The Belt and Road Initiative

China in the World Economy, 2022

1. Which transactions are captured by the current account of balance of payments?

- 1. Which transactions are captured by the current account of balance of payments?
- 2. Which go under the financial account?

- 1. Which transactions are captured by the current account of balance of payments?
- 2. Which go under the financial account?
- 3. Which are more volatile (=prone to sudden change?)

- 1. Which transactions are captured by the current account of balance of payments?
- 2. Which go under the financial account?
- 3. Which are more volatile (=prone to sudden change?)
- 4. Why is this a problem for a fixed exchange rate?

- 1. Which transactions are captured by the current account of balance of payments?
- 2. Which go under the financial account?
- 3. Which are more volatile (=prone to sudden change?)
- 4. Why is this a problem for a fixed exchange rate?
- 5. What other problem can it cause?

- 1. Which transactions are captured by the current account of balance of payments?
- 2. Which go under the financial account?
- 3. Which are more volatile (=prone to sudden change?)
- 4. Why is this a problem for a fixed exchange rate?
- 5. What other problem can it cause?
- Financial instability lack of capital, high interest rates, potentially bankruptcy of banks and other financial institutions

- 1. Which transactions are captured by the current account of balance of payments?
- 2. Which go under the financial account?
- 3. Which are more volatile (=prone to sudden change?)
- 4. Why is this a problem for a fixed exchange rate?
- 5. What other problem can it cause?
- Financial instability lack of capital, high interest rates, potentially bankruptcy of banks and other financial institutions
- ➤ China mostly regulates the financial account because of this!

7. To what purposes can you use an international currency?

- 7. To what purposes can you use an international currency?
- 8. What are the advantages of controlling an international currency?

- 7. To what purposes can you use an international currency?
- 8. What are the advantages of controlling an international currency?
- 9. How does China strive to expand the international use of the renminbi?

- 7. To what purposes can you use an international currency?
- 8. What are the advantages of controlling an international currency?
- 9. How does China strive to expand the international use of the renminbi?
- > Currency swaps exchanging money with foreign central banks > giving them renminbi to purchase imports from China

- 7. To what purposes can you use an international currency?
- 8. What are the advantages of controlling an international currency?
- 9. How does China strive to expand the international use of the renminbi?
- 10. What is the purpose of the IMF?

- 7. To what purposes can you use an international currency?
- 8. What are the advantages of controlling an international currency?
- 9. How does China strive to expand the international use of the renminbi?
- 10. What is the purpose of the IMF?
- > Global reserve of international currencies > balance of payments, debt and monetary crises

- 7. To what purposes can you use an international currency?
- 8. What are the advantages of controlling an international currency?
- 9. How does China strive to expand the international use of the renminbi?
- 10. What is the purpose of the IMF?
- > Global reserve of international currencies > balance of payments, debt and monetary crises
- 10. What is the purpose of the World Bank?

- 7. To what purposes can you use an international currency?
- 8. What are the advantages of controlling an international currency?
- 9. How does China strive to expand the international use of the renminbi?
- 10. What is the purpose of the IMF?
- > Global reserve of international currencies > balance of payments, debt and monetary crises
- 10. What is the purpose of the World Bank?
- > Provide investment to poor countries that are unable to attract private investors

• 11) What is the purpose of IMF's quotas?

- 11) What is the purpose of IMF's quotas?
- 12) Why is China underrepresented in these quotas?

- 11) What is the purpose of IMF's quotas?
- 12) Why is China underrepresented in these quotas?
- 13) What criticisms of the international financial institutions does China have?

• > Since 1970s — shift from "hard" investment towards policy advice and institutional reforms

- Since 1970s shift from "hard" investment towards policy advice and institutional reforms
- Focus on alleviating poverty and illiteracy and mortality instead of GDP growth per se

- Since 1970s shift from "hard" investment towards policy advice and institutional reforms
- Focus on alleviating poverty and illiteracy and mortality instead of GDP growth per se
- Liberal approach let markets lead the economy, while the public sector provides basic welfare

- Since 1970s shift from "hard" investment towards policy advice and institutional reforms
- Focus on alleviating poverty and illiteracy and mortality instead of GDP growth per se
- Liberal approach let markets lead the economy, while the public sector provides basic welfare
- Large scale infrastructural investment plays a much smaller role

• Foreign aid is miniscule compared to private investment

- Foreign aid is miniscule compared to private investment
- Private investors unwilling to invest in developing countries they
 are only going to lend money for a very high interest

- Foreign aid is miniscule compared to private investment
- Private investors unwilling to invest in developing countries they
 are only going to lend money for a very high interest
- Conditional high standards for environment, human rights etc. > bureaucracy

- Foreign aid is miniscule compared to private investment
- Private investors unwilling to invest in developing countries they
 are only going to lend money for a very high interest
- Conditional high standards for environment, human rights etc. > bureaucracy
- Highly concessional presented as gifts from donors > economically fine, but can feel patronizing

China sees all of this as a problem

- China sees all of this as a problem
- "The West is forcing poor countries to accept its neoliberal ideology and has no respect for their cultures"

- China sees all of this as a problem
- "The West is forcing poor countries to accept its neoliberal ideology and has no respect for their cultures"
- "It neglects their real needs investment into physical infrastructure"

- China sees all of this as a problem
- "The West is forcing poor countries to accept its neoliberal ideology and has no respect for their cultures"
- "It neglects their real needs investment into physical infrastructure"
- Donor recipient relation colonial mindset it is better to have a cooperation among equals

- China sees all of this as a problem
- "The West is forcing poor countries to accept its neoliberal ideology and has no respect for their cultures"
- "It neglects their real needs investment into physical infrastructure"
- Donor recipient relation colonial mindset it is better to have a cooperation among equals
- "As a successful developing country, China has a better understanding of what poor countries need"

- China sees all of this as a problem
- "The West is forcing poor countries to accept its neoliberal ideology and has no respect for their cultures"
- "It neglects their real needs investment into physical infrastructure"
- Donor recipient relation colonial mindset it is better to have a cooperation among equals
- "As a successful developing country, China has a better understanding of what poor countries need"
- "It is not greedy or imperialist, it respects everybody"

 The AIIB and the Belt and Road Initiative – China's answer to what they don't like about the World Bank and other Western-led development efforts

- The AIIB and the Belt and Road Initiative China's answer to what they don't like about the World Bank and other Western-led development efforts
- > focus on tangible progress and especially infrastructure

- The AIIB and the Belt and Road Initiative China's answer to what they don't like about the World Bank and other Western-led development efforts
- > focus on tangible progress and especially infrastructure
- = transport and energy

- The AIIB and the Belt and Road Initiative China's answer to what they don't like about the World Bank and other Western-led development efforts
- > focus on tangible progress and especially infrastructure
- = transport and energy
- Cooperation rather than aid (> equal relationship between developing countries)

- The AIIB and the Belt and Road Initiative China's answer to what they don't like about the World Bank and other Western-led development efforts
- > focus on tangible progress and especially infrastructure
- = transport and energy
- Cooperation rather than aid (> equal relationship between developing countries)
- No connection to political values

- The AIIB and the Belt and Road Initiative China's answer to what they don't like about the World Bank and other Western-led development efforts
- > focus on tangible progress and especially infrastructure
- = transport and energy
- Cooperation rather than aid (> equal relationship between developing countries)
- No connection to political values
- Few requirements > less bureaucracy

