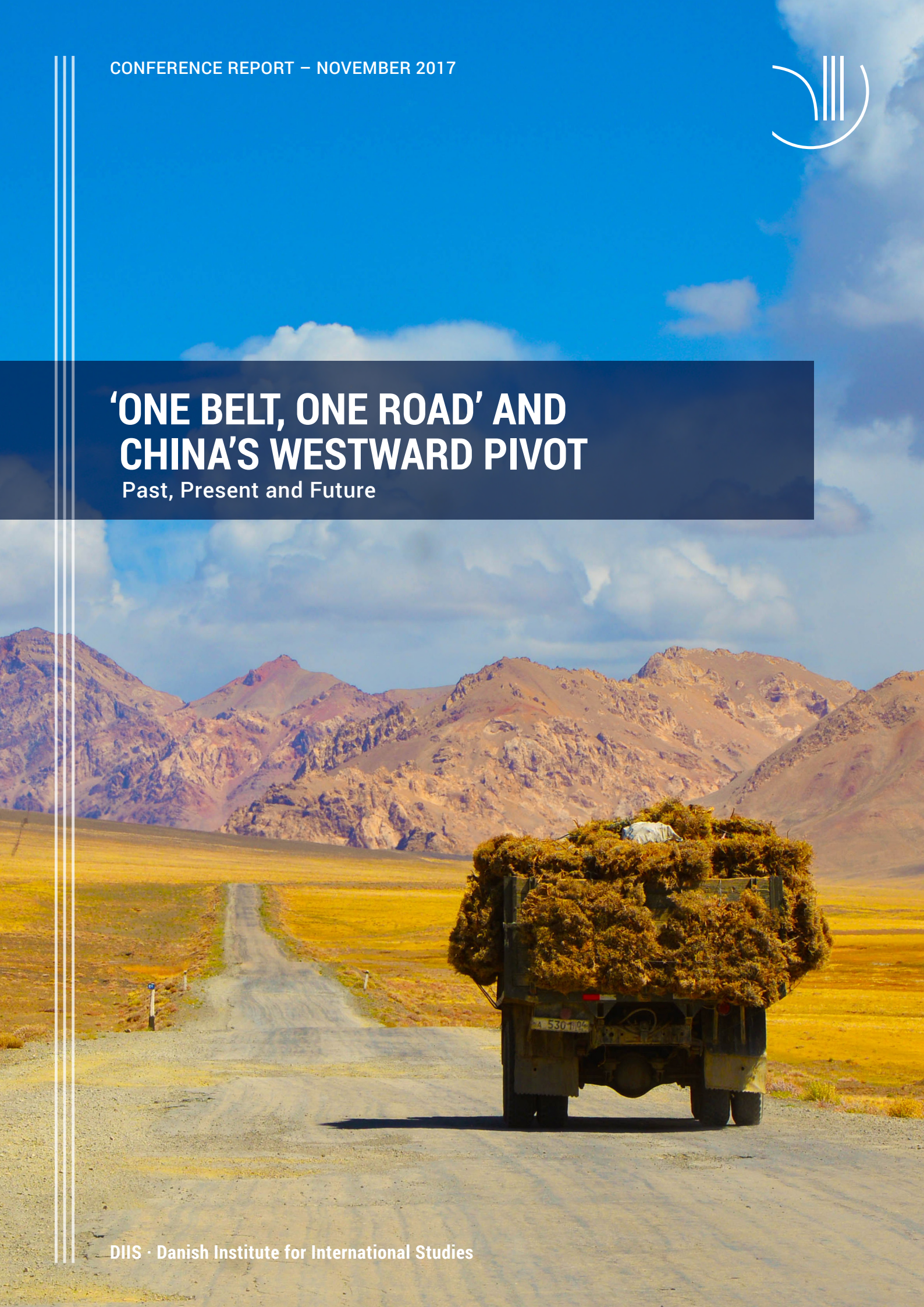
CONFERENCE REPORT – NOVEMBER 2017

‘ONE BELT, ONE ROAD’ AND CHINA’S WESTWARD PIVOT

Past, Present and Future



DIIS · Danish Institute for International Studies

DIIS · Danish Institute for International Studies
Østbanegade 117, DK-2100 Copenhagen, Denmark
Tel: +45 32 69 87 87
E-mail: diis@diis.dk
www.diis.dk

Layout: Lone Ravnkilde & Viki Rachlitz
Printed in Denmark by Eurographic

ISBN 978-87-7605-890-6 – Durham OBOR conference (pdf)
ISBN 978-87-7605-891-3 – Durham OBOR conference (print)

DIIS publications can be downloaded free of charge or ordered from www.diis.dk

CONFERENCE REPORT

‘ONE BELT, ONE ROAD’ AND CHINA’S WESTWARD PIVOT

Past, Present and Future

Edited by:
Lars Erslev Andersen
Anoush Ehteshami
Mamtimyn Sunuodula
Yang Jiang

DIIS

HH Sheikh Nasser al-Mohammad al-Sabah Programme

Table of Contents

Conference Synopsis

The last few years have seen a deepening interest in China's relations with Central and Western Asia, particularly in the context of China's recent 'pivot' westwards and its main strategic vehicle of the 'One Belt One Road' which is arguably set to define the economic, cultural and political spaces from China itself to the heart of Europe. Debate continues regarding China's aims and objectives in Asia and the Indian Ocean world, and these cover a full spectrum of issues and concerns; whether focusing on China's desire to secure and control its multi-ethnic frontiers by increasing cooperation with its western neighbours, or trying to understand China's increasing drive to boost its international prestige and projection of power beyond its borders.

In launching the OBOR initiative, President Xi Jinping set out ambitious new goals for trade and economic integration in Asia aimed to promote global interconnectedness of peoples and places into the 21st century. The OBOR has been presented as a 'game-changer' by Chinese authorities themselves as much as by critical observers. Thus, Francis Fukuyama notes that OBOR 'represents a striking departure in Chinese policy' whereby Beijing is 'seeking to export its development model to other countries' (2016). The OBOR, he further asserts, will determine the 'future of global politics', transforming the whole of Eurasia from Indonesia to Poland' and generating 'immense prestige' for 'China's form of authoritarianism' in this enterprise. Not to take the One Belt One Road at face value, there are of course reasons to question the viability of the enterprise when set against the profound challenges it faces in the implementation phase. Such challenges are the markedly different political systems, diverging economic situations, and the often competing and incompatible social and cultural conditions dictating national and communal life in Asia. When set against China's unwillingness to intervene we can see better not only the potential difficulties ahead in this volatile region, but the ways in which instability, conflict and corruption can hinder China's grand design.

Other observers have drawn attention to the strategic shift of global economic power from EuroAtlantic world to East Asia and the impact of this on China's regional and foreign policies. Systemic shift is about global balances but it is also about regional integration, and in the context of the OBOR it can be seen as a process which can bind China and the Middle East together, a trend which can best be described as the 'Asianisation of the Middle East'.

President Xi also invoked the ancient trading networks between China and the West, known as the 'Silk Road' in modern times, linking the past with the present and drawing parallels between them. The Silk Road is often selectively associated, by Chinese society at large and Chinese political leaders, with Chinese strength, booming trade, territorial expansion and cultural cosmopolitanism, especially under Han and Tang Dynasties. The Silk Road also reminds us that not only goods were transported and exchanged, but rather it represented a continuous flow of ideas, cultures, religions and languages across vast spaces. This was an equally important part of that exchange. Twenty-four different scripts were used for writing 17 ancient languages were unearthed from the Silk Road sites along Tarim and Turpan basin in Xinjiang and manuscripts recovered from Buddhist caves in Dunhuang were written in multiple languages and scripts. This indicates the existence of a high level of linguistic exchanges and multilingual populations (Kamberi 2005), while Persian, the language of Sogdian merchants, acted as the lingua franca of trade and communication in much of the later periods (Millward, 2013). Historical and archaeological findings suggest a high degree of religious diversity and intercommunal influence along the Silk Road, which is still very much observable today. Such examples are held up as evidence of interaction, symbolising cultural and linguistic diversity as well as religious and ideological tolerance by contemporary authors and politicians. This conference wants to explore these relationships further and intends to do so through the lens of the OBOR as a modern embodiment of the ancient Silk Road.

By bringing together a distinguished group of international experts, the conference will examine the OBOR and the Silk Road from an interdisciplinary perspective and multiple viewpoints, including international relations, political economy, China's development politics, archaeological and historical evidence, and transcultural flows. In particular, the Conference aims to address the following key questions:

1. What are China's objectives in launching OBOR and how is OBOR seen from Central and Western Asian perspectives?

2. To what extent the historical memory and cultural identities define the success or failure of OBOR and China's other initiatives in Central and Western Asia? How does the current discourse about the historic Silk Road link with 'One Belt One Road'?

3. How does Chinese model of development and modernisation sit with its vision for projection of power and alleged 'exporting' of the Chinese model to Eurasia?

4. In what ways, economic interdependence and trade links promote or hinder peace and security in China and Eurasia region?

