	EU+
2.10	“On the other hand, global development faces acute deep-seated problems.”	EU-
2.10	“First, we need to advance economic integration in our region so as to build an open economy in the Asia-Pacific.”	EU+
2.10	“We need to adopt an open, inclusive and transparent approach to the various kinds of free trade arrangements to ensure coordinated and positive interactions among them.”	VS+
2.10	“What we need is to make economic globalization more open, inclusive, balanced and beneficial for all.”	PS-
2.10	“China will pursue with resolve continued reform across the board.”	VS+
2.10	“We need to promote the building of digital infrastructure and capacity, make digital economy more accessible and bridge the digital divide.”	EU+
2.10	“Our goal should be for the benefits of digital economy to reach all member economies at different stages of development...”	PR+
2.10	“Third, we need to improve the connectivity network to promote inclusive and interconnected development.	EU+
2.10	“China will work with all countries involved under the principle of consultation and collaboration for shared benefits to pursue the Belt and Road Initiative...”	PR+
2.10	“We need to respect diversity and each other's choices of development path, promote integration and mutual learning on the basis of openness and inclusiveness...”	VS+
2.10	“China is a champion of Asia-Pacific cooperation and has taken concrete steps to promote cooperation on the ground.”	PR+

2.10	“Close cooperation with other members of the Asia-Pacific is indispensable for China's development.”	EU+
2.11	“China firmly supports the Philippines' fight against drugs and terrorism and its post-conflict reconstruction efforts in Marawi, thus contributing to peace in the country.”	PR+
2.11	“We need to properly handle differences through friendly consultations, enhance dialogue and cooperation on maritime issues, and make the South China Sea a sea of peace, friendship and cooperation that truly benefits our two peoples.”	VS+
2.11	“China will work with the Philippines to enhance synergy between our strategies under the Belt and Road Initiative, deepen mutually beneficial cooperation in business, trade...”	EU+
2.11	“Friendly exchanges between our two peoples are an endless source of strength for our relations.”	PR+
2.11	“Now, China is deepening reform across the board and opening itself wider, and our effort in reform and opening-up will never stop.”	VS+
2.11	“... China stands ready to share with all countries the opportunities and potential of its market.”	PR+
2.11	“China will work with other countries to firmly uphold the WTO-centered multilateral trading system...”	PS+
2.11	“...and promote the evolution of the international political and economic order in a fairer and more equitable direction.”	PS-
2.11	“We Chinese believe that peace and stability is the only way to development and prosperity.”	VS+
2.11	“...and will always stay as an anchor of peace and stability for the Asia-Pacific and the wider world.”	PR+
2.12	“Meanwhile, instability and uncertainties are mounting and the global challenges faced by humanity are becoming ever more daunting...”	EU-
2.12	“Today, the Belt and Road Initiative, together with the Two Corridors and One Belt, the Eurasian Economic Union and other initiatives, have greatly expanded inter-civilizational exchanges and mutual learning.”	EU+
2.12	“Upholding peace is the responsibility of every country.”	VS+
2.12	“We hope that countries will work together to promote economic globalization and make it more open, inclusive, balanced and beneficial to all.”	EU+
2.12	“We Asian people hope that all countries will reject self-exclusion, embrace integration, uphold openness and promote policy, infrastructure, trade, financial and people-to-people connectivity.”	VS+
2.12	“The thought that one's own race and civilization are superior and the inclination to remold or replace other civilizations are just stupid.”	VS+



2.12	“Long-term self-isolation will cause a civilization to decline, while exchanges and mutual learning will sustain its development.”	VS+
2.12	“All-round opening-up of the country, starting with the reform and opening-up program, has added to its vitality today.”	EU+
2.12	“For Chinese civilization, amity and good neighborliness is the principle guiding our interactions with other countries; and to deliver prosperity and security to the people is the overarching goal...”	PR+
2.13	“China will host a forum for the heads of military educational institutions of CICA member states and organize events on small and medium enterprises, financial services, environmental protection, poverty alleviation and people-to-people exchanges so as to play its due role in promoting CICA's development.”	EU+
2.13	“Asian countries also face some common challenges such as inadequate political trust, uneven economic development and prominent security and governance impediments.”	EU-
2.13	“Since then, we Asian countries have better appreciated the value of cooperation, extended our practice of cooperation and gained more experience of cooperation, thus truly moving toward an Asian community with a shared future.”	PR-
2.13	“Mutual respect and trust is required in developing state-to-state relations.”	VS+
2.13	“A zero-sum mentality and protectionism must be rejected in favor of more policy communication and political trust, so that we can expand our strategic consensus.”	VS+
2.13	“The vision of common, comprehensive, cooperative and sustainable security is about realizing the security of all countries in the region as a whole.”	PR+
2.13	“We must take effective preventive measures of various sorts to eradicate the breeding ground of extremist ideology, and explore a regional security architecture suited to Asia's realities...”	EU-
2.13	“We need to work on the follow-ups to the Second Belt and Road Forum for International Cooperation held in April this year, seek greater complementarity between our development strategies, and enhance all-round connectivity to boost high-quality growth of all countries.”	EU+
2.13	“Isolation would lead us nowhere, while openness would offer us infinite possibilities.”	EU+
2.13	“Reform and innovation is a powerful driving force behind the progress of human civilization.”	PS-
2.13	“China is committed to developing good-neighborly and friendly ties with other Asian countries.”	PR+
2.13	“As a member of the Asian family and a responsible major country in the global community, China will continue to build peace, contribute to development and uphold order in the world...”	VS+
2.13	“...pursue peaceful settlement to disputes with relevant countries over territorial sovereignty and maritime rights and interests, and support negotiated solutions to regional hotspot issues.”	VS+

2.13	“China will work with all other parties to make good use of the platform of Belt and Road cooperation to secure a sustained driver for our common development.”	EU+
2.13	“China will stay committed to practicing multilateralism to safeguard the international order underpinned by international law.”	VS+
2.13	“...and firmly uphold the UN-centered international system and the multilateral trading system with the WTO at its core.”	PS+
2.14	“The SCO has maintained a strong momentum of development and become an important and constructive force for regional security, stability and prosperity.”	EU+
2.14	“The ultimate reason for its success lies in the Shanghai Spirit...”	VS+
2.14	“SCO members have carried out practical and highly efficient cooperation on the security front and ensured the overall security and stability of the region.”	EU+
2.14	“Facing grave challenges from terrorism, extremism and other threats...”	EU-
2.14	“We must pursue common, comprehensive, cooperative and sustainable security.”	EU+
2.14	“We must further improve the legal foundation for security cooperation.”	PS-
2.14	“...we must further strengthen cooperation on deradicalization to curb the spread of extremist ideology.”	EU-
2.14	“China will continue to do what it can to help with Afghanistan's peace and reconstruction.”	PR+
2.14	“It is important that we earnestly deliver on the outcomes of the Second Belt and Road Forum for International Cooperation (BRF) and give full play to the unique strengths of countries in the region to better synergize the Belt and Road Initiative (BRI) with the development strategies of countries in the region as well as regional cooperation initiatives such as the Eurasian Economic Union (EAEU).”	EU+
2.14	“We need to uphold openness, inclusiveness and mutual learning, with a view to creating durable impetus for the lasting friendship between our peoples and the common development of our countries.”	VS+
2.14	“It is imperative that we uphold the international system with the United Nations at its core, promote multilateralism and free trade and make the international order more just and equitable.”	PS+
2.15	“During its presidency of the Shanghai Cooperation Organization (SCO), Russia has earnestly performed its duties and advanced the SCO's sound development despite the impact of COVID-19.”	PR+
2.15	“Such solidarity has injected positive energy into both the SCO's steady development and international cooperation against the coronavirus.”	EU+