• - this is how China **presents** the BRI

A vaguely defined project

- A vaguely defined project
- Umbrella term for China's outward investment

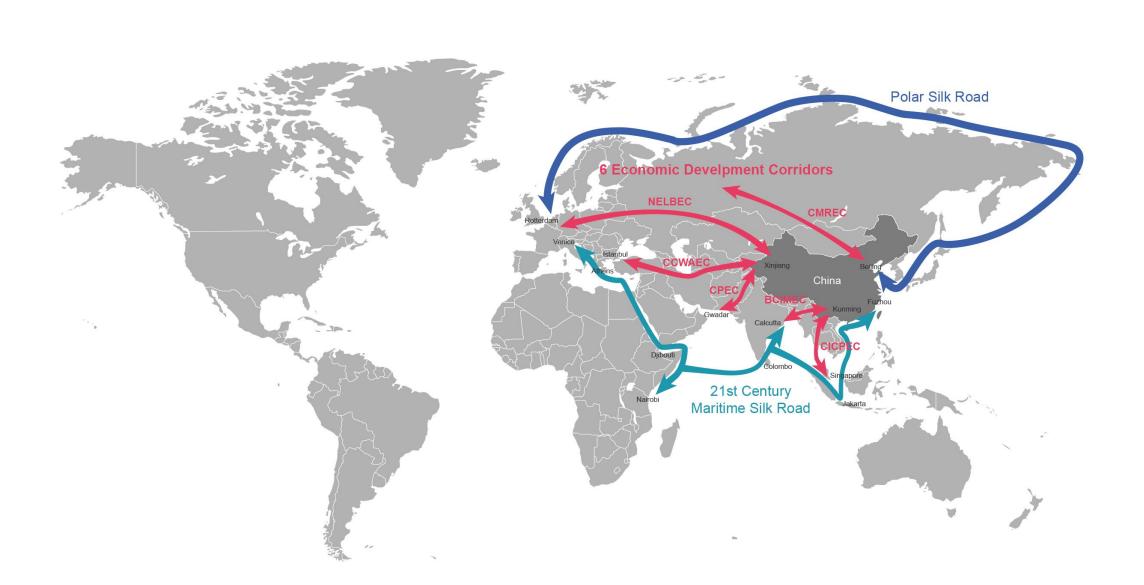
- A vaguely defined project
- Umbrella term for China's outward investment including projects launched many years before BRI was even unveiled

- A vaguely defined project
- Umbrella term for China's outward investment including projects launched many years before BRI was even unveiled
- US and other Western countries exaggerated perception of the BRI as a diabolical master plan to take over the world

- A vaguely defined project
- Umbrella term for China's outward investment including projects launched many years before BRI was even unveiled
- US and other Western countries exaggerated perception of the BRI as a diabolical master plan to take over the world
- "Debt trap diplomacy" describes the results and assumes them to be the original goals

- A vaguely defined project
- Umbrella term for China's outward investment including projects launched many years before BRI was even unveiled
- US and other Western countries exaggerated perception of the BRI as a diabolical master plan to take over the world
- "Debt trap diplomacy" describes the results and assumes them to be the original goals
- The BRI has predominantly domestic goals presented as a grand global vision

- "Silk road Economic Belt"
- "21st Century Maritime Silk road"



- "Silk road Economic Belt"
- "21st Century Maritime Silk road"
- "One Belt, One Road"

- "Silk road Economic Belt"
- "21st Century Maritime Silk road"
- "One Belt, One Road"
- "Belt and Road Initiative"

- "Silk road Economic Belt"
- "21st Century Maritime Silk road"
- "One Belt, One Road"
- "Belt and Road Initiative"

• "Digital Silk road", "Health Silk road", etc.

 Confusing and constantly changed names reflect how little defined the project is

• 1) Find new outlets for construction SOEs



- 1) Find new outlets for construction SOEs
- For years, these companies built China's infrastructure and real estate

- 1) Find new outlets for construction SOEs
- For years, these companies built China's infrastructure and real estate
- Now China has enough

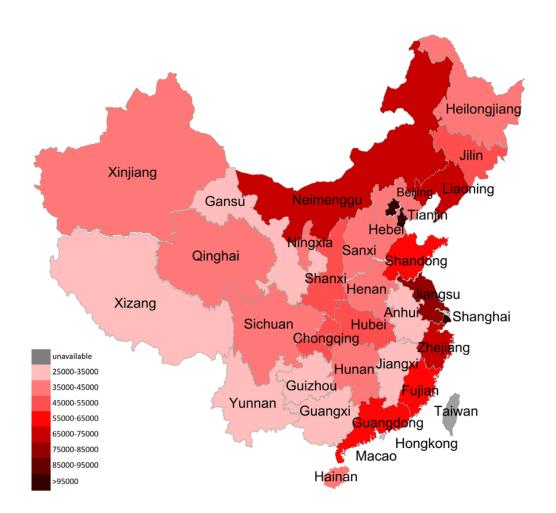
- 1) Find new outlets for construction SOEs
- For years, these companies built China's infrastructure and real estate
- Now China has enough
- Overcapacity

- 1) Find new outlets for construction SOEs
- For years, these companies built China's infrastructure and real estate
- Now China has enough
- Overcapacity
- > "let's build the same things elsewhere!"

- 1) Find new outlets for construction SOEs
- For years, these companies built China's infrastructure and real estate
- Now China has enough
- Overcapacity
- > "let's build the same things elsewhere!"
- > focus on railways, highways, bridges, tunnels, pipelines, power stations and grid

- 1) Find new outlets for construction SOEs
- For years, these companies built China's infrastructure and real estate
- Now China has enough
- Overcapacity
- > "let's build the same things elsewhere!"
- > focus on railways, highways, bridges, tunnels, pipelines, power stations and grid
- – things in which China is excellent + are built by SOEs

• 2) Develop the poor and overlooked regions in the west of China



- 2) Develop the poor and overlooked regions in the west of China
- - ignored by foreign investment, unsuitable for overseas export

- 2) Develop the poor and overlooked regions in the west of China
- - ignored by foreign investment, unsuitable for overseas export
- > predominantly agricultural, with few opportunities for industrial development

- 2) Develop the poor and overlooked regions in the west of China
- - ignored by foreign investment, unsuitable for overseas export
- > predominantly agricultural, with few opportunities for industrial development
- Connectivity and trade with Europe will create opportunities and jobs

- 2) Develop the poor and overlooked regions in the west of China
- - ignored by foreign investment, unsuitable for overseas export
- > predominantly agricultural, with few opportunities for industrial development
- Connectivity and trade with Europe will create opportunities and jobs
- Bring in natural resources from Central Asia

- 2) Develop the poor and overlooked regions in the west of China
- - ignored by foreign investment, unsuitable for overseas export
- > predominantly agricultural, with few opportunities for industrial development
- Connectivity and trade with Europe will create opportunities and jobs
- Bring in natural resources from Central Asia
- After 2013 the BRI concept was taken up by party leaders in western provinces

 These two goals are paramount and probably far more important than all the others

• 3) Find new outlets for investment

- 3) Find new outlets for investment
- Previously export earnings reinvested into US bonds
- Now necessity to diversify foreign assets

• 4) Find new outlets for subpar products

- 4) Find new outlets for subpar products
- Developing countries can buy products that would be hard to sell in the West
- Lifeline for trailing edge industries in the hinterland

- 5) Internationalize the renminbi
- - through loans (AIIB) + China's domestic state-owned banks



