

Global Governance and China's International Discourse Power

Li Yu*

Abstract: As the existing global governance system and the connotation of international discourse power are being introduced, this article analyzes the major difficulties China is facing while constructing its international discourse power in the context of global governance. It suggests five measures to enhance China's international discourse power: making the existing China's international public goods play a more effective role; participating more in the agenda-setting of global governance; strengthening its relations and cooperation with other countries; encouraging some of the Chinese NGOs to participate in global governance; and improving the international communication capabilities of its mainstream media. As China's comprehensive national power improves and its participation in global governance expands, its international discourse power will be gradually enhanced.

Keywords: Global Governance, Discourse Power, International Order

I. INTRODUCTION

The current world is undergoing massive changes unseen in the past century that are characterized by an “acceleration in the velocity of our history and the uncertainty of its trajectory”.¹ The COVID-19 pandemic has also revealed many deficiencies in global economic and social systems. On one hand, the past decades have witnessed increasing global problems because the world is

* Li Yu, Lecturer, School of Foreign Studies, East China University of Political Science and Law, Email: liyuecupl@sina.com.

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1 Zbigniew Brzezinski, *Out of Control: Global Turmoil on the Eve of the 21st Century*, Macmillan, 1993, pp. 9-10.

facing deep-seated conflicts that have been difficult to effectively deal with in existing international systems. Some of the major challenges that global governance faces today center on issues such as climate change, cybersecurity, combating international terrorism, reforming international political, financial, and trade systems as well as governance of public sphere such as the seas and outer space. The re-emergence of countries such as India, China, Brazil, and Russia, the deepening interdependence resulting from globalization, as well as the rise of populism and nationalism are all posing major challenges to the current structure of global governance, with its “quasi-unilateralist (i.e., American) bias”. Many of these problems are the consequences of the globalization of finance and commerce, in the context of a refusal to accept social globalization, the free movement of people, as well as the global implementation of civil and human rights, among other aspects, to ensure “humane” global governance,² which covers self-enforcing international rules or mechanisms established to balance and safeguard respective interests among countries (including non-state agents) in the absence of a “world government”.

On the other hand, over the past more than four decades of reform and opening-up, China has attained remarkable achievements in fields such as politics, economy, and society, while Chinese-style governance is increasingly gaining the attention of the international community. The proposal of the governance concept of “a community with a shared future for mankind” and implementation of the Belt and Road Initiative has enabled it to contribute its strength to enforcing the beautiful blueprint of “achieving worldwide mutual prosperity”, while its influence in international affairs has significantly increased, helping it to play a larger role in major global multilateral mechanisms. As an important rising power, China’s role in world affairs has resulted from “the recombination of old and new patterns and components” of the international system within which Western-centered and Eurocentric views now co-exist with Chinese perspectives and the Sinicization process.³ China’s appearance on the world stage is increasing greatly in both pace and scope. Its growing position as a major power and spreading global influence raises the question of

² Falk Richard, *(Re)Imagining Humane Global Governance*, Routledge, 2014, p. 48.

³ Peter J. Katzenstein, China’s Rise: Rupture, Return, or Recombination? In Peter J. Katzenstein (Ed.), *Sinicization and the Rise of China: Civilizational Processes beyond East and West*, Routledge, 2012, pp. 1-38.

how China can contribute to global governance.⁴ The Western world increasingly expects China to become a “responsible international stakeholder”⁵ and to meet the challenges affecting the whole world. In addition, it regards China’s contributions to global governance as a test to verify whether China is emerging as a “status quo” power.⁶

II. CHINA’S ROLE IN GLOBAL GOVERNANCE

A. Global Governance

The current usage of the term “global governance” was coined by the former Commonwealth Secretary-General Shridath Ramphal, and the Academic Council on the UN System launched a new journal called *Global Governance: A Review of Multilateralism and International Organizations* in 1995. Since then, the use of “global governance” has increased remarkably. Just like most things exist long before they receive a name, the emergence of global governance has various origins and motivations, among which the growing dissatisfaction among scholars of international relations (IR) is probably on the top of this list. These scholars have questioned the theories of realism and liberalism that dominated the study of international organizations in the 1970s and the 1980s.⁷ While the theory of global governance provides a fresh perspective on the study of world politics usually explored from the traditional view of IR,⁸ other perspectives such as realism, institutionalism, constructivism, and pluralism have also contributed insights into the basic features and connotations of this theory.

As the most influential perspective of the traditional theory of IR, realism highlights the core position of “countries” in the international system as well as the importance of power and self-interest in IR, which can positively influence

4 Alan S. Alexandroff and Andrew F. Cooper (Eds.), *Rising States, Rising Institutions: Challenges for Global Governance*, Brookings Institution Press, 2010, pp. 25-28.

5 Charles Grant, Russia, China, and Global Governance, Center for European Reform, 2011, pp. 12-18; Hongying Wang and James Rosenau, China and Global Governance, *Asian Perspective*, No. 3, 2009, pp. 5-39.

6 Alastair I. Johnston, Is China a Status Quo Power, *International Security*, No. 14, 2003, pp. 5-56.

7 Thomas G. Weiss, Governance, Good Governance and Global Governance: Conceptual and Actual Challenges, *Third World Quarterly*, No. 5, 2000, pp. 795-814.

8 Klaus Dingwerth and Philipp Pattberg, Global Governance as a Perspective on World Politics, *Global Governance*, No. 2, p. 185.

the research and analysis of global governance. In addition to its acknowledgement of the important role of countries (especially major powers), the theory of global governance goes beyond realism by emphasizing the redistribution of authority among different agents and different levels of governance. From the perspective of institutionalism, institutions are regarded as stimuli promoting the development of the international system.⁹ Its contributions to the theory of global governance are based on its emphasis on the interdependence among countries, international mechanisms, and international institutions, providing a multi-level view on an understanding of IR. Based on insights from institutionalism, the theory of global governance highlights the role of non-state agents in constructing international institutions and norms. It emphasizes not only the influence of the international system on the activities of countries in the contemporary international system, but also the contributions of multi-agents to the governance structure and the roles of countries and non-state agents during the governance process. It can be said that the essence of global governance is to provide an institution for the current international system where countries and non-state agents coexist and interact with each other.

