

**COMPARATIVE ANALYSIS OF CHINESE STRATEGIC
NARRATIVES AT THE 'GROUP OF 77' AND
THE UNITED NATIONS FORUM (2013-2023)**

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KEY FINDINGS

1. In China's messaging to the G77, two main topics stand out: science, technology and innovation (34.35%) and development and economic cooperation (32.43%). These focal points highlight China's dedication to boosting technological capabilities as well as promoting innovation and financial independence. Multilateral activities such as the Belt and Road Initiative showcase China's drive to improve infrastructure and connectivity, aiming to establish itself as a key figure among emerging economies.
2. The general discourse of Chinese diplomacy at the broad UN forum strongly emphasises Security and Peacekeeping (30.26%), highlighting the UN's primary role in maintaining international peace and security. In contrast, this theme constitutes only 3.99% of China's G77 narrative, illustrating China's focus on technological and economic cooperation rather than direct security interventions within the G77 context. This difference indicates that in its narratives, Chinese diplomacy is not interested in securitising the economy to discourage partners from economic cooperation.
3. China views the G77 as a key element in its international strategy to address developing nations' needs and encourage cooperation among them. By nurturing ties with G77 members, China gains diplomatic backing, shapes global talks, and pushes for changes in the world economy. This calculated involvement helps China boost its sway over developing countries, especially in Africa and Asia, where it has become the top financial supporter utilising bilateral talks under the "BRI multilateral umbrella", securing markets for Chinese goods in the process.
4. China's messaging at the general UN forum level and in the G77 shows its wide-ranging and complex diplomatic strategy. By tailoring its communication to match developing countries' goals and needs, China strengthens its global position and builds its paramount position within the Global South community.
5. China uses its narratives within the Group of 77 to advance its global objectives by promoting technological innovation, economic cooperation, and multilateralism. This approach allows China to strengthen economic ties and secure diplomatic support from developing countries, securing the paramount position of the Global South community. To do so, China is trying to desecuritize economic cooperation and developmental issues, thus offering a contrasting approach to the US administration in this regard. However, the international practice of Chinese diplomacy shows that narratives do not automatically translate into tangible results, as China is interested in advancing with security agreements when engaging bilaterally.

INTRODUCTION

In the times of the growing Sino-American bipolar setup, “middle powers” have more agency than ever before in the world’s history. Some countries of the so-called Global South are emerging as significant contenders poised to play a crucial role in reshaping the post-World War II world order, potentially altering its character by aligning with one side of the bipolar world. Some of the trump cards of the Global South countries are directly connected with geography, resulting in geopolitical advantages or abundant natural resources. Beijing is aware of this importance. Chinese foreign policy, which officially respects sovereignty and non-interference in other nations’ internal affairs while promoting dialogue and cooperation on equal terms, fundamentally fosters “friendly relations,” trying to use multifaceted asymmetry to the fullest. This approach is particularly visible in developing countries, especially within the G77 group, where China actively builds bilateral relationships and strengthens them through numerous strategic partnerships. China made an effort to align with the developing countries’ needs. As history shows, developing countries (at that time called Third World Countries) were interested in establishing a New International Economic Order (NIEO), as displayed during the May 1, 1974, United Nations General Assembly voting. It is worth noticing that Chinese diplomacy, through many of the mechanisms such as the BRI, GDI, GSI and GCI, is addressing, in the vast majority, the same demands as NIEO, trying to further consolidate developing countries around Chinese initiatives. The growing Chinese economic prowess and continuous striving to alter the existing global order might not produce a “panacea” for all the problems in the Global South. Still, it at least can bring some new ideas and hope about global development and the economy and make a possible positive change for a group of “dissatisfied countries” with the current international setup. Many of the developing countries in the past were a subject of colonialism, racial discrimination and then neo-colonialism. Therefore, despite the advantageous asymmetry for China with each Global South partner, this “shortening of the distance” allows China to promote its own values, which are likely to be accepted by G77 members to pursue shared interests vis-à-vis the growing unpopularity of the “Western agenda”. A notable instance of this approach is seen in Chinese Vice Premier Li Xi’s speech at the G77 summit in Havana in September 2023, where he commended Xi Jinping’s vision of “building a community

with a shared future for mankind” and highlighted three global initiatives – Global Development Initiative (GDI), Global Security Initiative (GSI) and Global Civilization Initiative (GCI). These initiatives are presented as offering a “Chinese approach to lasting peace, greater development, and closer cooperation in the world,” they serve as a significant platform for enhancing South-South cooperation.

