
ВОПРОСЫ НАЦИОНАЛЬНЫХ И ФЕДЕРАТИВНЫХ ОТНОШЕНИЙ

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ВОПРОСЫ НАЦИОНАЛЬНЫХ И ФЕДЕРАТИВНЫХ ОТНОШЕНИЙ

Научный журнал

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**ТЕОРЕТИЧЕСКИЙ АНАЛИЗ КИТАЙСКОЙ
ИНИЦИАТИВЫ «ОДИН ПОЯС, ОДИН ПУТЬ»
ОТ АФРИКИ ДО ЛАТИНСКОЙ АМЕРИКИ:
ИСТОКИ И РЕАЛИЗАЦИЯ КИТАЕМ**

В современных международных отношениях подъем Китая способствует глобальному экономическому росту и открывает значительные возможности для глобального Юга, но в то же время пропаганда «китайской угрозы» доминирует в стратегическом мышлении коллективного Запада, возглавляемого США. Исторические данные свидетельствуют о том, что сегодняшний Китай как восходящая звезда не стремится и не будет стремиться к гегемонии. Недопонимание в отношении Китая среди западных стран в основном вызвано непониманием исторических особенностей развития и управления Китаем. В представленной статье анализируется основная логика китайских государственных элит в формировании национальной и внешней политики. В статье обосновывается, что логика поведения государственных элит Китая заключается не в гегемонии и завоевании, а в сочетании прагматизма и следования своим национальным интересам, имеющие целью экономическое благополучие Китая и укрепление позиций правящей власти в стране.

Ключевые слова: Китай, инициатива «Один пояс, один путь», между-народные отношения, коллективный Запад, соперничество великих держав.

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THEORETICAL ANALYSIS OF CHINA'S BELT AND ROAD INITIATIVE FROM AFRICA TO LATIN AMERICA: THE ROOTS OF CHINA'S INTENTION AND BEHAVIOR

In the contemporary international relations, the rise of China has contributed the global economic growth and offers significant opportunities among the Global South, meanwhile, the propaganda of the “China threat” has also dominated the strategic thinking of the US-led collective West, which is obviously a misreading. Historical evidence reflects that today's China, as a rising star, does not and will not seek hegemony. The misunderstanding towards China among the Western countries mainly caused by lack of understanding and studying of China's unique ruling logic. Therefore, this paper analyzes the basic logic of Chinese state elites in the national and foreign policy-making, and through the interpretation and analysis of some history and policies (especially “stability” and “Belt and Road Initiative”), depicts the behavioral logic of Chinese elites. The article finds that the behavioral logic of China's state elites is not hegemony and conquest, but a combination of pragmatism and opportunism, and of bravado and honesty, in order to consolidate their ruling power.

Key words: *China, the Belt and Road initiative, International Relations, Collective West, Great power Rivalry.*

Introduction. Since China launched the Belt and Road initiative, many Western scholars and politicians have regarded it as a Chinese version of the “Marshall Plan”, extending its tentacles around the world through economic and political means, so as to strengthen its control over each country on the route and dominate the Eurasian continent and even the world when the time is ripe [26]. These judgments are, in effect, the brains of the West on the bodies of the East. Less than 100 years after its colonial past, China is hardly aggressive from the outside. China’s foreign policy-making is as a “fox” cautiously crossing the river, rather than a “dragon” on the verge of exploding, thus China’s geostrategic intention at the international level is far less “aggressive and ambitious” than the West thinking.

The behavioral logic of the China’s ruling elites can be vividly described as a “suspicious fox”, which is very cautious when crossing a frozen river. It walks a few steps, meanwhile, listening to the sound of the ice carefully. Once it feels that the frozen surface will not be broken, it will cross the river with a rushing foot.