Criticizing the rational principles of realism and liberalism,¹⁰ the perspective of constructivism suggests viewing world politics from a sociological view and emphasizes that international systems such as “Hobbesian anarchy”, “Lockean anarchy”, and “Kantian anarchy” are constructed by the concepts of recognition and culture. Therefore, it functions as a strong theoretical basis for the theory of global governance, which highlights that this should be constructed by virtue of a new global vision and coordination between countries and non-state agents to cope with global issues. More importantly, constructivism adds an intersubjective dimension to the concept of global governance and offers a further interpretation for how the international system constructs agents, interests, and social goals. Finally, the perspective of pluralism also contributes to the concept of global governance based on its view on agents and interests that influence the international system. As for key issues such as the asymmetric distribution of power in the international system and elitism that pluralism ignores, the theory of global governance incorporates them because countries

9 Peter A. Hall and Rosemary Taylor, Political Science and the Three New Institutionalisms, *Political Studies*, No. 5, 1996, pp. 936-957.

10 John G. Ruggie, *Constructing the World Policy: Essays on International Institutionalisation*, Routledge, 1998, pp. 14-16.

monopolize power to use violence and retain enormous power to shape the global and national well-being. In other words, countries shape the activities of non-state agents.¹¹

Compared with the above-mentioned perspectives in the theory of IR, the theory of global governance has several features. Firstly, global governance holds that the international system is anarchic, which is almost true in the theories of realism, neo-institutional liberalism, and constructivism. Their difference is based on the fact that a certain order constructed in a disordered world through the coordination and cooperation of agents in the international system is emphasized in global governance. Secondly, global governance has a different view towards the role of countries, which is based on social construction and consent, and also varies over time and according to conditions. Thirdly, global governance highly values the role of non-state agents, emphasizing their unique functions in governing the world order. Fourthly, like neoliberal institutionalism, global governance focuses on the important role of the international system, by virtue of which the behavior of countries are effectively guided and modified to make them actively participate in global governance. Lastly, global governance believes that power, which will change as the international system develops, still plays an important role. Global governance has thus become a dynamic process, while countries and non-state agents perform differentiated functions and also strive to manipulate the global order through cooperation and coordination.

In brief, the perspectives of realism, institutionalism, constructivism, and pluralism in the theory of IR enrich the theory of global governance based on their respective views. Considering the insights from these perspectives, global governance can be defined as a dynamic, multi-layered, and inter-subjective system where public or private agents and institutions with conflicting identities and interests cooperate with each other, fulfilling the function of governing the global order. There are two dimensions involved with the connotation of global governance. From a process perspective, global governance refers to a series of systems that are created, maintained, and transformed by continuous and competitive interactions between countries, companies, and citizens.¹²

11 Eugene R. Wittkopf et al., *World Politics: Trend and Transformation*, St. Martin's Press, 1995, p. 196.

12 Robert O'Brien, *Global Civil Society and Global Governance*, In Matthew J. Hoffmann and Alice D. Ba (Eds.), *Contending Perspectives on Global Governance: Coherence, Contestation and World Order*, Routledge, 2005, p. 213.

From a structure perspective, global governance covers both the traditional one-way linear governance (or management) structure focused on countries and the new two-way network governance structure involving multiple agents, and these two always interact with each other. The multidimensional exploration of the term “global governance” has contributed to our understanding of how the world works and what we might do to change it. The exploration of this concept is to “help us think critically about problems that humanity (and even the whole planet) shares that cannot be solved by individuals, families, private organizations, states, or traditional international relations alone”.¹³

B. China’s Role in Global Governance

Generally, IR scholars hold three theoretical views on the question of “China’s rise”, which parallels the three principal schools of realism, liberalism, and constructivism. The realist viewpoint emphasizes the asymmetrical relations between established and rising powers. The realists argue that the U.S. has been challenged due to China’s rise, and has responded by sustaining American primacy through “balancing” and “strategic hedging” tactics.¹⁴ They exclusively focus on the security and military variable rather than the economic and cultural variables. The neo-realists even apply the power transition theory to predict unstable periods that may happen.¹⁵ The liberal IR theorists are more optimistic than realists regarding China’s rise. They argue that China’s evolution is well conditioned by the international liberal order. As Ikenberry states, “It is not simply a political formation tied to American power. The constraints and obstacles on China’s ability to overturn and reorganize international order are multiple”.¹⁶ Compared with the liberals’ tactic of constraining China, the constructivists try to condition it. The constructivists emphasize how ideas and norms are socially constructed. These three mainstream IR theories are more than a matter of theory but are conscious government policy intended to shape China’s rise. A variety of views exist about the implications of China’s rise.

13 Craig N. Murphy, The Emergence of Global Governance, In Thomas G. Weiss and Rorden Wilkinson (Eds.), *International Organization and Global Governance*, Routledge, 2014, p. 33.

14 Evan S. Medeiros, Strategic Hedging and the Future of the Asia-Pacific Region, *Washington Quarterly*, No. 1, 2005, pp. 145-167.

15 Abramo Organski and Jacek Kugler, *The War Ledger*, University of Chicago Press, 1980, pp. 36-45.

16 John Ikenberry, The Rise of China, the United States, and the Future of Liberal International Order, In David Shambaugh (Ed.), *Tangled Titans: The United States and China*, 2012, pp. 53-73.

According to Zakaria, “China’s rise will reinforce Chinese nationalism and a sense of uniqueness, and actually, make the country less likely to easily integrate into the global system”.¹⁷ However, in a *Der Spiegel* interview, the then-Vice Foreign Minister of Foreign Affairs, expressed a different view by saying that China will be a friend to the world and there is no reason for it to worry about China.

However, China is a latecomer to the global governance system, and still lacks experience with participating in global governance. While Western powers tend to have a universalistic approach to global governance, countries like China believe instead that environment matters. Therefore, they support the idea that in international politics, each country should preserve its political regime as well as the uniqueness of its political sovereignty.¹⁸ To further join in constructing and improving global governance, China must strive to make the world understand how it is expanding throughout the world and should enhance its discourse power in global governance. Global governance does not imply the creation of a supranational government, as it is widely acknowledged that all organizations need some form of governance. Governance is one of the most significant aspects of organizational management, and its failures have caused many problems. Simply, governance is defined as rules that determine how the members of a certain organization communicate with each other, and the rules of governance function well when applied and implemented effectively. Governance has been closely linked with political power and institutions. In the current world, the idea of governance is usually used to interpret the regulations of relationships. Consequently, global governance refers to the management of global processes when there is no global government. Global organizations such as the World Trade Organization (WTO) and the United Nations (UN) have achieved some success in world governance. In other cases, it is claimed that the system of global governance does not exist. Instead, governance is needed in the world that progresses towards globalization and seeks to solve problems at global levels. The notion of global governance is more like a descriptive expression that acknowledges the problem and addresses

17 Fareed Zakaria, Clash of the Titans: How the Democratic Republic of Google Is Testing China’s Appetite for Democracy Itself, *Time Magazine*, No. 1, 2010, pp. 125-136.

