

# Online Supporting Information

## Leader of the Pack?

### Changes in ‘Wolf Warrior Diplomacy’ After A Politburo Collective Study Session

Samuel Brazys  
Alexander Dukalskis  
Stefan Müller

## A Measurement of Wolf Warrior Diplomacy Rhetoric

Table A1 lists the seed words selected for both end of the continuous scale on wolf warrior diplomacy.

*Table A 1: List of seed words selected to identify the ends of the continuous WWD scale*

<b>Unfriendly</b>	<b>Friendly</b>
west*	cooperat*
usa	vaccine*
america*	batch
rights	friend*
xinjiang	xi
lie*	opportunit*
human	global
genocide	win
stop	exchange*
so-called	africa
they	arriv*
interfer*	jinping
contain	bilateral
enemy	president
hypocri*	with
liar	good
zenz	together
labor	between
fail	happy
lamb	supplies
disinform*	aid
war*	assist*
sanction*	contribut*
force*	
u.s	

Table A 2: Examples of tweets very low (unfriendly) scores

WWD Score	Text
-12.17	Allegations of “#genocide” in #Xinjiang are “lies of the century”. <a href="https://t.co/740Ho6jYId">https://t.co/740Ho6jYId</a>
-11.62	The allegation of “#Xinjiang #genocide” is a “lie of the century”. <a href="https://t.co/DGXzRawKrM">https://t.co/DGXzRawKrM</a>
-11.15	The so-called forced labor is an outright lie. <a href="https://t.co/DIUboTuw0X">https://t.co/DIUboTuw0X</a>
-10.6	The so-called "genocide" and "forced labor" in #Xinjiang are fabricated lies against China <a href="https://t.co/ay8mqcDJXJ">https://t.co/ay8mqcDJXJ</a> Any more #lies ?
-10.47	#bbcnews #BBCBreakfast #Xinjiang #XinjiangCotton <a href="https://t.co/xkyame6hS0">https://t.co/xkyame6hS0</a>
-10.19	Xinjiang genocide' claim is 'lie of the century' <a href="https://t.co/nJZbqz4b5t">https://t.co/nJZbqz4b5t</a>
-9.99	Genocide claim in Xinjiang a rumor fabricated with ulterior motives <a href="https://t.co/HPOwycIilx">https://t.co/HPOwycIilx</a> <a href="https://t.co/tRjX6MEJw8">https://t.co/tRjX6MEJw8</a>
-9.69	No 'forced contraception', 'forced sterilization' in Xinjiang: report <a href="https://t.co/gHt650gywF">https://t.co/gHt650gywF</a>
-9.69	So-called "#genocide" in #Xinjiang a completely false accusation: MOFA <a href="https://t.co/qu1xWGjVgc">https://t.co/qu1xWGjVgc</a>
-9.52	Stop the spreading of lies about forced labor in Xinjiang! <a href="https://t.co/oZg5S47beZ">https://t.co/oZg5S47beZ</a>
-9.47	The claim that there is genocide in #Xinjiang couldn't be more preposterous. It is just a rumor fabricated with ulterior motives, and a lie through and through.
-9.38	Facts are the most powerful tool to debunk lies on Xinjiang. <a href="https://t.co/dwjJePtSeg">https://t.co/dwjJePtSeg</a>
