

CAA PAPERS

COMPARATIVE ANALYSIS OF CHINESE GOVERNMENT AND THAI MEDIA NARRATIVES

Mateusz Chatys Watchareeya Yodprathum January 2025

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KEY FINDINGS

1. According to the official narrative the Chinese government projects a long-term strategic vision emphasizing regional stability, multilateralism, and economic integration, with 18% of its messaging dedicated to Development and Economic Cooperation. Thai media, however, takes a pragmatic and sector-focused approach, placing greater emphasis on economic impact (30%), trade imbalances, and concerns over investment transparency.

2. While both the Chinese government and Thai media acknowledge economic cooperation as a cornerstone of bilateral ties, their focus differs. China highlights large-scale investments in Regional Comprehensive Economic Partnership (RCEP), Eastern Economic Corridor (EEC), and high-speed rail, portraying them as mutually beneficial. Thai media, however, raises concerns over Thailand's \$19.97 billion USD trade deficit with China, the impact of Chinese business dominance on local SMEs, and the potential risks of overreliance on Chinese capital.

3. Chinese investment in 5G, cloud services, and EV production is closely linked to Thailand 4.0's digital transformation goals. Thai media dedicates 25% of its coverage to Science, Technology, and Innovation, acknowledging these contributions but also highlights concerns over data security, competitive pressures on local firms, and sovereignty risks, particularly regarding Huawei's \$82.5 million USD investment in Thailand's cloud infrastructure.

4. Infrastructure investments, making up 9% of Thai media coverage, are central to China's BRI strategy in Thailand. Key projects include the Bangkok-Nakhon Ratchasima High-Speed Rail (\$5.13 billion USD), which has only achieved 16% progress since 2017, and Laem Chabang Port Phase 3 (\$208 million USD), set to enhance Thailand's role as a logistics hub. However, Thai media often critiques delays, cost overruns, environmental concerns, and governance transparency in these projects.

5. The Chinese Embassy's communications focus on China's leadership in regional development and multilateral cooperation (19%), portraying Thailand as a key partner. In contrast, Thai media remains domestically oriented, questioning how China's regional ambitions align with Thailand's national interests. This contrast underscores China's effort to shape positive perceptions, while Thai media scrutinizes the tangible implications of Chinese influence on Thailand's economy and sovereignty.



INTRODUCTION

China-Thailand relations have grown into a complex partnership shaped by economic cooperation, technology exchange, political engagements and regional connectivity. As China deepens its ties with Southeast Asia through strategic investments, diplomacy, and the Belt and Road Initiative (BRI), Thailand navigates a delicate balance, welcoming economic opportunities while managing concerns over dependency, trade imbalances, and national interests with China. While China publicly frames the relationship in terms of mutual prosperity, stability, and global cooperation, Thai media takes a more pragmatic and critical approach, reflecting domestic economic priorities and policy debates.

This policy brief explores the contrasting narratives of the Chinese government and Thai media regarding bilateral relations. By examining discourse from the Chinese Embassy in Thailand and leading Thai news outlets, this paper identifies key themes in security, economic development, technology collaboration, and infrastructure investments. The analysis reveals a clear divide: China's messaging aligns with its broader global strategy, emphasizing security, multilateralism, and economic integration, while Thai media focuses on sector-specific concerns in trade dynamics, immediate economic benefits, and transparency issues.

By comparing these narratives, this paper sheds light on the underlying priorities, challenges, and policy implications for Thailand. Understanding these differing perspectives offers valuable insights for policymakers, business leaders, and regional stakeholders navigating the evolving dynamics of China-Thailand relations amid global competition and regional economic shifts.

METHODOLOGY OF THE RESEARCH

To conduct a comparative analysis of the narratives presented by the Chinese government in Thailand and Thai media outlets, the researchers employed qualitative data analysis using MAXQDA software. Data were sourced from the official website of the Embassy of the People's Republic of China in the Kingdom of Thailand, as well as the websites and social media platforms of 27 prominent Thai media organizations publishing content in both Thai and English. Thai-language data were translated into



English before being imported into MAXQDA and organized into Word documents for analysis.

The initial coding process involved a thorough examination of the data, followed by refinement and classification into ten thematic categories: security and peacekeeping; climate and environmental issues; human rights and social development; multilateralism and international law; regional issues and cooperation; education and culture; development and economic cooperation; science, technology, and innovation; investment and infrastructure; and health issues. This categorization was supported by a codebook comprising 155 English-language entries for analyzing Thai media narratives and equivalent slogans in Chinese for examining data from the Chinese embassy's website.

The study utilized these ten categories to explore relationships among them and to analyze the frequency (percentage) of activities within each category. This approach allowed the researchers to identify key areas of interaction and cooperation in bilateral relations from both Chinese and Thai perspectives. The quantitative analysis highlighted three primary areas of cooperation for both countries, with development and economic cooperation emerging as the sole category of shared importance for both sides.

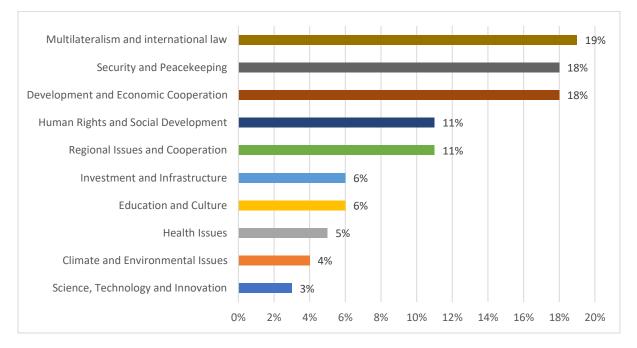
Building on the quantitative findings, the study proceeded to a qualitative phase, conducting an in-depth comparative analysis of all categories to further elucidate the dynamics of bilateral relations.

KEY AREAS OF COOPERATION FROM A CHINESE PERSPECTIVE

Research on the narrative advanced by the Embassy of the People's Republic of China (PRC) in Thailand reveals that the most significant aspects of Sino-Thai bilateral relations pertain to multilateralism and international law (19%), development and economic cooperation (18%), and security and peacekeeping (18%). The analysis of these findings enables the formulation of several critical conclusions regarding the nature and priorities of this relationship.