2.15	“The world is entering a period of turbulence and transformation.”	EU+
2.15	“Humanity lives in a global village where the interests and destinies of all countries are intertwined.”	VS+
2.15	“In the current circumstances, the SCO is required to carry forward the Shanghai Spirit and deepen solidarity and collaboration.”	VS+
2.15	“We need to strengthen our joint response to COVID-19, support each other's containment efforts, and uphold regional and global public health security.”	EU+
2.15	“We need to support the World Health Organization's crucial leadership role...”	PS+
2.15	“We need to act on the vision of common, comprehensive, cooperative and sustainable security, address all forms of threats and challenges effectively, and foster a sound security environment in our region.”	EU+
2.15	“...and firmly oppose interference by external forces in the domestic affairs of SCO members under whatever pretexts.”	VS-
2.15	“We need to enhance connectivity and further integrate our industrial, supply and value chains for unimpeded economic circulation in the region.”	EU+
2.15	“Drawing lessons from the past, we need to act to champion multilateralism, improve global governance and uphold the international order.”	VS+
2.15	“... and build a world where global affairs are discussed by all, the governance system built by all, and development fruits shared by all.”	PR+
2.15	“China will remain committed to a win-win strategy of opening-up.”	VS+
2.15	“It will seek development impetus from the world and contribute more to the world with its own development.”	PR+
2.16	“The global economy finds itself into deep recession, its industrial and supply chains are disrupted, and governance, trust, development and peace deficits continue to grow.”	EU-
2.16	“Meeting challenges through cooperation is the only way forward for us in the international community.”	EU+
2.16	“To beat the virus and promote global recovery, we in the international community must close ranks and jointly respond to this crisis and meet the test.”	EU+
2.16	“All countries should act in the spirit of partnership and get through this tough time together.”	VS+
2.16	“Openness enables a country to move forward, while seclusion holds it back.”	VS+

2.16	“I am confident that the steady unleashing of the China market potential will create vast business possibilities for other countries, and this will create stronger impetus for maintaining stable growth of the global economy.”	EU+
2.16	“China is committed to opening-up, which is its fundamental policy, a policy that will not change at any time.”	VS+
2.16	“The world economy has faced more instability and uncertainty this year.”	EU-
2.16	“China will continue to advance trade and investment liberalization and facilitation, to conclude, through negotiation, high-standard free trade agreements with more countries...”	EU+
2.16	“... China will continue to firmly support the multilateral trading system...”	PS+
2.16	“...get more actively involved in reforming the system of global economic governance, and play its part to make this system fairer and more equitable...”	PS-
2.16	“We welcome cooperation with every other region, country, or company that wants to do so.”	PR+
2.16	“China will remain committed to openness and cooperation, and adhere to multilateralism and the principle of extensive consultation, joint contribution and shared benefits.”	VS+
2.16	“China will work to pursue high-quality Belt and Road cooperation with its partners and seek greater complementarity between the development strategies and connectivity plans of regions and countries concerned.”	EU+
2.16	“We need to accelerate innovation-driven growth, enhance regional connectivity, and realize inclusive and sustainable development.”	EU+
2.16	“...and your work will enable the Asia-Pacific to take the lead in achieving economic recovery and prosperity”	EU+
2.17	“We have advanced trade and investment liberalization and facilitation in tandem with economic and technical cooperation, with a view to realizing mutual complementarity and balanced development of the "two wheels" of APEC cooperation.”	EU+
2.17	“The wealth gap remains a common sight.”	PR-
2.17	“The approach of pursuing cooperation as equals and resolving differences with mutual respect is what essentially makes economic development and prosperity in the Asia-Pacific possible.”	VS+
2.17	“It has also played an important role in steering the evolution of the multilateral trading system.”	EU+
2.17	“We must stay as determined as ever to support the multilateral trading system with the World Trade Organization...”	PS+
2.17	“We need to further implement the APEC Strategy for Strengthening Quality Growth and the Action Agenda on Advancing Inclusion, and accommodate the concerns of developing members.”	PS-

2.17	“We need to improve economic governance and foster an open, fair, equitable and non-discriminatory environment for businesses.”	PS-
2.17	“Connectivity is a vital basis of regional economic integration and an essential underpinning for interconnected development of the world.”	EU+
2.17	“Rather, our cooperation has provided us with a development platform to ensure what we each do can be mutually reinforcing and beneficial to all.”	PR+
2.17	“We need to deepen the Asia-Pacific partnership featuring mutual trust, inclusiveness and mutually beneficial cooperation...”	VS+
2.17	“It has shared with various parties full experience on containment and treatment and done its best to assist other countries and international organizations.”	PR+
2.17	“China is ready to work with all other parties in the Asia-Pacific to build and share a brighter future of peace and prosperity for our region...”	PR+
2.18	“At a crucial stage in China's fight against the coronavirus, ASEAN countries promptly provided invaluable support and selfless assistance to China.”	PR+
2.18	“At the same time, however, the world is faced with growing uncertainties and instability.”	EU-
2.18	“Under the new circumstances, China continues to regard ASEAN as a priority in its neighborhood diplomacy and a key region in high-quality Belt and Road cooperation.”	PR+
2.18	“Such efforts will help maintain the good momentum for development and prosperity in our region...”	EU+
2.18	“To be specific, more efforts will be made to build the New International Land-Sea Trade Corridor, strengthen cooperation on infrastructure connectivity...”	EU+
2.18	“China will work with ASEAN countries to sustain the smooth flow of trade, promote mutual investment, open up markets wider to each other, and foster deeply integrated industrial, supply and value chains.”	EU+
2.18	“We should tap into our complementarity and pursue mutually beneficial cooperation.”	VS+
2.18	“China stands ready for policy dialogue on public health with ASEAN to improve cooperation mechanisms.”	PS-
2.18	“China will work with ASEAN countries and other members of the international community through greater solidarity...”	PR+
2.18	“...and cooperation to support the World Health Organization in playing a leadership role and to build a global community of health for all.”	PS+
2.18	“China will fuel a worldwide recovery with its own economic rebound, and countries around the world, ASEAN members included, will all benefit from it.”	PR+

2.19	“These examples reflect the profound friendship between us and testify to our great tradition of sharing weal and woe.”	PR+
2.19	“By celebrating 70 years of diplomatic ties, the two sides may increase mutual learning as civilizations, expand people-to-people exchanges, and deliver solid results and real benefits to our peoples.”	EU+
2.19	“Guided by the shared vision of a China-Myanmar community with a shared future and by the fundamental interests of our peoples, we must pursue stronger political trust, broader practical cooperation and closer cultural exchanges, so that the two peoples will forever be good neighbors, good friends, good pauk-phaw and good partners.”	PR+
2.19	“Yet, the lack of equality and justice is still prominent in international relations.”	PR-
2.20	“Controlling the pandemic still poses a difficult challenge, while global economic recovery is still on shaky ground.”	EU-
2.20	“That said, peace and development remains the theme of our times, and the call for upholding multilateralism, strengthening solidarity and cooperation, and meeting challenges together is growing stronger than ever.”	VS+
2.20	“Since the start of the pandemic, APEC members have united as one and carried out active cooperation against the coronavirus”	EU+
2.20	“We must stick to solidarity and cooperation as we go through this difficult time and jointly work for a healthier and brighter future for humanity.”	VS+
2.20	“China has been calling for closer international cooperation on vaccines to ensure that they are accessible and affordable in developing countries and that they become a global public good.”	PR+
2.20	“It is important that we promote the liberalization and facilitation of trade and investment and uphold the multilateral trading system with the WTO at its core.”	PS+
2.20	“This is the way to make economic globalization more open, inclusive, balanced and beneficial for all.”	PR+
2.20	“We hope to work with countries in the Asia-Pacific and beyond to achieve higher-standard mutual benefit and win-win cooperation.”	PR+
2.21	“And we have provided reliable and strong backing to each other in our pursuit of development.”	EU+
2.21	“We were the first to call for fighting terrorism, separatism and extremism.”	EU-
2.21	“With the “SCO speed” and “SCO efficiency” ...we have moved faster in delivering decent lives for people in SCO countries.”	EU+
2.21	“We advocate multilateralism and the common values of humanity and have spoken out against hegemony and power politics.”	VS+
2.21	“We have maintained close coordination with SCO observer states and dialogue partners as well as international and regional organizations which share the SCO’s purposes and principles,”	PR+