The Historical Roots of Behavioral Logic – The Wheel of Unified Culture and History. China’s strategic thinking from the historical perspective can be summarized in this logic: the living circumstances determines the production mode, the production mode determines the social organization structure, and the social organization structure forms the political system [10]. Chinese civilization was born in the Yellow River Basin where the floods threaten the survival of tribes [46. P. 13-15]. How to fight against a huge raging river? It needs to concentrate as much human and material resources as possible (centralization) on the one hand, and timely and correct ability of decision making (leadership) for unified deployment on the other. Thus it is hard to think a scene where the people were making a democratic vote for solution when facing with a perilous dam which is about to burst. Geographical determinism played a decisive role in shaping the social organization of a civilization [36. P. 104].

Since the first unification of China in 221 BC, the concept of a Unified China has been embedded in Chinese culture and the consciousness of successive ruling groups. In my opinion, the path China takes, the system of government China implements (feudal monarchy, republic, democracy and so on), and the ideology it uses to rule the country are only the means and tools of the ruling group to rule the country. Their idea of ruling today is not much different from that of 221 BC, when the first centralized state in Chinese history emerged.

To maintain the unity of the country, which is a certain stereotype of the public, to ensure that the map of China is the map of public recognition. Only if the ruling clique maintained this geographical unity, or resolved to complete it, then did the people recognize the legitimacy and legitimacy of them to rule China.

Chinese ancient history is known as the “Twenty-four history books”, which record the 18 dynasties in Chinese history (from Xia to Qing), and the history of the Republic of China is the 25th book. The History of the People’s Republic of China is the 26th book. Chinese history is always cycling and repeating itself. (I don’t even think the kind of authoritarianism that “George Orville” fantasizes about will guarantee that book 26 would be the last.)

The classification of the thinking of the Chinese rulers in history can be roughly divided into before and after the Yuan Dynasty from the historical viewpoint, when Genghis Khan conquered all the major civilization from Asia to the Eastern Europe. Before that, China’s Han and Tang Dynasties period was prosperous. Most of the ancient foreign wars were to “guarantee the security of foreign trade routes” [32. P. 20], while the purpose of most wars was also to resist the invasion of the northern ethnic minorities [13. P. 30]. In that age, China had a strong gene, braved to face external threats and challenges, and explored the world actively [9. P. 58]. The overland Silk Road emerged during that period [22. P. 199]. The great age had left a deep imprint in the nation. For example, the majority ethnic group in China is called “Han”. Chinatown is also called “Tang People’s Streets” by Chinese.

The ruling clique, which is writing the 26th book of Chinese history, may be different from the previous ones in terms of ruling methods and means because of the Marxist ideology they believed in. But that’s just a difference about means and ways, which leads to an illusion. That is why we have an important course called “The Sinicization of Marxism” [23. P. 9]. In other words, China’s rulers have always been pragmatic, willing to accept whatever can be used to their advantage.

In essence, “the Sinicization of Marxism” is the same thing as “the spread of Buddhism from India to China [38. P. 28] urge the emergence of Neo-Confucianism in the Song and Ming Dynasties [1. P. 46]. China absorbs and assimilates these foreign systems of thought, ideology and religion. The ideas that came into China were efficient, at least helpful in ruling the country, or in seizing power. For example, Marxism showed a strong ability to organize and mobilize in the Chinese civil war [43. P. 109]. The slogan of the army that overthrew the Ming Dynasty was “Welcome the king, look forward to the king, when the king comes, no more tax [33. P. 31]”. The Communist Party’s slogan during the civil war was “fight against the rich (tuhao), hand out the land”.

Chairman Mao Zedong has undoubtedly changed China greatly. He once tried to reshape the soul of the Chinese nation. At a certain time, he really believed that he could stop the wheel of history by using the tools of Marxist theory (there are “classes” in the world instead of nations), so that China’s “24 histories” would not be added to the 26th chapter. That’s why there was a “Cultural Revolution” during Chairman Mao’s era.