DEFINING STRATEGIC NARRATIVES

Strategic narratives in international relations play a crucial role in shaping global perceptions, beliefs, policies and actions. These narratives serve as a framework through which states construct and communicate their strategic objectives, interests and identities to both domestic and international audiences. In recent years, scholars and policymakers have increasingly recognized the power of strategic narratives in influencing geopolitical outcomes and shaping policy decisions. For example, as discussed by Miskimmon, Roselle and O’Loughlin (2013), they involve the deliberate crafting and dissemination of stories or narratives by states, organizations or actors to achieve specific strategic objectives. They also argue that strategic narratives are not only tools for persuasion but also mechanisms for constructing reality and exerting power in the international system. These narratives have various kinds of reasons, including justifying actions, building alliances and changing public opinion within and across states. In other words, strategic narratives have become more important in international relations as states seek to shape perceptions and behaviours to advance their national interests in the global arena.

One of the key elements of a strategic narrative is its ability to provide a coherent and compelling explanation for a nation’s or organisation’s strategy and actions (Bushell et al., 2017). By framing their objectives within a narrative that aligns with the values and experiences of their target audience, strategic narratives can be leveraged to gain support, justify courses of action and mobilise resources toward the desired outcomes (Denning, 2006; Bushell et al., 2017). Another key element of the strategic narrative is their ability to build and maintain a shared sense of identity and purpose among the actors involved. Through the strategic use of narrative techniques, such as careful language selection, these narratives can foster a strong sense of collective agency and

belonging, which can be particularly powerful in facilitating collaboration and coordination among diverse stakeholders (Kent, 2015). Furthermore, some argue that these narratives serve a vital function in addressing complex challenges and dilemmas faced by organisations or nations. These crafted narratives can provide a unifying structure that bridges gaps in understanding, reconciles competing interests and inspires stakeholders to take coordinated action towards common goals, ultimately driving meaningful change and progress.

Countries like China and Russia craft narratives emphasising sovereignty, non-interference and alternative development models to challenge Western dominance (Miskimmon et al., 2013). In contrast, Western nations often promote narratives centred on democracy, human rights and liberal values to advance their agendas worldwide (De Graaf et al., 2015). These narratives not only influence diplomatic relations but also inform public discourse and policy decisions domestically and internationally.

METHODOLOGY OF THE RESEARCH

To analyse the Chinese strategic narrative in the United Nations and G77, the authors utilise Qualitative Data Analysis via MAXQDA software. Data were collected from the official web pages of China's Permanent Mission of the People's Republic of China to the United Nations, then imported into MAXQDA software and organised into Word documents. Initial coding involved scrutinising the data, which was then refined and categorised based on the missions' statements at the United Nations in the following categories: security and peacekeeping; development and economic cooperation; climate and environmental issues; human rights and social development; multilateralism and international law; regional issues and cooperation; health issues; science, technology and innovation; investments and infrastructure; education and culture. This categorisation was facilitated by a code list containing 164 entries in English, derived from the content on the Chinese mission web page. The project utilises these 10 categories to examine the relationships between various categories and observes frequencies (percentage of activities in the selected categories) to identify patterns or themes in China's strategic narratives in the United Nations. In doing so, the paper delineates the diverse tactics Chinese diplomacy employs across the United Nations in general and G77 in particular.

Following this quantitative analysis, the study advances into a qualitative phase, delving into an in-depth examination of the three most prevalent categories and conducting further qualitative analysis.