Graph 1 Key areas of cooperation from a Chinese perspective

Source: Research based on the collected data from statements published by the Embassy of the People's Republic of China (PRC) in Thailand using MAXQDA software.

Primarily, these priorities reflect China's strategic approach to collaboration with Thailand, emphasizing a balance between multilateralism, economic considerations, and security. China appears to aim at fostering a well-rounded relationship encompassing diverse dimensions of cooperation, thereby ensuring the sustainability and complementarity of mutual interests. The emphasis on multilateralism and international law underscores China's effort to portray itself as a responsible member of the international community, committed to global stability and adherence to international legal norms, in contrast to perceived hegemony and protectionist practices of other nations.

From a regional policy perspective, Thailand's significance in relations with China arises from both its geopolitical location and its role within regional frameworks such as the Association of Southeast Asian Nations (ASEAN) and the Lancang-Mekong Cooperation (LMC) mechanism. China views Thailand as a pivotal partner in the region, capable of playing an instrumental role in the implementation of initiatives such as the Belt and Road Initiative (BRI). The focus on development and economic cooperation highlights the



mutual benefits derived from these relations, which reinforce positive social, political, and economic ties between the two countries.

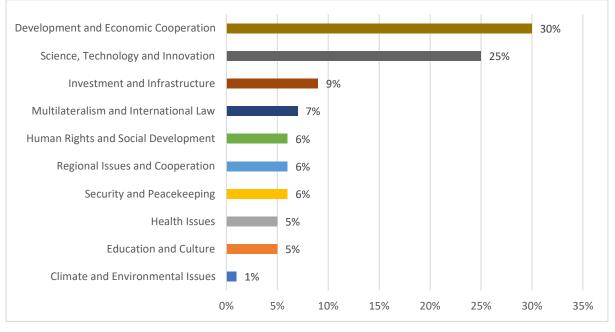
An equally important dimension of Sino-Thai relations involves security and peacekeeping, underscoring a shared commitment to stabilizing Southeast Asia. This is particularly relevant in the context of the internal conflict in Myanmar, which emerged following the military coup in February 2021. The resulting instability has had numerous adverse effects on neighboring states, including China and Thailand. Both countries have faced challenges such as a surge in illegal immigration and heightened threats to crossborder security due to increased trafficking of arms and narcotics. Consequently, China and Thailand have played leading roles in mediating the Myanmar conflict. Similar to its approach with the BRI, China considers Thailand a key partner in advancing and promoting the Global Security Initiative (GSI), launched by President Xi Jinping in 2022. The GSI represents Beijing's strategic vision for redefining global security architecture as an alternative to the U.S.-dominated order. It emphasizes China's enduring security principles and norms as a framework for addressing contemporary challenges, particularly those aligned with its core national interests. Mainland Southeast Asia has been designated as a "pilot zone" for the GSI, with a focus on non-traditional security challenges such as transnational crime and cybersecurity. Thailand, being particularly sensitive to such challenges, exhibits a complementarity of interests in this domain. Furthermore, the prioritization of security cooperation can also be interpreted as a response to shifting geopolitical conditions and the intensifying great-power rivalry in the region, particularly in light of the growing presence of the United States (Jittiang, 2025).

China's narrative in Thailand reflects a multidimensional approach to the development of bilateral relations, wherein stability, development, and adherence to international legal norms play a central role. These relations align with China's broader strategy of strengthening its regional position and fostering durable and comprehensive ties with ASEAN member states.



KEY AREAS OF COOPERATION FROM A THAI PERSPECTIVE

On the other hand, Thai media narratives regarding China-Thailand relations emphasizes three core areas: Development and Economic Cooperation (30%), Science, Technology and Innovation (25%), and Investment and Infrastructure (9%). These priorities highlight Thailand's strategic interest in leveraging its relationship with China for economic growth, technological advancement, and connectivity, while also reflecting concerns unique to Thailand's national interests.



Graph 2 Key areas of cooperation from a Thai perspective

Source: Research based on the collected data from Thai media outlets using MAXQDA software.

In contrast, the Chinese government narrative—as seen through the Chinese Embassy's communication—emphasizes a broader range of topics, including security and peacekeeping and multilateralism and international law. While both sides acknowledge the importance of development and infrastructure, the Thai media's focus is more pragmatic and sector-specific, addressing immediate economic and technological opportunities, as well as underlying challenges.

Thai media places significant emphasis on development and economic cooperation, reflecting the pivotal role of China as Thailand's largest trading partner and investor (Royal Thai Embassy, Beijing, n.d.). Key areas of coverage include some major projects as



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Regional Comprehensive Economic Partnership (RCEP) in the benefits for Thai agricultural exports (e.g., fruits, cassava, and rice) (Prachachat, 2023), and investment in special economic zones as Eastern Economic Corridor (EEC) are widely discussed as critical avenues for attracting foreign capital and boosting regional development. While the Chinese narrative portrays economic cooperation as a natural outcome of "win-win partnerships," Thai media takes a pragmatic yet cautious stance. They often raise concerns about economic dependency, uneven trade benefits, and transparency in investment agreements.

In science, technology and innovation, the Chinese policy aligns closely with Thailand's Thailand 4.0 strategy, which prioritizes industrial modernization and digital transformation. Projects such as Huawei's 5G Ecosystem and cloud service are frequently highlighted as transformative for Thailand's technological competitiveness. The collaboration stretched further to renewable energy sector such has Chinese investments in EV production plants and strategic partnerships that align with Thailand's sustainability goals.

While the Chinese government's messaging emphasizes China's technological leadership and its willingness to share advancements, Thai media narratives balance these opportunities with critical scrutiny. Concerns about technological dependency, data privacy, and sovereignty occasionally emerge in the coverage.