2.21	“We should stay true to the Shanghai Spirit, keep to the right direction, follow the historical trends of promoting democracy...”	VS+
2.21	“We must never allow any external interference in the domestic affairs of countries in our region under whatever pretext.”	VS-
2.21	“We need to deepen international cooperation against the virus, promote fair and equitable distribution of vaccines and firmly oppose any act of politicizing COVID-19 origins tracing.”	EU+
2.21	“We need to strengthen cooperation on counter-narcotics, border control and security for major events, and speedily improve the SCO’s security cooperation mechanism.”	EU-
2.21	“... make full use of platforms such as the SCO-Afghanistan Contact Group and facilitate a smooth transition in Afghanistan.”	PR+
2.21	“We should create growth drivers of cooperation such as digital economy, green energy and modern agriculture.”	EU+
2.21	“This will help countries in need build capacity and improve the lives of their people.”	PR+
2.21	“Acting from a so-called “position of strength” is not the way to handle international affairs, and hegemonic, domineering and bullying acts should be firmly rejected.”	VS+
2.21	“In addressing international relations, we should observe the purposes and principles of the UN Charter...”	VS+
2.22	“The China-Russia comprehensive strategic partnership of coordination for a new era boasts strong momentum and broad prospects.”	PR+
2.22	“The COVID-19 pandemic keeps raging with frequent flare-ups, and the world economy faces a daunting recovery.”	EU-
2.22	“We need to intensify cooperation in vaccine research, development and production, provide more public goods to the international community...”	EU+
2.22	“We need to deepen the collaboration between the Belt and Road Initiative and the Eurasian Economic Union, ...and promote social and economic development in the region.”	EU+
2.22	“We need to narrow differences and build consensus through dialogue and exchanges... and work for a harmonious and tranquil homeland for us all.	VS+
2.22	“We are ready to work with all parties to uphold true multilateralism, advocate trust and harmony...”	VS+
2.23	“... step up cooperation in areas such as testing methods, treatment medicine and the research, development, production and mutual recognition of vaccines to truly create synergy against COVID-19.”	EU+
2.23	“We should translate the consensus that vaccines are a global public good into concrete actions, ensure their fair and equitable distribution as well as their accessibility and affordability in developing countries...”	PR+

2.23	“Openness is the sure way for realizing human prosperity and progress.”	VS+
2.23	“The Asia-Pacific region cannot and should not relapse into the confrontation and division of the Cold War era.”	VS-
2.23	“Developed economies should act on a sense of being in the same community with other economies, provide developing economies with funding and technological support and help them enhance their capacity to conduct environmental governance.”	PR+
2.23	“This will enable us to catalyze green transition in the course of economic development and achieve greater development through green transition.”	EU+
2.23	“We need to scale up cooperation between member economies of the Asia-Pacific ...for the development of science and technology.	EU+
2.23	“Together, we can usher in a future of green development.”	EU+
2.23	“China will continue to practice true multilateralism, uphold the WTO-centered multilateral trading system, take an active part in global economic governance and promote the building of an open world economy.”	PS+
2.23	“China will steadfastly advance high-quality Belt and Road cooperation, facilitate connectivity in the Asia-Pacific...”	EU+
2.23	“Working together, let us all be promoters of and contributors to unity and prosperity of the Asia-Pacific family.”	PR+
2.24	“We have spearheaded economic integration in East Asia, promoted common development and prosperity, and delivered better lives to the over two billion people.”	EU+
2.24	“Equality and harmonious coexistence are our common pursuit.”	VS+
2.24	“We have firmly upheld regional peace and stability, stayed focused on development, taken the lead in establishing free trade areas, promoted high-quality Belt and Road cooperation...”	EU+
2.24	“We have stood with each other through the Asian financial crisis, international financial crisis, COVID-19 and other challenges, thus forging a stronger sense of being a community with a shared future.”	PR+
2.24	“China’s development will provide more opportunities for and inject strong impetus into the region and the wider world.”	EU+
2.24	“We need to serve as the builders and guardians of peace in the region.”	VS+
2.24	“We need to practice true multilateralism and stick to the principle that international and regional affairs be handled through discussion among us all.”	PS+
2.24	“China is ready to work with ASEAN countries to jointly build a “health shield” for the region.”	PR+



2.24	“Apart from COVID, our region faces various types of traditional and non-traditional security challenges.”	EU-
2.24	“We need to expand cooperation in new areas like digital and green economy and build joint demonstration zones for economic innovative development.”	EU+
2.24	“China has a vast domestic market that will always be open to ASEAN countries.”	PR+
2.25	“These changes are posing challenges that must be taken seriously by humanity.”	EU-
2.25	“The weak and faltering global economic recovery is compounded by a widening development gap.”	PR-
2.25	“Over the past two years and more, the international community has been working extremely hard to respond to the COVID-19 challenge and boost global recovery and development.”	EU+
2.25	“...and that all countries need to follow the trend of the times featuring peace, development and win-win cooperation, move in the direction of building a community with a shared future for mankind...”	VS+
2.25	“We must keep COVID vaccines a global public good and ensure their accessibility and affordability in developing countries.”	PR+
2.25	“It has been proven time and again that the Cold War mentality would only wreck the global peace framework, that hegemonism and power politics would only endanger world peace, and that bloc confrontation would only exacerbate security challenges in the 21st century.”	PS-
2.25	“It is important that we stay committed to the vision of common, comprehensive, cooperative and sustainable security, and work together to maintain world peace and security...”	EU+
2.25	“...stay committed to respecting the sovereignty and territorial integrity of all countries, uphold non-interference in internal affairs, and respect the independent choices of development paths and social systems...”	VS-
2.25	“...stay committed to abiding by the purposes and principles of the UN Charter...”	PS+
2.25	“We need to uphold true multilateralism, and firmly safeguard the international system with the UN at its core and the international order underpinned by international law.”	PS+
2.25	“It is particularly important for major countries to lead by example in honoring equality, cooperation, good faith and the rule of law, and act in a way befitting their status.”	VS+
2.25	“When Asia fares well, the whole world benefits.”	EU+
2.25	“We should honor such principles as mutual respect, equality, mutual benefit and peaceful coexistence, follow a policy of good-neighborliness and friendship, and make sure that we always keep our future in our own hands.”	VS+

2.25	“Second, we should vigorously advance Asian cooperation.”	PR+
2.25	“Countries, no matter their size and strength, and both in and outside the region, should all add splendor rather than trouble to Asia.”	PR+
2.25	“No matter how the world will change, China's faith in and its commitment to reform and opening-up will not waver.”	VS+
2.26	“We accommodate each other's interests, stay true to the principle of consultation and cooperation for shared benefits...”	EU+
2.26	“We are committed to the principle of equality among all countries regardless of their size, consensus-based decision-making, and addressing issues through friendly consultations.”	PR+
2.26	“We are committed to the purposes and principles of the UN Charter.”	PS+
2.26	“It has been shown that this spirit is the source of strength for the development of the SCO.”	VS+
2.26	“Deficit in peace, development, trust, and governance has grown.”	EU-
2.26	“We should guard against attempts by external forces to instigate "color revolution," jointly oppose interference in other countries' internal affairs under any pretext, and hold our future firmly in our own hands.”	VS-
2.26	“We should continue to carry out joint anti-terrorism exercises, crack down hard on terrorism, separatism and extremism, drug trafficking as well as cyber and transnational organized crimes;”	EU-
2.26	“The Global Development Initiative launched by China aims to focus global attention on development, foster global development partnership, and achieve more robust, greener and more balanced global development.	EU+
2.26	“China is ready to work with all other stakeholders to pursue this initiative in our region to support the sustainable development of regional countries.”	PR+
2.26	“China will provide developing countries in need with emergency humanitarian assistance of grain and other supplies worth 1.5 billion RMB yuan.”	PR+
2.26	“... work for the establishment of an SCO development bank, and thus speed up regional economic integration.”	EU+
2.26	“Obsession with forming a small circle can only push the world toward division and confrontation.”	VS+
2.26	“We should remain firm in safeguarding the UN-centered international system and the international order based on international law...”	PS+
2.26	“By promoting the development and expansion of the SCO and giving full play to its positive impact, we will create strong momentum and new dynamism for ensuring durable peace and common prosperity of the Eurasian continent and the whole world.”	EU+