Conference Programme
会议议程

21 March 2017

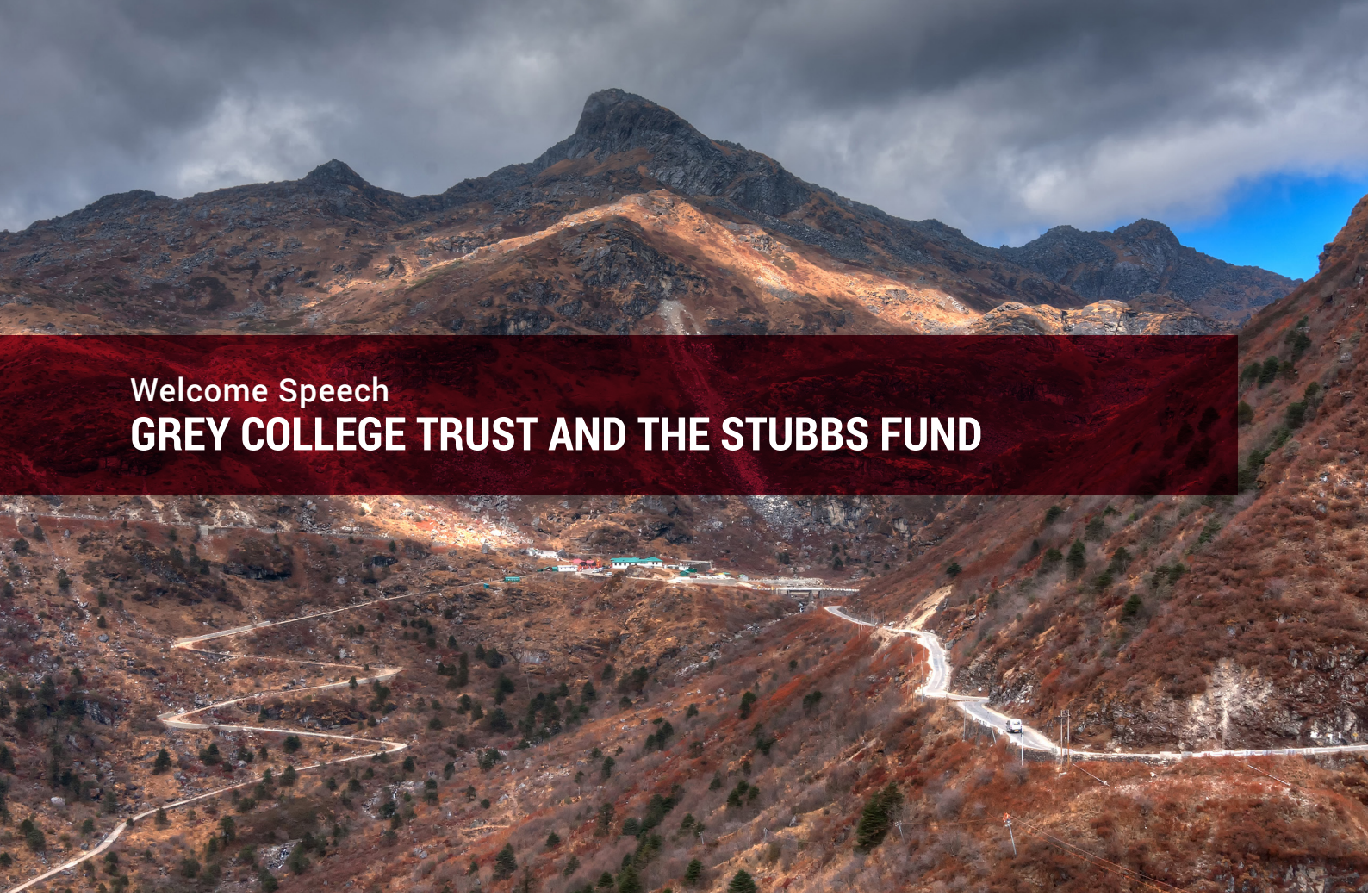
Panel 1 One Belt One Road and China's Westward Pivot
第一场分会：一带一路和中国的向西转向

10:15-10:45	**Refreshments and Networking** 签到
10:45-11:00	**Welcome** 致开幕词 Professor Thomas Allen (Durham University Law School, Master of Grey College)
11:00-12:00	**China in Greater Asia: Imagination, Interaction and Influence** **中国与亚洲地区间的互动：想象，交往和牵动** Professor Anoush Ehteshami (Professor of International Relations, Al-Sabah Programme Chair, Director of the Institute for Middle Eastern and Islamic Studies, School of government and International Affairs, Durham University)
12:00-13:00	**China's Emergence as the Gulf's Leading Trade Partner: Developing Opportunities and Possible Constraints for the Gulf Cooperation Council** **中国与海湾阿拉伯国家合作委员会成员国之间的贸易伙伴关系：机遇与挑战** Professor Timothy Niblock (Professor of Middle Eastern Studies, Exeter University)
13:00-14:00	**Lunch** 午餐
14:00-15:00	**China and the Changing Security Environment in South Asia** **中国与变幻中的南亚安全局势** Dr Lars Erslev Andersen (Senior Researcher, Danish Institute of International Studies)
15:00-16:00	**China's Economic Diplomacy in Conflict Regions** **中国在冲突地区的经济外交** Dr Yang Jiang 江洋博士 (Senior Researcher, Danish Institute of International Studies)
16:00-16:15	**Tea Break** 茶歇
16:15-17:15	**Intercontinental "Silk Hub": Sino-Emirati Relations and the UAE's Role in China's Trade and Investment in West Asia** 跨大陆"丝绸贸易枢纽"：中国与阿联酋经贸关系 Mr Philip Gater-Smith (PhD Researcher, School of Government and International Affairs, Durham University)
18:00	**Conference Dinner** 大会晚宴

22 March 2017

Panel 2 The Silk Roads and Social and Historical Contexts of OBOR
第二场分会：丝绸之路及一带一路的社会历史背景

9:30-10:30	**On the Silk Roads before Zhang Qian's Envoy to Western Region** **张骞通西域以前的丝绸之路** Professor Lin Meicun **林梅村教授** (Professor of Silk Road Archaeology, School of Archaeology and Museology, Peking University)
10:30-11:00	**Coffee Break** 茶歇
11:00-12:00	**Chinese Ceramics Trade along the Silk Roads and Its Cultural Impact on the World Civilizations'** **一带一路'上的瓷器贸易与世界文明再产生** Professor Fang Lili **方李莉研究员** (Director, Institute of Art Anthropology, China Academy of Arts, Chairman, China Society for Anthropology of Art)
12:00-13:00	**Communications of ancient China to the West: Archaeological Evidence on the Chinese Imperial Porcelain Relics** **中国古代与西方的交流：以御窑瓷器为依据** Dr Zhang Ran **张然博士** (Researcher, Department of Archaeology, Durham University)
13:00-14:00	**Lunch** 午餐
14:00-15:00	**Inscribing and Expanding the Silk Roads: From UNESCO to OBOR** **铭刻和拓展丝绸之路** Dr Susan Whitfield **魏泓博士** (Director, International Dunhuang Project, the British Library)
15:00-16:00	**One Belt One Road, One Language or Many Languages?** **一带一路上的语言文化** Dr Mamtimyn Sunuodula **苏诺博士** (Acting Director, Centre for Contemporary Chinese Studies, Durham University)
16:00-16:30	**Tea Break** 茶歇
16:30-18:00:	**Exhibition of Professor Zhu Legeng's Ceramic Art and an Illustrated Talk by Professor Zhu** **朱乐耕教授陶瓷艺术展** (President, Creative Art Academy, China Academy of Arts, renowned Chinese ceramic artist)



Welcome Speech
GREY COLLEGE TRUST AND THE STUBBS FUND

Tom Allen, Master
Grey College, Durham University

The Grey College Trust was pleased to be able to support the OBOR Conference. It did so from its Stubbs Fund, for which it is grateful to the family of Clifford Stubbs and to Henry Dyson, a fellow of the college, for his support and advice in setting up the fund. The fund was created in memory of Clifford Stubbs, who worked at West China Union University in Chengdu from 1914 until his death in 1930. As this note will show, it is appropriate that the college should honour the memory of Stubbs through its support for research and exchanges on the historic and modern connections between the West and China.
This note is largely based on A Life of Clifford Stubbs: *Nearly a Chinese, written by Charles Tyzack* and released in 2013.[1] The trust, through the donation from Stubbs' family, contributed to the cost of producing and publishing Stubbs' biography, as it makes a significant contribution to the research on Quaker missions and the early history of modern education in China. Indeed, in a recent article, Olivia D. Rauss put the question: "Why is there so little scholarship on Quaker missionaries in China?" In her view, there is no shortage of primary material. Furthermore, as Rauss pointed out, research could be extremely valuable in understanding the modern conceptions of China in the West, and Chinese views on Western influences on its own development. Tyzack's work helps to remedy this gap in the scholarship.