ROLE OF THE G77 IN FOREIGN POLICY OF THE PEOPLE'S REPUBLIC OF CHINA

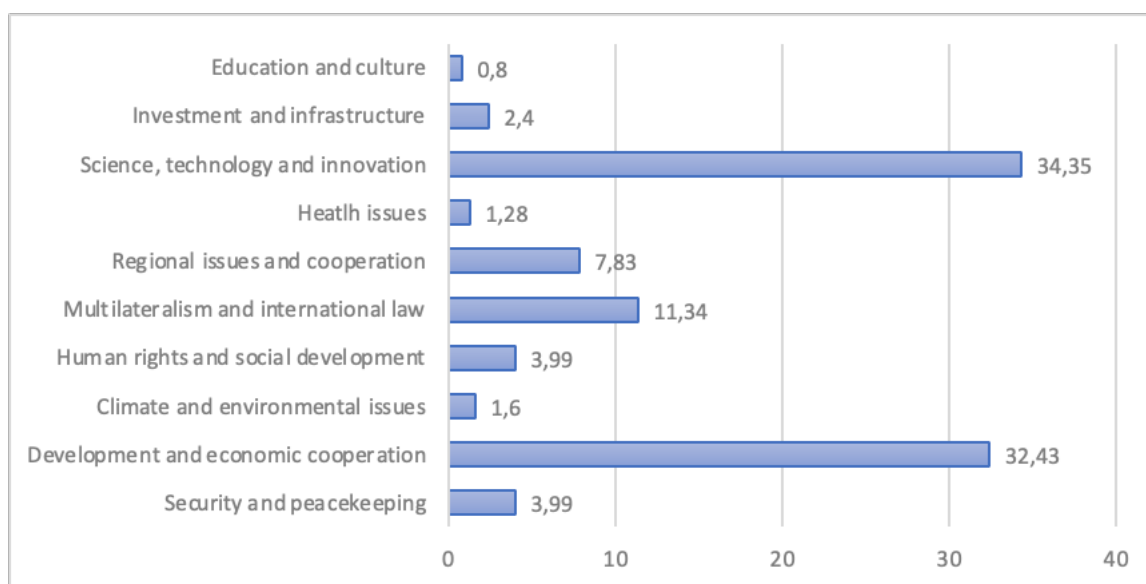
As a permanent member of the UN Security Council, China prioritises strengthening relations with Global South countries and remains officially dedicated to safeguarding their diverse interests. This commitment was evident at the G77+China Summit in Havana in September 2023. During the summit, UN Secretary-General Antonio Guterres emphasised the need for “creating a fairer world for countries on the path of development.” Meanwhile, Chinese Vice Premier Li Xi cautioned developing nations about the dangers of unilateralism and hegemonism by “some developed countries”, which impose unilateral sanctions, disrupt global supply chains, and neglect the rights and interests of developing countries. Consequently, the G77 is central to China’s foreign policy, particularly within the UN framework. The G77 was established to defend shared economic interests, foster cooperation and solidarity, and enhance the influence of Global South countries in global politics. Despite identifying as part of the developing world, China has leveraged its asymmetric relations with the 135 developing countries in the G77 to become their largest donor, particularly in Africa and Asia.

The G77+China coalition now represents 136 of the 193 UN member states. China has effectively pursued a multifaceted policy within this group, gaining numerous geopolitical advantages.

These include promoting Chinese discourse in international discussions, sharing “developmental experience” through the United Nations Development Programme (UNDP), improving its international image by being seen as a protector of Global South interests, influencing decisions on finance, trade, and international development, advocating for UN reforms that address the needs and representation of developing countries, promoting sustainable development, supporting “social justice” within the International Labour Organization (ILO), and advancing a “Chinese interpretation” of human rights that aligns with national conditions (UNHRC). Leading Chinese diplomats

have repeatedly highlighted the importance of the G77 in achieving political and economic objectives. In 2022, during a ministerial meeting of the Group, Wang Yi stated that cooperation between China and the G77 is “the most important multilateral platform for cooperation among developing countries.” This underscores the significance of the G77 in China’s UN policy, particularly alongside initiatives like the Belt and Road Initiative (BRI).

Graph 1. China's strategic objectives and key areas of collaboration within G77 (Frequency on each category in %)



Source: research based on the collected data from China’s officials’ meetings, speeches, and statements published on the Permanent Mission of the People's Republic of China using MAXQDA software.)

China’s involvement with the G77 serves multiple strategic objectives that align with its broader foreign policy goals. One of the primary objectives is to promote South-South cooperation.

By cooperating with the G77, China positions itself as a leader of the Global South, advocating for mutual development and cooperating among developing countries.

According to gathered data, this is evident in China’s frequent mentions of developing and economic cooperation in its G77 statements, which account for 32.43% of the mentions. This emphasis on development highlights China’s commitment to fostering

economic growth and development among G77 members, which is consistent with its own goals of expanding its economic partnerships and influence.