18 Raffaele Marchetti, The Role of Ideas in the Global Order, In Sergio Fabbrini and Raffaele Marchetti (Eds.), *Still a Western World? Continuity and Change in Global Order*, Routledge, 2017, pp. 45-56.

arrangements for collaboration to solve problems. Hence, global governance can be regarded as a connection of formal and informal institutions among citizens, inter-governmental organizations (IGOs), and non-governmental organizations (NGOs) to clearly express common interests and develop obligations.

One important thing to note is that global governance does not equal world governance. It means that the world does not have a unique government. The world needs interaction between different countries intended to deal with issues concerning several countries or regions, where a consensus on standards and procedures is followed. The significance of satisfactory governance is urgent in almost all parts of society. For example, strong governance in a political environment improves public confidence. In an economic situation where people are dissatisfied with insufficient resources, good governance is an efficient way to reassure the public and improve the general wellbeing of society. Likewise, a company emphasizing governance is valuable in the corporate world. Many global bodies have been able to operate in a somewhat satisfying way. The major one is the UN with its subsidiary organizations, such as the General Assembly, Security Council, Economic and Social Council, Trusteeship Council, and International Court of Justice. Some of them are more powerful or influential than others. However, achieving global agreement is a very challenging process, and is sometimes almost impossible. Even the major UN countries seldom reach a complete agreement. Another example is the 27 European Union (EU) countries who also face difficulties when trying to agree about many things. The existing global governance regime (a regime refers to the complex of formal and informal institutions and mechanisms between and among states, markets, and organizations, through which collective interests on the global level are articulated, rights and obligations are established, and differences and conflicts are mediated¹⁹) has been modified and challenged since the late 1990s, and China is the major country in this system. Some international organizations (e.g. the Union for the Conservation of Nature) now accept non-states as full members.²⁰ For the part they play in international affairs, some NGOs have become international agents. Hence, the UN has expanded

19 Ramesh Thakur and Langenhove Van, Enhancing Global Governance through Regional Integration, *Global Governance*, No. 3, 2006, pp. 233-240.

20 Jonas Talberg et al., *The Opening up of International Organizations: Transnational Access in Global Governance*, Cambridge University Press, 2013, pp. 5-16.

its administrative structure and machinery to keep up with the growing role of civil society organizations in global governance and its operations.²¹

Regarding China's participation in global governance, it has contributed both unilaterally and bilaterally. Unilaterally, its contributions to global governance have been based on effective governance. It has contributed extensively to global stability by solving its essential issues of feeding, clothing, housing, educating, and employing its 1.4 billion people, one-fifth of the world's population. Another of its important accomplishments is that it has alleviated the absolute poverty of over two hundred million people within the past years. An additional contribution is the successful maintenance of its territorial integrity and security. Along with these contributions, China has also contributed to other developing nations by providing them with aid and assistance. Bilaterally, China has signed many treaties and agreements with other countries regarding different aspects to maintain the rules of international order. The past two decades have involved China's evolving and deepening relationship with international institutions and global governance. For instance, China's participation in the WTO Dispute Settlement Body has gradually made it one of its most active initiators. The past decade has included China's full integration into the international institutional structure, which has increased China's confidence.

III. INTERNATIONAL DISCOURSE POWER

As a complex concept, "discourse" has long been cited by many researchers such as social theorists,²² critical linguists,²³ and critical discourse analysts,²⁴ who define it differently. Generally, discourse is defined in two ways. In the first way, discourse is defined as the "language above the clause"²⁵ according to the formalist or structuralist paradigm. This approach emphasizes the structural

21 See the following two websites: <http://www.un.org/esa/coordination/ngo/documents> & <http://www.un.org/dpi/ngosection> (Last Visited on May 6, 2022).

22 Michel Foucault, *The Archaeology of Knowledge*, Routledge, 1972, pp. 26-35; Michel Foucault, *Discipline and Punish: The Birth of the Prison*, Duke University Press, 1977, pp. 445-471.

23 Roger Fowler et al., *Language and Control*, Routledge, 1979, pp. 21-38.

24 Teun A. Van Dijk, Social Cognition and Discourse, In William Robinson and Howard Giles (Eds.), *Handbook of Language and Social Psychology*, Wiley, 1990, pp. 163-186.

25 Michael Stubbs, *Discourse Analysis: The Sociolinguistic Analysis of Natural Language*, University of Chicago Press, 1983, pp. 1-5.

properties of discourse such as organization and cohesion, but focuses limited attention on how people use and interpret language. This social side of language is emphasized by the functionalist paradigm, which defines discourse as “language in use”.²⁶ Researchers holding this functional perspective see discourse as a culturally and socially organized way of speaking or writing. The “discourse” in this article is defined based on Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA), which is “a theory and method analyzing the way that individuals and institutions use language”.²⁷ CDA focuses on “relations between discourse, power, dominance, and social inequality and how discourse (re)produces and maintains these relations of dominance and inequality”.²⁸ Researchers in this field often examine how the microstructures of language help to shape or reshape the macrostructures of society. Analyzing discourse as social practice implies an analysis of the “social and cultural goings-on which the communicative event is part of”²⁹ and an exposure of the hidden ideologies that are reflected, reinforced, and constructed in everyday and institutional discourse.