The founding fathers from Akaturk to Kemal, who dramatically transformed Turkey [19. P. 62]. The Turkic people were the religious warriors who spread Islam to Europe, Asia and Africa [29]. Turkic memory is full of the glory of their ancestors. But what if the Sultan stays in Istanbul? Islam usually focuses more in ideological maintainance and stability rather the states' modernization and developments, so Kemal Ataturk expelled the Sultan and forced Turkey down the path of secular democratization [5]. Furthermore, the Turkish army even has another historical mission – to make sure that the country stays on the path of secular democracy [16]. Today, it is clear that Kemal has failed [41. P. 64], and that a civilization that has flourished in history always returns to find its own value system [35. P. 83].

Columbus sailed from Spain to the East in order to restore the overland trade routes that had been disrupted by the Ottoman Empire [25. P. 133]. After a struggle with storms, nature, and human will, he finally reached the American continent.

The origin of China under Chairman Mao Zedong is a country that recently fought a hot war with the U.S. during the Korean War and did not lose (there is nearly no war where the U.S. did not make it), while the Chinese mainland, led by the Chinese Communist Party, and Taiwan, controlled by the Chinese Nationalist Party (Kuomintang), were on the verge of unification. The destination is “the last and only China in the future”, with the aim of keeping “the 26th book of Chinese history” going on and on. After “erasing the traces of old idolatry” such as breaking the four old [20. P. 122], smashing the temple of Confucius and a series of struggles. Finally Mao's successor, Premier Deng Xiaoping proposed reform and opening up as China's development principle. There were many people in history who have tried to achieve similar goals (govern forever) but all failed.

China's state elites are not the “elected” presidents of Equatorial Guinea [12. P. 7], and worldly sensory stimulation is largely ineffective for them, not because they are numb, but because they have as much resource as they want. Of course, they can't escape comparisons from the “consumerist”, such as “China should sail into the Gulf of Mexico when the US Seventh fleet sailed into the Taiwan Strait”. Only “realizing the great rejuvenation of the Chinese nation” can excite their nerves. They want to leave their name in history, so they need to build a strong China. From the perspective of fatalism, they are obstinately “deceived by life but still loving life, denied by history but still writing history”.

Challenge for the state elites, “Stability” and “Belt and Road” Initiative. The state elites are in danger of being guillotined at any time, which may cause by the “Mongols” invading or the angry people who get nothing to eat [17. P. 99]. The “Mongols at the gate” were beyond their control. However on the other hand, they can do a lot. As Akira Kurosawa's film “Seven Samurai” says that “it is always the farmer who wins”, which applies to most countries in the Confucian cultural circle.

Thus such a logic can be summarized step by step: the stability of a country depends on the non-revolution by its people. How can the people do not revolutionize? When they feel satisfied in the key fields of their basic lives as eating, and basic income. Their basic income depends on their jobs (the money that can flow into the tertiary industry comes from the primary and secondary industries). Finally, the job creation could happen when there are factories which could produce salable products to their certain clients mainly abroad.

There is no doubt that the Belt and Road Initiative is focused on the economic sector. Only a good economic situation can maintain domestic stability and achieve “the great rejuvenation of the Chinese nation” [8. P. 25]. Practically, Most of the countries in the world are not in charge of their own economic development. Even if they have economic development plans, their national strength still can’t change anything. Their economy depend entirely on the behaviour of nearby great powers or climate change, even the discovery of an oil well, as it in Bahrain or Afghanistan where the Americans troops just pulled out [42. P. 46].

The main component of the Belt and Road Initiative is “Connectivity” [4. P. 82]. The sense of connectivity can be articulated in the following logic: on the African continent, if there is no electricity, then why would the local people buy Chinese televisions? Why would they buy a washing machine if there’s no tap water? Why would they need a phone if there’s no Internet service?

In essence, the Belt and Road Initiative is about economic development. It is about creating demand first so that China can realize the possibility of supply, so as to lead the continuous growth of domestic economy and maintain internal stability in China.