-9.03	Western propaganda tool Adrian Zenz shuns Canadian genocide <a href="https://t.co/DHM7IIRiCL">https://t.co/DHM7IIRiCL</a> <a href="https://t.co/84QaM4KLSt">https://t.co/84QaM4KLSt</a> <a href="https://t.co/kDnbmGzFTQ">https://t.co/kDnbmGzFTQ</a>
-9.01	Uyghur women debunk lies about the so-called "concentration camps." #Xinjiang #Uyghur
-8.89	West's Xinjiang claims lies and false statistics. <a href="https://t.co/EJoDPfdngR">https://t.co/EJoDPfdngR</a> . <a href="https://t.co/qFGCLDHUQI">https://t.co/qFGCLDHUQI</a>
-8.87	That's where all those smears on #Xinjiang came from. From lies to lies. <a href="https://t.co/v7CtYJfJli">https://t.co/v7CtYJfJli</a>
-8.81	The so-called accusations are nothing but a tool fabricated to contain China out of political motives. <a href="https://t.co/gh79uEsxfH">https://t.co/gh79uEsxfH</a>
-8.8	Facts and lies about China's #Xinjiang 1/3 <a href="https://t.co/5rB2rQIbH5">https://t.co/5rB2rQIbH5</a>
-8.8	Facts and lies about China's #Xinjiang 2/3 <a href="https://t.co/Tp5PNIZfPx">https://t.co/Tp5PNIZfPx</a>
-8.8	Facts and lies about China's #Xinjiang 3/3 <a href="https://t.co/7RnvE70o5u">https://t.co/7RnvE70o5u</a>
-8.76	Fact check: The Xinjiang 'forced labor' smear <a href="https://t.co/Cey02YrCmZ">https://t.co/Cey02YrCmZ</a>
-8.76	Fact check: The Xinjiang 'forced labor' smear <a href="https://t.co/oszA4MHfSt">https://t.co/oszA4MHfSt</a>
-8.75	The political motives behind false allegations of forced labor in Xinjiang. <a href="https://t.co/OiMomD4wqj">https://t.co/OiMomD4wqj</a>
-8.73	History will prove who is distorting facts, fabricating and spreading lies and disinformation. <a href="https://t.co/zQL0aPhZze">https://t.co/zQL0aPhZze</a>
-8.55	This is how lies about the so-called "concentration camps" in #Xinjiang were made up. <a href="https://t.co/NpmssWKdwe">https://t.co/NpmssWKdwe</a>
-8.4	The smear campaign against #Xinjiang is based on nothing but lies. <a href="https://t.co/KSE3DZSUds">https://t.co/KSE3DZSUds</a>
-8.39	How a 'religious extremist' fabricates a Xinjiang 'genocide' report <a href="https://t.co/V0dNkFQ3gX">https://t.co/V0dNkFQ3gX</a> How a "religious extremist" fabricates a Xinjiang "genocide" report.
-8.39	<a href="https://t.co/Ioh9DRSav1">https://t.co/Ioh9DRSav1</a>
-8.39	How a 'religious extremist' fabricates a #Xinjiang 'genocide' report. <a href="https://t.co/omvopgBNXZ">https://t.co/omvopgBNXZ</a>
-8.34	So-called 'genocide' in Xinjiang is staged farce to smear China <a href="https://t.co/3pXGgx33yA">https://t.co/3pXGgx33yA</a> <a href="https://t.co/AZP36fippM">https://t.co/AZP36fippM</a>