In the same way as discourse, researchers’ definitions of “power” also differ from each other. Research on power often distinguishes between the “mainstream” and “second-stream” traditions,³⁰ both of which are essential for understanding discourse. The former emphasizes the corrective forms of the power of the state and institutions, and the latter deals with the importance of power’s influence. The mainstream tradition dates back to Weber,³¹ who stated that power lies both in the state and in other sovereign organizations. People accept power if it is legitimate in democratic systems, which is expressed in symbolic forms of language. Discourse is what justifies the official actions of an institution. Later, this tradition was criticized due to its limitation to forms of visible power.³² Other scholars proposed the notion of power as a matter of individual agency, lying in individuals instead of institutions.³³ This somewhat simplistic

26 Gillian Brown and George Yule, *Discourse Analysis*, Cambridge University Press, 1983, p. 1.

27 John Richardson, *Analyzing Newspapers: An Approach from Critical Discourse Analysis*, Palgrave, 2006, pp. 1-2.

28 Teun A. Van Dijk, *Elite Discourse and Racism*, Sage, 1993, p. 290.

29 Norman Fairclough, *Media Discourse*, Edward Arnold, 1995, p. 57.

30 John Scott, *Power*, Polity Press, 2001, pp. 1-12.

31 Max Weber, The Economy and the Arena of Normative and *De facto* Powers, *Economy and Society*, 1914, pp. 311-340.

32 Steven Lukes, *Power: A Radical View*, Macmillan, 1974, pp. 1-16.

33 Robert A. Dahl, *Who Governs: Democracy and Power in an American City*, Yale University Press, 1961, p. 105.

one-dimensional view received criticism,³⁴ which preferred a two-dimensional view showing how the powerful obtain and maintain their position by using news media. A further developed view is a three-dimensional one focusing on how issues are kept out of politics. These above-mentioned views interpreted power as an ideological phenomenon that embodies the relationship between language, power, and institutions. When power was described as a discursive phenomenon,³⁵ it emphasized the important roles of ideologies in reproducing political relations.

The second stream of research on power saw it as persuasion. This tradition valued the role of organizations with power rather than strategies and techniques of power. A central concept in this tradition is “hegemony”,³⁶ the mechanisms that the dominant successfully use to persuade the subordinate to accept their political and cultural values. This concept plays an essential role in CDA, which examines how discourse constructs attitudes, opinions, and beliefs that people often take for granted. Hegemony functions as a practice of power and operates by virtue of language. The dominant groups obtain their domination — first, by building a ruling group through political alliances; second, by getting consent among the masses; and third, by developing the ability for coercion to build their authority.³⁷ Language and communication are the independent factors in achieving these three functions.³⁸ The practical features of discourses facilitate the dominant groups’ ability to rule by consent. Foucault further expanded the study of the relationship between power, knowledge, and institutional practices, and regarded power as a “productive network which runs through the whole social body”³⁹ and a way of “producing reality, domains of objects and discourse”.⁴⁰ Power is closely connected with knowledge that can work through discourse practices in certain institutional settings to regulate the conduct of its members and the general public.

34 Peter Bachrach and Morton Baratz, Two Faces of Power, *American Political Science Review*, No. 4, 1962, pp. 947-952.

35 Louis Althusser, Ideology and Ideological State Apparatuses, *Lenin and Philosophy and Other Essays*, No. 2, 1971, pp. 127-188.

36 Antonio Gramsci, *Selections from the Prison Notebooks*, Lawrence and Wishart, 1971, p. xiv.

37 *Ibid.*

38 Eric Louw, *The Media and the Political Process*, Sage, 2005, pp. 15-26.

39 Michel Foucault, *Power/Knowledge: Selected Interviews and Other Writing 1972-1977*, Vintage, 1980, p. 119.

40 *Supra* n. 22, Michel Foucault (1977).

As it is closely related to a nation's position and rights in global affairs and to the achievement and maintenance of national interests, international discourse power has become an important target of competition among the major powers in international politics. The main actor of traditional international discourse power is a sovereign state with non-state agents in a marginal position. It deals with issues in fields such as politics, military affairs, security, economy, and culture, and is characterized by one-way power transmission from strong countries to weak ones.

At the threshold of the 21st century, the world order is transforming and its global governance is reforming. Moreover, the competition for international discourse power has begun to shift from traditional discourse power to that based on global governance. The competition for global governance is mainly embodied in two aspects. One is the dispute among the agents of discourse power and the other is the content of discourse power. Disputes among the agents of discourse power are mainly manifested among different countries as well as between state agents and non-state agents. A group of emerging economies, mainly developing countries with continuously increasing power, are focusing on promoting the reform of the existing international system. They actively raise their voice in the global governance system to safeguard their legitimate rights and interests. In addition to state agents, more non-state agents are also involved in the global governance system and have become powerful competitors of sovereign states, who rely on nationalism to maximally protect their national interests.

The content of discourse power in global governance mainly refers to countries' influence on public opinion, their right to set international agendas, their right to formulate and interpret international systems, and their contribution to international concepts. Specifically, this content includes the following three aspects. Firstly, both state agents and non-state agents are seeking to influence public opinion. In one sense, it is easier for the international community to recognize a country's policy that is consistent with international public opinion. Public opinion plays an important role in building a country's image, which helps it to gain more support during a crisis. Secondly, major countries focus on seeking the right to set the international agenda. "Agenda-setting" is a process where agents present their views in various ways and on various

occasions, and the issues they value highly are more likely to receive attention. As a primary tool for acquiring and expanding a country's power in the international community, agenda-setting has always been the aim of agents whose national strength determines whether they can successfully set their agenda as an international agenda. Thirdly, during the struggle for discourse power, different agents, especially large countries, stress the right to formulate and interpret the international regime, which is a system of rules that clarifies what can and cannot be done, and also endows agents with certain rights and legitimizes their appeals. Therefore, agents strive and will strive to participate in, influence, and lead the formulation of international rules so that these rules and systems benefit their development. The extent of institutional discourse power that an entity can acquire relies on its comprehensive strength, which embodies its status and role in the international mechanism, and has become a key field in current competition for discourse power among major countries. The fourth is the competition for the discourse power of a country's "idea" in global governance. Once the international community recognizes this "idea" and it becomes an international consensus, an international "idea" is formed, which directly affects the governance process and efficacy. Some existing consensus regarding "ideas" have been reached in global governance. For example, the Commission on Global Governance believes that all human beings should accept and abide by common core values in global governance, including respect for life, freedom, justice, fairness, mutual respect, love, and integrity. However, there are still some irrational "ideas" that must be reformed. An urgent global issue is determining how to use innovation to build an international "idea" with more truthfulness, logical self-consistency, and moral legitimacy.

IV. MAJOR DIFFICULTIES WITH CHINA'S DISCOURSE POWER IN GLOBAL GOVERNANCE

No existing military, social, demographic, or environmental crisis can be adequately addressed in a multilateral framework without China's cooperation, or, at the very least, its benevolent acquiescence.⁴¹ This is illustrated by the

41 Samuel Kim, *China in World Politics*, In Barry Buzan and Rosemary Foot (Eds.), *Does China Matter? A Reassessment: Essays in Memory of Gerald Segal*, Routledge, 2004, pp. 37-53.