ASIAN INFRASTRUCTURE INVESTMENT BANK



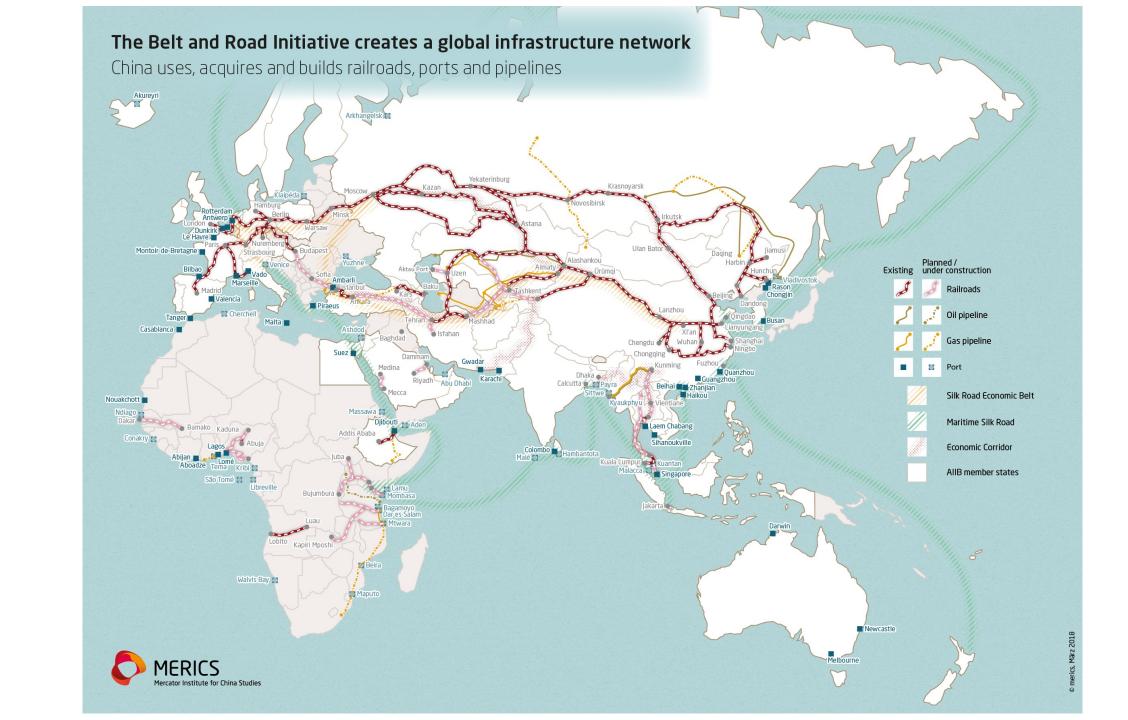


• 6) Tie Xinjiang and Tibet and other far-flung provinces closer to the rest of the country

• 7) Geopolitical expansion

- 7) Geopolitical expansion
- Spread Chinese influence

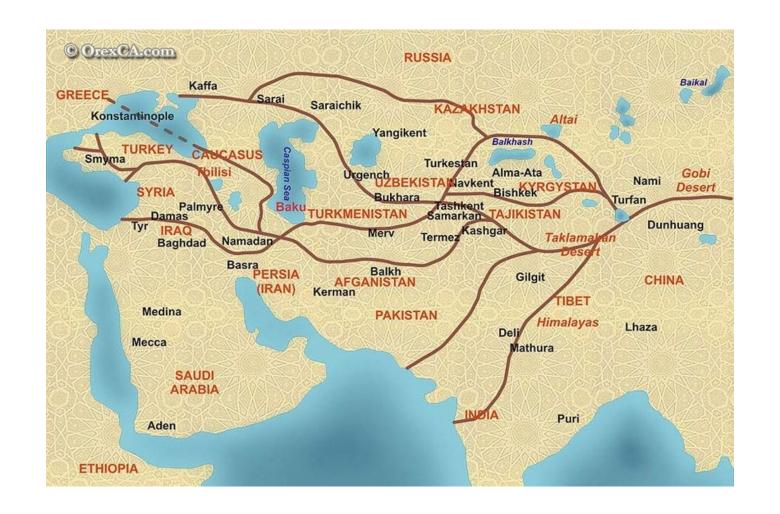
- 7) Geopolitical expansion
- Spread Chinese influence
- Secure naval trade routes

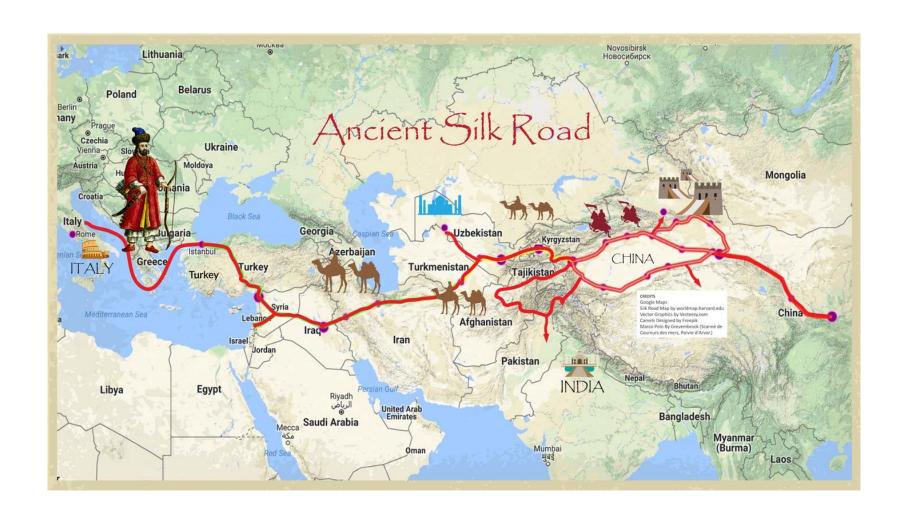


- 7) Geopolitical expansion
- Spread Chinese influence
- Secure naval trade routes
- Isolate India

- 7) Geopolitical expansion
- Spread Chinese influence
- Secure naval trade routes
- Isolate India
- Lure away US allies

...had almost nothing in common with the BRI!





- ...had almost nothing in common with the BRI
- Overland trade carried out by independent foreign merchants usually Arabs and Persians

- ...had almost nothing in common with the BRI
- Overland trade carried out by independent foreign merchants usually Arabs and Persians
- Supported by some Muslim dynasties and city states in Central Asia

- ...had almost nothing in common with the BRI
- Overland trade carried out by independent foreign merchants usually Arabs and Persians
- Supported by some Muslim dynasties and city states in Central Asia
- The Chinese rarely travelled along the route themselves

- ...had almost nothing in common with the BRI
- Overland trade carried out by independent foreign merchants usually Arabs and Persians
- Supported by some Muslim dynasties and city states in Central Asia
- The Chinese rarely travelled along the route themselves
- Cultural prejudice trade is not worthy of the Confucian elite

- ...had almost nothing in common with the BRI
- Overland trade carried out by independent foreign merchants usually Arabs and Persians
- Supported by some Muslim dynasties and city states in Central Asia
- The Chinese rarely travelled along the route themselves
- Cultural prejudice trade is not worthy of the Confucian elite
- The Chinese state never intentionally supported the trade route

- ...had almost nothing in common with the BRI
- Overland trade carried out by independent foreign merchants usually Arabs and Persians
- Supported by some Muslim dynasties and city states in Central Asia
- The Chinese rarely travelled along the route themselves
- Cultural prejudice trade is not worthy of the Confucian elite
- The Chinese state never intentionally supported the trade route
- Conquest of the western regions helped to make the Silk road safe but that was not the intention!