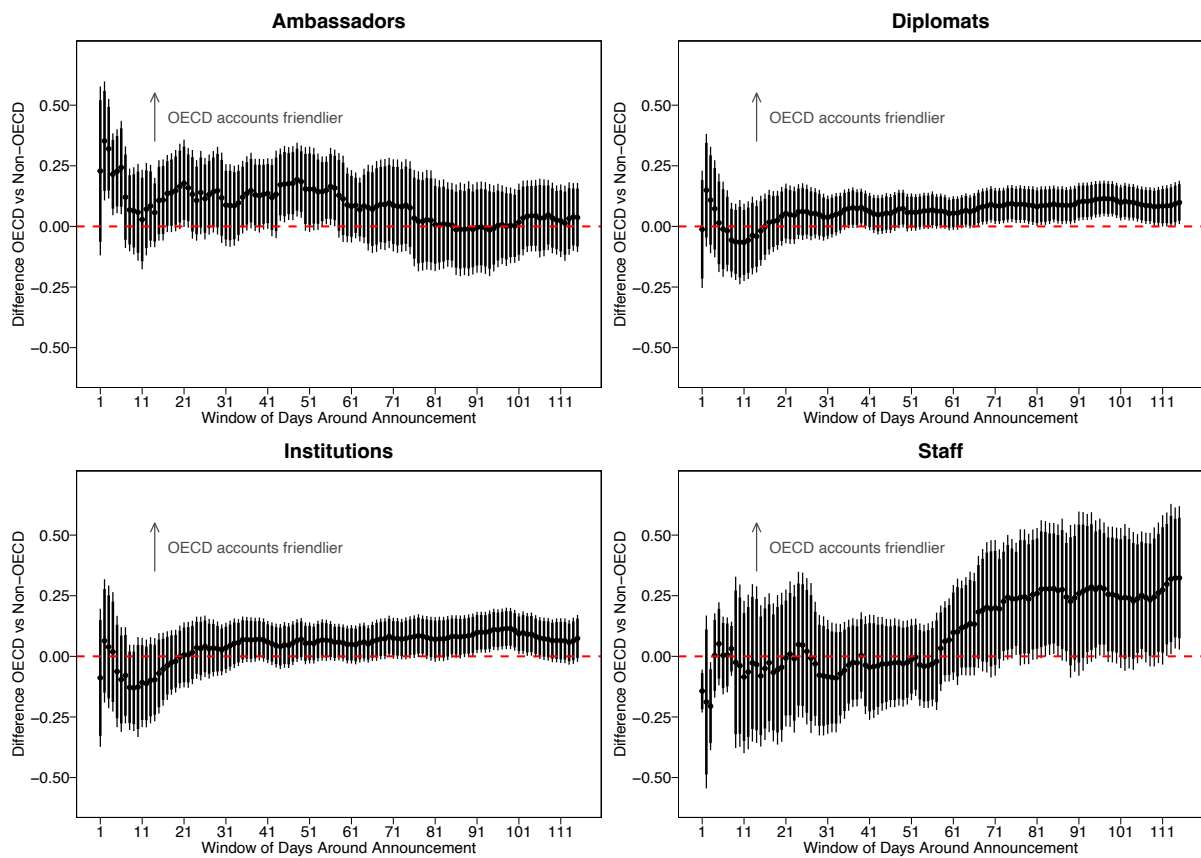
Table A 3: Examples of tweets very high (friendly) scores