2.26	“By doing so, we will create new opportunities for the world with new advances in China's development and contribute our vision and strength to world peace and development and human progress.”	VS+
2.27	“... which showcased the G20's efforts in addressing global challenges through enhanced solidarity and cooperation.”	EU+
2.27	“The two sides agreed that China and Indonesia...and committed to rendering stronger support for each other's national development goal...”	PR+
2.27	“...the two sides will strive towards building a China-Indonesia community with a shared future through sustaining traditional values rooted in the Chinese civilization such as "good-neighborliness" and "seeking harmony while reserving differences...”	VS+
2.27	“... and observing the purposes and principles of the UN Charter...”	PS+
2.27	“The two sides reaffirmed commitment to uphold the principle of non-interference into internal affairs of each other and continuing to firmly support each other on issues concerning such core interests as national sovereignty, security and territorial integrity...”	VS-
2.27	“... which will promote the local economic and social development and enhance regional connectivity.”	EU+
2.27	“...and continue to play an exemplary role in health cooperation and the fight against COVID-19, so as to improve global public health governance.”	EU+
2.27	“... and will maintain close communication and coordination in regional and global security affairs, jointly address regional disputes and global challenges...”	EU+
2.27	“... The two sides will continue to strengthen multilateralism, and strengthen cooperation at such multilateral fora...”	PS+
2.27	“The two Heads of State will maintain frequent communications and provide strategic guidance for future efforts to strengthen the China-Indonesia Comprehensive Strategic Partnership and strive towards building a community with a shared future.”	PR+
2.28	“Cooperation in our region has been steadily advanced, and peace, development and win-win cooperation remain the underlying trend in this region.”	VS+
2.28	“Both geopolitical tensions and the evolving economic dynamics have exerted negative impact on the development environment and cooperation structure of the Asia-Pacific.”	EU-
2.28	“The Cold War mentality, hegemonism, unilateralism and protectionism are mounting.”	VS-
2.28	“Over the past decades, Asia-Pacific economic cooperation has injected powerful impetus into the development of our region and greatly improved the wellbeing of our peoples.”	EU+
2.28	“History tells us that bloc confrontation cannot solve any problem and that bias will only lead to disaster.”	VS+

2.28	“Openness and inclusiveness are vital for human prosperity and advancement.”	VS+
2.28	“It is by acting on such a far-sighted vision that we in the Asia-Pacific have been able to seize the opportunities of economic globalization and become a forerunner of the times in pursuing regional economic integration.”	EU+
2.28	“We should abide by the purposes and principles of the UN Charter...”	PS+
2.28	“... narrow the income gap and foster an inclusive environment for development.”	PR-
2.28	“The developed economies in the Asia-Pacific should play a positive role and actively support the developing economies.”	PR+
2.28	“We need to deepen cooperation within the APEC framework, advance the building of a Free Trade Area of the Asia-Pacific...”	EU+
2.28	“We need to engage fully and deeply in the reform of the World Trade Organization...”	PS-
2.28	“Unilateralism and protectionism should be rejected by all; any attempt to politicize and weaponize economic and trade relations should also be rejected by all.”	VS+
2.28	“China is committed to promoting the building of an Asia-Pacific community with a shared future, and will do more to enhance the stability and prosperity of the Asia-Pacific.”	PR+
2.28	“China stands ready to provide more resources for global development cooperation and work with all other parties to build a global community of development.”	EU+
2.28	“We call upon all countries to hold dear humanity's common values of peace, development, fairness, justice, democracy and freedom”	VS+
2.28	“We will stay committed to peace, development, cooperation, and delivering mutual benefit.”	VS+
2.29	“Our relations are brimming with vigor and vitality in the new era.”	PR+
2.29	“Changes of the world, of our times, and of the historical trajectory are taking place in ways like never before.”	EU-
2.29	“The sovereignty, security, independence and territorial integrity of Central Asian countries must be upheld;”	VS-
2.29	“Instead, solidarity, inclusiveness, and harmony are the pursuits of the Central Asian people.”	VS+
2.29	“It is important that we deepen strategic mutual trust, and always give each other unequivocal and strong support on issues concerning our core interests”	VS+

2.29	“We should fully unlock our potentials in traditional areas of cooperation such as economy, trade, industrial capacity, energy and transportation.”	EU+
2.29	“We should remain zero-tolerant to the three forces of terrorism, separatism and extremism, and strive to resolve security conundrums in the region.”	EU-
2.29	“China will take this as an opportunity to step up coordination with all parties for good planning, development and progress of China-Central Asia cooperation.	PR+
2.29	“China will take more trade facilitation measures, upgrade bilateral investment treaties, and open "green lanes" for streamlined customs clearance of agricultural and sideline products at all border ports between China and Central Asian countries.”	EU+
2.29	“China will formulate a China-Central Asia special cooperation program for poverty reduction through science and technology...”	PR+
2.29	“To bolster our cooperation and Central Asian development, China will provide Central Asian countries with a total of 26 billion RMB yuan of financing support and grant.”	PR+
2.29	“China will continue to provide government scholarships for Central Asian countries, and support their universities in joining the University Alliance of the Silk Road.”	PR+
2.29	“China is ready to help Central Asian countries strengthen capacity building on law enforcement, security and defense, support their independent efforts to safeguard regional security and fight terrorism, and work with them to promote cyber-security.”	EU+
2.29	“We will continue to leverage the role of the coordination mechanism among Afghanistan's neighbors, and jointly promote peace and reconstruction in Afghanistan.”	PR+
2.29	“We will strengthen theoretical and practical exchanges with Central Asian countries on modernization, synergize our development strategies, create more opportunities for cooperation, and jointly advance the modernization process of our six countries.”	EU+
2.30	“We have become trustworthy partners on our paths to development and national rejuvenation.”	PR+
2.30	“Together we have safeguarded peace and tranquility in the region, and fostered a favorable environment for countries in the region to pursue development and prosperity.”	EU+
2.30	“We have carried forward the spirit of good-neighborliness, and advocated equality, mutual learning, dialogue and inclusiveness between civilizations.”	VS+
2.30	“We have upheld international fairness and justice, and opposed hegemonic, high-handed, and bullying acts.”	VS+
2.30	“We have accumulated valuable experience, and achieved hard-won development gains.”	EU+
2.30	“... and make our foreign policies independently.”	VS-
2.30	“We must resolutely reject any interference in our internal affairs and the instigation of "color revolutions" by any country under whatever pretext.”	VS-