 Overland trade was tolerable – only a small trickle of extremely valuable luxury products for the elite

 Maritime trade with Southeast Asia and India – far more dangerous less expensive products accessible to the wider population

- Maritime trade with Southeast Asia and India far more dangerous less expensive products accessible to the wider population
- > Fear of foreign ideas (Islam, Christianity, Hinduism...)

- Maritime trade with Southeast Asia and India far more dangerous less expensive products accessible to the wider population
- > Fear of foreign ideas (Islam, Christianity, Hinduism...)
- Harsh crackdowns on overseas trade

- Maritime trade with Southeast Asia and India far more dangerous less expensive products accessible to the wider population
- > Fear of foreign ideas (Islam, Christianity, Hinduism...)
- Harsh crackdowns on overseas trade
- "Chinese treasure voyages" brief attempt to show off and create new tributary relations

• Re-interpreted by propaganda as China's gift to the world — trade, cultural understanding, China's innovations

• Re-interpreted by propaganda as China's gift to the world — trade, cultural understanding, China's innovations

 Desire to frame new policies as rediscovered ancient wisdom, find old precedents

• Re-interpreted by propaganda as China's gift to the world — trade, cultural understanding, China's innovations

 Desire to frame new policies as rediscovered ancient wisdom, find old precedents

This makes the program even more vague

 China signs a "cooperation agreement" or "memorandum of understanding" with the host country government

- China signs a "cooperation agreement" or "memorandum of understanding" with the host country government
- Soft-law it is not legally binding!

- China signs a "cooperation agreement" or "memorandum of understanding" with the host country government
- Soft-law it is not legally binding!
- Memorandums more detailed signed with important partners
- - bilateral

- China signs a "cooperation agreement" or "memorandum of understanding" with the host country government
- Soft-law it is not legally binding!
- Memorandums more detailed signed with important partners
- bilateral
- The BRI is not an international organization, but a network of bilateral relationships

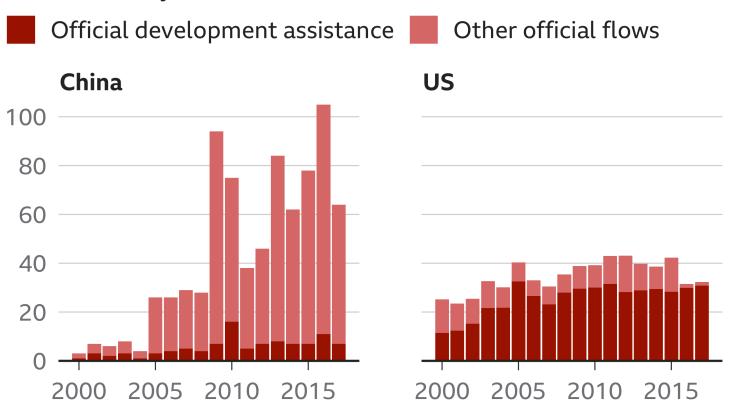
- China signs a "cooperation agreement" or "memorandum of understanding" with the host country government
- Soft-law it is not legally binding!
- Memorandums more detailed signed with important partners
- bilateral
- The BRI is not an international organization, but a network of bilateral relationships
- Forums don't have any formal decision-making power

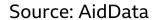
 Followed by deals made between host states and Chinese banks and SOE

- Banks Import-Export Bank, AIIB, New Development Bank intended for foreign investment
- SOEs construction companies

How China's international loans have grown

Investment by China v US (US\$bn)







- Followed by deals made between host states and Chinese banks and SOE
- these entities sign commercial contracts with the partner country loans, construction contracts

- Followed by deals made between host states and Chinese banks and SOE
- > these entities sign commercial contracts with the partner country loans, construction contracts
- These are not international law and usually are not published > lack of transparency

- Followed by deals made between host states and Chinese banks and SOE
- these entities sign commercial contracts with the partner country loans, construction contracts
- These are not international law and usually are not published > lack of transparency
- Problematic clauses collaterals, debt-for-equity swaps, arbitration

 Contrast this with the WTO – multilateral institution, all agreements are international public law, private companies have no direct access to it

- Contrast this with the WTO multilateral institution, all agreements are international public law, private companies have no direct access to it
- The West sharp division between the public and private sector the WTO exists in the public sphere

- Contrast this with the WTO multilateral institution, all agreements are international public law, private companies have no direct access to it
- The West sharp division between the public and private sector the WTO exists in the public sphere
- But aims to create rules that liberalize trade for the private sector

- Contrast this with the WTO multilateral institution, all agreements are international public law, private companies have no direct access to it
- The West sharp division between the public and private sector the WTO exists in the public sphere
- But aims to create rules that liberalize trade for the private sector
- China state and business are interconnected

- Contrast this with the WTO multilateral institution, all agreements are international public law, private companies have no direct access to it
- The West sharp division between the public and private sector the WTO exists in the public sphere
- But aims to create rules that liberalize trade for the private sector
- China state and business are interconnected
- Preference for government-to-government deals and reliance on SOEs, which do not have to act in a commercially profitable way

- China's preferred way of conduct state to state on a flexible bilateral basis
- > no legal commitments for China, possibility to change the deal later on, supremacy of the state over the market

Only small oversight by the Chinese government itself!

- Only small oversight by the Chinese government itself!
- "Office of the Leading Group on Promoting the Implementation of Belt and Road Initiatives" which is under the <u>National Development</u> and Reform Commission (NDRC)
- Only created after the fact, struggles to control all the projects

 The BRI label can be slapped on almost any project by a Chinese company in a third country

- The BRI label can be slapped on almost any project by a Chinese company in a third country
- As a way to legitimize it, get Party support, ensure the locals etc.

- The BRI label can be slapped on almost any project by a Chinese company in a third country
- As a way to legitimize it, get Party support, ensure the locals etc.

 > framing of decentralized activities of China's vast SOEs and banks as parts of great plan of the General Secretary

 "Unofficial BRI" – large infrastructural projects are accompanies by an influx of Chinese entrepreneurs who claim they are a part of it

- "Unofficial BRI" large infrastructural projects are accompanies by an influx of Chinese entrepreneurs who claim they are a part of it
- Often highly unscrupulous, legally dubious, business models casinos, financial speculation etc.

- "Unofficial BRI" large infrastructural projects are accompanies by an influx of Chinese entrepreneurs who claim they are a part of it
- Often highly unscrupulous, legally dubious, business models casinos, financial speculation etc.
- > Wild West vibe

- "Unofficial BRI" large infrastructural projects are accompanies by an influx of Chinese entrepreneurs who claim they are a part of it
- Often highly unscrupulous, legally dubious, business models casinos, financial speculation etc.
- > Wild West vibe
- A problem and a source of problems mainly in Southeast Asia –
 Malaysia, Cambodia

Banks – give a loan to the host state or local enterprise

- Banks give a loan to the host state or local enterprise
- Terms mainly the interest rate
- > more beneficial than commercial loans
- > less beneficial than concessional loans from Western donors and development banks

 The money must be used to hire a specific SOE to carry out the project

- The money must be used to hire a specific SOE to carry out the project
- If the loan is not repaid **collaterals, debt-for-equity swaps** some assets, like the infrastructure itself, must be handed over to the Chinese bank

- The money must be used to hire a specific SOE to carry out the project
- If the loan is not repaid collaterals, debt-for-equity swaps some assets, like the infrastructure itself, must be handed over to the Chinese bank
- Not necessarily driven by Beijing!
- Predatory (state) capitalism? "East India Company vibe"?