Last but not least, Thai media dedicates 9% of its coverage to infrastructure investments, particularly projects linked to China's BRI. This reflects Thailand's strategic role as a regional logistics hub in Southeast Asia. Key projects include China-Thailand High-Speed Rail as a flagship BRI project, which will enhance connectivity between Bangkok, Nong Khai, and beyond. In addition, the investments in Laem Chabang Port and EEC logistics infrastructure are presented as drivers of regional economic integration.

While the Chinese government frames the BRI as a mutually beneficial initiative promoting global connectivity, Thai media often highlights challenges such as transparency, debt sustainability, and environmental impacts.



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The Thai media's emphasis on development, technological cooperation, and infrastructure investments underscores a pragmatic and sector-driven approach to China-Thailand relations, reflecting both opportunities and critical concerns unique to Thailand's economic and strategic positioning. In contrast, the Chinese government's narrative presents a broader, more comprehensive vision, highlighting themes such as security, multilateralism, and global connectivity. This divergence in focus reveals differing priorities and messaging strategies: while Thai media narratives are rooted in domestic considerations and sector-specific impacts, the Chinese government adopts a more globalized and harmonized discourse to frame its engagement as part of a "winwin partnership."

The following qualitative analysis delves deeper into these narratives, comparing the messaging of Thai media and the Chinese government across key thematic areas. By exploring tone, focus, and underlying intentions, this section provides a nuanced understanding of how each side portrays China-Thailand relations to their respective audiences. It further analyzes how these narratives influence perceptions, highlight opportunities, and raise concerns, shaping the broader discourse on bilateral cooperation.

The quantitative analysis of narratives presented by the Chinese Embassy in Thailand and Thai media reveals significant differences in thematic emphasis. China dominates in six out of ten categories, particularly in security and peacekeeping (18% vs. 6%), multilateralism and international law (19% vs. 7%), and human rights and social development (11% vs. 6%). conversely, Thai media allocate significantly more attention to science, technology, and innovation (25% vs. 3%) and development and economic cooperation (30% vs. 18%).

CHINESE NARRATIVE: A QUALITATIVE APPROACH

The quantitative analysis of narratives presented by the Chinese Embassy in Thailand and Thai media reveals significant differences in thematic emphasis. China dominates in six out of ten categories, particularly in security and peacekeeping (18% vs. 6%), multilateralism and international law (19% vs. 7%), and human rights and social development (11% vs. 6%). Conversely, Thai media allocate significantly more attention



to science, technology, and innovation (25% vs. 3%) and development and economic cooperation (30% vs. 18%).

The findings suggest that China strategically prioritizes themes that align with its global diplomatic and ideological objectives, emphasizing stability, governance, and international law to reinforce its geopolitical influence. By focusing on security and peacekeeping, multilateralism and international law, and human rights and social development, China projects itself as a reliable global actor committed to stability and cooperation. This approach reflects its broader foreign policy strategy, particularly within the framework of the BRI, global initiatives like the Global Security Initiative, and regional diplomatic efforts. The emphasis on security suggests an effort to legitimize China's role in maintaining regional stability, while the focus on multilateralism and international law positions China as a defender of global governance structures that align with its interests.

Additionally, China's relatively lower emphasis on topics such as Science, Technology, and Innovation (3%) and Education and Culture (6%) compared to Thai media suggests a deliberate effort to steer narratives away from areas where Western influence or domestic Thai priorities may be more prominent. Instead, China promotes narratives that reinforce its image as a global leader in governance, diplomacy, and economic cooperation, ensuring that its influence remains deeply embedded in Thailand's political and media landscape. This approach highlights the broader role of state-led information campaigns in shaping public perceptions and fostering diplomatic alignment. This section examines the dominant themes and issues in the discourse of the Chinese Embassy in Thailand and Thai media by employing a qualitative approach that integrates frequency analysis and Key Word in Context (KWIC) analysis. This methodological combination aims to enhance understanding of the narratives presented.





	Security and Peacekee ping	Develop ment and Economic Cooperati on	Climate and Environme ntal Issues	Human Rights and Social Develop ment	Multilatera lism and Internation al Law	Regional Issues and Coopera tion	Heal th Issu es	Science, Technol ogy, and Innovati on	Investme nt and Infrastruc ture	Educati on and Culture
China	18%	18%	4%	11%	19%	11%	5%	3%	6%	6%
Thaila nd	6%	30%	1%	6%	7%	6%	5%	25%	9%	5%

Table 1 Comparison of Chinese and Thai Narratives

Source: Research based on the collected data from statements published by the Embassy of the People's Republic of China (PRC) in Thailand and Thai media outlets using MAXQDA software.

Multilateralism And International Law (19%)

China's emphasis on multilateralism and international law in its diplomatic narratives in Thailand is a deliberate and strategic approach aimed at reinforcing its geopolitical influence while countering Western-dominated discourses on global governance. The frequent references to cooperation, the United Nations (UN), and multilateralism reflect China's broader foreign policy goals, which seek to establish a multipolar world order where power is more evenly distributed among nations, reducing the dominance of the United States and its allies. By promoting multilateralism, China positions itself as a responsible global actor advocating for international cooperation and dialogue rather than unilateral actions dictated by a single hegemonic power.

The Chinese Embassy's emphasis on multilateralism aligns closely with Beijing's broader diplomatic strategy, particularly in regions where China seeks to expand its political and economic ties. In the case of Thailand, a key partner in Southeast Asia, China's narrative serves to reinforce shared interests in regional stability, economic cooperation, and noninterference in domestic affairs. The frequent references to the UN in Chinese diplomatic discourse further reflect Beijing's commitment to portraying itself as a champion of the existing international legal framework—albeit one interpreted in ways that align with its national interests. By emphasizing UN-centered global governance, China implicitly challenges Western interventions and unilateral sanctions, which it perceives as violations of state sovereignty.

A key component of China's legal and diplomatic discourse is the selective invocation of sovereignty, particularly concerning Taiwan. This was particularly evident during the visit



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of the then-Speaker of the United States House of Representatives, Nancy Pelosi, to Taiwan in early August 2022 (Lee, Wu 2022). While the Chinese Embassy in Thailand focuses predominantly on multilateral cooperation, occasional references to sovereignty highlight China's firm stance on territorial integrity and non-recognition of Taiwan as an independent state. This is consistent with China's long-standing position that the One-China Policy is a fundamental principle of international law, which all countries should adhere to. By framing Taiwan's status as a question of sovereignty within a multilateral context, China seeks to delegitimize any international support for Taiwanese independence while reinforcing its claim as the sole legitimate government of China.