Another key objective for China within the G77 is to strengthen its economic diplomacy, as the G77 provides China with a platform to advocate for global economic reforms that benefit developing countries. This is crucial for China as it seeks to build a global economic environment conducive to its own growth and development. For example, science, technology, and innovation are also significant themes in China's G77 narratives, as the data from the frequency analysis shows that China frequently addresses issues related to science, technology, and innovation within the G77 context, with these topics making up 34.35% among other topics. This focus demonstrates China's desire to be at the forefront of technical advancement and innovation, sharing its expertise with developing countries to enhance collective growth and development. China aims to foster its soft power and leadership in these areas by promoting technological cooperation.

Furthermore, China also leverages its involvement with the G77 to secure diplomatic support on various international affairs. Considering its big and diverse membership, the G77 offers China a wide range of diplomatic allies. Support such as this is important in international negotiations and forums, where collective action can have a significant influence on the outcomes. For instance, China's emphasis on multilateralism and international law in its G77 statements, which accounts for 11.34%, indicates its commitment to a multilateral world order where international laws and norms are respected. This aligns with China's overarching foreign policy goal of building a multipolar world order in which no single country, specifically the US, can dominate global affairs.

In other words, the collaboration between China and the G77 extends to several key areas, reflecting their mutual interests and shared goals. One of the primary areas of their collaboration is development and economic cooperation, as evident in the high frequency of relevant mentions. Additionally, China has actively supported G77 initiatives to promote economic growth, reduce poverty and enhance infrastructure in developing countries. The Belt and Road Initiative is a prime example of its efforts in this area since it aims to build infrastructure and expand connections across different parts of Asia, Africa and Latin America.

Moreover, regional issues and cooperation are also significant in China's engagement with G77, accounting for nearly 8% of the mentions. This result reveals China's strategic interests in strengthening regional stability and economic integration within developing countries. By addressing regional conflicts and promoting cooperative frameworks, China seeks to create favourable conditions for its economic efforts and increase its regional influence. Examples include China's participation in peacekeeping missions and support for regional development initiatives that align with the G77's regional integration and cooperation goals.

Another critical area where China and G77 collaborate is investment and infrastructure development, which makes up for 2.4% of G77 statements. Here, the Belt and Road Initiative again plays an essential role as it matches G77's goals of enhancing connectivity and economic infrastructure. Through these investments, China aims to facilitate trade, improve market access and support sustainable development in G77 members. On the other hand, although climate and environmental issues represent a smaller portion of the mentions in G77 statements (1.6%), they remain a critical aspect where China and G77 seek to present a united front in international negotiations. Both parties advocate for the principle of common but differentiated responsibilities, emphasising that developed countries should take the lead in reducing emissions while providing financial and technical support to developing countries. Collaborations on human rights and social development themes account for nearly 4% of the mentions, which shows that these issues are also important in China's G77 engagements. China and the G77 advocate for a broader definition of human rights, including economic and social rights like development and poverty alleviation. China's emphasis on economic development, prioritising economic and social progress over political and civil liberties, reflects its broader development-oriented approach to human rights and its opposition to Western criticisms of its human rights record.

To conclude, the G77 plays a crucial role in China's foreign policy by providing a platform for promoting shared economic and developmental goals. China's strategic engagement with the G77 allows it to enhance its influence among developing countries, advocate for a more balanced global economic system, and secure diplomatic support in key

international issues. As shown in the data, it is apparent that China's focus is largely on development and economic cooperation, science, technology, innovation, and multilateralism within the G77 context. These themes reflect China's broader foreign policy objectives and ambition to lead global governance. More importantly, as China continues to rise as a major global player, its relationship with the G77 is likely to remain an essential component of its diplomatic strategy, laying the foundation for its efforts to shape the international order to serve the goals and desires of developing countries.

CHINA'S NARRATIVES WITHIN GROUP OF 77 (G77): A QUALITATIVE APPROACH

China's engagement with the G77 is characterised by a sophisticated and diverse narrative that aligns with its overall strategic objectives. Through its participation in G77 initiatives, China articulates a vision that prioritises mutual development, technological collaboration, multilateralism and regional stability. This narrative not only reinforces China's role as a leader of the Global South but also showcases its commitment to addressing the challenges that developing countries face. In this section, research investigates the key themes and issues that dominate China's discourse within the G77 by employing the qualitative approach that combines the frequency data and KWIC analysis in order to provide a better understanding of its narratives.