• State guarantees – if the recipient of the loan is a private entity, the host state must nevertheless give the Chinese banks a guarantee that the loan is going to be repaid

• State guarantees – if the recipient of the loan is a private entity, the host state must nevertheless give the Chinese banks a guarantee that the loan is going to be repaid

 For example – if a Chinese banks lends money to a power station or local construction company, the government must guarantee the loan will be repaid

• Renegotiation pledge - if the economic situation changes, the Chinese can change the conditions and renegotiate prices

- Renegotiation pledge if the economic situation changes, the Chinese can change the conditions and renegotiate prices
- The recipient must bound itself to accept this

• The Chinese are insuring themselves against risk

- The Chinese are insuring themselves against risk
- Risks are objectively high in Third World countries
- Because of **political instability**, unpredictable inflation, poor institutions, natural disasters etc.

Western private capital – demands high interest rates

- Western private capital demands high interest rates
- Chinese state-owned capital is OK with low interests but they want to insure their investment in other ways
- > there are many conditions and strings attached

- Debt
- - can mushroom because of the renegotiated prices and guarantees

- Debt
- can mushroom because of the renegotiated prices and guarantees
- Covid > dropping exports > inability of many developing countries to repay BRI loans

- Debt
- can mushroom because of the renegotiated prices and guarantees
- Covid > dropping exports > inability of many developing countries to repay BRI loans
- China participated in a 2020 debt moratorium

- Debt
- can mushroom because of the renegotiated prices and guarantees
- Covid > dropping exports > inability of many developing countries to repay BRI loans
- China participated in a 2020 debt moratorium
- 2022 debts of 17 African countries forgiven

• China is not a member of the **Paris and London clubs**, which usually negotiate with debtors

- China is not a member of the Paris and London clubs, which usually negotiate with debtors
- IMF usually lends to debtors conditional on them making a deal with the Paris club

- China is not a member of the Paris and London clubs, which usually negotiate with debtors
- IMF usually lends to debtors conditional on them making a deal with the Paris club
- Hesitation whether to lend to countries with BRI debts

 China is also not a member of the Development Assistance Committee, which sets standards for transparency in development lending

Maintenance – once a company builds a piece of infrastructure, there
is always a requirement, or even practical necessity, to use them for
future repairs

- Maintenance once a company builds a piece of infrastructure, there
 is always a requirement, or even practical necessity, to use them for
 future repairs
- > China is gaining a long-term economic foothold

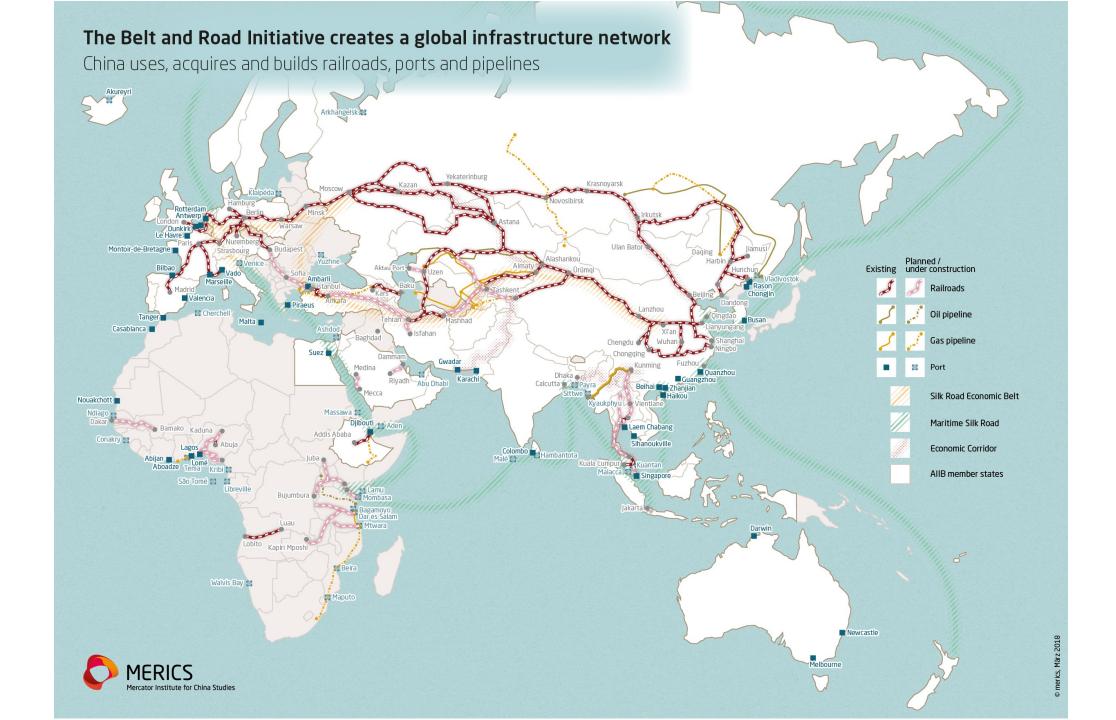
Why would somebody accept a deal like this?

- Developing countries:
- desperate need for capital

- Developing countries:
- desperate need for capital
- often high levels of corruption

- Developing countries:
- desperate need for capital
- often high levels of corruption

• > disregard for the environment etc.

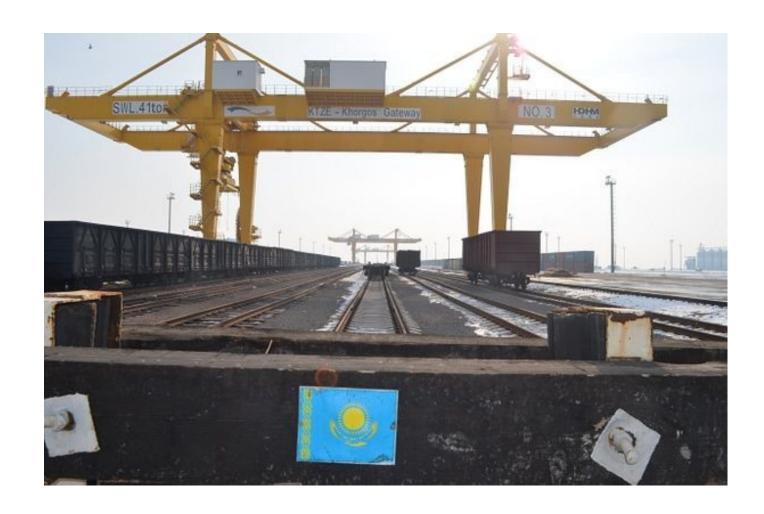


 Main corridor – through Central Asia, Russia, Poland and all the way to London

- Main corridor through Central Asia, Russia, Poland and all the way to London
- Reality mostly old Soviet railways

- Main corridor through Central Asia, Russia, Poland and all the way to London
- Reality mostly old Soviet railways
- Necessity to change trains in terminals because of different gauge

- Main corridor through Central Asia, Russia, Poland and all the way to London
- Reality mostly old Soviet railways
- Necessity to change trains in terminals because of different gauge
- First change on China-Kazakhstan border, another at Belarus-Poland border



- Main corridor through Central Asia, Russia, Poland and all the way to London
- Reality mostly old Soviet railways
- Necessity to change trains in terminals because of different gauge
- First change on China-Kazakhstan border, another at Belarus-Poland border
- > increases cost
- 5 times more expansive than shipment!