Clifford Stubbs was born in New Zealand, but left in 1910 to study for a doctorate in inorganic chemistry at Liverpool University. By this time, Stubbs had already decided that he would eventually make his career as a missionary. In 1913, he applied to the Friends' Foreign Mission Association, a Quaker missionary group in Liverpool, for a posting in China. The association was looking for qualified academics to join the faculty of West China Union University (known locally as Huaxi), in Chengdu, which it had established in 1910 with the American Baptist Foreign Mission Society, the Board of Foreign Missions of the Methodist Episcopal Church USA, and the General Board of Missions of the Methodist Church of Canada.[3] For both Stubbs and the association, the appointment was ideal: Stubbs could offer a combination of scientific expertise with a commitment to missionary work that would have been very hard to find, and from his perspective, it allowed him to use his doctoral training in a way that suited his desire for missionary work.

When he arrived in Chengdu in 1914, Stubbs' first task was to learn Chinese, as the Quakers expected their missionaries to learn the local language, wherever they were posted. Most of his first two years in Chengdu were spent on learning Chinese rather than teaching or research. At this point, the opportunity to teach or do research would have been very limited in any case. Although the University had purchased land, the construction of its buildings had been suspended upon the outbreak of the Xinhai Revolution in 1911. The physical facilities were almost non-existent and it would have been impossible to teach chemistry at the level required for a university education. In any case, the time spent on learning Chinese proved to be a sound investment for Stubbs, as it allowed him to teach and write in Chinese. This was consistent with his views as a missionary, as he felt, like many Quakers, and other faculty members at West China Union University, that the Christian message could be imparted without first requiring potential converts to learn Western languages or to abandon their national culture and identity.[4]

This was consistent with the Quaker emphasis on the 'inner light', which may be expressed in different ways and in different faiths. This dates to the origins of Quakerism in the seventeenth century. David Vlasblom, in 'Islam in Early Modern Quaker Experience and Writing', describes how the earlier Quakers shared the belief that 'inner light' could be apparent to anyone: 'Quakers could expect to find brothers and friends among all peoples of the world, regardless of religious or cultural background'.[5] Given the level of intolerance in Europe at this time, this was truly remarkable. Indeed, the Quakers were sufficiently open that they appointed Stubbs as a missionary, even though he was not a Quaker when he took up his post. He did, however, became a Quaker on an extended trip to England in 1919/20. This may have been prompted by several things, including the Quaker openness to other cultures. He also subscribed to the Quaker belief that missionaries should not remove themselves from the society in which they operated, but work within it. This was seen in the emphasis on language. It also meant that the Quakers were reluctant to accept the special protection offered by British and European military and police in China. Stubbs sometimes expressed his own concerns that the deliberate social segregation practised by many European missionaries could undermine their mission. In 1920 Henry Davidson, a Quaker visitor to Chengdu, noted a strong anti-Christian element in the student body, which many of the European members of the university had failed to recognise. The reasons for the mistrust of Westerners were not difficult to see: the privileges accorded to European missionaries, their self-imposed segregation from the Chinese, and their reluctance to allow Chinese academics into positions of responsibility in their institutions were hardly likely to bring about greater trust and co-operation. This was true at the West China Union University as well: in the early 1920s, it became very clear that European members of the University Senate were reluctant to admit Chinese academics. Changes were compelled by the 'Educational Rights Movement' of 1924, which demanded greater Chinese control over education. It brought an end to compulsory religious education and worship, and required greater Chinese presence in the faculty of mission universities. Without compulsion, the European mission institutions, like West China Union University, might have continued to exercise exclusive control.

Stubbs recognised these issues. Not only was he determined to teach and write in Chinese, and to avoid social segregation, he was also becoming increasingly critical of the imperialism of European powers and its influence on missionary work in China. This was probably another factor is his conversion, as Quakerism had become politically more radical in Britain during and after World War I, and its anti-imperialist approach would have attracted him. Tetsuko Toda reports that, in the United States, the Orthodox Philadelphia Yearly Meeting of the Quakers, for example, debated at length about continuing its support for its Foreign Mission Board, even though, by that time, individual members of its community had been working in China for many decades.[6] This scepticism was not unique to the Quakers: in the 1930s, Pearl S. Buck's attack on the missionary project in China would attract great attention in the United States and elsewhere in the West.[7] However, it is still worth noting that Quaker missionaries were willing to judge their own methods, and their impact on wider political relations. Indeed, Stubbs pursued the anti-imperialist theme when he returned to England in 1926 for a furlough. He found that popular opinion was blind to the impact of European policies on China and especially on the rise of anti-foreigner sentiment, and he sought to correct the general perception that China had slipped into anarchy or that it needed strong control from European powers to restore stability. Stubbs, and his fellow Quakers, attempted to show the British officials in London that the Europeans could do more for China if they reduced their military and police presence, rather than increase it. He gave speeches, published

articles and joined a Quaker delegation to the Foreign Office in an attempt to give a more balanced picture of the situation.

On 30 May 1930, Stubbs was attacked on the grounds of the campus. He was discovered by two students and was later taken to the Canadian Mission Hospital. His injuries were severe and he died several days later. Two men were arrested and quickly executed for his killing, but their motives were never clear. His murder may have been political, as it occurred on the fifth anniversary of the Nanjing Road incident, where a British officer ordered his men to fire into a crowd of demonstrators outside a police station in the Shanghai International Settlement. In Chengdu, like many other cities, demonstrations were held on the anniversary of the incident, and Stubbs' killers may have been involved in them. It is also possible, however, that he was the victim of an opportunistic robbery that had no connection with the demonstrations. Charles Tyzack reviewed the evidence carefully and concluded that 'the killers were probably discontented, semi-employed youths latching on to a political idea, and not part of any wider conspiracy'.[8] It did, however, produce one consequence that would have disappointed Stubbs, as the university decided to construct a wall around the grounds for its protection. The city authorities claimed that they could not protect the university without the wall, but the local press criticised it as another example of a foreign enclave.

Stubbs had been more successful as professor and an academic administrator than as a missionary. The West China Union University, and its science and chemistry departments, were eventually absorbed into Sichuan University and are still in operation. His chemistry texts, in Chinese, were in use for many years, and were particularly valuable as scientific texts were often lacking at that time. He became Dean of the Faculty of Science in 1924, and was elected Vice-President of the University in 1925 and re-elected in 1928 as joint Vice-President with Zhang Lingao. After his death, the university named the chemistry building the 'Clifford Stubbs Memorial Hall'; it was also known as the Su Daopu Memorial Hall, to reflect the Chinese version of his name. The building is still in use as the Sichuan University West Campus Second Teaching Building.

Whether Stubbs enjoyed as much success as a missionary is difficult to say. Despite their prolonged efforts, Christian missions in China attracted few converts and had relatively little impact on religious life. The Quakers in Chengdu were no exception. Indeed, in Britain and the United States, the public tended to associate Quaker missions with their secular work rather than evangelising.[9] Nevertheless, Stubbs' aim of demonstrating the Quaker way of thinking may have been successful in another respect. For Stubbs, the teaching of chemistry, although outwardly a practical subject, was part of the wider religious instruction to which he dedicated himself. He felt that bringing students to a greater scientific understanding of the world would give them a greater appreciation of the presence of the divine in all aspects of life. The openness of the Quaker element of his teaching meant that his teaching was not exclusively Western in orientation. Charles Tyzack reports that one of his Chinese students, Stephen Yang, who later became a professor of surgery in the medical school, reported that his teaching was "full of Confucius' teaching".[10] It would have pleased Stubbs to hear this. He would have seen himself as joining an intellectual and spiritual Silk Road between China and the West, where the traffic is not in one direction but a continuing exchange for mutual benefit.

NOTES

1 Charles Tyzack (2013) A Life of Clifford Stubbs: Nearly a Chinese (Sussex: Book Guild Ltd). Tyzack's book is my source for information on Stubbs that is not attributed elsewhere.

2 Olivia D. Rauss (2016) "Scholarship on Quaker missionaries in China: a sparse past but a rich future?" Quaker History 105(1): 48–64.

3 See http://www.beechchinawest.com for notes from the family of Joseph Beech on the founding of the University; Beech was its first president.

4 This was the case in the medical school: see Bertha Hensman, "The Kilborn family: a record of a Canadian family's service to medical work and education in China and Hong Kong", 97 Canadian Medical Association Journal 97: 471–483 (1967).

5 David Vlasblom (2011) "Islam in early modern Quaker experience and writing", 100 Quaker History 100: 1–21.

6 Tetsuko Toda (2011) "Conflicting views on foreign missions: the mission board of Philadelphia yearly meeting of friends in the 1920s", Quaker History 100(2): 17–35.