International Governance Index Report 2019 jointly issued by China International Publishing Group and East China University of Political Science and Law. In this systematic measurement and evaluation of the capacity for 189 countries and regions to join in global governance, China ranked second overall. This ranking indicated that China's international discourse power had increased dramatically, contrasting with Western countries' decline. As such, this global power shift that is generating greater opportunities for change, along with more opportunities for Chinese interests and objectives, most likely seems to bring a bright future.⁴²

Many influential scholars believe that considerable changes in China's behavior within recent decades raise the possibility that it may have progressively socialized itself into the current order.⁴³ As Rapkin and Strand noted, it was indeed the inertia but even more, the conservative tendencies of existing powers that contributed the most to the fact that East Asian economies started to perceive their role in international institutions as having fair representation.⁴⁴ Most observers perceive China's role in global governance as a constructor in international institutions, which embodies its growing power. Chin argued that "Beijing is not looking to overturn the international system; rather, it is acting more like a moderate revisionist power — one that prefers gradual reform of the international order".⁴⁵ However, it is necessary to realize that the development of China's international discourse power still faces many obstacles and difficulties, and some key issues still need careful consideration.

A. Insufficient International Discourse Power

Considering the responsibilities and obligations China has undertaken and is undertaking in the international community, China lacks international discourse power. The Western world is striving to protect its achievements and safeguard its interests in the current international system while criticizing China for its desire to get "recognized and treated as a global power on the one

42 Shaun Breslin and Silvia Menegazzi, *The Chinese Perspective on Global Order*, In Sergio Fabbrini and Raffaele Marchetti (Eds.), *Still a Western World? Continuity and Change in Global Order*, 2017, pp. 71-83.

43 Alastair Johnston, *Social States: China in International Institutions, 1980-2000*, Princeton University Press, 2008, p. 197.

44 David P. Rapkin and Jonathan R. Strand, *Is East-Asia under Represented in the International Monetary Fund? International Relations of the Asia Pacific*, No. 1, 2003, pp. 1-28.

45 *Supra* n. 4, pp. 83-104.

hand, and its limited and hesitant contribution to global governance on the other".⁴⁶ Among the expansive existing literature on China's rise, some of it focuses on China's irregular intersections with the world's major powers and the historical tendency for conflicts between the leading established power and the rising power,⁴⁷ some of it propagandizes the "China Threat",⁴⁸ and some of it claims that China will "rule the world".⁴⁹ These viewpoints are obviously overstated and incorrect. More recent claims have criticized the Eurocentric bias of the earlier Western agents by highlighting the role of non-Western agents in absorbing, promoting, localizing, or resisting key primary institutions that originated in the West.⁵⁰ Moreover, a previously popular book claims China is certainly not about to "rule the world".⁵¹

The fact is that, since the outbreak of the international financial crisis in 2008, developing countries' contribution to global economic growth occupied nearly 80% of the total. However, the distribution of voting rights and voice in global economic governance does not fully reflect the weight of emerging markets and developing economies in the global economy. Meanwhile, the construction of China's discourse theory is underway, which does not closely match its discourse power. The discourse theory is mainly composed of elements and relationships constructed by theories, concepts, and categories with explanatory power and appeal. The promotion of its influence is inseparable from the perfection of the theory itself. The strong international discourse power not only lies in its strength but also in the innovative ideas in the logical and persuasive discourse that guides decisions on the most important international issues. The situation will improve if theoretical systems in some fields in China, such as social governance, international relations, and cultural construction,

46 Amitav Acharya, *Can Asia Lead? Power Ambitions and Global Governance in the Twenty-first Century*, *International Affairs*, No. 4, 2011, pp. 851-869.

47 Robert S. Ross and Zhu Feng (Eds.), *China's Ascent: Power, Security, and the Future of International Relations*, Cornell University Press, 2008, pp. 10-16; Aaron L. Friedberg, *A Contest for Supremacy: China, America, and the Struggle for Mastery in Asia*, WW Norton & Company, 2011, pp. 26-37.

48 Ian Storey and Herbert Yee, *The China Threat: Perceptions, Myths, and Realities*, Routledge, 2002, pp. 10-15; Ted G. Carpenter, *America's Coming War with China*, Palgrave Macmillan, 2006, pp. 56-78.

49 Martin Jacques, *When China Rules the World: The End of the Western World and the Birth of a New Global Order*, Penguin, 2009, p. 19.

50 John M. Hobson, *The Eurocentric Conception of World Politics: Western International Theory, 1760-2010*, Cambridge University Press, 2012, pp. 21-46.

51 Richard Bernstein and Ross Munro, *The Coming Conflict with China*, Knopf, 1997, pp. 32-40.

create more positive effects for the international influence of Chinese discourse.

B. More Powerful News Media Is Required

China still has a long way to go to use news media to properly and widely disseminate its ideas. Scholars generally accept the view that the news media actively construct or reconstruct news events rather than passively describe or record them. Fishman,⁵² Van Dijk,⁵³ and Gans⁵⁴ have explicitly explored this idea. Today, almost 90% of the global dissemination of information has originated from three major news agencies: the Associated Press, Agence France-Presse (AFP), and Reuters. Western media such as The New York Times, The Wall Street Journal, The Times, CNN, Fox News, Facebook, and Twitter tend to disseminate the most popular news stories. However, Chinese-language news media accounts for only 5% of the global total, which often puts China in a passive position regarding many domestic and international issues. The outbreak of the COVID-19 pandemic around the 2020 Spring Festival is a case in point. Although China actively participated in international anti-pandemic operations, which demonstrated its responsibility as a major power, Western media and politicians created agendas that repeatedly stigmatized China. Leaders of some Western countries openly misled the public with terms such as the “Chinese virus” and “Wuhan virus” in an attempt to blame China for the outbreak of the pandemic. Moreover, demands for compensation from China became a focus of international media. In recent years, Chinese media’s infrastructure and coverage have substantially improved, and it is likely that this will increase its global influence on international opinion.

C. Insufficient Global Power

Despite China’s attributes such as having the world’s largest population, a vast territory, a manned space program, the world’s second-largest economy, being the world’s largest exporter, and its role as the world’s largest producer of consumer goods, China has lacked proportional global power. This understanding of “power” is based on Nye’s definition, who argues that resources do not

52 Mark Fishman, *Manufacturing the News*, University of Texas Press, 1988, pp. 1-26.

53 Teun A. Van Dijk, *News as Discourse*, Erlbaum, 1987, pp. 45-68.

54 Herbert Gans, Deciding What’s News: Story Suitability, *Society*, No. 3, 1979, pp. 65-77.

constitute power unless they are used to try to influence the outcome of a situation.⁵⁵ This argument resembles the definition of power offered by Dahl that power is the ability of A to make B do what it would otherwise not do.⁵⁶ Based on these definitions, it is safe to say that China's global influence has affected some sectors: global trade, global commodity markets, and global tourism, which are qualitatively influencing the world. In other areas, China has a limited influence on global events. For instance, in terms of culture, the Chinese government's extensive investment of effort and resources has not successfully improved China's global image to a great extent. Therefore, it's better to collaborate with various parties to attract other countries to focus on its cultural products such as music, film, and literature.