2.30	“China stands ready to work with all side... to forge a solid security shield in our region.”	EU+
2.30	“We should move faster to strengthen the mechanisms for our law enforcement and security cooperation, and expand cooperation in the nontraditional security fields...”	EU+
2.30	“We should make the pie of win-win cooperation bigger and ensure that more development gains will be shared more fairly by people across the world.”	PR-
2.30	“We need to enhance the connection of high-quality Belt and Road cooperation with development strategies of various countries and regional cooperation initiatives.”	EU+
2.30	“We should make full use of these mechanisms and platforms to help us tackle the vexing issues in our practical cooperation and facilitate high-quality development of SCO economies.”	EU+
2.30	“We should advocate the common values of humanity, uphold the UN-centered international system and the international order based on international law...”	PS+
2.30	“We should make global governance more just and equitable...”	PS-
2.30	“China hopes to share new development opportunities with SCO members and all countries around the world through its achievements in modernization, and together make the world a better place.”	PR+
2.31	“It has played a robust role in promoting Asia-Pacific trade and investment liberalization and facilitation, economic growth and technological progress...”	EU+
2.31	“As manifested by the Asia-Pacific experience, an economy thrives in openness and withers in seclusion.”	PS+
2.31	“We must promote free and open trade and investment, support and strengthen the WTO-centered multilateral trading regime...”	PS+
2.31	“The recent third Belt and Road Forum for International Cooperation that China hosted was a success, injecting fresh impetus into global connectivity and the building of an open world economy.”	EU+
2.31	“Global development now faces severe challenges and the development divide is getting wider.”	PR-
2.31	“... and work together to resolve the global development deficit.”	EU-
2.31	“China welcomes participation by all parties in the Global Development Initiative (GDI)...”	PR+
2.32	“This major decision enabled Asia-Pacific development and economic globalization to embark on a fast track of growth...”	EU+
2.32	“Openness and inclusiveness are the defining feature of Asia-Pacific cooperation.”	VS+

2.32	“We have stayed focused on development and continually deepened economic and technical cooperation, thus strengthening the ability of developing members to achieve self-development”	EU+
2.32	“Over the past three decades, per capita income in the Asia-Pacific has more than quadrupled, and one billion people have been lifted out of poverty.”	EU+
2.32	“The world has entered a new period of turbulence and change.”	EU-
2.32	“We should jointly uphold the purposes and principles of the UN Charter, and follow the right norms for state-to-state relations...”	PS+
2.32	“The story of Asia-Pacific prosperity and development shows that development is only possible with cooperation...”	EU+
2.32	“We should jointly improve global governance of science and technology...and build an open, fair, just and non-discriminatory environment for the development of science and technology.”	PS-
2.32	“They are intended to galvanize all stakeholders to address global challenges, promote common development, and improve the well-being of humanity.”	EU+
2.32	“China will work with all in the Asia-Pacific to advance and implement these initiatives...”	PR+
2.32	“We remain committed to pursuing development with our doors open.”	VS+
2.32	“No matter how the international situation evolves, China's resolve to foster a market-oriented, law-based and world-class business environment will not change.”	VS+
2.32	“I hope that you will make full use of your entrepreneurship, and contribute even more to building an open Asia-Pacific economy and boosting global economic development.”	PR+
2.33	“It is rooted in our traditional friendship and represents the shared interests and aspirations of our two peoples.”	PR+
2.33	“... the Communist Party of China and the Communist Party of Vietnam have pursued people-centered mutually beneficial cooperation, delivering true benefits to our two peoples.”	EU+
2.33	“These fruitful activities of exchange and cooperation have forged a close cultural bond between our two peoples.”	PR+
2.33	“Facing a world fraught with changes and turbulence...”	EU-
2.33	“We will stay committed to peaceful development, the policy of forging friendships and partnerships with neighbors, and the principles of amity, sincerity, mutual benefit and inclusiveness.”	VS+
2.33	“And we are ready to share more of the benefits of Chinese modernization with our neighbors.”	PR+

2.33	“With remarkable economic and social advances, China and Vietnam demonstrate to the world that we have found the right development paths.”	EU+
2.33	“Openness, inclusiveness and mutually beneficial cooperation are the right course to follow.”	VS+
2.33	“... enhanced solidarity and cooperation between our two countries has enabled us to overcome all risks and challenges and to move from one victory to another.”	EU+

Table D: Results for domestically oriented speeches.

Source	Recorded Unit	Code
3.1	“We the Chinese will never forget the invaluable support given by the peace-loving and justice-upholding countries, peoples and international organizations to our fight against Japanese aggressors.”	PR+
3.1	“Here, I wish to express, on behalf of the government and people of China, my heartfelt gratitude to all foreign governments, international organizations and friends from other countries that gave assistance and help to the Chinese People's War of Resistance Against Japanese Aggression.”	PR+
3.1	“Peace does not come by easily and must be defended resolutely.”	VS+
3.1	“With a painful memory of the past, the Chinese people have persistently committed themselves to a path of peaceful development and a win-win strategy of opening-up...”	VS+
3.2	“I wish to extend my New Year greetings ... to our compatriots in Taiwan and Chinese nationals overseas, and to friends in other countries and regions in the world.”	PR+
3.2	“We will endeavor to carry out structural reform, accelerate reform and opening-up, promote social equity and justice, and create a sound political environment.”	VS+
3.2	“The world is so big and faces so many problems, and the international community wants to hear China's voice and see China's solutions.”	EU-
3.4	“It is an important decision made by China to pursue a new round of high-level opening-up, and is China's major initiative to still widen market access to the rest of the world.”	PR+
3.4	“It demonstrates China's consistent position of supporting the multilateral trading system and promoting free trade.”	EU+
3.4	“The reform of the global governance system and the international order is picking up speed.”	PS-
3.4	“Economic globalization faces headwinds, and multilateralism and the system of free trade are under threat.”	EU-
3.4	“History tells us that openness and cooperation are a major driving force behind dynamic international economic and trade activities.”	VS+



3.4	“We need to improve macroeconomic coordination and reduce the negative spillovers of national policies to jointly promote global economic growth.”	EU+
3.4	“It is important for all countries to pursue inclusive development for the benefit of all.”	PR+
3.4	“... reduce the imbalances in global development, and make economic globalization more open, inclusive, balanced and beneficial for all.”	PR+
3.4	“China has grown by embracing the world, and the world has also benefited from China's opening-up.”	EU+
3.4	“China will not stop its effort to pursue higher-quality opening-up!”	VS+
3.4	“China will remain a strong advocate of openness at the global level, and will continue to act as a stable engine of global growth, a big market with enormous opportunities and an active supporter of global governance reform.”	EU+
3.4	“We respect international business rules and practice...”	PS+
3.4	“China believes that rules of the WTO should be upheld firmly, its necessary reforms should be supported and the multilateral trading system should be defended.”	PS+
3.4	“All in all, the favorable conditions are in place for the long-term, healthy and steady growth of the Chinese economy.”	EU+
3.4	“Indeed, openness, innovation and inclusiveness have become the hallmark of Shanghai.”	VS+
3.4	“It is not China's solo show, but rather a chorus involving countries from around the world.”	PR+
3.5	“Over the past 70 years, the Chinese people, upholding an independent foreign policy of peace, have forged ahead along the path of peaceful development.”	VS+
3.5	“In our new journey, we must hold high the banner of unity and rally closely around the CPC Central Committee.”	VS-
3.5	“We will continue to fully and faithfully implement the principles of "One Country, Two Systems", "Hong Kong people administering Hong Kong", "Macao people administering Macao" and a high degree of autonomy.”	VS-
3.5	“... promote the peaceful development of relations across the Taiwan Strait, and deepen cross-Strait economic and cultural exchanges and cooperation to the benefit of people on both sides.”	PR+
3.5	“We will stay committed to opening-up and work with people in all countries to build a community with a shared future for mankind, and to create a world bathed in peace and development.”	VS+
3.6	“We must all put the common good of humanity first rather than place one's own interest above the common interest of all.”	VS+