Science, Technology and Innovation

This category is the most frequently mentioned theme in China's G77 narratives, which accounts for 34.35% of the G77-related statements, as mentioned in the last section. China's emphasis on technology within the G77 is reflected by its proposals for more investment in research and development, as well as the transfer of technology to developing countries. The KWIC analysis highlights frequent mention of phrases such as "technological innovation," "technical assistance to developing countries," and "promote the ownership of innovation results," indicating China's commitment to creating an environment of technological empowerment among its G77 partners.

Development and Economic Cooperation

The second most prominent narrative China advances within the G77 is about development and economic cooperation. China's rhetoric often highlights the importance

of economic self-reliance, equitable growth and the need for a fair international order. China's discourse on economic cooperation is often framed around the principles of mutual benefit and shared prosperity. For instance, through initiatives like the BRI, China positions itself as a partner committed to the economic upliftment of developing countries. More specifically, the KWIC data shows frequent references to terms such as "shared future," "mutual benefit," and "win-win results/outcome" in their statements, which illustrate China's narrative of inclusive growth. This rhetoric not only emphasises its role as a benefactor but also strengthens its image as a responsible global power calling for equal economic policies.

Global South Cooperation and Multilateralism

As discussed, the frequency data shows that a significant portion of China's narratives within the G77 context revolve around the categories of "Multilateralism an international law" (11.34%) and "Regional issues and cooperation" (7.83%). This suggests that China advocates for a multilateral world order where international laws and norms are respected and upheld in accordance with its overall foreign policy objective of promoting a more equitable and just international system. Within the G77, China emphasises the importance of collective action and unity in developing countries to address global challenges. References to multilateralism in the KWIC data include terms such as "international order", "unity", "win-win", and "collective", as well as phrases of "firmly defend multilateralism, oppose unilateralism and protectionism" and "multilateral trading system", showcasing China's call for greater solidarity among G77 partners. Moreover, China also frequently cites its support of UN-led initiatives and frameworks, emphasising the need for a rules-based international order that protects the interests of its members. A notable example can be found in a statement by Zhang Jun at the UN Security Council High-level briefing in June 2023, which highlights China's commitment to upholding international law and promoting multilateral cooperation. In this statement, China reaffirmed its support for UN mechanisms that preserve the principles of sovereignty, equality and non-interference in the internal affairs of sovereign states.

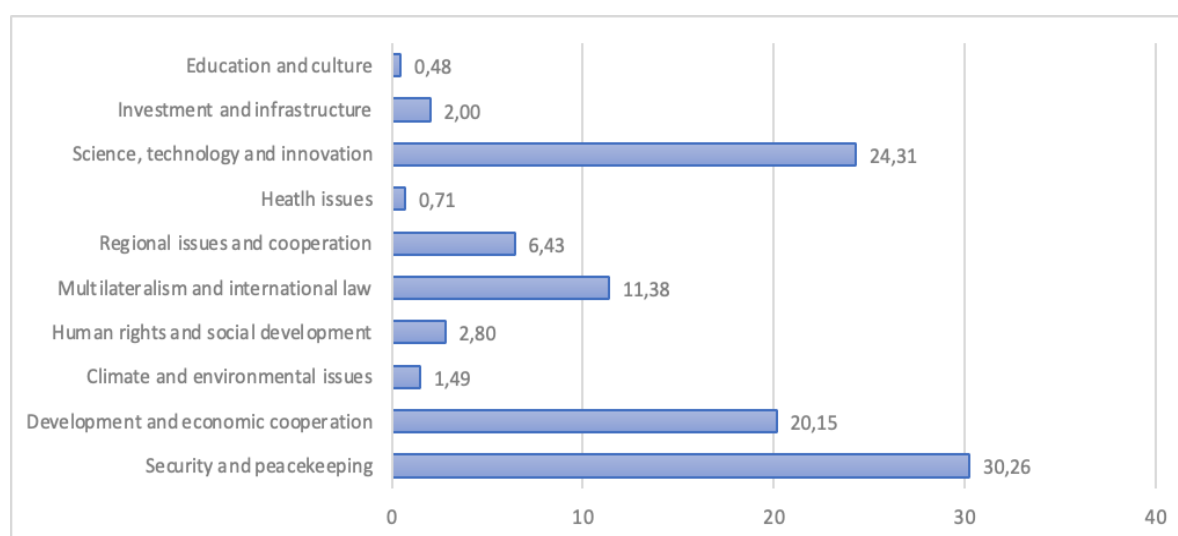
On the other hand, the narratives surrounding regional issues and cooperation are also an important component of China's foreign policy. China recognises regional stability and