D. Diplomatic Discourse Should Play a Bigger Role

China has attained outstanding achievements in its diplomatic discourse. Its discourses such as "Peaceful Development", "the Belt and Road", "Extensive Consultation, Joint Contribution, and Shared Benefits", "Community with a Shared Future for Mankind", "New Type of Major-country Relations" and "Upholding Justice" have become keywords and core aspects of its diplomacy with Chinese characteristics, which have gained the affirmation and recognition of the international community. The discourses of the "China Path" and "Chinese Model" have also attracted the attention of domestic and international academics and politicians. However, overall, China still has to make extensive progress towards eliminating the absurd arguments and discourse traps that some Western countries have directed against it such as the "China Threat Theory" and the "China Collapse Theory". Some scholars question Zoellick's vision of China as a "responsible stakeholder".⁵⁷ Others have proposed the dangerous policy recommendation of "preemptive containment".⁵⁸

One of the possible ways to convince the international community accept the above-mentioned core concepts and ideas is to connect the discourse

55 Joseph Nye, *The Future of Power*, Public Affairs, 2011, p. 7.

56 Robert Dahl, *Who Governs? Democracy and Power in an American City*, Yale University Press, 1961, p. 243.

57 Robert B. Zoellick, *Whither China: From Membership to Responsibility*, *Remarks to National Committee on US-China Relations*, No. 4, 2005, p. 5; Amitai Etzioni, *Is China a Responsible Stakeholder?* *International Affairs*, No. 3, 2011, pp. 539-553.

58 John J. Mearsheimer, *The Tragedy of Great Power Politics*, WW Norton & Company, 2001, p. 185.

systems of “the Belt and Road”, “Extensive Consultation, Joint Contribution, and Shared Benefits” with global governance based on in-depth and comprehensive theoretical interpretations of these systems. As Chinese diplomatic discourse systematically develops, China’s voice will inevitably compete and collide with Western theories and discourse. For example, when China proposed “Peaceful Development”, Western scholars proposed the “Thucydides Trap” to refer to the relationship between conservative and emerging powers, believing that they were trapped in structural contradictions and conflicts. Furthermore, when China proposed “the Belt and Road” in 2013 and achieved productive results, the United States’ National Endowment for Democracy proposed the concept of “Sharp Power” in 2017, accusing China of employing “unconventional means” such as “bribing”, “investigating”, “manipulating”, and “coercing” to influence target countries or groups. Moreover, they directly denounced “the Belt and Road” as “the primary manifestation of China’s sharp power”. Actually, China has not shown interest or the intention to use any of its key infrastructure plans to replace existing regional economic or political infrastructure, but instead actively promotes the idea of complementing “the Belt and Road” initiative with other existing regional economic integration plans. An urgent issue facing China as it attempts to enhance its international discourse power is determining how to use discourse systems with Chinese characteristics to interpret the Chinese path and China-related issues, as well as ways of providing Chinese approaches and Chinese wisdom that can solve global problems.

V. ENHANCING CHINA’S DISCOURSE POWER IN GLOBAL GOVERNANCE

China has become the world’s second-largest economy, and the Chinese government has increasingly perceived a constructive and social approach to global governance as a valuable source of prestige.⁵⁹ In addition, China has launched several key foreign policy initiatives in order to actively contribute to

59 John Fairbank, Tributary Trade and China’s Relations with the West, *The Far Eastern Quarterly*, No. 2, 1942, pp. 129-149.

international governance.⁶⁰ Although China's increase in its comprehensive national power has helped it to participate in global governance, its international discourse power has not remarkably improved. Presently and for a period of time in the future, China should focus more on the top-level design of a new type of international relations, effectively tell China's stories, as well as actively contribute Chinese approaches and Chinese wisdom to the world. Generally, the following ways can contribute towards improving China's discourse power in global governance.

A. Making the Existing China's International Public Goods Play a More Effective Role

The capacity to provide public goods and provide solutions to problems of co-operation and coordination in key sectors such as security and economic governance is one of several elements that can determine the status of a great power.⁶¹ The emergence of global issues requires more agents to provide more international public goods, which are now in insufficient and unsustainable supply. As a responsible member of the international community, China has participated in global governance, promoted international cooperation, and provided high-quality international public goods for the common prosperity of the world economy. Specifically, the production of China's conceptual and programmatic products has prepared it for interaction with the international community. Conceptual products refer to the creation of Chinese diplomatic discourse. Researchers in China's philosophy and social sciences need to work harder to strengthen the construction of its discourse system. It is widely acknowledged that the power of discourse lies in the building of new concepts. The new concepts that China has proposed in recent years are actually a conceptual system that embodies Chinese wisdom, and more attention needs to be paid to its reinterpretation or supplementation. As for programmatic products, China has effectively increased its institutional discourse power. Since the 18th National Congress of the Communist Party of China, China has attained major achievements

60 Peter Ferdinand, Westward Ho — The China Dream and the "One Belt One Road": Chinese Foreign Policy under Xi Jinping, *International Affairs*, No. 4, 2016, pp. 941-957.

61 Evelyn Goh, East Asia as Regional International Society: The Problem of Great Power Management, In Barry Buzan and Yongjin Zhang (Eds.), *Contesting International Society in East Asia*, Cambridge University Press, 2014, pp. 167-187.

in its establishment of institutional discourse power in the economy, significantly raised its voice in international organizations, and actively promoted the construction of a new international political and economic order. China is expected to actively strive for the right to join international organizations and mechanisms, develop more high-level talents, promote the reform of existing international mechanisms, and improve the institutional discourse power of similar developing countries, and expand its international opportunities to exert institutional influence.