3.6	“The goal is to give more impetus to economic globalization and remove impediments as much as we could.”	EU+
3.6	“All problems could be settled in the spirit of equality, mutual understanding and accommodation.”	VS+
3.6	“We need to promote development through opening-up and deepen exchanges and cooperation among us.”	EU+
3.6	“We need to work together to safeguard the international order underpinned by the purposes and principles of the UN Charter...”	PS+
3.6	“China will adhere to its fundamental state policy of opening-up and stay committed to opening-up to promote reform, development and innovation.”	VS+
3.6	“China will continue to foster an enabling business environment that is based on market principles, governed by law, and up to international standards.”	PS+
3.6	“China supports necessary reforms to the WTO so that the organization can play a bigger role in promoting openness and development and the multilateral trading regime can be more authoritative and effective.”	PS-
3.6	“We will speed up negotiations on a China-EU investment agreement, a China-Japan-ROK FTA, and a China-Gulf Cooperation Council (GCC) FTA.”	PR+
3.6	“We believe such efforts will not only bring China high-quality development but also new growth opportunities for the global economy.”	EU+
3.7	“COVID-19, which caught us all by surprise, has hit countries hard and dealt a heavy blow to the world economy.”	EU-
3.7	“Acting as a major platform for international procurement, for investment promotion, for cultural exchange and for open cooperation, the CIIE is now an international public good for the world to share.”	EU+
3.7	“Good progress has been registered in concluding high-standard free trade agreements, developing demonstration zones for creative promotion of import trade, protecting intellectual property rights, and advancing high-quality Belt and Road cooperation.”	EU+
3.7	“The COVID-19 pandemic has added to the instability and uncertainty facing the world economy.”	EU-
3.7	“The overwhelming trend for countries to move toward openness and cooperation remains unchanged”	VS+
3.7	“Solidarity and cooperation is the right choice to make in meeting challenges.”	VS+
3.7	“... countries need to work together to make economic globalization more open, inclusive and balanced for the benefits of all.”	PR+
3.7	“Faced with the challenges brought by economic globalization, we must not allow unilateralism or protectionism to undermine the international order and international rules.”	VS+

3.7	“Rather, we need to reform the global economic governance system in a constructive way to better seize opportunities and avoid harm.”	PS-
3.7	“We will do so not only to meet China's own development needs but also for the greater benefit of people in all countries.”	PR+
3.7	“COVID-19 has put all countries through a tough test.”	EU-
3.7	“What's more, out of solidarity with other countries in fighting COVID-19, the Chinese people have shared full experience and done our best to assist the international community.”	EU+
3.7	“Going forward, China will stay committed to openness, cooperation and unity for win-win results.”	PR+
3.7	“We will deepen reform and innovation in trade and investment liberalization and facilitation, and make institutional innovations to support an open economy of higher standards.”	EU+
3.7	“Through the CIIE and other platforms of opening up, we will continue to support companies from around the world in exploring business opportunities in China.”	PR+
3.7	“We look forward to more exchanges and mutual learning with high-standard free trade zones in other parts of the world.”	EU+
3.7	“China will take an active part in WTO reform...”	PS-
3.7	“...and in cooperation at the United Nations, the G20, APEC, BRICS and other fora.”	PS+
3.8	“Over the past hundred years, the CPC has persisted in closely associating the future of the Chinese people with that of other peoples of the world and steered the course of China's development amid the general trend of the world and the currents of the times to promote common development and prosperity of all countries.”	EU+
3.8	“To cope with COVID-19, restart the economy, and safeguard world stability, the international community has made strenuous efforts.”	EU-
3.8	“The only way out is to work together in harmony with one accord.”	VS+
3.8	“Third, we need to shoulder the responsibility to promote development by bringing greater benefits to all peoples in a fairer manner.”	PR+
3.8	“We need to enable all countries to step up development cooperation and see to it that the fruits of development are shared by all.”	EU+
3.8	“Fourth, we need to shoulder the responsibility to enhance cooperation by working together to address global risks and challenges.”	EU+
3.8	“We will unswervingly follow the path leading to a bright future to ensure that development is pursued for both our own good and the benefit of the world.”	EU+

3.8	“All efforts of individual countries to independently explore the path to modernisation in light of their specific national conditions are worthy of respect.”	VS-
3.8	“The CPC is ready to enhance communication with world political parties in steering economic globalisation towards greater openness, inclusiveness, balance and win-win results.”	PR+
3.8	“The better multilateralism is practiced, the faster humanity's common problems will be resolved.”	EU+
3.8	“International rules should be based on universally-recognised norms rather than rules of the few.”	PS+
3.8	“I wish to reiterate that China will always be a member of the developing world, and is committed to enhancing their representation and voice in the global governance system.”	PS-
3.9	“We will work with all other parties to uphold openness, cooperation, mutual benefit and win-win, share opportunities in the growth of services trade, and promote world economic recovery and growth.”	EU+
3.9	“We will create more possibilities for cooperation, by scaling up support for the growth of the services sector in Belt and Road partner countries and by sharing China’s technological achievements with the rest of the world.”	EU+
3.9	“We will further improve rules for the services sector, by supporting Beijing and other localities in piloting the alignment of domestic rules with the ones in high-standard international free trade agreements and in building demonstration zones of digital trade.”	PS-
3.10	“China has actively promoted international cooperation against the pandemic and supported waiving intellectual property rights on vaccines for developing countries.”	PR+
3.10	“As for China, we will not change our resolve to open wider at a high standard; we will not change our determination to share development opportunities with the rest of the world; and we will not change our commitment to an economic globalization that is more open, inclusive, balanced and beneficial for all.”	VS+
3.10	“The multilateral trading regime with the WTO at its core is the cornerstone of international trade.”	EU+
3.10	“China will take an active part in cooperation within the United Nations, the WTO, the G20, APEC, Shanghai Cooperation Organization and other institutions	PS+
3.10	“China will support the fair distribution of and unimpeded trade in vaccines and other key medical supplies across the world.	PR+
3.11	“Engaging themselves in the modernization drive by destroying the old and establishing the new, League members and young people acted as trailblazers of reform and led the way ahead, dedicating their youth to the country's reform and opening up and socialist modernization and making outstanding contributions.”	VS+
3.11	“particularly, focus on cultivating and admitting outstanding League members into the Party, so as to ensure our socialist country never changes its nature.”	VS-
3.12	“It has kept up close ties with business communities across countries, provided platforms and opportunities for trade and economic cooperation between China and the rest of the world...”	PR+

3.12	“The 70-year journey of the CCPIT has been an epitome of China's ever-expanding opening-up endeavor, and an important witness of how businesses from different countries could share in development opportunities and benefit from win-win cooperation.”	EU+
3.12	“Economic globalization is experiencing headwinds, and the world is entering a new period of volatility and transformation.”	EU-
3.12	“... actively engage in international cooperation on vaccine R&D, production and distribution, bolster global public health governance, jointly build multiple lines of defense against the virus, and work for a global community of health for all.”	EU+
3.12	“We should support the WTO-centered multilateral trading regime, ensure security and stability...”	PS+
3.12	“Fourth, we need to improve on global governance.”	PS-
3.12	“I wish to reiterate that China's resolve to open up at a high standard will not change, and that the door of China will open still wider to the world.”	VS+
3.12	“China will continue to foster an enabling business environment that is based on market principles, governed by law and up to international standards.”	PS+
3.14	“The world today is confronted with accelerated changes unseen in a century as well as a sluggish economic recovery.”	EU-
3.14	“We should commit ourselves to openness to meet development challenges, foster synergy for cooperation, build the momentum of innovation, and deliver benefits to all.”	EU+
3.14	“China will work with all countries and all parties to share the opportunities in its vast market.”	PR+
3.14	“We will establish pilot zones for Silk Road e-commerce cooperation and build national demonstration zones for innovative development of trade in services, so as to encourage innovation in trade and promote high-quality Belt and Road cooperation.”	EU+
3.14	“China will work with all countries and all parties to share the opportunities from its institutional opening-up.”	PR+
3.14	“We will engage fully and deeply in WTO reform negotiations...”	PS-
3.14	“We will firmly support other developing countries and assist them in growing faster, and promote the building of a community with a shared future for mankind.”	PR+
3.15	“He stressed building Pudong into a world-class new urban area that can serve as a modern international hub.”	VS+
3.15	“... defending China's socialist state power and safeguarding the fundamental interests of the people...”	VS-
3.15	“Between the late 1980s and early 1990s, political disturbances erupted in the international arena and in China.”	EU-