Genghis Khan’s brutality left a bitter memory for all civilizations on the Eurasian continent. What was its legacy to later Chinese rulers? A beautiful curse. “The people are not far away from each other, but living separately.” “The people are so obsessed with themselves that they can not be aware of external changes.” These two sayings come from Laozi in the pre-Qin Dynasty and Tao Yuanming in the Song Dynasty. Every King has been obsessed with this beautiful curse. In particular, the Chinese rulers after Yuan era even used “Taoist” ideas which has a history of thousands of years as a theoretical tool, just to prove that the beautiful curse was not a curse, but the ultimate model of Chinese rule.

The arrival of the Little Ice Age drove the northern nomads southward [45. P. 252]. If the agrarian civilization could successfully contain the first two attacks of the nomads, the force of nature (climate-induced crop loss) would have completely overwhelmed the northern threat, and livestock and horses would have died for lack of fodder. But when Western civilization rode the war horse of the industrial revolution to China from the sea, the illusion of “live separately” was completely shattered. Steam engines don’t eat fodder but coal. Together with the nomads, the Western powers taught China what “fear” was. Moreover, the Western powers told China that “globalization will be with you in the coming

time” [48. P. 101]. We can feel “globalization” by picking up a packet of snacks and looking at its ingredient list. So whether China’s state elites like it or not, history tells them that they must embrace “globalization”. This brings us to the two diametrically opposed attitudes of Chinese rulers towards the world. Before Genghis Khan, China had the courage to participate in the open world, even actively. After the Genghis Khan era, China was evasive and fearful [21. P. 23]. The fall of the Qing Dynasty proved the saying of “weakness and ignorance are not barriers to survival, but pride is”. These two opposed attitudes towards the world form the so-called “a suspicious fox”.

The Fox and Samuel Huntington – The Great Rejuvenation of the Chinese Nation. Why did the fox rush over the ice? Because there’s a lot of interest (govern forever) on the other side. Why did the fox have courage to do it? Because there are lots of glorious and successful experiences in its memories. Why is the fox very careful when crossing the ice? Because whether the ice broke does not depend on its will and there are also experience of falling into icy water in its memories.

In a sense, the Imperial Examination System of China was advanced, which promoted the mobility of social classes and avoided the loss of vitality in ruling class caused by the solidification of social classes [47. P. 144].

The vast majority of Chinese people cannot understand ancient Chinese because it is difficult to understand. If a person wants to learn Korean law today, he must first learn Chinese. Use the most concise, obscure, paradoxical books to summarize their own ruling ideas. Let only a small number of intelligent elites understand their ideas, and then let these people run the country. Obviously, letting some elites make decisions for a group of ordinary farmers is more efficient and beneficial to the country.

Samuel Huntington’s concept of a “core country of civilization” is precisely what Chinese history is all about. Historically, China has been the leader of East Asia, the so-called “the Great China, all nations worship”. Korea, Japan, and most of the countries on Indochina were vassal states of China. Chinese are not good at summarizing their thoughts into a theory. They don’t even want people to know how they think. Keeping a sense of mystery is good for confusing opponents. It is not that Huntington taught them something, but that Huntington’s theory pried into the secrets of China’s elite.

For American neo-conservatives, after the Cold War, the biggest threat to the Western civilization is China [18. P. 32]. After the 2008 global financial crisis, China’s rapid rise poses to the Western countries the multi-dimensional challenges, among them, the ideological, political, and cultural elements play the leading role, meanwhile the confrontational elements between Russia (another great power which in nature is viewed as a Western country) and the West are mainly political (communism vs capitalism). Thus the great rejuvenation of the Chinese nation is simply about China becoming a “core country of civilization”

[11]. The slogan of “a community of shared future for mankind” is clearly more ambitious. The “World domination” is in conflict with “East Asia Domination”.