Some scholars believe that China intends to reform and reshape the international order, yet others hold the view that “the existing international order has actually served the country quite well and its leaders have done much to ensure that they have become a firm part of it”.⁶² In fact, China has actively explored the creation of international mechanisms, such as the Asian Infrastructure Investment Bank, the Silk Road Fund, and the [Brazil, Russia, India, China, South Africa] BRICS Development Bank, to increase the likelihood that its voice is heard. China has been attempting to create a “parallel world” outside its borders, or more accurately, “around” the present international institutions dominated by liberal capitalism.⁶³ Rather than immediately replacing currently dominant institutions, the alternative international institutions that China proposes and will propose are meant to gradually improve the existing international order. Although emerging economies like China have formed internal institutions that facilitate their integration into the liberal order, with very few exceptions, the global elite network, dominated by core capitalist countries, refuses to accept them.⁶⁴

B. Increased Participation in Agenda-setting for Global Governance

It is preferable for China to play a part in setting the agenda for global governance. Setting the agenda is the most important manifestation of discourse power, which increases an actor’s participation in global governance. The

62 Shaun Breslin, China and the Global Order: Signaling Threat or Friendship? *International Affairs*, No. 3, 2013, pp. 615-634.

63 Sebastian Heilmann et al., China’s Shadow Foreign Policy: Parallel Structures Challenge the Established International Order, *China Monitor*, No. 10, 2014, pp. 1-9; Matthew D. Stephen, Rising Powers, Global Capitalism and Liberal Global Governance: A Historical Materialist Account of the BRICs Challenge, *European Journal of International Relations*, No. 4, 2014, pp. 912-938.

64 *Supra* n. 60.

selection and setting of the agenda have become an essential tool for influencing the formulation and implementation of national initiatives. China's participation in setting the "Chinese Agenda" is supposed to help it become an important advocate for the international agenda, and can enable it to tell its story of the "real China" to the world.

At the same time, it is more proactive to help the world to hear China's voice. International agenda-setting is a product of multi-party competition, the process of which is full of compromises, concessions, and transactions. Only those issues that can obtain sufficient support or attain strong resonance are expected to enter the final agenda. Therefore, when selecting the agenda, it is important to choose urgent and relevant topics. During the promotion of issues, extensive mobilization and publicity should be conducted. Therefore, China must maximize multilateral institutions such as the UN and G20 to spread its ideas and voice as well as ensure that relevant issues enter the international agenda.

C. Strengthening Relations and Cooperation with Other Countries

China's good relations and cooperation with other countries should be further strengthened to actively promote its moral discourse power through joint "voicing". As the largest developing country, China has experienced wide-ranging cooperation with a vast number of developing countries around the world. It would uphold the equality of states in establishing international norms and the infringeable sovereignty of all states large and small, Western and non-Western, rich and poor, and each country is able to operate under its own system as it sees fit, whether its methods suit Western standards or not.⁶⁵ In addition, it has found many supporters of this view, especially in the developing world, where it appears that adherence to traditional conceptions of sovereignty is gaining momentum. Now, China is actively implementing the concept of "Extensive Consultation, Joint Contribution, and Shared Benefits" and the idea of "Community with a Shared Future for Mankind".

China is also willing to share its resources and opportunities with both its bordering countries and those thousands of miles away to undertake its international responsibilities by implementing practical actions. For example, the

65 Ken Booth and Russell Trood, *Strategic Cultures in the Asia-Pacific Region*, Springer Nature, 1999, pp. 4-5.

global outbreak of the COVID-19 pandemic has severely affected the global economy. China's intense determination and strong national power enabled it to effectively control the spread of the pandemic within the shortest possible time. And when the world outside of China has become the epicenter of this raging virus, instead of remaining idle, China has actively participated in the governance of global public health. This embodies China's dedication as a major power in promoting international cooperation to fight the pandemic, and it is very significant for strengthening the confidence of the international community, cooperating comprehensively, and building a strong joint force to defeat the pandemic. During the international public health governance of this global public health incident, China's image as a responsible country has motivated people in other countries to gradually understand China's "people first" discourse and its concept of health security.

At the same time, uniting with other countries to "voice" together will enhance the strength needed to respond effectively to crises and challenges. At the 2017 BRICS Summit,⁶⁶ China proposed the cooperation model of "BRICS+", which concretely manifested China's joint efforts with other countries to create a fair, open, comprehensive, and innovative development method. Western scholars claim that China used the BRICS platform as a lobbying group to become a member of the Basel Committee on Banking Supervision and the Committee on the Global Financial System,⁶⁷ while it has been argued that the BRICS countries are united by their desire to become "rule-makers instead of rule-takers within global governance".⁶⁸ Besides these arguments regarding BRICS, these countries have been prompted to engage in preliminary discussions in order to take a joint stand and secure a greater voice. It requires a positive attitude towards discourse and taking the initiative to speak wherever necessary, and whenever you have something to say.

D. Encouraging Chinese NGOs to Participate in Global Governance

NGOs are non-government-affiliated, non-profit, public-welfare-focused, and

66 Marion Fourcade, The Material and Symbolic Construction of the BRICs: Reflections Inspired by the RIPE Special Issue, *Review of International Political Economy*, No. 2, 2013, pp. 256-267.

67 Ambika P. Pati, Credit Risk Stress Testing Practices in BRICS: Post-global Financial Crisis Scenario, *Global Business Review*, No. 4, 2017, pp. 936-954.

68 Niall Duggan, BRICS and the Evolution of a New Agenda within Global Governance, In Rewizorski Marek (Ed.), *The European Union and the BRICS*, Springer, 2015, pp. 11-25.

voluntary organizations. They emphasize and express the interests of marginalized groups. The international community has universally recognized NGOs' contributions to poverty alleviation, humanitarian assistance, and environmental protection. As part of civil society, NGOs are now playing a role in global governance and function to manifest discourse power similar to bilateral relations between countries, multilateral relations between international organizations, communication between governments, and interpersonal communication. As global problems become increasingly prominent, human society has formed a community of shared destiny, and more non-state agents are participating in global governance as well as undertaking specific global or regional governance tasks. Non-state agents can be divided into IGOs and NGOs. China participates in global governance mainly through IGOs and has attained remarkable achievements. However, more recognition needs to be gained for international NGOs. In fact, when the UN was created in 1945, NGOs were prominent and vocal enough that they gained acknowledgement in the UN Charter. Article 71 of this charter specifies that "the Economic and Social Council may make suitable arrangements for consultation with non-governmental organizations which are concerned with matters within its competence. Such arrangements may be made with international organizations and, where appropriate, with national organizations after consultation with the Member(s) of the UN concerned".⁶⁹ Some Chinese foreign-related NGOs' current participation in global governance mainly focuses on poverty alleviation, disaster relief, and attending meetings as non-voting delegates. They are expected to function better while sharing Chinese experience and wisdom.