3.15	“Some Western countries imposed so-called "sanctions" on China.”	PR-
3.15	“...actively carrying out diplomatic struggles and resolutely safeguarding national independence, dignity, security and stability.”	VS-
3.15	“China's reform, opening-up and socialist modernization drive unfolded with great momentum amid a highly volatile international situation.”	VS+
3.15	“Comrade Jiang Zemin put forward the basic principle of seizing opportunities, deepening the reform and opening China wider to the outside world, promoting development and maintaining stability.”	EU+
3.15	“He proposed a combination of bringing in foreign investments and going global, and the promotion of reform and development through opening-up.”	EU+
3.15	“... embodying the one-China principle and making major moves to fight against separatists and oppose "Taiwan independence."”	PR-
3.15	“Comrade Jiang Zemin stressed placing the focal point of military preparedness on winning local wars...”	PR-
3.15	“...tackling a series of international emergencies concerning China's sovereignty and security...”	VS-
3.15	“Reform and opening-up is a crucial move in determining the future and destiny of contemporary China.”	VS+
3.15	“China cannot develop without the rest of the world, and the world needs China for prosperity.”	PR+
3.15	“... promote the establishment of a new international political and economic order that is just and reasonable...”	PS-
3.15	“...holding high the banner of peace, development, cooperation and mutual benefit and promoting the common values shared by humankind.”	VS+
3.15	“The grave situations both outside and inside the country, and the confrontations and conflicts between different social systems and ideological systems frequently pose challenges to every Party member.”	EU-
3.16	“We have consolidated our gains in poverty elimination and advanced rural revitalization across the board.”	EU+
3.16	“Changes unseen in a century are unfolding at a faster pace, and the world is not yet a tranquil place.”	EU-
3.16	“We cherish peace and development and value friends and partners as we have always done.”	VS+
3.16	“What matters is that we build consensus through communication and consultation.”	VS+

3.16	“The people on both sides of the Taiwan Strait are members of one and the same family.”	PR+
3.17	“Confronted with the complex and unpredictable international situation...”	EU-
3.17	“We have been fighting resolutely in major struggles against separatism and foreign interference...”	VS-
3.17	“We will comprehensively deepen reform and opening up...”	VS+
3.18	“... when bullying by foreign powers and frequent wars tore the country apart and plunged the Chinese people into an abyss of great suffering.”	PR-
3.18	“We must proactively develop whole-process people's democracy, uphold the unity between the Party leadership, the running of the country by the people and law-based governance...”	VS+
3.18	“We should solidly promote the practice of "one country, two systems" and the great cause of national reunification...”	PR-
3.18	“China's development benefits the world, and China cannot develop itself in isolation from the world.”	PR+
3.18	“...actively participate in the reform and development of the global governance system.”	PS-
3.19	“... together with the values of friendship, fraternity, fair play, perseverance, integrity, cooperation ... but also inspired us to navigate the changes of the world, of our times and of the course of history.”	VS+
3.19	“We should deepen exchanges and mutual learning to promote harmony without uniformity in the spirit of inclusiveness.”	VS+
3.19	“This historical and cultural city has long been a hub of exchanges connecting China to the rest of the world, like a pearl on the southwestern Silk Road.”	EU+
3.20	“Over decades, Asia has enjoyed overall stability as well as sustained rapid economic growth, creating the Asian Miracle that is incomparable across the world.”	EU+
3.20	“We should make Asia an anchor of world peace.”	PR+
3.20	“As humanity faces unprecedented global challenges...”	EU-

Table E: Results for National Congress Reports.

Source	Recorded Unit	Code
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19th	“Both China and the world are in the midst of profound and complex changes.”	EU-
19th	“Outside China, we have been confronted with sluggish global economic recovery, frequent outbreaks of regional conflicts and disturbances, and intensifying global issues”	EU-
19th	“Taking a driving seat in international cooperation to respond to climate change, China has become an important participant, contributor, and torchbearer in the global endeavor for ecological civilization.”	EU+
19th	“...and undertaken major missions related to the protection of maritime rights...”	VS-
19th	“We have fully and faithfully implemented the principle of “one country, two systems,” and ensured that the central government exercises its overall jurisdiction over Hong Kong and Macao...”	PR-
19th	“China champions the development of a community with a shared future for mankind...”	VS+
19th	“...and in many areas our production capacity leads the world.”	EU+
19th	“...this was a time of fierce struggle as the Chinese people resisted feudal rule and foreign aggression.”	VS-
19th	“But with the Opium War of 1840, China was plunged into the darkness of domestic turmoil and foreign aggression...”	VS-
19th	“We must do more to safeguard China’s sovereignty, security...”	VS-
19th	“We must neither retrace our steps to the rigidity and isolation of the past...”	VS+
19th	“It makes clear that major country diplomacy with Chinese characteristics aims to foster a new type of international relations and build a community with a shared future for mankind”	VS+
19th	“We must actively participate in and promote economic globalization, develop an open economy of higher standards, and continue to increase China’s economic power and composite strength.”	EU+
19th	“We must put national interests first...”	VS-
19th	“We should ensure that the principle of “one country, two systems” remains unchanged, is unwaveringly upheld, and in practice is not bent or distorted.”	PR-
19th	“...the Chinese Dream can be realized only in a peaceful international environment and under a stable international order.”	EU+
19th	“We will uphold justice while pursuing shared interests, and will foster new thinking on common, comprehensive, cooperative, and sustainable security.”	EU+



19th	“China will continue its efforts to safeguard world peace, contribute to global development, and uphold international order.”	EU+
19th	“China will not close its door to the world; we will only become more and more open.”	VS-
19th	“We should pursue the Belt and Road Initiative as a priority...follow the principle of achieving shared growth through discussion and collaboration...”	EU+
19th	“We must uphold the banner of patriotism and socialism, strive to achieve great unity and solidarity, balance commonality and diversity, and expand common ground and the convergence of interests.”	VS-
19th	“We must rigorously protect against and take resolute measures to combat all acts of infiltration, subversion, and sabotage...”	VS-
19th	“It is imperative too, to act in strict compliance with China’s Constitution and the basic laws of the two special administrative region.”	PR-
19th	“... and fulfilling the constitutional responsibility of safeguarding China’s sovereignty, security, and development interests.”	VS-
19th	“Resolving the Taiwan question to realize China’s complete reunification is the shared aspiration of all Chinese people, and is in the fundamental interests of the Chinese nation.”	PR-
19th	“We will expand cross-Straits economic and cultural exchanges and cooperation for mutual benefits.”	EU+
19th	“We stand firm in safeguarding China’s sovereignty and territorial integrity, and will never allow the historical tragedy of national division to repeat itself.”	VS-
19th	“China will continue to hold high the banner of peace, development, cooperation, and mutual benefit and uphold its fundamental foreign policy goal of preserving world peace and promoting common development.”	EU+
19th	“And yet, as a world we face growing uncertainties and destabilizing factors.”	EU-
19th	“No country can address alone the many challenges facing mankind; no country can afford to retreat into self-isolation.”	VS+
19th	“...and make economic globalization more open, inclusive, and balanced so that its benefits are shared by all.”	PR+
19th	“We endeavor to uphold international fairness and justice...”	VS+
19th	“...and oppose acts that impose one’s will on others or interfere in the internal affairs of others as well as the practice of the strong bullying the weak.”	VS-
19th	“No matter what stage of development it reaches, China will never seek hegemony or engage in expansion.”	VS+