7 Pearl S. Buck (1933) "Is There a Case for Foreign Missions?" Harper's 166: 143–155 (January 1933).

8 Tyzack, Clifford Stubbs, 204.

9 Rauss, "Scholarship on Quaker Missionaries", 54.

10 Quoted by Tyzack, Clifford Stubbs, 210.

China in Greater Asia: IMAGINATION, INTERACTION AND INFLUENCE

Anoush Ehteshami, Professor
Durham University

Introduction

Working on the assumption that the OBOR (formally renamed the Belt and Road Initiative [BRI]) is a key element of Beijing's grand strategy, embedded in its strategy of building an international Asian society, it is possible to argue that to legitimise Beijing's drive westwards it has to articulate the idea of a 'common destiny'. But this has to be associated not only with being the founder of the OBOR, but also with being welcomed, indeed desired, by the countries and communities which are to find themselves along China's new 'Silk Lanes (on land, rail and sea). China must be seen as the embodiment of the OBOR, and for this to gain momentum it must create a set of principles and priorities that will drive the initiative. The OBOR is a truly ambitious and forward-looking economic project, of immense proportions and with huge consequences. That China has embarked upon it is a measure of the country's self-confidence and a public expression of its efforts to become the heart of Asia. The OBOR, therefore, should be viewed as part of China's other strategic priorities. These priorities take different forms and manifest themselves differently too. The OBOR (and the associated AIIB) form the latest in the ring of circles that make up China's strategic priorities in Asia, priorities which combine cooperation with ASEAN as a strategic imperative, and the strengthening of the Shanghai Cooperation Organisation as a security priority. Together, it seems to me, these circles form China's critical sphere of influence in Asia. These, in different but complementary ways, contribute to China's efforts to build security and economic bonds across its neighbourhood. Using different mechanisms arguably enhances and accentuates China's strategic reach, as each of these circles has the material power to change and shape countries' policies and regions well beyond their immediate areas of attention. Together they multiply China's policy instruments and give China a credible, though perhaps not always a welcome, voice, from the Pacific to the Atlantic.

The BRI

The BRI is colossal, building six vast economic corridors across Eurasia: China–Mongolia–Russia; New Eurasian Land Bridge; China–Central and West Asia; China–Indo-China Peninsula; China–Pakistan; and Bangladesh–China–India–Myanmar. It is set to become the centrepiece of China's development strategy, according to

Vice-Premier Zhang Gaoli.[1] Combined, these corridors will create an intricate network of 56 European and Asian countries working alongside each other, generating billions of dollars in investment capital and revenue, and creating employment opportunities across Asia and much of Europe and Africa. In the context of the BRI, China today projects its influence westwards through investment, construction, extraction and commerce – through the exercise of soft power on a massive scale. The sum of $4 trillion allocated to the One Belt One Road (OBOR) has the potential to be transformational in its impact. Inter-OBOR trade of over $2.2 trillion is anticipated. The OBOR is also the focus of China's direct investment largesse, which provides the vehicle for the mobilisation of Chinese businesses in Asia. In 2015, thus, 44% of China's engineering projects were in the OBOR countries, and in 2016 the figure jumped to over 52%.[2] This will inevitably rise further as projects across the initiative's frontiers get underway. That China has embarked upon it is a measure of the country's self-confidence and a public expression of its efforts to become the heart of Asia – to become Asia's 'indispensable power'.

So, the (BR) initiative should not be taken lightly by outside observers; but nor should it be viewed in isolation from China's other strategic policies. These other policies take different shapes and manifest themselves differently too. The OBOR (and the associated AIIB) forms the latest in the ring of circles in China's strategic priorities in Asia, which combines cooperation with ASEAN as a strategic imperative, with the strengthening of the Shanghai Cooperation Organisation as a security priority, as the other. Together, it seems to me, these spheres form China's three circles of influence in Asia. These, in different but complementary ways, contribute to China's efforts to build security and economic bonds across its neighbourhood. Using different mechanisms arguably enhances and accentuates China's strategic reach, as each of these circles has the material power to change and shape countries' policies and regions well beyond their immediate areas of attention. Together they multiply China's policy instruments and give China a credible voice across continents – from the Pacific to the Atlantic.

Imagination and influence

Viewed as a major foreign policy initiative, the articulation of BRI and its construction represents a concerted effort to build what the 'English School' of international relations might term an 'international Asian society' based on shared norms and rules. What Hedley Bull (arguably the founder of the English School) might point to as an illustration of being 'conscious of certain common interests and common values'.[3] Indeed, the Chinese leadership's statements regarding the BRI have come very close to invoking values long cherished by the liberal bent of the international relations community: elements of cosmopolitanism are discernible, for example in the ways in which the tendency towards peoples of different countries embracing each other as fellow Asian citizens is being promoted,[4] and also the unserved promotion of the market. So, in March 2015 President Xi strongly promoted the OBOR initiative at the Boao Forum for Asia and articulated a vision of harmony, mutual respect and cooperation consistent with what he said would be a new 'common community' in Asia emerging in the wake of this initiative.[5] A community of partners along the OBOR will emerge thanks to the network of relationships that the initiative would give birth to. For the Chinese leadership, this will come to represent a 'chorus of countries' working together along the route (in Bull's terms, 'share in the working of common institutions).[6] This will not be, President Xi emphasised, a 'solo of a single country'. Common community and common destiny will go hand-in-hand. The OBOR has envisaged the building of a concert of inter-state and inter-communal relations. This is a pre-emptive Marshall Plan unleashed on a massive continental scale, but unlike the post-1945 American Marshall Plan for Western Europe (which the Soviet Union saw as a direct assault on its interests in Europe), the BRI has apparently been accepted unopposed by the marginal states, emerging powers, as well as the established giants of Asia. In presenting the initiative as an expression of common destiny, moreover, the Chinese leaders have invoked the cognitive power of the initiative, which proclaims common goals without invoking ideology or notions of superior values. The strategy is not about making Asia communist, nor about the imposition of China's values, or the imposition of its (rich) civilisation on others. It is, rather, about practical inter-state engagement.

Further, China's strategy westwards (Central, South and West Asia) should be viewed in the broader context of its complex position in the international system and a relationship which is shaped by the "continual tension in the dual-identity of China as a rising power and at the same time a developing country".[7] The notion of a rising/emerging global power – terms which have been used by Western leaders and international NGOs alike about China – impose certain expectations on China that it simply is not, yet, equipped to meet. The conditionalities which

follow the assumptions regarding major power status imposed on China, moreover, are expectations which Beijing either does not intend to accept at all – seeing these as a straitjacket – or are simply beyond its abilities as a still-developing country to fulfil.[8] Furthermore, it is a big leap of faith to assume that a dominant China in a post-American multipolar world order would necessarily act in the same way as its twentieth century Western predecessors did and develop a 'vision' or 'agenda' for global leadership – aiming to reshape the world in its own image.[9] China is keen to separate notions of great power status from assumptions about hegemony. Evidence, arguably, points to China's seeking to become Asia's 'indispensable power'. Evidence also points to the reality that China's rise is so conditioned by its dual identity that it will continue to devote energy to securing its position and interests at the subsystem level in Asia. Surrounding areas are China's first priority. Working on the assumption that the BRI is a key element of Beijing's grand strategy, embedded in its strategy of building an international Asian society, it is possible to argue that to legitimise Beijing's drive westwards it has to articulate the idea of a 'common destiny'. But this not only has to be associated with being the founder of the OBOR, but also with being welcomed, indeed desired, by the countries and communities which are to find themselves along China's new 'Silk Lanes' (on land, rail and at sea). China must be seen as the embodiment of the initiative, and for this to gain momentum it must create a set of principles and priorities which will drive the BRI.

The first of these principles is surely historical legacy; that there are real historical parallels to draw on for the purpose of building the belt and roads and pipelines. In terms of observations regarding the initiative's strategic aims and planning, it is significant that China has 'packaged' the proposed transport links in maritime, concrete and steel terms. These make for an unprecedented transport strategy! The like of this initiative has not been seen anywhere in the world and the scale of the operation surpasses the infrastructure that past European empires have built in parts of Asia, Africa or Latin America. The initiative is not only multifaceted and multidimensional but is, in its approach, integrated and comprehensive.

The future beckons

Cognitively and materially China has opened itself up to Eurasia and has taken this risk in order to secure its own place, to change Asia's economic dynamics in its own favour, to improve the socio-economic conditions of its western regions, to check other powers' influence in its own backyard, and to tie into its own sphere of influence a whole host of resource-rich countries who can guarantee the necessary ingredients for China's maturing economy for decades to come. The BRI then is not hegemonic but pragmatic. Furthermore, I venture that the initiative and the AIIA, in this broader context, are not about China looking back, reliving an old 'China dream', but rather about looking forward and creating the conditions for the fourth stage of what Kim has articulated as the three transformations of the 'evolving Asian system'. The fourth phase, which China has begun with the BRI, has put Asia's new regionalism centre stage.

Prof. Anoush Ehteshami PhD, FAcSS, FRSA
Professor of International Relations
Nasser al-Sabah Chair and Director,
HH Sheikh Nasser al-Sabah Research Programme
Director, Institute for Middle Eastern & Islamic Studies
School of Government and International Affairs
Durham University
Al-Qasimi Building
Elvet Hill Road
Durham DH1 3TU
UK

Twitter: @AnoushEhteshami
TEL: 0044 191 334 5662 (School Office: 334 5660)
FAX: 0044 191 334 5661
www.durham.ac.uk/sgia

NOTES

1 He Yini, "China to Invest $900b in Belt and Road Initiative", China Daily, 28 May 2015.

2 Ibid.

3 Hedley Bull (1977) The Anarchical Society: A Study of Order in World Politics (Basingstoke: Macmillan), p. 13.

4 Joseph Grieco, G. John Ikenberry and Michael Mastanduno (2015) Introduction to International Relations: Enduring Questions and Contemporary Perspectives (New York, NY: Palgrave).