E. Enhancing China's Mainstream Media

China's mainstream media are expected to play a bigger part in international communication. As China's comprehensive strength has increased, it has become an important participant in and contributor to global governance by contributing Chinese wisdom and approaches to world economic growth, peace, stability, order, and fairness. However, the world has not fully acknowledged China's contribution, and China often faces misunderstandings of public opinion. Therefore, it is extremely important to effectively tell China's story, not only

69 UN Charter, Chapter X, The Economic and Social Council, 1945, Article 71.

to inspire its people but also to make sure that the world understands the real China. Chinese stories are the external forms of its discourse. Choosing effective Chinese stories, especially those that convince their audience to accept and acknowledge China, is a challenge for the narrator, who focuses on the stories' content, the discourse's audience, and the nature of the shared environment. In fact, a story with shared values is the Chinese story that Chinese experience has thoroughly proven and has inspiring value for its target country. The living practice of the socialist road with Chinese characteristics has provided a fresh source for constructing Chinese discourse power. As a typical representative of developing countries, China's practice has a special nature and shares commonalities with other countries. Chinese stories with common ground can be ideal for foreign communication. Specifically, China should combine traditional Chinese culture with its discourse innovation as well as the Party and state's responsibility and sentiments so that ordinary Chinese people can truly understand why China "can" and "need to" participate in global governance.

Furthermore, China should consider foreign audiences' ways of thinking and cultural backgrounds, clarify Chinese plans and responsibilities in the framework of the Chinese discourse system, and construct suitable communication platforms. From a global governance perspective, several measures should be taken. First, international communication professionals should be trained to build a highly qualified team of talented individuals and ensure that China is not absent or speechless during major events of global governance. It is also necessary to further develop Chinese think tanks. Next, communication platforms should be emphasized to maximize emerging media, as well as to enhance the creativity, appeal, and credibility of Chinese media during foreign communication. As new media and the Internet have emerged, China should accelerate its integration of traditional media such as radio, television, movies, books, newspapers, and periodicals, as well as build a resource-sharing platform, while improving its specialized information databases. In addition, China should improve its communication skills and develop effective publicity methods so that the "Chinese voice" can reflect China's real conditions, consider foreign audiences' ways of thinking, and help China to benefit more from the international order (Here, the international order is "actually a kind of fusion of two distinct order building projects: firstly, the modern state system, a

project dating back to the Peace of Westphalia in 1648; and secondly the liberal order, which over the last two centuries was led by the United Kingdom and the United States and which in the twentieth century was aided by the ‘liberal ascendancy’ — that is, the rise of liberal democratic states”).⁷⁰ During foreign communication, China should target young foreigners and use new media to construct new public diplomacy, which has become the main way of constructing a country’s image in the era of globalized interpersonal communication. As new media has become popular and social classes’ discourse power has changed, young foreigners have become their countries’ main receivers, shapers, and disseminators of discourse, and their ability to take action on social platforms has emerged. Moreover, while strengthening the public diplomacy of new media, China should choose issues relevant to young foreigners, help them to apply new media when actively and clearly expressing their views on current affairs, and get them interested in China.

Finally, China should take the initiative to further understand the rules of international discourse and explore ways of talking about Chinese culture in a more acceptable way. Even though the rules of human discourse are basically similar, each language and culture is different. The Chinese civilization has a long history and unique cultural traditions. The Chinese language belongs to the Sino-Tibetan language family and has a large “linguistic and cultural distance” from other language families. Chinese discourse rules and international discourse rules have significant differences, while Chinese culture and other cultures are also significantly different. Therefore, China should figure out how to express Chinese traditional and contemporary cultural concepts in a foreign context. It should also examine its own development method, and more importantly, operate by borrowing the merits from its ancient historical tradition. This long-term and arduous task requires the Chinese people’s efforts and the international community’s assistance. Overseas Chinese inherit Chinese culture and understand overseas society, which helps to express Chinese ideas in foreign countries. Furthermore, international students in China are more familiar with the Chinese language and culture. They understand Chinese discourse better and know how to properly disseminate Chinese ideas and tell Chinese

70 G. John Ikenberry, *Liberal Leviathan: The Origins, Crisis and Transformation of the American World Order*, Princeton University Press, 2011, pp. 15-16.

stories. When constructing the discourse system and striving for discourse power, China should pay special attention to the roles of overseas Chinese and international students in China.

VI. CONCLUSION

Global governance is currently facing increasingly intense challenges. Regarding global politics and security, the international community and its agents are facing problems related to the environment, capacity, mechanism, and concept, such as disagreements on global governance and insufficient response mechanisms. In terms of global business, the international community is confronting the challenge of decreasing motivation and weakening momentum. As for non-traditional threats, their prominent challenge lies in the lack of ideological consensus and coordination. When it comes to global education, their salient difficulties are how to effectively maintain the diversity of world civilizations and equally promote cultural integration. For instance, “it is not easy to set priorities among the many challenges of today, as all are interrelated. Their complexity calls for new approaches suitable for dynamic, integrated systems evolving through constant innovation in technologies, forms of communications, patterns of organization and institutional frameworks”.⁷¹ As the stakeholders in global governance, both China and the international community should fully mobilize positive factors and properly deal with these challenges.

Since the 18th National Congress of the Communist Party of China, China’s discourse power has been positioned at a new historical starting point. For example, “the world has generally witnessed China evolving from a passive actor to a selective activist ... reflecting both its growing power and confidence”.⁷² Moreover, Chinese discourse, with “a community of shared future for mankind” as its core, is expected to make a difference in global governance. As China’s comprehensive national strength has improved and its role has expanded into global governance, its international discourse power will gradually increase. However, in the context of the COVID-19 pandemic and public opinions against China, China’s international discourse power is still uncertain, and

71 Augusto Lopex-Claros et al., *Global Governance and the Emergence of Global Institutions for the 21st Century*, Cambridge University Press, 2020, p. 5.

72 David Shambaugh, *China Goes Global: The Partial Power*, Oxford University Press, 2013, p. 100.

it still needs to present and improve its international image. It is generally acknowledged that a country's discourse power depends on its achievements and its potential contributions to the mankind. China's construction of the international discourse system and acquisition of international discourse power echo its modernization mission — the pursuit of “comprehensive strength”. The Chinese people have long been developing this mission and are determined to improve themselves in areas such as economics, science, technology, education, and culture.