Chinese version of “The Art of the Deal” and “A Community of Shared Future for Mankind” through its Belt and Road Initiative. The Persians invented chess, and historically, the Persian Empire, the Iranians rarely used force in dealing with external affairs [39. P. 863]. The ancient Chinese invented “Go”. The core of “Go” is “potential energy”. In “Go”, the typical skill is to tie a knot by creating an area of chaos in the hinterland of each others’ control.

Through calculation and exchange of interests, the “punishment battalion” that goes deep into the enemy’s hinterland will create as much chaos as possible in the enemies’ hinterland, draw in the enemy’s energy on the front battlefield, and weaken the enemy’s overall potential energy. Then they choose the right time to sacrifice their own death squads, exchange interests, and finally reach the balance of the game.

The gap between the true masters are razor-thin. The ancient Chinese believe there are few civilizations that can compete with them, which is why Samuel Huntington’s “Clash of Civilizations” theory is highly prized by the Chinese elites. In the same way, they understood the game theory of Robert Aumann and Thomas Schelling. But they do not believe in zero-sum games. As the authors mentioned above, Chinese state elites have a clear idea of their logic, but they don’t want to write this abstract idea into a theory that everyone can read. So they prefer to find a similar one from the existing theoretical tools of the West and offer people a general description. They don’t want other civilizations to fully understand the roots of their logic.

What is the most unacceptable scenario to the fox? The surface burst and fell into the icy water. To be specific, an opponent overturns the board after losing by a large margin. Through the latest case analysis, in the center of the continuing escalation of the Sino-US tensions, despite the warning and protest by the China side, in August 2022, U.S. Speaker of the House Nancy Pelosi visits Taiwan [44. P. 92]. Did threats with public opinion from the fox threat stop the visit? The fox cannot decide when the ice will break. If the ice did not break, the fox would cross the river with the statement that “I successfully defended the one China principle once” [34. P. 71]. Nowadays, the fox know that it is no match for the glacier, so it will not break the ice with a hammer.

A community of shared future for mankind does not mean to re-build the “Roman Empire” [24. P. 55]. China is simply trading interests or geopolitical influence with other civilizations on the possibility of being the next United States.

The ultimate goal of the international communist movement is the liberation of all mankind, which is undoubtedly noble and great. Even liberation theology [30. P. 20] in a sense coincides with the goals of the international Communist movement. There are no nations but classes in the world. At certain times in

history, the Communist Party of the Soviet Union took on the lofty ideal of the liberation of all mankind, however, just at certain times. I think even though the Chinese state elites say they believe in Marxism. But I have come to believe that they do not want to undertake the historical mission of “liberating all mankind” as it’s course is too heavy.

China’s state elites use Marxism as their theoretical tool. The concept of “a community with a shared future for mankind” is strongly multilateral and politically correct in line with communist ideology [31. P. 98], and does not strike most countries with the same discomfort as “liberating all mankind”. China just wants the concept to be reasonable, but will not really spend all it has to fight for this politically correct concept.

Just as Fukuyama talked about the decline of American politics, China’s ruling elites clearly understands that the United States is probably not going to decline quickly. For the next 50 years or more, America will still have a stronger voice in the world than China. Just like the concept of “Go”. To sacrifice some interests in exchange with their rivals, in order to defend core interests. This is not a “zero-sum game” [40. P. 56], only the three great powers can really sit at the table called “world”. If one lose too badly, he will smash the table. This is the most unacceptable outcome for the Chinese elites, so they are using political art to show compromise. China will genuinely support leftist leaders in Latin America, but is also prepared to sacrifice them at any time. Because Latin America is too close to the United States and “too far from God” [28. P. 53]. The Chinese elites’ primary task is to liberate all of China, not to be like the Soviet Communist Party which aiming to liberate the entire world.

Glacier and Francis Fuchs – The Fox’s moral Standard. In 1989, as the Cold War was drawing to a close, Francis Fukuyama published his famous article “The End of History” in Owen Kristol’s National Interest magazine, which gained worldwide attention [7].