5 Boao Forum for Asia, 24 May 2016.

6 Bull, op. cit.

7 Suisheng Zhao (2013) "Core Interests and Great Power Responsibilities: The Evolving Pattern of China's Foreign Policy", Xiaoming Huang and Robert G. Patman (eds.) China and the International System: Becoming a World Power (New York, NY: Routledge), p. 53.

8 Jian Yang (2009) "The Rise of China: Chinese Perspectives", in Kevin J. Cooney & Yoichiro Sato (eds.) The Rise of China and International Security: America and Asia Respond (London: Routledge), pp. 13–37.

9 Chengxin Pan (2012) Knowledge, Desire and Power in Global Politics: Western Representations of China's Rise (Northampton, AM: Edward Elgar).

10 Suisheng Zhao (2012) "China's Foreign Policy as a Rising Power in the Early Twenty-First Century: The Struggle between Taoguangyanghui and Assertiveness", in Hongyi Lai and Yiyi Lu (eds.) China's Soft Power and International Relations (New York, NY: Routledge), pp. 191–211.

11 Samuel S. Kim (2014) "The Evolving Asian System: Three Transformations", in David Shambaugh and Michael Yahuda (eds.) International Relations of Asia (London: Rowman and Littlefield), pp. 33–58.

China's Emergence as the Gulf's Leading Trade Partner: DEVELOPING OPPORTUNITIES AND POSSIBLE CONSTRAINTS FOR THE GULF COOPERATION COUNCIL

Timothy Niblock, Professor
Exeter University

Introduction

The focus of this paper is on the growing economic engagement between China and the countries of the Gulf Cooperation Council. The significance of the shift which is taking place in the GCC's global trade, and the likely effects which will follow from it, need to be understood within the context of the wider Gulf, Middle Eastern and Arab environments.

The wider environments are inevitably important for China as a global power with global economic interests. A consideration of its economic and political relationship with any one state or economic grouping needs to take account of how the development of that relationship will impinge on other regional relationships – and on its global strategies. China, thus, has a concern with the Gulf as a whole (i.e. including Iran and Iraq as well as the GCC), and pursues a policy aimed at maintaining close and friendly relations with all Gulf countries. The GCC is important, but so also are Iran (in particular) and Iraq. They too supply substantial quantities of oil to China. China's economic relationships elsewhere in the Arab world, and with Turkey and Israel are also important – albeit less substantial than those with the GCC countries.

Prospects for the development of the economic relationship, moreover, need to take into account political and strategic factors as well as the purely economic. It may be economic interests that have brought the GCC and China together, but this has led on to closer political and increasingly strategic engagement. In the future, as will be argued in this paper, the political and strategic dimensions of the relationship are likely to be of increasing relevance to how the economic relationship develops.

The GCC's relationship with China, therefore, needs to be assessed within a framework where China's policies in the wider region are taken into account, and where political and strategic factors form part of the analysis. It will be argued in this paper that the GCC could use the developing relationship with China to attain a more significant position in the global economic and political orders. Whether the GCC has the will or the intention to do this, however, remains unclear, and current indications are that it may not. The opportunities which are available may be squandered. Failure in this regard will impinge negatively on the wider Arab world.

In what follows, the writer will first outline the character, significance and extent of the transformation which has occurred in the Gulf's external economic relations, emphasising that this is likely to be a long-term trend rather than a development which might be short-term and incidental. He will then examine the ways in which the Gulf states can benefit from the trend in political and strategic terms. Of key importance here are the networks of communications (road, rail, pipelines, telecommunications etc.) which are being developed across the Asia landmass. These are linked to a set of institutions (covering not only infrastructural and financial cooperation, but also engagement in political and strategic coordination) which constitute a distinct and increasingly important pole of global politics. Participation in these institutions would enable the Gulf states to strengthen their roles globally, and may also open pathways through which they can assume responsibility for their own security needs in the Gulf.

2. The Changing Pattern of the Gulf's Economic Interests

Evidence of the character and extent of the reorientation of the Gulf's global economic relations – and data indicating that this is a long-term trend and not the incidental outcome of short-term factors – will now be presented.

Establishing where the Gulf region's primary economic interests will be located in the future is not straightforward. Trade figures are the primary indicator, yet taking any run of figures on direction of trade between one year and another (however far spaced out), risks distortion. The annual trade figures for any individual country are bound to be affected by developments specific to that year. In the case of the Gulf countries, such figures are influenced by major arms deals concluded in a particular year (key to US–Saudi trade, in particular), environmental factors (such as the tsunami which caused the Fukushima nuclear disaster in Japan, making Japan more dependent on imported oil), and financial crises (a major influence on Gulf trade with the West, in particular, in 2009–10). The underlying trends can best be understood by taking a long perspective, with multiple 'sample years' within the chosen span, and by choosing a variety of different start and end points when working out percentage and gross increases. This is the approach taken here.

Section 2.1 looks at the 1990–2013 span, with percentage increases focusing on 2005–2013. The reasons for choosing these years will be explained. Section 2.2 covers the most recent direction of trade figures for the year 2015 (compiled by the writer, based on data released by the IMF at the beginning of May 2016), with a comparison between those figures and the 2011 statistics. The material presented in 2.1 has been published by this writer before,[1] while that in 4.2 is new.

2.1. Changing Directions of Gulf Trade 1990–2013

Table 1 provides data on how the direction of Gulf trade changed from 1990, when China and India played relatively marginal roles in Gulf trade, through to 2013 when China established itself for the first time as the leading trading partner of the eight Gulf states taken together.[2] India's trade ranked third. Figures for 2014 show China pulling even further ahead, with China's total standing at $255.5 billion, and the EU's at $227.9 billion.[3] The significance of this development is best understood in an even longer historical perspective. For the two centuries prior to 2013, the Gulf's external trade had been primarily linked in to Western trading networks – whether through direct links to Europe and North America, or through India prior to the subcontinent's independence.

The speed and extent of the shift in trading flows can be appreciated by looking at the rates at which each country's trade has increased. It would not be useful to take 1990 as the start-point for this, insofar as both China and India would be starting from relatively low levels of economic development, where their trade was not comparable with that of the advanced developed economies. 2005, therefore, has been taken as an appropriate start-point, given that by then the two countries were engaging fully in global trade as rapidly-industrialising states with liberalised trading arrangements. Both were, by this stage, members of the World Trade Organisation – as also were the GCC states. The figures in Table 2 show that the rates at which the trade of India and China with the Gulf states grew between 2005 and 2013 were substantially higher than those of the Gulf's other major trading partners – especially the US, Japan and the European Union. Of all the industrialised countries, South Korea's trade with the Gulf was a little ahead of the others. India's lead over China, while it looks substantial, is in fact not particularly significant. It is explained by India starting from a lower base, where the process of industrialisation, development and engagement in global trade had not yet reached the same level as China's.

Table 1: Growth of Gulf Trade with Major Partners (imports and exports combined), 1990–2013 ($ bilion)

	1990	2000	2005	2008	2009	2012	2013
CHINA	1.3	11.8	44.9	121.4	93.4	203.5	224.4
INDIA	4.4	6.6	21.4	119.3	87.9	186.5	183.9
JAPAN	33.5	52.0	103.8	176.1	103.7	181.3	171.6
SOUTH KOREA	6.1	25.6	53.4	109.7	71.9	142.4	136.1
EU	59.9	66.7	142.5	212.0	156.0	207.4	216.2
US	19.1	33.9	66.0	124.8	71.2	143.7	137.2

Source: International Monetary Fund, Direction of Trade Statistics, 1990–2013.
Calculated by the writer on the basis of the figures made available in May 2014.

Table 2: Rates of Growth of Trade with the Gulf (Major Partners), 2005–2013

INDIA	759.3%
CHINA	399.8%
EUROPEAN UNION	51%
SOUTH KOREA	154.9%
UNITED STATES	107.9%
JAPAN	65.3%

Source: International Monetary Fund, Direction of Trade Statistics, 1990–2013. Calculated by the writer on the basis of the figures made available in May 2014.

Table 3: Percentages of Imports/Exports in Gulf Major Partners Trade, 2013

	Imports from Gulf	Exports to Gulf
CHINA	60.3	39.7
INDIA	67.1	32.9
JAPAN	83.9	16.1
SOUTH KOREA	80.5	19.5
EU	36.2	63.8
US	55.0	45.0

Source: International Monetary Fund, Direction of Trade Statistics, 1990–2013. Calculated by the writer on the basis of the figures made available in May 2014.

It is sometimes claimed that the high and growing rate of trade between China (and India) and the Gulf states simply reflects the growing need of the Chinese economy for Gulf oil. While it is certainly true that the import of oil and gas (LNG) constitutes a significant part of China's trade with the Gulf, the relationship is in fact fairly well balanced. As can be seen from Table 3, the split between imports and exports in this trade was roughly 60-40. Of the Gulf's major trading partners, only the EU and the US had a larger proportion made up of exports. With regard to Chinese imports from the Gulf, moreover, these are not restricted to oil and gas. A growing proportion is made up of petrochemicals.