economic cooperation as prerequisites for sustainable development, according to its frequent mentions of regional conflicts, peacekeeping efforts and the promotion of cooperative frameworks that strengthen regional security and economic ties in its statements. More specifically, China's involvement in regional development initiatives such as those under the BRI is seen as evidence of its commitment to regional cooperation. Its narratives in these initiatives often indicate China's role in facilitating dialogue, mediating conflicts and supporting peacekeeping missions, as reflected in the frequent use of terms like "common interests", "stability", and "peacekeeping".

GENERAL UN FORUM NARRATIVES VIS-À-VIS G77 NARRATIVES

It is essential to understand how the Chinese diplomacy narratives towards a specific group of developing countries differ from the general narratives used at the United Nations forum. The comparison between the narratives of China's diplomats within the Group of 77 and the general narratives used at the United Nations forum (at the General Assembly, Security Council briefings, etc.) reveals distinct priorities and strategic approaches to addressing global issues. This analysis highlights key differences and similarities in the emphasis placed on various themes by China within the G77 and the broader UN diplomatic discourse, showcasing how different actors within the international system prioritise their engagements.

Graph 2. China's strategic objectives and key areas of collaboration within the UN forum (Frequency on each category in %)



Source: research based on the collected data from China's officials' meetings, speeches, and statements published on the Permanent Mission of the People's Republic of China using MAXQDA software.)

The most significant theme within China's G77 narrative is Science, Technology, and Innovation, constituting 34.35% of its discourse. This indicates a strong commitment to advancing technological capabilities and fostering innovation among developing countries. Once again, China's emphasis on technology within the G77 is reflected in its calls for increased investment in research and development and the transfer of technology to developing nations. This strategic focus is designed to create an environment of technological empowerment, facilitating mutual development and strengthening China's role as a leader of the Global South. In contrast, the broader narratives at the general level place a somewhat lower emphasis on Science, Technology, and Innovation, which accounts for 24.31% of its narrative. While still significant, this difference suggests that the general approach is more diversified, with a relatively balanced focus across various themes and sectors. Overall, a strong narrative on technology and innovation aims to foster global cooperation in scientific research, promote sustainable development, and address global challenges through technological advancements. This indicates a more inclusive approach that seeks to integrate technological progress with other aspects of development.

Development and Economic Cooperation is another critical theme within both narratives. In the case of China within the G77 communications, this theme represents 32.43% of its discourse, underscoring the importance of economic self-reliance, equitable growth, and a fair international order. China's rhetoric often frames economic cooperation around principles of mutual benefit and shared prosperity, exemplified by initiatives like the Belt and Road Initiative. These initiatives are calculated to position China as a partner committed to the economic upliftment of developing countries, emphasising inclusive growth and mutual gains. Compared to the general review of the messaging at the UN forum, it also places significant importance on Development and Economic Cooperation, albeit slightly lesser, with this theme accounting for 20.15% of its narrative. The general focus in this area is to promote sustainable development goals (SDGs), reduce poverty, and foster economic resilience across all member states. Moreover, the general approach is more global in scope, addressing economic disparities and promoting equitable growth through multilateral cooperation and international partnerships.

One of the most notable differences between the two narratives is the emphasis on Security and Peacekeeping. This area of cooperation dominates the discourse at the general UN narrative level, accounting for 30.26% of the narrative. This highlights the UN's primary role in maintaining international peace and security, managing conflicts, and conducting peacekeeping operations worldwide. The UN's extensive focus on security underscores its responsibility to address global conflicts, protect human rights, and ensure stability in volatile regions. In stark contrast, Security and Peacekeeping constitute only 3.99% of China's narrative within the G77. This significant disparity illustrates China's different strategic priorities within the G77, where it emphasises technological and economic cooperation more than security issues.