WWD Score	Text
4.26	Thank you, Mr. President, for the best wishes. <a href="https://t.co/WRW05ZhVYm">https://t.co/WRW05ZhVYm</a>
3.86	All the best to my colleague! #QINGANG 秦刚 <a href="https://t.co/e5VboNvpMK">https://t.co/e5VboNvpMK</a>
3.68	How does Xi Jinping express gratitude and love to his mother? <a href="https://t.co/A4K3f5JAiQ">https://t.co/A4K3f5JAiQ</a>
3.67	Happy #StPatricksDay to @Joekavanaghcork and all our Irish friends. 🍀 <a href="https://t.co/N9hJb1GQuy">https://t.co/N9hJb1GQuy</a>
3.62	China, Brunei vow to further strengthen friendship <a href="https://t.co/Ekw85CCdvG">https://t.co/Ekw85CCdvG</a>
3.62	China, Brunei vow to further strengthen friendship <a href="https://t.co/ATqXaFIEgL">https://t.co/ATqXaFIEgL</a>
3.62	Xi Jinping says ready to guide development of #China-#Cuba ties with Diaz-Canel <a href="https://t.co/4UYVaW4Fli">https://t.co/4UYVaW4Fli</a> <a href="https://t.co/eAaNtfwJmX">https://t.co/eAaNtfwJmX</a>
3.61	#Namibia on Thursday received a batch of medical supplies donated by #China. @Amb_Yiming <a href="https://t.co/ZMLtRvmTE9">https://t.co/ZMLtRvmTE9</a>
3.57	Thank you Iranian friends for your congratulations <a href="https://t.co/sURmLIFv50">https://t.co/sURmLIFv50</a>
3.54	Thank you very much! Very best wishes for the brotherly Cuban people. <a href="https://t.co/uAyCL0pYZQ">https://t.co/uAyCL0pYZQ</a>
3.46	Thank you, Your Excellency for your best wishes for the Chinese New Year! <a href="https://t.co/6N2kmZmtUy">https://t.co/6N2kmZmtUy</a>
3.45	Thank you Excellency. Long Live China-Pakistan friendship! <a href="https://t.co/I5ycmAhWwL">https://t.co/I5ycmAhWwL</a>
3.45	Xi says China ready to promote partnership with Uzbekistan <a href="https://t.co/epQ6zbq5Ck">https://t.co/epQ6zbq5Ck</a> <a href="https://t.co/3IYvBf7TVM">https://t.co/3IYvBf7TVM</a>
3.44	Xi Jinping exchanges congratulatory messages with Lao president on 60th anniversary of diplomatic ties. #China #Laos <a href="https://t.co/ejwf344A4M">https://t.co/ejwf344A4M</a> <a href="https://t.co/1a11pdINBG">https://t.co/1a11pdINBG</a>
3.42	Wish all friends a happy Mid-autumn Festival. <a href="https://t.co/GfaFdKHq5R">https://t.co/GfaFdKHq5R</a>
3.38	China is to send a batch of anti-epidemic supplies to Nepal <a href="https://t.co/OuDv62e1Pc">https://t.co/OuDv62e1Pc</a> <a href="https://t.co/LXLYESlrWb">https://t.co/LXLYESlrWb</a>
3.36	President Xi Jinping on Thursday exchanged congratulatory messages with Brunei's Sultan Haji Hassanal Bolkiah on the 30th anniversary of the establishment of diplomatic ties between the two countries. (file pic) <a href="https://t.co/fA3q6u8EeS">https://t.co/fA3q6u8EeS</a>
3.36	The friendship between China and Pakistan is the friendship between the people. <a href="https://t.co/fZ53R6kKbT">https://t.co/fZ53R6kKbT</a>
3.35	Xi stresses 'iron friendship' in phone conversation with Serbian President Vucic <a href="https://t.co/0sUuNs9Gkk">https://t.co/0sUuNs9Gkk</a> <a href="https://t.co/qq51PK00kn">https://t.co/qq51PK00kn</a>
3.34	(1/3) His Highness the Amir asked HE Yang Jiechi to convey his greetings to President Xi Jinping. His Highness said that Qatar is willing to further enhance bilateral relations and deepen strategic communication with China. <a href="https://t.co/W5hIr5FQeC">https://t.co/W5hIr5FQeC</a>
3.33	Thank you Munir. Best wishes to Mariangela. <a href="https://t.co/QOlhZ0TKW0">https://t.co/QOlhZ0TKW0</a>
3.32	On this great occasion, May I wish everyone a happy #PakistanDay! Chin-Pakistan dosti zindabad! <a href="https://t.co/RLQ91474R0">https://t.co/RLQ91474R0</a>
3.29	New shipment of anti-#epidemic supplies provided by #China arrives in #Laos <a href="https://t.co/BcdXSBit9h">https://t.co/BcdXSBit9h</a> <a href="https://t.co/PmKuD2H0Ne">https://t.co/PmKuD2H0Ne</a>
3.27	Saturday is the #InternationalWorkersDay. Festive greetings and best wishes to all the working people! <a href="https://t.co/0Bo4GBFO3i">https://t.co/0Bo4GBFO3i</a>
3.26	Very proud of the time-honored China-Pakistan friendship. <a href="https://t.co/t0juiP6chi">https://t.co/t0juiP6chi</a>
3.26	Looking forward to it, this year from Malta. <a href="https://t.co/a4E7ZVmmKf">https://t.co/a4E7ZVmmKf</a>
3.26	President Xi Jinping on Thursday exchanged congratulatory messages with Gian Carlo Venturini and Marco Nicolini, captains regent of San Marino, on the 50th anniversary of the establishment of diplomatic ties between the two countries. (file pic) <a href="https://t.co/JkIgK072p3">https://t.co/JkIgK072p3</a> <a href="https://t.co/77egRB8z0b">https://t.co/77egRB8z0b</a>