Taking Iran and Iraq out of the trading picture, the EU remained, in 2013, the largest trading partner of the GCC, but with existing rates of trade growth – and the likelihood that China and India will in the future have a growing demand for imported Gulf oil, LNG and petrochemicals – suggested that China's trade was likely to overtake that of the EU by 2020. A study of likely GCC trading developments undertaken by the Economist Intelligence Unit in 2014 stated:

> By 2020, the largest share of GCC exports will go to China, at around US$160bn … China will also dominate the import market, providing about US$135bn of goods to the Gulf, nearly double the value in 2013. China's increasing share of GCC exports matches its economic rise, with growth tripling since 2001 to reach 12% in 2013, and now providing 14% of GCC imports. GCC trade with China grew more rapidly during 2010–13 than with any other significant trade partner, at a rate of 30% for exports and 17% for imports.[4]

Even at present, China is by far the largest trading partner for Oman, and stands not far short of the EU in trade with Saudi Arabia.

2.2 Shifts in the Direction of Gulf Trade, 2015

Some of the perspectives stemming from the figures covering the years up to 2013 would seem, at first sight, to be undermined or disproved by the most recent figures on annual trade flows produced by the International

Monetary Fund, released at the beginning of May 2016. These figures show that in 2015 the European Community re-emerged as the Gulf's biggest trading partner (while also retaining its significant lead in GCC trade). In terms of the long historical perspective mentioned at the beginning of section 2.1, it would seem at first sight as if history has gone into reverse. The reality, however, is more complex.

The 2015 figures need to be put into the perspective of the massive changes in the value of Gulf trade which have occurred in the last two years, stemming in large part from the fall in the price of oil. The comparison here between 2011 (when the immediate impact of the global financial crisis on Western trading flows had worn off) and 2015 (which saw the full effect of falling oil prices on the Gulf economies) provides some insight into the 'surprise' figures of 2015. As can be seen from the last line of Table 4, Gulf trade with the rest of the world declined by 14.5% over this period – a substantial drop. Those countries whose trade with the Gulf was most dependent on their imports of Gulf oil generally saw the value of their Gulf trade decline by the largest proportions. This accounts for South Korean and Japanese trade declining in value more than that of any of the other major Gulf trading partners, as can be seen from Table 4. The value of European Community trade with the Gulf, about two-thirds of which is constituted by EU exports, recorded a more moderate decline.

When seen in the perspective of the figures given in Table 4, China's retreat to second position in the ranking of Gulf trading partners in 2015 is not surprising. Far from providing reason to re-evaluate expectations of rising Chinese economic strength and presence in the Gulf region, indeed, it adds credence to these expectations. This is clear from the last column in Table 4, where the rates of increase in trade of the major partners between 2011 and 2015 are compared. China emerges as the trading partner whose trade declined least (in fact hardly at all) over this period when the Gulf economies were undergoing substantial change.

The 2015 trade figures in fact provide a number of indications that China's strong economic presence in the Gulf is becoming entrenched. Between 2011 and 2015 Chinese exports to the Gulf expanded from $65.43 billion to $93.77 billion, an increase of 42.5%. European Community exports expanded by only 12% over this period. In 2015 Chinese exports to and imports from the Gulf were close to being in balance: exports comprised 49.1% of the total, while imports comprised 50.1%. China was, moreover, strengthening its position relative to other Asian countries over the 2011–2015 period. Whereas India (China's closest Asian competitor) appeared to be closing the gap with China over the years between 2008 and 2013, in 2015 India's Gulf trade only came to about one-third that of China's (see Table 4).

With regard to GCC trade specifically, China in 2015 retained second position in the ranking of the GCC's major trading rankings, falling some $30 billion short of the EU. As in the broader Gulf context, it pulled further ahead of the other major trading partners.

It has been argued by some that trade figures alone may not give a true picture of the real strength of an economic relationship and its significance, and that China's economic relationship with the Gulf may not be as significant as the trade figures suggest. Wider dimensions - such as the character of the trade, and also the extent of investment flows and contracting – are certainly worth noting. Looked at from a Chinese perspective, Gulf trade only constitutes a very small percentage – just less than 5% – of China's total trade. While the trade may be significant to the Gulf economies, therefore, it is dwarfed on the Chinese side by trade with other countries and regions. However, some 35% of China's Gulf trade is composed of imports of Gulf oil, which is critical to the further growth of the Chinese economy. It has been estimated that China

will account for about 43% of the increase in world oil consumption over the next decade.[5] The trade with the Gulf, moreover, makes up about 70% of its trade with the Arab world. When compared with the value of China's trade with other significant (non-Arab) economies of the region, moreover, the value of Gulf trade to China is significantly greater. China's trade with Israel in 2015 came to $11.42 billion, and Turkey's to $21.57 billion. China's trade with Israel was significantly smaller than its trade with Saudi Arabia, the UAE, Oman, Kuwait, Iraq and Iran taken individually, and the trade with Turkey was smaller than that with Saudi Arabia, the UAE and Iran individually.

China's economic stake in this strategically significant region, therefore, is focused very much on the Gulf. It is, also, significant that Chinese trade is spread across all of the countries of the Gulf, rather being concentrated in any one state. In this respect it differs significantly from US Gulf trade, approximately half of which is accounted for by Saudi Arabia alone.

Chinese companies have, moreover, been winning contracts for major construction projects in the region in recent years, such as that for construction of the culturally-sensitive Haramain High Speed Rail Project, and for the Waad al-Shamal phosphate plant in Saudi Arabia. In 2013 the Chinese ambassador to Saudi Arabia stated that there were 140 Chinese companies present in the country, the bulk of which were in the construction, telecommunications, infrastructure and petrochemicals sectors. The value of their projects, he stated, came to about $18 billion.[6] Investment flows in both directions (GCC to China and vice versa), have also begun to have an impact. Most of these have been in the field of petrochemicals. Up to the present, however, the record here has been mixed, with the negotiation process being protracted and not always leading to a positive result.

The emphasis above has been placed on Chinese trade, investment and contracting, mainly because it constitutes the clearest pattern of development and change. Some rather similar points, however, could also be made about Indian trade, investment and contracting. In specific fields, India's economic presence is stronger, as also clearly is its human presence in the region (with some eight million Indians living there) and its historical connections.

Overall, then, the extent and the significance of the reorientation in the GCC's economic orientation over recent years is clear. What needs to be established next is whether this provides a rationale for Gulf regional cooperation. It will be suggested in the next section that such a rationale can be found in the infrastructural developments currently occurring in Eurasia and around the Indian Ocean, and specifically in the opportunities

Table 4: Gulf Trade in 2015, and Comparison with 2011 ($ billion)

	2011	2015	Percentage Change
CHINA	192.96	191.14	-0.9 %
INDIA	171.37	129.75	-24.3%
JAPAN	180.64	101.23	-44.0%
SOUTH KOREA	140.84	89.55	-36.4%
EUROPEAN UNION	239.27	199.58	-16.6%
UNITED STATES	119.29	92.99	-22.1%
RUSSIA	5.34	5.81	+8.8%
TURKEY	36.35	32.99	-9.2%
IRAN (with other 7)	32.8	38.35	+20.0
WHOLE WORLD	1567.55	1340.35	-14.5

Source: International Monetary Fund, Direction of Trade Statistics.
Calculated by the writer on the basis of figures made available in May 2016.

which these provide for the Gulf region to become integral to the communications, economic and political networks which are developing in that area. This would require, at least on the part of the GCC, a cooperative relationship with Iran – initially in terms of infrastructural and economic coordination, but ultimately with security dimensions developing. In other words, the means for creating a security community would be brought into being.

3. The Development of Infrastructural, Economic and Political Connectivity

As so much of the dynamic in the change in global economic power (with Gulf trade as part of this) has come from China, it seems appropriate to focus on the significant ways in which China's economic role relates to the wider restructuring of the global order. The emphasis here, therefore, will be on the manner in which China is developing new networks of infrastructural, economic and political connectivity – with a focus of the Euro-Asian landmass. The One Belt One Road project is crucial to this, and will be given primary emphasis here, yet is only one part of the overall development. The latter comprises a range of institutions and frameworks geared towards strategic and political cooperation. It is worth noting, however, that China's plans for increasing connectivity in the Asian region are not the only ones. India also has significant schemes which it is pursuing, and these are also likely to be important in the developing world order. Here again there is involvement with new institutions and frameworks for cooperation. Russia too has a considerable relevance with regard to the developing networks. China's infrastructural and communications plans in the Middle East and Central Asia need to be understood within the context of China's overall global strategies. These operate at different levels. At one level there is a concern with maintaining workable relations with the United States, recognising that China's interests (economic and political) will be damaged by a confrontation with the sole existing superpower. China, it is said, must avoid the mistakes made by Germany and Japan in the 1930s, and must seek a global role not by confronting the existing power structures but by integrating China into the system of global power and influence. The latter comprises not just the US and its allies, but also the web of institutions (the IMF, UN bodies, the World Bank etc.) through which they influence and perhaps control global developments.