“The End of History” amounts to a neoconservative manifesto that boldly declares that “the world can only be run according to American values, and that human history will no longer accept an alternative political form to the Western system”.

In contrast to Fukuyama, in the summer of 1993 Samuel Huntington, a prominent political scientist, proposed the concept of a “clash of civilizations”. At the end of 1996, he published “The Clash of Civilizations and the Reconstruction of World Order”, which expounded the concept systematically [14].

From Huntington’s viewpoint, the end of the Cold War does not mean the end of history, and Western civilization is far from reaching the moment of final victory. Although the rivalry between the two camps is no longer there. But clashes between civilizations will follow. The Protestant civilization represented by the U.S. and UK is the only one that can spontaneously produce the so-called liberal democratic system. It will still be challenged by the other main civilization

as Eastern Orthodox civilization, the Islamic civilization and the Confucian civilization.

A center of civilization with the global influence, that's what China wants to be. China does not and will not dominate the world. It did not see it as its duty or responsibility to govern the African continent through the Belt and Road Initiative or any of the Islamic world, and even if there was unrest in a place where products were dumped, China would protect interests at a minimal cost. (During the George W. Bush administration, the US-led NATO invited China to send troops to Afghanistan and Iraq. Americans would pay security costs and Chinese do business, which is more in favour of China's interest. Management and control is a huge cost. Evidently, it costs a unprecedented amount for the United States to run and dominate the world. The Chinese clearly do not want to pay for the management costs of other civilizations.

Will China export its model through its Belt and Road Initiative? The answer is for sure, but it's not mandatory. The Belt and Road Initiative created several new components since its implementation, the Digital Silk Road (DSR), proposed in 2015, as the BRI's technological component, is becoming a digital bridge to promote a new type of globalization. The DSR has significantly strengthened regional digital cooperation mainly in Africa and Asia in recent years [2. P. 271]. Thus DSR becomes a solid example of China's export of its technological model in the coming age of global digital transformation. Another component of BRI, the Health Silk Road, is aiming to promote the global cooperation in the health-care sector under the pillar of people-to-people bonds.

The export of Chinese model is not the same as the American idea of "using the American sword to secure a sunny place for Western-style democracy". It will use its power to lure those "gas stations disguised as a state", "coffee plantations disguised as a state" [27] want to get rid of the United Fruit company control [6. P. 1424]. And then the Chinese model show up as a succeed way. Will there be corruption in ways and means? It Will. But these state elites do not feel they have violated professional ethics. Their consciences are free from self-censure. This brings us to the concept of "peaceful rise".

About two decades ago, the concept of "China's peaceful rise" emerged. Today, we have to acknowledge that China is and will continue rising, and largely in a peaceful way. Look at human history, the rise of every great power has been accompanied by mass bloodshed, colonization, war and slaughter. So far, China's rise has been bigger and faster than theirs [37. P. 38]. Take the much-maligned "Debt trap diplomacy" and "Angola model", which are the symbols of the Western countries' propaganda machine towards China's Belt and Road Initiative globally, the Chinese believe that a dilapidated road is more civilized than a crater left by a battle [3. P. 78].

In other words, if BP had not been operating in Equatorial Guinea, UNESCO would not have invented the term "poor country with high GDP" [15]. Those who

blame China day in and day out are obviously doing the same thing as China, but not as well. “All the pain, essentially comes from their own incompetence”. The elite think so, do so, and will continue to do so. In an era when people compete to be not the worst, rather than be the best, they don’t think they are doing something wrong.

Conclusion. Only sustainable economic development can bring China sustained stability. Thus the Chinese elites will continue to carefully avoid any direct confrontation with Western civilization, for at least the next 50 years or more in pursuit of this core demand. At the same time, China is actively expanding its influence in power vacuum zones around the world, particularly in Africa and the remaining Global South. Remix of Pragmatism and opportunism will remain to be its behavior logic. Its ultimate goal is still to seek the great power status in the region, but never to dominate the world.

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