- Main corridor through Central Asia, Russia, Poland and all the way to London
- Reality mostly old Soviet railways
- Necessity to change trains in terminals because of different gauge
- First change on China-Kazakhstan border, another at Belarus-Poland border
- > increases cost
- 5 times more expansive than shipment!
- Faster, but is that useful?

Only profitable when subsidized

- Only profitable when subsidized
- What about the way back?
- Europe does not export anything the other way around

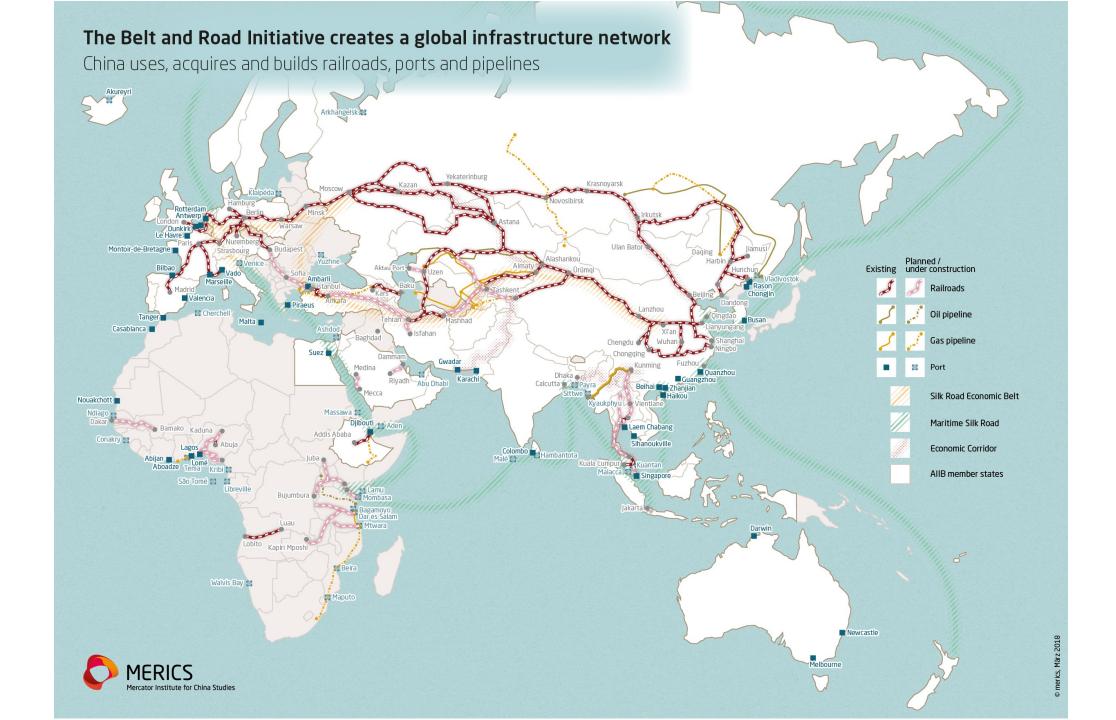
- Only profitable when subsidized
- What about the way back?
- Europe does not export anything the other way around
- > either China will subsidize the return of empty wagons, or containers will accumulate in Europe

China does not care all that much whether the project will pay for itself

- China does not care all that much whether the project will pay for itself
- Even in China, this is not the point the Party decides that a bridge is going to be built, and so it will be built, no matter the costs
- Non-market, statist mindset

- China does not care all that much whether the project will pay for itself
- Even in China, this is not the point the Party decides that a bridge is going to be built, and so it will be built, no matter the costs
- Non-market, statist mindset
- This becomes a problem when a developing country needs the project to be profitable to pay back the loan...

- Southeast Asia and Indian Ocean
- desire to avoid chokepoints, isolate India, secure naval route to Europe



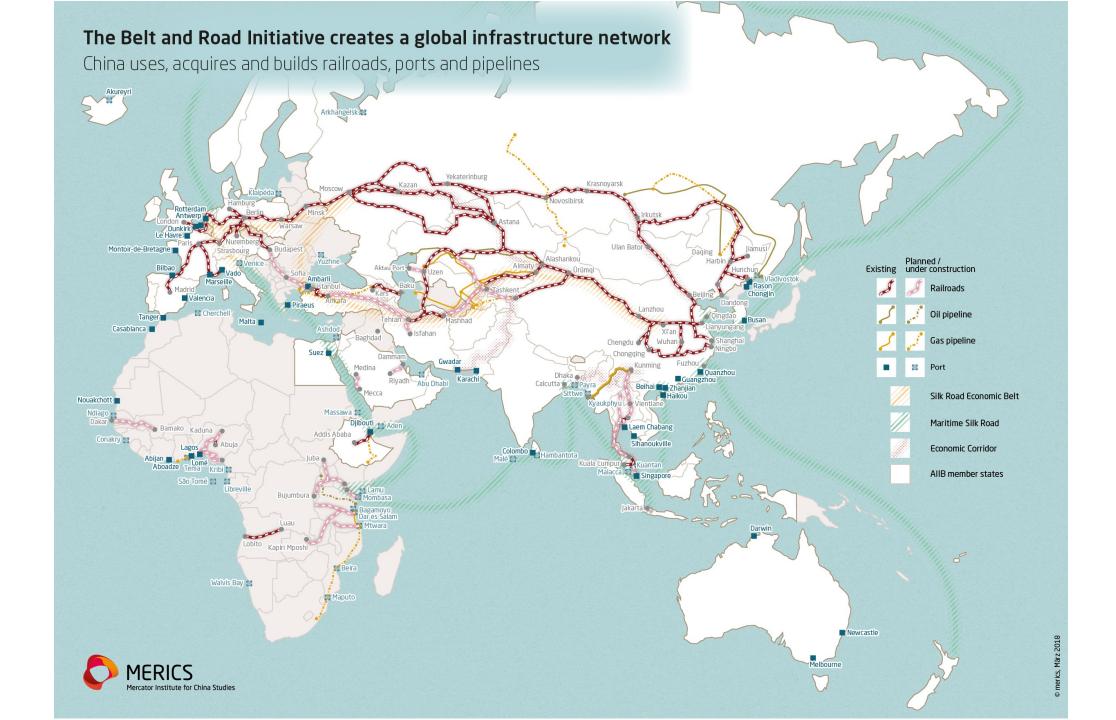
- Southeast Asia and Indian Ocean
- desire to avoid chokepoints, isolate India, secure naval route to Europe
- Plans canal through Malayan peninsula (in Thai territory), railway passage in Malaysia