At the same time, China's diplomatic rhetoric frequently includes criticisms of hegemonism and foreign interference, which it frames as threats to democracy and national self-determination. This aligns with China's broader efforts to push back against Western narratives that criticize its domestic policies on human rights, governance, and political freedoms. By arguing that external interventions undermine true democracy, China aims to shift the global discourse away from Western liberal democratic norms and toward an alternative vision of governance that prioritizes stability, economic development, and national sovereignty. This discourse is particularly appealing to many developing countries, including Thailand, which may share concerns about external political pressure and foreign-imposed models of governance.

Furthermore, the critique of hegemonism serves to reinforce China's self-perception as a leader among developing nations that opposes Western dominance in global affairs. By portraying itself as a counterweight to Western influence, China seeks to align itself with countries that have experienced colonialism, foreign intervention, or economic dependency on Western powers. This narrative resonates particularly in Southeast Asia, where historical experiences with Western imperialism and post-colonial struggles have left many nations wary of external interference. By promoting multilateralism as an alternative to Western-led governance models, China presents itself as a partner that respects national sovereignty and promotes "win-win cooperation", a frequently used term in Chinese diplomatic discourse.

✓osa@uni.lodz.pl

The economic dimension of China's multilateral approach should also be considered. Through initiatives such as the BRI, China has expanded its influence in Thailand and other ASEAN countries by funding large-scale infrastructure projects, facilitating trade, and deepening economic integration. The promotion of multilateralism in Chinese diplomatic discourse is therefore not only a political strategy but also an economic one. By advocating for international legal norms that favor economic cooperation and nondiscriminatory trade practices, China seeks to protect its investments and ensure that regional economic policies remain conducive to its long-term strategic goals.

Security And Peacekeeping (18%)

The Chinese Embassy in Thailand places significant emphasis on security and peacekeeping, positioning these themes as fundamental to regional stability and economic cooperation. This narrative underscores the importance of diplomacy, security, and maintaining peace as prerequisites for sustained economic growth and deeper collaboration between China and Thailand. A key aspect of this discourse is China's promotion of the GSI, a framework that Beijing presents as a holistic and inclusive approach to security, emphasizing cooperation over confrontation. By highlighting its commitment to peace and security, China aims to reinforce its role as a responsible regional power while differentiating itself from other global actors it accuses of maintaining a Cold War mentality.

Chinese Ambassador Han Zhiqiang has repeatedly stressed China's dedication to peaceful coexistence with the United States, emphasizing that China's approach to international relations is based on mutual respect, non-interference, and win-win cooperation. This rhetoric serves a dual purpose: first, it reassures regional partners like Thailand that China does not seek conflict or hegemony, and second, it counters Western narratives that portray China as an assertive or expansionist power. By consistently framing its security policy in cooperative and non-confrontational terms, China seeks to project an image of a nation committed to regional peace and stability.

One striking feature of the Chinese Embassy's security-related discourse is its avoidance of direct references to ongoing conflicts, despite growing tensions in various parts of the world. While China does acknowledge certain geopolitical crises—such as the Israeli-



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Palestinian conflict, which gained brief attention following the Hamas attack on Israel these references remain limited and carefully framed. In this instance, the response was confined to expressions of condolences for the injured individuals and the families of the victims. Notably, those affected included both Thai and Chinese citizens. (Timsit 2023). Moreover, China's discourse rarely, if ever, engages with the South China Sea dispute, despite it being a major flashpoint in regional security. Instead of directly addressing the territorial disputes involving multiple ASEAN countries, China chooses to emphasize that the South China Sea issue should not be used as a tool to contain China. This selective approach demonstrates a strategic effort to de-escalate tensions in its diplomatic rhetoric while maintaining its territorial claims through other channels, such as bilateral negotiations, military presence and grey zone tactics.

China's security narrative in Thailand also serves broader economic and diplomatic objectives. Stability in Southeast Asia is crucial for the success of China's BRI and other regional economic partnerships. Any instability in Thailand or its neighboring states could disrupt trade routes, foreign investment, and cross-border infrastructure projects, which are vital to China's long-term economic strategy. Therefore, by positioning itself as a guarantor of regional security, China strengthens its economic partnerships, ensuring that security cooperation translates into deeper economic interdependence. This reflects Beijing's broader belief that peace is a prerequisite for economic growth, a theme that frequently appears in Chinese diplomatic discourse.

Additionally, China's non-confrontational stance on security issues aligns with its diplomatic priorities in ASEAN. Unlike Western powers, which often frame security in terms of military alliances and defense agreements, China advocates for a "development-first" approach, where security is seen as a function of economic prosperity and cooperation. This narrative resonates with many Southeast Asian nations, including Thailand, which prefer a balanced and pragmatic approach to security rather than being drawn into great-power rivalries. By reinforcing the idea that regional peace should be maintained through diplomacy rather than military alliances, China seeks to limit the influence of the United States and its allies, particularly in areas such as defense cooperation with Thailand.





A report published by the U.S. Naval War College highlights that Southeast Asia is the only region where the frequency of joint military exercises with China has returned to prepandemic levels (Gao, Allen 2023). Thailand plays a particularly significant role in this context, notably through exercises such as Falcon Strike and the recent Strike-2024, conducted in October in Yunnan province near the China-Myanmar border.

Strike-2024 serves as a strategic response to the challenges China and Thailand face due to the ongoing internal crisis in Myanmar. Both nations are grappling with the adverse consequences of armed conflicts between the Burmese military junta and ethnic minority insurgent groups, which have escalated since the military coup in February 2021. Key challenges include the rise in illegal migration and transnational crimes such as human trafficking, arms smuggling, and drug trade (Wong 2024).