- 3.24 Chinese President Xi Jinping and Pakistani President Arif Alvi exchange congratulatory messages on 70 years of diplomatic ties  
<https://t.co/s2XExEvN64> <https://t.co/8u9NLcnP1U>
- 3.24 Chinese President Xi Jinping and Pakistani President Arif Alvi exchange congratulatory messages on 70 years of diplomatic ties. <https://t.co/tCP5cHuygT>
- 3.23 President Xi Jinping and his Sierra Leonean counterpart Julius Maada Bio on Thursday exchanged messages of congratulations on the 50th anniversary of the establishment of diplomatic relations between the two countries. <https://t.co/8elkbkqwCg>

## B Robustness Tests

*Figure A 1: Difference-in-difference estimates for varying, symmetric time windows around the announcement*



The tables in this section rerun all models with various subsets and model specifications. All models use a window of  $\pm 100$  days around the announcement.

Table A 4: DiD in standardized Tweet score (OECD vs. non-OECD) (+/- 100 Day Window)

	(1) All	(2) All Diplomats	(3) Ambassador s	(4) Staff	(5) Institution
OECD	-0.0729*** (0.0156)	-0.0398** (0.0177)	0.00537 (0.0324)	-0.0561 (0.0344)	-0.0487** (0.0225)
Post-Statement	-0.0249** (0.0107)	0.0198 (0.0218)	0.103*** (0.0292)	-0.0325 (0.0715)	0.0150 (0.0239)
OECD*Post-Statement (DiD)	0.152*** (0.0318)	0.107*** (0.0371)	0.00208 (0.0778)	0.251* (0.143)	0.107** (0.0429)
Observations	183,799	44,495	6,637	6,238	31,726

Robust standard errors in parentheses  
\*\*\* p<0.01, \*\* p<0.05, \* p<0.1

Table A 5: Country and account fixed effects (+/- 100 Day Window)

	(1) All	(2) All Diplomats	(3) Ambassadors	(4) Staff	(5) Institutions
Difference	0.163*** (0.0346)	0.117*** (0.0401)	-0.0215 (0.0871)	0.282* (0.140)	0.114*** (0.0433)
Observations	183,799	44,495	6,495	6,238	31,762

Robust standard errors in parentheses  
\*\*\* p<0.01, \*\* p<0.05, \* p<0.1

Table A 6: Country and account fixed effects with controls (+/- 100 Day Window)

	(1) All	(2) All Diplomats	(3) Ambassadors	(4) Staff	(1) Institution
Difference	0.163*** (0.0349)	0.117*** (0.0397)	-0.0169 (0.0917)	0.280* (0.136)	0.115*** (0.0419)
Words	-0.00195** (0.000779)	-0.000357 (0.00184)	-0.000225 (0.00323)	-0.00213 (0.00201)	0.000348 (0.00269)
Avg. tweets	0.000847*** (0.000317)	0.00164** (0.000644)	0.00387 (0.00720)	0.000977 (0.00572)	0.00190** (0.000946)
Followers	-9.31e-10** (4.69e-10)	1.22e-07** (5.01e-08)	4.20e-06*** (4.30e-07)	2.03e-07 (1.16e-06)	1.35e-07** (5.30e-08)
Retweets	-0.00128** (0.000540)	-0.00153*** (0.000469)	-0.00357* (0.00195)	-0.0120*** (0.00279)	-0.00131*** (0.000362)
Likes	0.000255** (0.000124)	0.000349*** (8.44e-05)	0.000798* (0.000401)	0.00228*** (0.000470)	0.000296*** (5.51e-05)
Observations	183,799	44,495	6,495	6,238	31,762