China's approach within the G77 focuses more on development and growth, viewing stability as a product of economic advancement and technological empowerment rather than direct security interventions. This significant difference indicates that China under Xi Jinping is not particularly interested in security agreements, especially with weaker democracies and economies worldwide.

Multilateralism and International Law are other themes where the narratives of China within the G77 and the UN Forum align closely. This theme represents 11.34% of China's G77 narrative, reflecting its advocacy for a multilateral world order where international laws and norms are respected. China emphasises collective action and unity among developing countries to address global challenges, supporting UN-led initiatives and frameworks that uphold sovereignty, equality, and non-interference principles. Similarly, the UN Forum places a comparable emphasis on Multilateralism and International Law, with this theme constituting 11.38% of its narrative. This area's general focus is promoting a rules-based international order, ensuring compliance with international laws, and fostering global cooperation through multilateral institutions. Both narratives underscore the importance of multilateralism or "true multilateralism" in addressing global issues and maintaining international stability.

Other themes such as Regional Issues and Cooperation, Human Rights and Social Development, and Climate and Environmental Issues are also present in both narratives but to varying extents. China's G77 narrative significantly focuses on regional cooperation, reflecting its involvement in initiatives like the BRI or other quasi-multilateral arrangements such as China-CEEC cooperation (China-Central and Eastern Europe), China-CELAC (China-Community of Latin American and Caribbean States) or FOCAC (Forum on China-Africa Cooperation) that promote regional stability and economic ties. On the other hand, at the general level, China addresses a broader range of issues, including human rights, health, and environmental sustainability, reflecting its comprehensive mandate to tackle diverse global challenges and to protect its interests in this field.

CONCLUSIONS

The comparative analysis of Chinese strategic narratives at the United Nations Forum and within the Group of 77 highlights the distinct yet overlapping priorities and approaches that China employs to advance its global objectives. However, it is crucial to acknowledge that this is based on narratives that should not automatically be translated into practical implementations. With this in mind, China leverages its involvement with the G77 to promote technological innovation, economic cooperation, and multilateralism, aligning these efforts with its broader foreign policy goals. The G77 provides China with a strategic platform to advocate for mutual development, strengthen economic ties, and secure diplomatic support from diverse developing countries. This approach allows China to position itself as a leader of the Global South, fostering a sense of solidarity and shared purpose among G77 members. Moreover, using such narratives, China is trying to desecuritize economic cooperation in opposition to the United States – as one of the most important pillars in China's narrative in the United Nations.

On a broader scale, China's narratives are more diversified, reflecting a balance across various themes.

While technological innovation and economic cooperation remain significant, the general narratives of Chinese diplomacy at the general level of the UN forum strongly emphasise security and peacekeeping.

This indicates the UN's primary role in maintaining international peace and security, managing conflicts, and conducting peacekeeping operations worldwide. The alignment in themes such as multilateralism and international law underscores a shared commitment to promoting a rules-based international order and fostering global cooperation.

China's strategic engagement with the G77 serves multiple objectives, including promoting South-South cooperation, advancing economic diplomacy, and securing diplomatic alliances. The emphasis on development and economic cooperation, science and technology, and multilateralism within the G77 context reflects China's ambition to lead global governance and shape the international order to benefit developing countries. Initiatives like the Belt and Road Initiative and Global Development Initiative exemplify China's efforts to build infrastructure and enhance connectivity, further solidifying its influence among G77 members. The differences in narrative emphasis between China's G77 engagement and its broader discourse highlight China's nuanced strategies to navigate the complex landscape of international relations. While the G77 narrative focuses more on technological and economic growth, the general narrative integrates a broader range of issues, including security and peacekeeping. This strategic flexibility allows China to adapt its messaging and priorities to different international audiences and contexts, maximising its influence and advancing its national interests.

Therefore, it is essential to understand that China's involvement with the G77 and its broader engagement at the UN forum illustrate its comprehensive and multifaceted approach to international diplomacy and provide tangible examples of the attempts to reshape the global order. By aligning its strategic narratives with the needs and aspirations of developing countries, China not only enhances its global standing but also contributes to the evolving dynamics of the international system. As China continues to

rise as a major global player, its relationship with the G77 and its strategic narratives at the UN will remain crucial components of its diplomatic strategy, shaping the future of global cooperation and governance.

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