

*Wolf Warriors and Diplomacy in the New Era: An Empirical Analysis of China's Diplomatic Language**

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Abstract

The media and pundits increasingly associate China's diplomacy with the term "wolf warrior" and warn about the country's increased assertiveness and hostility in foreign affairs. However, there has as yet been little if any systematic research on how official the hostile and combative wolf warrior diplomacy is or how it relates to China's diplomacy under Xi Jinping's leadership. This article situates wolf warrior diplomacy in the broader context of Xi's diplomacy and provides a large-scale empirical analysis of diplomats' speeches. We show that Xi's diplomacy contains two conflicting components: a liberal and egalitarian "shared future for mankind" and a realist "dare to fight." Wolf warrior diplomacy reflects only the realist "fighting spirit." Furthermore, our analysis of the transcripts of the press conferences held by China's Ministry of Foreign Affairs over the past 20 years reveals that the language of these events has become increasingly hostile during Xi's presidency. However, this hostility has been associated only with specific issues.

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