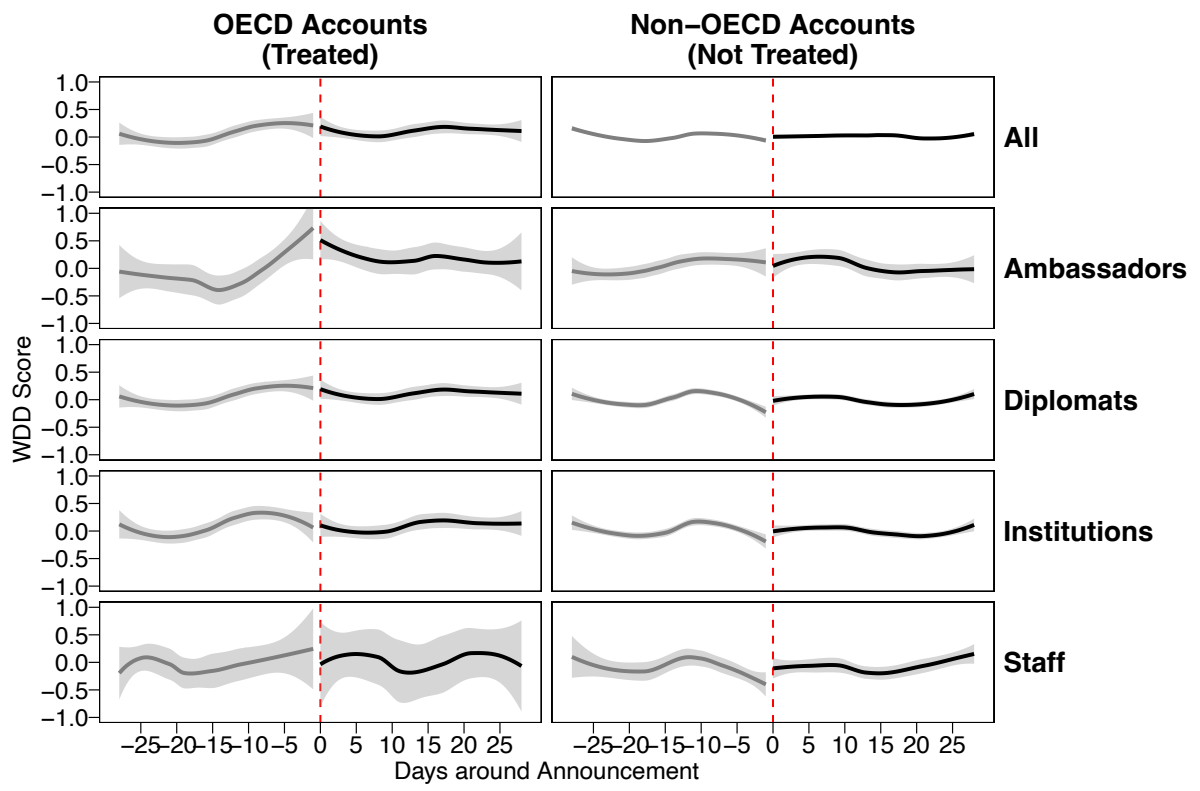
Robust standard errors in parentheses  
\*\*\* p<0.01, \*\* p<0.05, \* p<0.1

Table A 7: Non-standardized WDD score

VARIABLES	(1) All	(2) All Diplomats	(3) Ambassadors	(4) Staff	(5) Institution
Difference	0.227*** (0.0609)	0.210*** (0.0688)	-0.0776 (0.118)	0.562** (0.193)	0.208*** (0.0640)
Observations	183,814	44,504	6,497	6,239	31,768

Robust standard errors in parentheses  
\*\*\* p<0.01, \*\* p<0.05, \* p<0.1

Figure A 2: Trends of WWD scores before and after the announcement



## **C Rationale for Discounting Regression Discontinuity in Time Approach**

While we considered a Regression Discontinuity in Time (RDiT) design for this study, we had multiple concerns that it would not be an appropriate choice. These include concerns regarding the presence of unobservable covariates that may vary with time, the presence of time-varying treatment effects, autoregressive properties in the data, and the inability to test for sorting around the time threshold. The potential for unobservable time-varying covariates concerned us most greatly. We did not feel confident that we could discount that some other event may have occurred within our discontinuity bandwidth which might bias the pre-event period, the post-event period, or both. The four weeks surrounding Xi Jinping's announcement were filled with numerous notable media events including renewed interest in the COVID "lab-leak" theory, the NATO declaration of China as a security threat, a visit by US Senators to Taiwan, and the G7 meeting and statement on Xinjiang and Hong Kong, among others. Any of these events may have elicited WWD Twitter responses which may bias and limit the identifying power of a RDiT design.