19th	“China will promote coordination and cooperation with other major countries and work to build a framework for major country relations featuring overall stability and balanced development.”	PR+
19th	“In doing so, we hope to achieve policy, infrastructure, trade, financial, and people-to-people connectivity and thus build a new platform for international cooperation to create new drivers of shared development.”	EU+
19th	“China will increase assistance to other developing countries, especially the least developed countries, and do its part to reduce the North-South development gap.”	PR+
19th	“China will support multilateral trade regimes and work to facilitate the establishment of free trade areas and build an open world economy.”	PS+
19th	“China stands for democracy in international relations and the equality of all countries, big or small, strong or weak, rich or poor.”	PR+
19th	“China supports the United Nations in playing an active role in international affairs, and supports the efforts of other developing countries ....”	PS+
19th	“...and supports the efforts of other developing countries to increase their representation and strengthen their voice in international affairs.”	PS-
20th	“...and committed itself to the noble cause of peace and development for humanity.”	VS+
20th	“In the face of turbulent developments in Hong Kong, the central government exercised its overall jurisdiction over the special administrative region...”	PR-
20th	“In response to separatist activities aimed at “Taiwan independence” and gross provocations of external interference in Taiwan affairs...”	PR-
20th	“...demonstrating our resolve and ability to safeguard China’s sovereignty and territorial integrity and to oppose “Taiwan independence.”	VS-
20th	“Confronted with drastic changes in the international landscape, especially external attempts to blackmail, contain, blockade, and exert maximum pressure on China...”	EU-
20th	“The institutions and mechanisms for implementing the policy of One Country, Two Systems in Hong Kong and Macao were not well-developed, and China faced grave challenges to its national security. ”	PR-
20th	“As a collaborative endeavor, the Belt and Road Initiative has been welcomed by the international community both as a public good and a cooperation platform.”	EU+
20th	“We have not yielded any ground on matters of principle, and we have resolutely safeguarded China’s sovereignty...”	VS-
20th	“We have helped Hong Kong enter a new stage in which it has restored order and is set to thrive, and we have seen both Hong Kong and Macao maintain good momentum for long-term stability and development. “	PR+
20th	“We have resolutely opposed separatist activities aimed at “Taiwan independence” and foreign interference.”	PR-

20th	“We have taken a clear-cut stance against hegemonism and power politics in all their forms, and we have never wavered in our opposition to unilateralism, protectionism, and bullying of any kind.”	VS-
20th	“...actively participating in the reform and development of the global governance system...”	PS-
20th	“...engaging in all-around international cooperation in the fight against Covid-19.”	EU+
20th	“We have advanced reform, opening up, and socialist modernization and have written a new chapter on the miracles of fast economic growth and long-term social stability.”	VS+
20th	“The problems we face today are considerably more complex, and resolving them has become much more difficult.”	EU-
20th	“It is also dedicated to human progress and world harmony.”	VS+
20th	“That brutal and blood-stained path of enrichment at the expense of others caused great suffering for the people of developing countries.”	PR-
20th	“...and a significant shift is taking place in the international balance of power, presenting China with new strategic opportunities in pursuing development.”	EU+
20th	“At the same time, however, the once-in-a-century pandemic has had far-reaching effects; a backlash against globalization is rising; and unilateralism and protectionism are mounting.”	EU-
20th	“External attempts to suppress and contain China may escalate at any time.”	PR-
20th	“We must intensify efforts to advance reform and explore new ground, and we must remain steadfast in expanding opening up.”	VS+
20th	“With these efforts, we will ensure that China’s food supply remains firmly in its own hands.”	VS-
20th	“This will position us to improve the level and quality of trade and investment cooperation.”	EU+
20th	“We will upgrade trade in goods, develop new mechanisms for trade in services, and promote digital trade, in order to accelerate China’s transformation into a trader of quality.”	EU+
20th	“...and endeavor to preserve the diversity and stability of the international economic landscape and economic and trade relations.”	PS+
20th	“We will move faster to build world hubs for talent and innovation, promote better distribution and balanced development of talent across regions...”	EU+
20th	“We will follow a Chinese path of human rights development, actively participate in global human rights governance, and promote all-around advancement of human rights.”	PS+

20th	“We will safeguard China’s maritime rights and interests and resolutely defend our country’s sovereignty, security, and development interests.”	VS-
20th	“We will enhance the military’s strategic capabilities for defending China’s sovereignty, security, and development interests...”	VS-
20th	“They have the confidence and the ability to safeguard China’s sovereignty, unity, and territorial integrity...”	VS-
20th	“We will fully, faithfully, and resolutely implement the policy of One Country, Two Systems...”	PR-
20th	“We will ensure that the capitalist system and way of life remain unchanged in Hong Kong and Macao in the long run and work to promote long-term prosperity and stability in the two regions.”	PR+
20th	“We will give full play to the strengths and distinctive features of the two regions to see them consolidate and elevate their international position in finance, trade, shipping, aviation, innovation and technology, culture and tourism, and other fields.”	EU+
20th	“We will crack down hard on anti-China elements who attempt to create chaos in Hong Kong and Macao.”	PR-
20th	“We will take resolute action to prevent and stop interference in the affairs of Hong Kong and Macao by external forces.”	PS-
20th	“Resolving the Taiwan question and realizing China’s complete reunification is, for the Party, a historic mission and an unshakable commitment.”	VS-
20th	“We will safeguard the overall interests of the Chinese nation and take resolute steps to oppose “Taiwan independence” and promote reunification.”	PR-
20th	“We will continue to promote economic and cultural exchanges and cooperation across the Strait, advance our integrated development in all fields, and improve systems and policies that contribute to the wellbeing of our Taiwan compatriots.”	PR+
20th	“We will continue to strive for peaceful reunification with the greatest sincerity and the utmost effort...”	VS+
20th	“...but we will never promise to renounce the use of force, and we reserve the option of taking all measures necessary.”	VS-
20th	“This is directed solely at interference by outside forces and the few separatists seeking “Taiwan independence” and their separatist activities...”	PR-
20th	“The historical trends of peace, development, cooperation, and mutual benefit are unstoppable.”	VS+
20th	“The deficit in peace, development, security, and governance is growing.”	EU-
20th	“For its part, China has always been committed to its foreign policy goals of upholding world peace and promoting common development, and it is dedicated to promoting a human community with a shared future.”	VS+

20th	“China stands firmly against all forms of hegemonism and power politics, the Cold War mentality, interference in other countries’ internal affairs, and double standards.”	VS-
20th	“It is committed to promoting a new type of international relations, deepening and expanding global partnerships based on equality, openness, and cooperation, and broadening the convergence of interests with other countries.”	PR+
20th	“China works to enhance coordination and positive interaction with other major countries to build major-country relations featuring peaceful coexistence, overall stability, and balanced development.”	PR+
20th	“Acting on the principles of amity, sincerity, mutual benefit, and inclusiveness and the policy of forging friendships and partnerships with its neighbors...”	VS+
20th	“It strives to create new opportunities for the world with its own development and to contribute its share to building an open global economy that delivers greater benefits to all peoples.”	EU+
20th	“It is committed to working with other countries to foster an international environment conducive to development and create new drivers for global growth.”	PR+
20th	“It is committed to narrowing the North-South gap and supporting and assisting other developing countries in accelerating development.”	PR+
20th	“China plays an active part in the reform and development of the global governance system.”	PS-
20th	“China is firm in safeguarding the international system with the United Nations at its core, the international order underpinned by international law, and the basic norms governing international relations based on the purposes and principles of the UN Charter.”	PS+
20th	“China works to see that multilateral institutions such as the WTO and APEC better play their roles, cooperation mechanisms such as BRICS and the Shanghai Cooperation Organization (SCO) exert greater influence...”	PS+
20th	“China is committed to building a world of lasting peace through dialogue and consultation, a world of universal security through collaboration and shared benefits...”	VS+
20th	“We sincerely call upon all countries to hold dear humanity’s shared values of peace, development, fairness, justice, democracy, and freedom...”	VS+
20th	“We will deepen international cooperation to combat corruption and establish an integrated mechanism for pursuing fugitives, preventing escape, and retrieving stolen assets.”	EU+