What sets Strike-2024 apart from previous iterations of this initiative is the incorporation of Chinese-manufactured unmanned aerial vehicles (UAVs). This provided Thai forces with hands-on experience in operating Chinese drones, which significantly enhance realtime intelligence-gathering capabilities, essential for effective command and control. The integration of drones into the exercises appears to be a deliberate strategy by the Chinese government aimed at expanding its defense cooperation and increasing military equipment sales in Southeast Asia.

Joint military exercises thus serve as a crucial platform for China, not only to deepen military collaboration and enhance interoperability between armed forces but also to strengthen its position as a key arms supplier in the region. Thailand holds a particularly pivotal role in this process, as despite being a treaty ally of the United States and historically reliant on American weaponry, it has increasingly turned to Chinese military equipment. Between 2019 and 2023, China emerged as Thailand's largest arms supplier, accounting for 44% of the country's total arms imports—more than double the share recorded between 2014 and 2018 (Wong 2024). By fostering Thailand's growing dependence on Chinese military technology, Beijing gains greater leverage to influence Bangkok's stance in the broader geopolitical competition between China and the United States in the region.



Human Rights and Social Development (11%)

China's narrative on Human Rights and Social Development primarily focuses on education and healthcare, followed by issues related to poverty alleviation. This selective emphasis reflects China's broader diplomatic strategy, which prioritizes tangible, development-oriented approaches to human rights over political or civil rights discourses commonly promoted by Western nations. By highlighting progress in education and health, China frames human rights in terms of economic development and social welfare, positioning itself as a development partner rather than a political advocate.

A key component of this narrative is the promotion of "building a community with a shared future for mankind," a concept championed by President Xi Jinping. This framework underscores the idea that human rights should be addressed collectively and pragmatically, with a strong emphasis on economic progress and technological advancements. Through this lens, China presents itself as a model for developing nations, offering solutions that focus on practical improvements in living standards rather than political reforms. The emphasis on education and health as fundamental human rights aligns with China's domestic policies, where economic growth and poverty reduction are viewed as prerequisites for social stability.

China's engagement with Thailand on poverty alleviation is deeply intertwined with anticorruption measures, reflecting Beijing's belief that corruption is a major barrier to economic and social progress. The Chinese model of poverty alleviation, developed under Xi Jinping's leadership, is frequently cited as a successful example of state-led development, showcasing how targeted policies, infrastructure investment, and strict governance can lift populations out of poverty. By sharing these experiences with Thailand, China not only strengthens bilateral ties but also promotes its governance model as an alternative to Western economic prescriptions.

Moreover, discussions on poverty alleviation in the China-Thailand context increasingly incorporate elements of technological advancement and innovation. China positions itself as a leader in digital economy, smart agriculture, and financial technology, arguing that technological progress is essential for sustainable development. This narrative aligns with China's broader global strategy, which emphasizes the role of science and innovation



in poverty reduction, particularly through digital connectivity and infrastructure development. By framing technological progress as a tool for economic empowerment, China seeks to depoliticize human rights discussions, shifting the focus to practical solutions rather than ideological debates.

Regional Issues and Cooperation (11%)

The Chinese Embassy in Thailand's narrative on Regional Issues and Cooperation prioritizes cultural exchange and security cooperation, reflecting China's broader strategic goals in Southeast Asia. These two pillars serve to strengthen bilateral relations, enhance regional stability, and promote China's vision for regional integration, particularly within the framework of the Belt and Road Initiative (BRI) and the Lancang-Mekong Cooperation (LMC) mechanism.

China places significant emphasis on cultural diplomacy, portraying contemporary oriental traditional culture as a crucial component of bilateral engagement. This concept blends modern Chinese cultural achievements with traditional values, reinforcing a shared regional identity that facilitates deeper diplomatic and economic cooperation. Ambassador Han Zhiqiang frequently highlights the role of China-Thailand cultural exchanges in fostering mutual understanding and trust, positioning cultural ties as a foundation for stronger economic and political collaboration.

In this context, cultural diplomacy serves a dual purpose: it not only enhances China's soft power in Thailand but also supports the promotion of BRI. By linking cultural heritage to infrastructure development and economic projects, China presents the BRI as an extension of historical cultural exchanges, framing it as a natural evolution of regional interconnectedness rather than a geopolitical strategy. This approach helps mitigate concerns about China's expanding influence, portraying BRI as a mutually beneficial initiative rather than a tool for economic dominance.

In addition to cultural exchange, the Chinese Embassy places a strong emphasis on security cooperation, particularly in the context of non-traditional security threats. This reflects a broader shift in China's diplomatic narrative, where security is framed in terms of pragmatic challenges rather than military alliances. Among the most prominent issues



in China-Thailand security cooperation is food security, which Beijing identifies as a pressing global challenge exacerbated by geopolitical instability.

China explicitly links food security concerns to the situation in Ukraine, arguing that disruptions in global supply chains pose significant risks to developing nations, including Thailand. By highlighting this issue, China positions itself as a proactive actor in global security discussions, advocating for stability and cooperation rather than confrontation. This narrative also aligns with China's broader diplomatic stance of opposing unilateral sanctions and external interference, reinforcing its position as a supporter of economic stability over geopolitical rivalries.

Another key aspect of security cooperation in China's regional narrative is cybersecurity, an area of growing importance in bilateral relations. China promotes deeper technological collaboration with Thailand to address cyber threats, data security, and digital governance, emphasizing the need for regional solutions to digital challenges. This aligns with China's broader push for a more state-controlled approach to cyberspace, countering Western narratives on digital freedom while promoting sovereign control over national digital infrastructure.

Beyond bilateral security and cultural engagement, China places particular importance on regional cooperation within the LMC mechanism. The LMC is presented as a practical and results-oriented initiative, focusing on economic development, water resource management, and regional stability. By emphasizing China-Thailand cooperation within the LMC, the Chinese Embassy reinforces China's leadership role in Mekong regional affairs, positioning itself as a development partner rather than a geopolitical competitor.