At another level, Chinese policies seek to build up alternative networks of coordination and cooperation, within which China can play a prominent if not predominant role. Of key importance here are the BRICS (Brazil, Russia, India, China and South Africa) grouping and the Shanghai Cooperation Organisation (bringing China and Russia together with the Central Asian FSU states, and now joined by India and Pakistan). Each of these institutions, in turn, has a wide range of intergovernmental, inter-societal and inter-institutional committees and fora which exchange information, seek to establish common positions on global issues, propose measures to enhance economic interaction, and plan and implement strategies aimed at reforming global financial management. In the case of BRICS, for example, there are not only the annual summits bringing together the heads of government, but also the regular meetings of the finance ministers, trade ministers, ministers of health, ministers of science and technology, and ministers of agriculture. There is a Financial Forum, bringing together the presidents of the major development banks of the BRICS countries, a Contact Group for Economic and Trade Issues, a Business Forum (governmental) and a Business Council (private sector), an Academic Forum bringing together leading academics from the five countries, a Think Tanks Council, a Working Group of Agricultural Experts, and a grouping of 'high representatives responsible for security' where information and views on 'cybersecurity, counterterrorism, transportation security, and regional crises' are exchanged.

The BRICS organisation (as also the SCO) has been given relatively little publicity in the Western world, perhaps because some of the component countries (especially Brazil, Russia and South Africa) can no longer boast the high rates of growth which they had when the term 'BRIC' was coined by the Goldman Sachs economist Jim O'Neill in 2001. Yet the BRICS organisation, established initially as BRIC in 2009, has never been simply a gathering of states which have a high rate of growth. From the outset, and increasingly over the years which have followed, its activities and objectives have interwoven political and economic dimensions. A practical indication of how the range of coordination has expanded over the years is found in the length and detail of the final statements/declarations which follow the annual summit meetings. After the first summit in Yekaterinburg (Russia) in 2009, the final statement covered less than two pages. Following the seventh summit, held in Ufa (Russia) in 2015, the declaration which was issued ran to 43 pages. Significantly, the annual summit meetings of BRICS and the SCO in 2015 were linked together, held consecutively and with some emphasis on the overlap between the two. The security-related concerns of the SCO, therefore, are

increasingly being integrated into BRICS concerns. China's role in both of these institutions is crucial, and indeed has become ever stronger over the period of their existence. China, indeed, accounts for over half of the combined GDP of BRICS countries. In 2013, the GDPs of the five countries stood at: China $8.25 trillion, Brazil $2.43 trillion, Russia and India $1.95 trillion, and South Africa $27.3 billion. The five countries comprise 43% of the global population, made up 21% of global GDP in 2013, and have accounted for more than half of global economic growth over the period since 2008.

In addition to the institutions within those bodies which have been created to enhance cooperation and development (such as the BRICS New Development Bank and the Contingent Reserve Arrangement), the Chinese government has created its own institutions and programmes to create a solid basis on which to build cooperative relations in the heartland of its nascent network – East, Central and South-East Asia. A key institution here is the Asian Infrastructure Investment Bank, and the main programmes are those of the One Belt One Road (OBOR) – the Silk Road Economic Belt and the 21st Century Maritime Silk Road). Through massive investment in infrastructure the latter programmes seek to create the land and sea communications through which China can interact with, and integrate itself into, the Eurasian region overall.

The focus now will be specifically on the One Belt One Road project which constitutes a key element in China's global strategy, and which could have a particular relevance for the Gulf region. The OBOR programmes cover not only construction of the necessary roads, railways, pipelines, telecommunications, port facilities etc. but also creation of the industrial and financial infrastructure necessary for effective development in the Central Asian states (in particular). Such development is needed not only for the Central Asian economies to constitute effective regional partners for China, but also to ensure long-term political stability in the region. Unstable regimes, with populations prone to political or religious extremism, would threaten China's westward communications and perhaps also create ethnic tensions within China – with a negative impact on the coherence of China's own polity. This logic would apply to the Middle Eastern region as well as Central Asia.

The scope and importance of what is being developed with the OBOR is impressive, and it will clearly affect future patterns of economic interaction and development throughout Asia, with implications for African countries also. Although the OBOR programme was only made public in September 2013, substantial progress has already been made in planning of – and in some cases beginning work on – the necessary infrastructure. The location of the main arteries of OBOR have not always been clear, or were left deliberately imprecise until regional reactions could be assessed. The map provided in Figure 1, however, was issued by China's governmental news agency Xinhua in March 2015 and can therefore be seen as representing the official view. In practice, the extent of the infrastructural connectivity which the Chinese government is creating is more widespread than the map suggests. The OBOR land routes link up with other road and rail schemes (planned or under implementation) which link China to its neighbouring regions, such as the China–Pakistan Economic Corridor (leading from China's Xinjiang region to the Pakistani port of Gwadar),[7] the Kunming–Singapore Railway (running from China's Yunnan province through South-East Asia to Singapore),[8] and the Bangladesh, China, India and Myanmar Economic Corridor (which begins in Kunming and ends in Kolkata).[9] There is also likely to be a 'northern route' high-speed link between Beijing and Moscow.

On the surface, it would appear that the GCC states are well positioned to form part of the Chinese-led networks and frameworks which are developing across Eurasia and across the Indian Ocean. As has been shown in section 2, there are already significant trade exchanges, involving a marked degree of mutual dependence, between the GCC and China. The attempt to conclude a free trade agreement between the two sides (adding to the 15 free trade agreements which China already has with countries around the world) is an indication that the GCC and China would like to strengthen the relationship further. Also significant are the 'strategic partnerships' which China has concluded with three GCC states – Saudi Arabia, the UAE, and Qatar.

Yet in practice the Xinhua map reproduced in Figure 1 indicates that the Gulf region is not necessarily conceived as a key element of the developing communications network. The roads/routes shown on the map, in fact, do not pass through the Gulf (although they do pass through northern Iran). This applies both to the land routes and the sea routes.[10] The reason for this, presumably, is that at present there is no means for such channels of communication to pass through the Gulf: the hostile relations between the countries surrounding the Gulf (especially

between Saudi Arabia and Iran) make it currently impossible. The creation of major transnational land communications (combining in this case not only road and rail links but also oil and gas pipelines) requires close coordination and cooperation between the governments concerned. Given the confrontational relations between Saudi Arabia and Iran, in particular, there is no basis for collaborative planning, collective management or even practical dialogue. While there is much evidence of closer relations between China and the states of the Gulf, in the form of increasing trade and a number of 'strategic partnership agreements', then, the key step towards bringing the Gulf region into the integrated network of trans-Asia connectivity has not been – and for the moment cannot be – taken.

The Xinhua map also reveals that the major sea lanes of the Maritime Silk Road similarly bypass the Gulf, albeit passing through the Red Sea. The main eastward route from China crosses the Indian Ocean and heads straight to the Kenyan ports of Lamu and Mombasa. This, indeed, reflects ongoing realities. China is investing heavily in the Kenyan ports, building up facilities which will serve the markets of the East African region as a whole. Further infrastructural investment (mainly financed by the Kenyan government, but with some Chinese involvement) is projected, intended to secure easy access to regional markets. The most significant of these is the LAPSSET, a project which involves rail, road and pipeline systems connecting the new port facilities in Lamu to northern Kenya, Ethiopia and South Sudan, complementing the lines of communication running from Mombasa through Nairobi to Uganda. Whereas some Chinese companies have in the past used the GCC (Dubai in particular) as a stepping stone for their activities in the Western Indian Ocean, there will in the future be little need for a stepping stone. China will also be able to use the port of Gwadar in Pakistan for transhipment goods in the Western Indian Ocean region, without the need for its ships to enter the Gulf.

The possible marginalisation of the GCC in the OBOR initiative does not damage trade in the short term. China and the GCC will no doubt remain important to each other economically whatever happens to the wider networks of communications. Their existing trade is based largely on maritime links, and these can continue as before. Both

Figure 1: The One Belt One Road (Silk Road Economic Belt) and the Maritime Silk Road. Issued by Xinhua News Agency, Beijing.

Source: Xinhua

Silk road. Economic Belt

21st-Century Maritime Silk Road

sides have a strong interest in continuing their relationship. In the two months prior to this paper being written, in fact, there has been a marked increase in the number of bilateral agreements on Chinese trade with Gulf states (especially with Saudi Arabia).

The possibilities for developing the relationship, however, will be significantly affected if the GCC states do not become part of the developing network. To situate themselves centrally in the new developments which are changing the nature and form of relationships across Asia, the GCC states need to be integral to the network, and to participate fully in the institutions which are emerging such as the BRICS New Development Bank and the Asian Infrastructure Investment Bank. Iran, benefiting from its geographical advantage (adjacent to Central Asia) has already positioned itself so as to benefit from these new international relationships: it is poised to become a member of the Shanghai Cooperation Organisation, and has welcomed inclusion in the One Belt One Road project. Trade between Iran and China, it was announced at the end of the recent visit of President Xi Jinping to Iran, is projected to rise tenfold by 2020.[11]

4. Linking the Asian Dimension of the Emerging Global Order to Security Issues in the Gulf.

It is clear that Asian powers (not just China, but also India, Japan, South Korea etc.) in general have little interest in being drawn into an active military/naval role in maintaining Gulf security. No doubt they may be prepared to supply military provisions, as indeed they have done in the past, but the kind of role played by the United States in the region in recent years is generally viewed as being problematic – often engendering security problems as much as providing security. Their preference (as expressed by the Chinese and Indian governments, at least) would be for a Gulf regional security system, based on cooperation between and among the eight Gulf states, rather than anything orchestrated from outside the region.