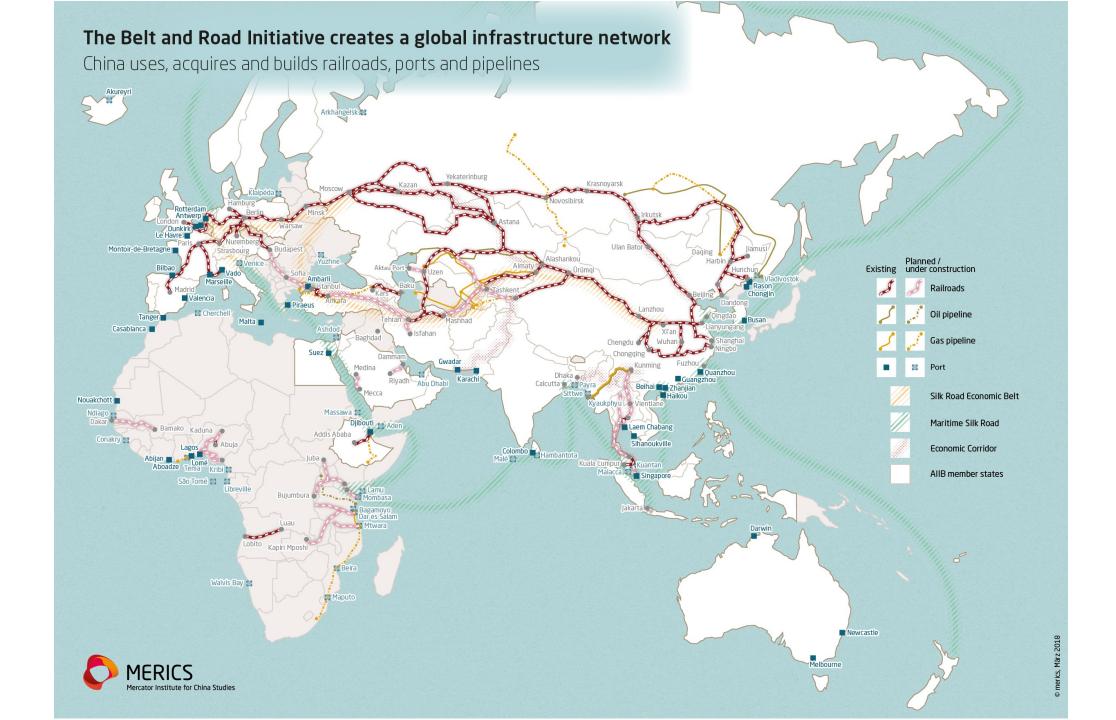
- Southeast Asia and Indian Ocean
- desire to avoid chokepoints, isolate India, secure naval route to Europe
- Plans canal through Malaysian peninsula (in Thai territory), railway passage in Malaysia
- Malacca gate port



- Southeast Asia and Indian Ocean
- desire to avoid chokepoints, isolate India, secure naval route to Europe
- Plans canal through Malaysian peninsula (in Thai territory), railway passage in Malaysia
- Malacca gate port
- Sihanoukville port
- Sri Lanka main port leased to a Chinese company for 99 years



Pakistan



- Pakistan
- Most important project, largest amount of investment!

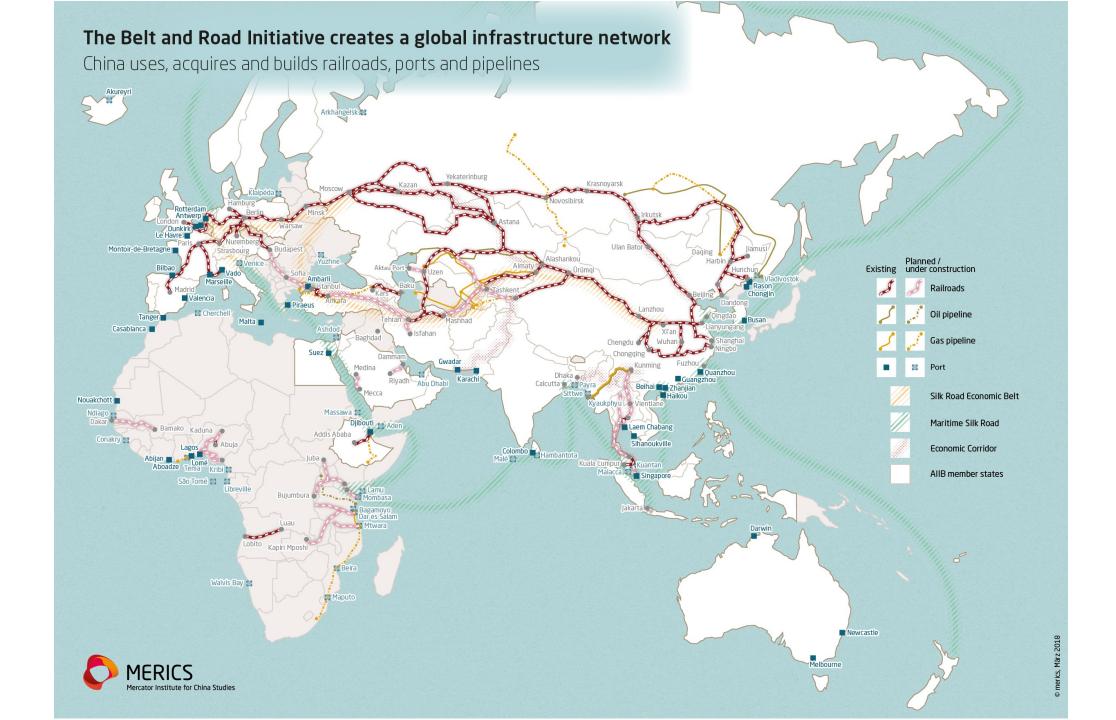
- Pakistan
- Most important project, largest amount of investment!
- Only truly new BRI project, flagship of the whole Initiative

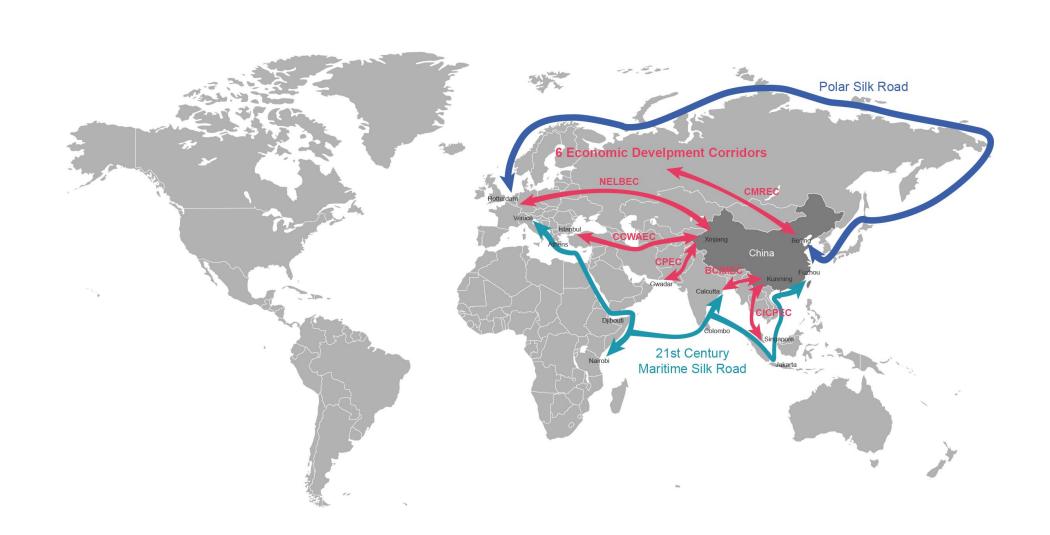
- Pakistan
- Most important project, largest amount of investment!
- Only truly new BRI project, flagship of the whole Initiative
- Railway and road connection from Tibet through Kashmir to Karachi and Gwadar – a new port





- Pakistan
- Most important project, largest amount of investment!
- Only truly new BRI project, flagship of the whole Initiative
- Railway and road connection from Tibet through Kashmir to Karachi and Gwadar – a new port
- Connects the Belt and the Road the western regions and the Indian ocean sea lanes

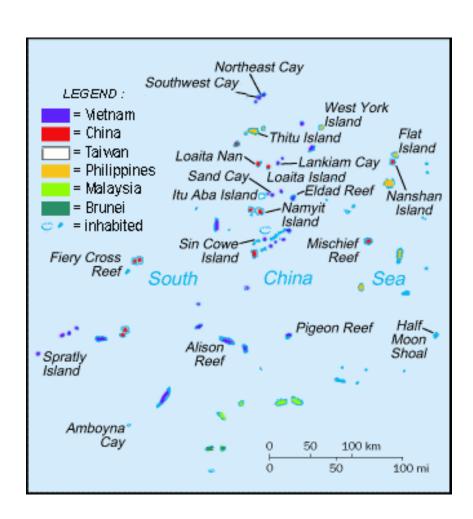




 Most countries which began as enthusiastic supporters of the BRI are becoming more lukewarm, or outright sceptic

- Most countries which began as enthusiastic supporters of the BRI are becoming more lukewarm, or outright sceptic
- A large percentage of projects have been canceled, or scaled down, or delayed, etc.