China's narrative on LMC cooperation highlights infrastructure projects, trade facilitation, and capacity-building initiatives, all of which align with Beijing's broader economic and diplomatic objectives. This approach allows China to promote its regional influence in a non-confrontational manner, avoiding direct competition with Western-led initiatives while securing long-term economic and strategic benefits.





Education and Culture (6%)

The Chinese Embassy in Thailand's narrative on Education and Culture places significant emphasis on educational cooperation, particularly in the field of higher education. This focus aligns with China's broader soft power strategy, which seeks to strengthen bilateral relations through academic exchanges, scholarships, and institutional partnerships. By investing in higher education collaboration, China aims to cultivate long-term intellectual and professional connections between Chinese and Thai scholars, policymakers, and business leaders.

A primary reason for this focus lies in the role of higher education in promoting crosscultural understanding. China advocates for the learning of Mandarin and academic exchanges as a strategy to foster mutual appreciation of Chinese culture, thereby reinforcing the concept of a shared regional identity. This is clearly demonstrated by the proliferation of Confucius Institutes in Thailand, which function as pivotal platforms for cultural diplomacy, language education, and academic collaboration. Among the approximately 77 Confucius Institutes operating across nine Southeast Asian countries, the largest concentration, totaling 37, is situated in Thailand (Zhou 2021).

Additionally, educational cooperation is deeply intertwined with China's economic and technological ambitions. As China positions itself as a global leader in science, technology, and innovation, it seeks to attract talented Thai students and researchers to its universities, particularly in fields such as engineering, artificial intelligence, and digital economy. By strengthening educational ties, China fosters a pipeline of professionals familiar with Chinese business practices, technological standards, and governance models, which in turn facilitates smoother economic cooperation.

Moreover, China's focus on higher education aligns with Thailand's own development goals. As Thailand seeks to modernize its economy under the Thailand 4.0 strategy, collaboration with leading Chinese universities and research institutions provides valuable opportunities for knowledge transfer, joint research, and technological advancement. This educational partnership thus benefits both nations, as China gains influence over Thailand's future intellectual and policy elites, while Thailand leverages Chinese expertise to advance its economic development.





Climate and Environmental Issues (4%)

The Chinese Embassy in Thailand's narrative on Climate and Environmental Issues acknowledges the growing importance of environmental challenges but does not position this area as a central pillar of its diplomatic strategy. Nevertheless, it highlights key environmental concerns, particularly air pollution, which is a shared issue for both China and Thailand. The focus on air quality reflects the similar environmental challenges faced by the two nations, particularly in urban areas where industrialization, vehicle emissions, and agricultural practices contribute to severe air pollution. Given the cross-border nature of air pollution in Southeast Asia, this issue becomes a natural area for bilateral collaboration.

This emphasis on air pollution management offers a platform for deeper technological cooperation, particularly in the realm of green energy. The Chinese Embassy frequently underscores the potential for joint initiatives in renewable energy, particularly in the fields of solar power, wind energy, and electric vehicles. China, as a global leader in green technology, sees environmental collaboration as an opportunity to not only improve air quality but also to advance its green energy agenda in the region. The shift towards sustainable energy solutions is part of China's broader strategy to lead in global environmental governance while expanding its technological influence.

By focusing on air pollution and green energy, China positions itself as a key partner for Thailand in addressing pressing environmental issues. Collaborative efforts in this area could facilitate the transfer of green technologies, such as energy-efficient technologies, pollution control systems, and sustainable agricultural practices, thereby contributing to both countries' environmental goals.

Despite the importance of these issues, environmental concerns do not dominate the Chinese diplomatic discourse in Thailand. Instead, they are framed as complementary to broader economic and technological collaboration, reinforcing China's positioning as a partner in sustainable development rather than a leading force in global environmental policy.



THAI NARRATIVE: A QUALITATIVE APPROACH

Thai media narratives regarding China-Thailand relations emphasize three key areas— Development and Economic Cooperation (30%), Science, Technology, and Innovation (25%), and Investment and Infrastructure (9%)—reflecting Thailand's ambition to harness economic opportunities while grappling with challenges tied to these partnerships. The coverage targets policymakers, business leaders, technology experts, and regional planners, key stakeholders responsible for managing Thailand's role as China's strategic partner in the region. While major projects dominate discussions, Thai media also highlights broader trade relations, technological issues, and persistent concerns regarding Thailand's dependence on China.

Development and Economic Cooperation (30%)

Development and economic cooperation remain a cornerstone of China-Thailand relations, with China serving as Thailand's largest trading partner since 2013. In 2023, the trade between the two nation was worth 104,999 million U.S. dollars, and only in the halfyear period of 2024 (January-May), bilateral trade was worth 45,770 million US dollars, up 4.24 percent compared to the same period in 2023. However, Thailand continues to grapple with a trade deficit, importing far more from China than it exports. The trade deficit between Thailand and China, which in the first 6 months of 2024, imports from China increased by 7.12%, worth more than 38,569.89 million U.S. dollars, resulting in Thailand having a trade deficit from China of - 19,967.46 million dollars, an increase of 15.66% (Bangkok Biz News, 2024). For instance, during the Meeting of the Joint Standing Committee on Commerce, Industry, and Banking (JSCCIB), the urgent request from the private sector to the government is to solve the continuous flow of goods from China into Thailand, along with the establishment of production bases in Thailand and the opening of online sales channels from China where manufacturers can deliver products directly to consumers without going through middlemen, which reduces costs and enables more competitive prices from China (Ibid.). The expansion of such sales channels has had a direct impact on Thai entrepreneurs, especially SMEs, which are the foundation of the country's economy. This can be seen from the high rate of factory closures of 667, most of which are SMEs, while the number of new factories opened is mostly foreign-funded





(Ibid.). The overall impact is currently widespread, covering 23 industries, with the latest industries affected being pulp, paper, and leather. This imbalance fuels concerns over Thailand's overreliance on Chinese goods and limited capacity to diversify its exports (Ibid.).

One of the big bilateral projects is the Regional Comprehensive Economic Partnership (RCEP), a trade agreement involving China, Thailand, and 13 other countries, has been a frequent topic of Thai media coverage. In 2023, Thailand's utilization of trade privileges as a proportion of total export and import value exceeded that of China (Manager Online, 2024). Thailand utilized 60% of its total export value under trade privileges, compared to 32% for China. However, in absolute terms, China outperformed Thailand, using trade privileges valued at 22.9 billion U.S. dollars, compared to Thailand's 20.6 billion U.S. dollars (Ibid.). The top products benefiting from trade privileges differed between the two countries. For Thailand, fresh durian emerged as the leading export, with trade privileges fully utilized at 100%, amounting to 4.02 billion USD (Ibid.). Meanwhile, China's top product was electric vehicles, with privileges utilized at 97% of import value, totaling 2.46 billion U.S. dollars (Ibid.). When comparing the top-ranked products, Thailand achieved a higher trade privilege value than China, reflecting the significant reliance on fresh durian exports as a key driver of Thailand's trade performance under preferential agreements. While the RCEP has benefited Thai agricultural exports, the media raises concerns about long-term economic dependency on Chinese markets and uneven trade benefits. Policymakers are cautious about balancing economic gains with strategies to reduce reliance on any single partner.

In addition to this mega project, Chinese investment in Thailand's Eastern Economic Corridor (EEC) has been considered as a driver of industrial transformation. In the first nine months of 2024, the EEC attracted 207 foreign investors, representing 33% of the total foreign investment approvals for the year. This marks a significant increase of 109% compared to the same period in 2023, when 99 foreign investors were approved (January to September). The total investment value in the EEC reached 1.14 billion U.S. dollars, accounting for 30% of the total investment in the country. This represents a 147% increase, or an additional 677 million U.S. dollars from the previous year. Notably, 54





investors from China contributed to the growth, investing a total of 206 million U.S. dollars in the EEC (Prachachat, 2024).

The investment in EEC includes BYD, a leading Chinese electric vehicle (EV) manufacturer, invested in a \$490 million U.S. dollars EV production plant in Rayong province, set to produce 150,000 vehicles annually, including plug-in hybrids, by 2024, as supported by government subsidies and tax incentives (Manager Online, 2024). The media's tone remains pragmatic yet cautious, celebrating economic opportunities while scrutinizing structural challenges such as transparency in investment agreements, the uneven trade deficit, and the potential loss of domestic economic competitiveness. The primary audiences for these narratives include government policymakers, trade negotiators, and industry leaders.

Science, Technology, and Innovation (25%)

The second key focus area for Thai media is science, technology, and innovation, which goes hand in hand with the development and economics cooperation with China, aligning closely with Thailand 4.0 strategy aimed at industrial modernization and digital transformation; Thailand 4.0 is a policy aimed at transforming the country's economic structure into a value-based, innovation-driven economy, with the goal of achieving high-income status and fostering self-reliance through new engines of growth (National Science and Technology Development Agency, 2017). Chinese investments are widely regarded as accelerators of this vision, particularly in the digital economy, telecommunications, and renewable energy sectors.

Alibaba Cloud has invested over 110 million U.S. dollars, and Huawei Technologies over 82.5 million U.S. dollars, in Thailand's cloud service sector, emerging as a transformative project (Thai PBS, 2024). These investments directly and indirectly generate high-skilled jobs and drive growth across industries, including manufacturing, finance, healthcare, tourism, e-commerce, and new technologies. By enhancing access to high-quality cloud services and digital technologies, Thai businesses can accelerate digital transformation, improve operational efficiency, and ensure data security, positioning Thailand as a regional hub for the digital economy (Ibid.). Huawei has made further investments in Thailand's research and development sector, including the establishment of OpenLab, a



research center valued at approximately 14.4 million U.S. dollars, and the Thailand 5G Ecosystem Innovation Center (5G EIC), worth around 13.2 million U.S. dollars (Bangkok Biz News, 2024). The 5G EIC integrates 5G and cloud technology with local solutions to advance Thailand's 5G infrastructure in collaboration with the Digital Economy Promotion Agency (depa). Additionally, Huawei launched the Huawei ASEAN Academy, which leverages expertise from Chinese specialists to train Thai workers in cloud computing and AI. The company has also partnered with over 40 Thai educational institutions to incorporate Huawei's technology into curricula, equipping students with knowledge of emerging technologies to remain globally competitive (Ibid.). Thai media highlights Huawei's role as a major enabler of connectivity, but concerns persist regarding technological dependency, cybersecurity risks, and potential impacts on data privacy.

In the renewable energy sector, Chinese companies such as BYD, Great Wall Motors (GWM), and SAIC Motor have collectively plan to invest the EV battery assembly plant in Thailand. The project's initial investment is estimated at 28 million U.S. dollars (Prachachat, 2023) GWM partners with SVOLT Energy, a leading Chinese EV battery manufacturer, to develop a Module PACK Factory supporting EV battery production plants and renewable energy infrastructure (Prachachat, 2023) These projects align with Thailand's sustainability goals to achieve carbon neutrality by 2050 and reduce its reliance on fossil fuels.

The National Economic and Social Development Board (NESDB), citing data from the Department of Land Transport, reported a significant surge in new car registrations in Thailand in 2023. A total of 657,860 vehicles were newly registered, with electric vehicles (EVs) accounting for 76,538 units, reflecting almost 700% increase compared to 2022 (Thai PBS Policy Watch, 2024). Chinese electric vehicles dominated the market, with four out of the top five EV brands originating from China. BYD led with 30,467 units, followed by Neta with 12,777 units, MG with 12,462 units, and GWM (ORA) with 6,746 units, while Tesla from the United States recorded 8,206 units (Ibid.). The growing trade in EV technology reflects Thailand's broader modernization efforts, with China playing a pivotal role as a key driver of economic development and renewable energy advancement.



However, Thai media coverage often points to the slow pace of EV adoption, insufficient charging infrastructure, and lack of consumer confidence as barriers to success. Reports of surplus Chinese-manufactured EVs at Thai ports underscore the market's readiness issues and the need for improved alignment between infrastructure development and consumer demand.