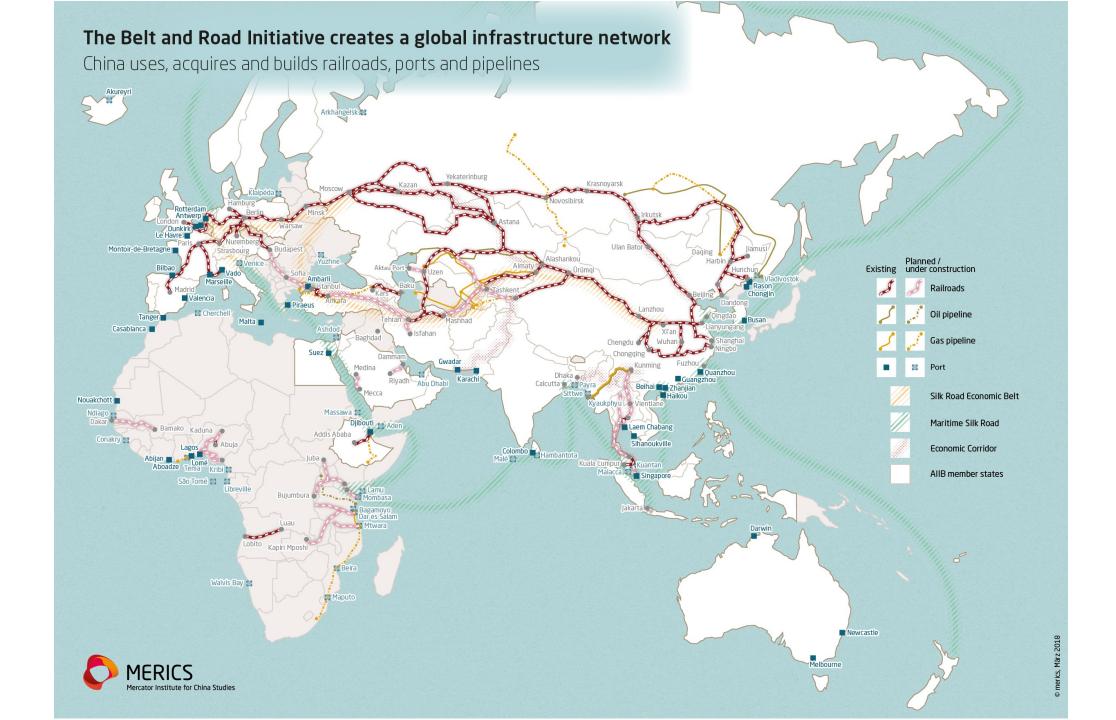
- Economic problems become mixed with geopolitical anxieties and xenophobia
- Almost every country in Southeast Asia has a history of anti-Chinese racism and even violent pogroms aimed at local Chinese minorities





- Economic problems become mixed with geopolitical anxieties and xenophobia
- Almost every country in Southeast Asia has a history of anti-Chinese racism and even violent pogroms aimed at local Chinese minorities

- Malaysia, Maldives opposition to BRI as an election topic
- Cambodia, Myanmar fear of Chinese encroachment, xenophobia between Han Chinese and locals
- Kazakhstan protests over debt + Uighurs
- Pakistan decreasing ambitions
- Balkan nations belated realization that BRI will make it hard for them to enter the EU



Peak of investment – 2016!

• Perhaps the result of a naive approach?

- Perhaps the result of a naive approach?
- Will China pivot towards a softer strategy like the West did...?

 Not from a perspective of a centralized empire with a single will (Mordor, USSR etc.)

- Not from a perspective of a centralized empire with a single will (Mordor, USSR etc.)
- But many cases of modern imperialism are far more decentralized,
 spontaneous, gradual, organic

- Not from a perspective of a centralized empire with a single will (Mordor, USSR etc.)
- But many cases of modern imperialism are far more decentralized,
 spontaneous, gradual, organic
- = led by many small actors rather than one master plan

- Not from a perspective of a centralized empire with a single will (Mordor, USSR etc.)
- But many cases of modern imperialism are far more decentralized,
 spontaneous, gradual, organic
- = led by many small actors rather than one master plan
- = caused by huge gaps in economic and technological and military capability rather than a political decision

- Example: British imperialism in Asia
- 1) Individual and corporate ambition and greed

- Example: British imperialism in Asia
- 1) Individual and corporate ambition and greed
- 2) Collaboration of local elites

- Example: British imperialism in Asia
- 1) Individual and corporate ambition and greed
- 2) Collaboration of local elites
- 3) Local resentment > punitive expedition

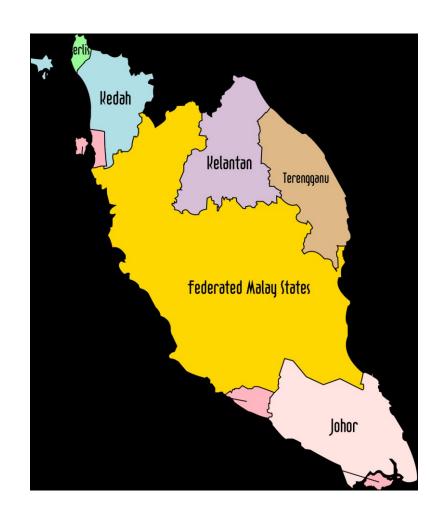
- Example: British imperialism in Asia
- 1) Individual and corporate ambition and greed
- 2) Collaboration of local elites
- 3) Local resentment > punitive expedition
- 4) Saving face "We are not going to go away now that we've conquered this place, are we?"

- Example: British imperialism in Asia
- 1) Individual and corporate ambition and greed
- 2) Collaboration of local elites
- 3) Local resentment > punitive expedition
- 4) Saving face "We are not going to go away now that we've conquered this place, are we?"

China – currently at point 2

- Example: British imperialism in Asia
- 1) Individual and corporate ambition and greed
- 2) Collaboration of local elites
- 3) Local resentment > punitive expedition
- 4) Saving face "We are not going to go away now that we've conquered this place, are we?"
- China currently at point 2
- Historically did not expand militarily will this assumption hold?

- Example: British imperialism in Asia
- Official policy small entrepots and economic privileges



The main idea

• China is not a truly unitary actor

The main idea

- China is not a truly unitary actor
- Both good and bad outcomes sometimes come from decentralized processes

The main idea

- Overall, the Belt and Road Initiative is a best understood as an umbrella term for all of China's foreign ventures
- Likely driven by China's own economic needs
- Beijing's strategic oversight and malicious intentions are probably overrated by Western observers
- Which does not mean the BRI cannot be harmful!

• See you in seminar next week ©