While the Chinese government frames technological cooperation as mutually beneficial, Thai media's tone remains measured and critical. Stakeholders, particularly technology leaders, digital experts, and policymakers, are tasked with ensuring these collaborations contribute to Thailand's long-term technological sovereignty while mitigating risks of overdependence.

Investment and Infrastructure (9%)

Infrastructure investment, particularly projects linked to China's Belt and Road Initiative (BRI), constitutes a smaller yet significant portion of Thai media coverage. Thailand's geographical position as a regional logistics hub has made it a focal point for BRI-related infrastructure projects, with both opportunities and challenges reflected in media narratives.

One of this initiative is the Thailand-China Railway project, consists of two key phases. The first phase, the Bangkok-Nakhon Ratchasima line, spans 253 kilometers with an investment of approximately \$5.13 billion US dollars (Matichon, 2023). The second phase, the Nakhon Ratchasima-Nong Khai line, covers 356 kilometers with an estimated investment of approximately \$9.1 billion USD (Ibid.). This phase is currently undergoing Environmental Impact Assessment (EIA) review, with plans to commence operations by 2028. This mega project is widely regarded as a flagship BRI initiative (Ibid.). Once completed, the rail line will connect Bangkok to Nong Khai, providing a seamless link to the China-Laos Railway and enhancing regional connectivity.

However, Thai media highlights delay in construction, with only 16% progress as of 2023, with the opening now delayed to 2027, revised from the original target of 2026, citing issues such as financing disagreements, technical standard mismatches, and concerns



over cost overruns (Ibid.). Policymakers and planners, the primary audiences for this narrative, are urged to address these bottlenecks to realize the project's full potential.

Another critical project is the Laem Chabang Port Expansion Phase 3, marking a significant milestone in Thailand's infrastructure advancement and regional connectivity. In a formal signing ceremony, the China Port Authority, the Port Authority of Thailand, and key construction contractors solidified their partnership to execute the project. With an investment of approximately \$208 million USD, this project stands as the largest undertaken in Thailand by China Harbour Engineering Company (CHEC) to date (CRI, 2024). Once completed, the port's operational capacity can handle 18 million TEUs of containers annually, support up to 3 million vehicles per year, and implement an automated container handling system to optimize efficiency (Sawasdee Thailand, 2023). Additionally, the project aims to increase the proportion of rail freight transport to 30%, aligning with Thailand's broader logistics goals (Ibid.). Strategically positioned, Laem Chabang Port Phase 3 will serve as a key hub for the Indochina region and a vital trade gateway for the Mekong region, while advancing its status to become a world-class port (Ibid.).

While the Chinese government promotes such initiatives as examples of "win-win" cooperation, Thai media raises concerns regarding environmental impacts, debt sustainability, and limited involvement of local businesses. Reports often reflect anxieties about Thailand's growing financial obligations and its long-term economic implications.

Smaller infrastructure projects, such as improvements to regional railways, industrial zones, and smart logistics centers, also receive coverage. However, Thai media frequently points to challenges such as limited transparency, overreliance on Chinese contractors, and potential displacement of local businesses. The targeted elite audiences, including regional planners and government officials, are closely monitoring these developments to balance infrastructure benefits with local economic and environmental interests.





CONCLUSIONS

Thai media narratives on Development and Economic Cooperation, Science, Technology, and Innovation, and Investment and Infrastructure reflect a mix of optimism and caution. While major projects such as the RCEP, the Huawei Technologies, and the Thailand-China High-Speed Rail highlight the tangible benefits of China-Thailand collaborations, Thai media maintains a pragmatic lens, raising concerns about economic dependency, technological sovereignty, and project transparency. The narratives are directed at policymakers, business leaders, technology experts, and regional planners—key stakeholders tasked with ensuring that Thailand maximizes opportunities while safeguarding national interests. Broader trade dynamics, infrastructure bottlenecks, and market challenges, such as EV adoption hurdles and trade deficits, underscore the complexities of Thailand's evolving relationship with China.

This nuanced perspective reflects Thailand's strategic positioning as both a partner and a cautious observer in its engagement with China's economic and technological influence.

The Chinese Embassy's diplomatic narrative in Thailand is characterized by a strategic blend of economic, cultural, and security-oriented goals, aimed at strengthening bilateral relations and solidifying China's influence in Southeast Asia. By emphasizing security and peacekeeping, China reassures its regional partners of its commitment to peaceful coexistence, distinguishing itself from other great powers, while fostering an environment conducive to trade, investment, and infrastructure development. This focus on security, alongside the promotion of a non-interventionist and anti-hegemonic stance, reflects China's efforts to secure its position as a regional leader while avoiding entanglement in contentious security issues such as the South China Sea dispute.

In the realm of Human Rights and Social Development, China's emphasis on education, healthcare, and poverty alleviation further highlights its development-centric narrative, with a clear focus on economic and social progress rather than political rights. Through the promotion of technological solutions and anti-corruption strategies, China positions itself as a constructive partner in Thailand's growth while presenting its governance model as a viable pathway for sustainable development. This approach underscores



China's development diplomacy and its desire to foster long-term partnerships grounded in mutual prosperity.

Furthermore, the cultural exchange and security cooperation promoted by the Chinese Embassy in Thailand reflect a comprehensive diplomatic strategy designed to strengthen bilateral ties, enhance regional stability, and increase China's influence. By linking cultural diplomacy to initiatives like the Belt and Road Initiative (BRI) and focusing on nontraditional security threats such as food security and cybersecurity, China effectively aligns its diplomatic narrative with its broader foreign policy objectives. Additionally, China's active engagement in the LMC mechanism strengthens its role as a key regional actor, consolidating its strategic foothold in Southeast Asia.

Lastly, while climate and environmental issues are not central to China's diplomatic discourse in Thailand, they are framed as complementary to broader economic and technological collaboration. By focusing on green energy projects and positioning itself as a partner in sustainable development, China expands its influence in emerging technologies while contributing to regional environmental solutions. This approach reflects China's broader diplomatic goals of economic development, technological advancement, and regional cooperation, ensuring that environmental concerns are integrated into its comprehensive strategy for long-term engagement in Southeast Asia.







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