In the latter respect, the growing trans-Asian connectivity could perhaps provide a material incentive for improved relations among Gulf states, thereby laying the basis for a Chinese or Chinese–Indian initiative to promote a cooperative pan-Gulf regional security framework. While the confrontation between Saudi Arabia and Iran makes the proposal for an OBOR–GCC link difficult in the short term, in other words, the OBOR project (and the institutions and projects which surround it) could also provide the critical opportunity for bringing the states of the Gulf into a more cooperative relationship in the medium- and long-term. Both Iran and the GCC would benefit greatly if the GCC could be linked to OBOR through Iran. China and India, having good relations with both Saudi Arabia and Iran and with interests of its own at stake, would be in a good position to initiate and shape a dialogue. Such a dialogue would not just be limited to the resolution of existing conflicts, but rather envisage the creation of a regional framework where differences can be settled among the Gulf states rather than through recourse to external military powers.

The scenario just mentioned may not look realistic at a time when the Gulf region is racked by intense rivalry and 'Cold War' conflict. Yet the need to find a new basis of relations among the countries of the Gulf is more evident than ever before. A first step in finding a way forward may be to provide regional states with functional reasons for cooperating. The growing network of trans-Asian connectivity provides such an opportunity, with the added advantage of opening a path for the GCC states to enhance their role in global politics.

NOTES

1 Niblock, Tim (2015) "Strategic Economic Relationships and Strategic Openings in the Gulf", in Steve Hook & Tim Niblock, The United States and the Gulf: Shifting Pressures, Strategies and Alignments (Berlin: Gerlach Press), pp. 8–9.

2 It needs to be admitted at this point that there is a complication in the figures which are presented here. They were compiled in May 2014 on the basis of the annual statistics which the International Monetary Fund releases in May every year covering the annual trade flows in the preceding year. As time passes, however, the IMF makes some small adjustments to trade flow figures, in response to updated information which has reached it – and also reflecting some changes in exchange rates etc. The most recent IMF figures on 2013 trade flows, which were released at the beginning of May 2016, show that the EU in fact retained a very small lead over China in its Gulf trade in 2013. The 2016 figures released on 2014 trade flows, however, indicate that China's Gulf trade was significantly larger than the EU's in 2014. There is no doubt, therefore, that at least by 2014 China had emerged in the top position.

3 International Monetary Fund (2016) Direction of Trade Statistics (Washington: IMF).

4 Ibid. p 9.

5 BP (2015) "BP Energy Outlook 2035, Country and Regional Insights – China" (London: BP).

6 Asharq al-Awsat, 20 November 2013.

7 See "China–Pakistan Economic Corridor", Daily Times (Pakistan), 6 December 2015. Accessed at: http://www.dailytimes.com.pk/opinion/06-Dec-2015/the-china-pakistan-economic-corridor.

8 See "Singapore to Kunming by High Speed Train", in The Malay Times, 29 October 2014. Accessed at: http://www.themalaymailonline.com/travel/article/singapore-to-kunming-by-high-speed-rail-in-10-hours-video.

9 See "China, India Fast-Track BCIM Economic Corridor", The Hindu, 26 June 2015. Accessed at: http://www.thehindu.com/news/national/china-india-fasttrack-bcim-economic-corridor-project/article7355496.ece.

10 The logic of the routes shown is clearest in the case of the land routes, insofar as communications through northern Iran pose no problem – it is the possibility of an extension down to the GCC states which would be difficult. The major sea lanes of the Maritime Silk Road, however, similarly bypass the Gulf, albeit passing through the Red Sea. The main eastward route from China crosses the Indian Ocean and heads straight to the Kenyan ports of Lamu and Mombasa. This, indeed, reflects ongoing realities. China is investing heavily in the Kenyan ports, building up facilities which will serve the markets of the East African region as a whole. Further infrastructural investment (mainly financed by the Kenyan government, but with some Chinese involvement) is projected, intended to secure easy access to regional markets. The most significant of these is the LAPSSET, a project which involves rail, road and pipeline systems connecting the new port facilities in Lamu to northern Kenya, Ethiopia and South Sudan, complementing the lines of communication running from Mombasa through Nairobi to Uganda. Whereas some Chinese companies have in the past used the GCC (Dubai in particular) as a stepping stone for their activities in the Western Indian Ocean, there will in the future be little need for a stepping stone. China will also be able to use the port of Gwadar in Pakistan for transhipment goods in the Western Indian Ocean region, without the need for its ships to enter the Gulf.

11 BBC News, "Iran and China Agree Closer Ties After Sanctions Ease", 23 January 2016. Accessed at: http://www.bbc.co.uk/news/world-middle-east-35390779.

China and the Changing Security Environment in South Asia: CONSEQUENCES AND PERSPECTIVES FOR THE GLOBAL BALANCE OF POWER IN THE REGION

Lars Erslev Andersen, Senior Researcher
Danish Institute for International Studies

China's strategic interest in South Asia (Afghanistan and Pakistan) centres on stability, protection of Chinese workers and investments, and countering the threat of jihadism against China, as well as of jihadist links and networks between the Middle East, South Asia and Xinjiang. The strategic interest also focuses on the establishment of transportation routes and dual-use ports, and in a broader sense, countering India as a US ally and great Asian power. China has followed developments in Pakistan and Afghanistan closely and with increasing concern since the announcement in 2014 by the Barack Obama Administration of withdrawal of American combat troops. Due to the continuing problems with security in Afghanistan, the USA did not fully withdraw but has reduced the number of troops. However, more than 8,000 combat troops still remain. Even though they are directly engaged in combat with various insurgents, they have not been able to create let alone maintain sustainable stability.

The situation in Afghanistan is still characterised by militant conflicts. Despite internal divides within the Taliban, the Afghan Taliban is still capable of challenging the Afghan National Security Forces (ANSF), and in 2016–17 it has mounted and sustained its toughest military campaign in years. As Vanda Felbab-Brown from the Brookings Institution states:

> Significant portions of Afghanistan's territory, including the provincial capital of Kunduz or multiple districts of Helmand, have fallen (at least temporarily) to the Taliban over the past year and half. At the beginning of summer 2016, many other districts and provinces are under serious Taliban pressure. The influence of the particularly vicious Haqqani network within the Taliban has grown. Moreover, the Islamic State (IS) established itself in Afghanistan in 2015, and is present in at least seven provinces. (Felbab-Brown, 2016).

The political scene remains fractious and polarised with fundamental structural problems unaddressed and unsolved. Negotiations between the Taliban and the government are not going well. Big segments of the well-educated youth, the hope for the future of Afghanistan, are disillusioned and trying to get out of the country:

probably 180,000 of them rode the refugee wave through 'The Balkan Route' into the EU in 2015. Around 1000 persons a day are internally disposed and refugees are being sent back from Iran and Pakistan resulting in an increased refugee crisis inside Afghanistan. In 2015 the EU had an interest in staying in Afghanistan in order to keep the refugees from setting out for Europe, but with 'The Balkan Route' closed, the EU could be tempted to withdraw from the troubled area. As Anthony Cordesman from CSIS has shown, there is a tendency to reduce development aid following withdrawal of troops which would leave Afghanistan even more exposed to economic and development problems (Cordesman, 2015). If the USA leaves Afghanistan, China fears an escalation of militancy and a possible spillover into Xinjiang and China's homeland territory, as well as the emergence of new transnational links between jihadi networks resulting in an increased risk of terrorism.

In order to counter the increasing problems in Afghanistan, China has invested heavily in development projects comprising mining, energy, and infrastructure and has done so in coordination with the US-facilitated negotiations between the Afghan government and Taliban. Despite official Chinese denial, the Pentagon is convinced China has combat troops deployed in Afghanistan coordinating Counter Terrorism (CT) operations with Afghan security forces (Financial Times, 2017). The increased Chinese security policy clearly points to a new approach in China's diplomacy as documented by international scholar Miwa Hirono: 'China has gone beyond its traditional approach to diplomacy based on government-to-government relations, and has maintained its relationship with the Taliban in order to safeguard its national interests' (Hirono, 2016).

Developments in Xinjiang:

The East Turkestan Militant Movement (ETIM), which today is best known as the Turkestan Islamic Party (TIP) (though also by various other names), was established in 1940 and has emerged as a challenge for China. The official figure for Muslims in China is 28 million, of whom approximately 16 million are Uighur. Most are concentrated in Xinjiang but the practice of Islam is widespread in the country. There are many different sects but most are Sunni Muslims, traditionally Sufi orientated and peaceful. There is also a small minority who in public discourse are labelled 'separatists' or Salafi jihadists. The Republic of Xinjiang has conducted a very harsh policy since the 1950s when the 'Xinjiang Production and Construction Corps' (bingtuan) was established. This region is currently the location for this quasi-military/business conglomerate consisting of more than 2.6 million people, responsible for more than 20% of the region's GDP (including 40% of its cotton production and a more than 17% share of the global trade in ketchup). This power is combined with very tough control of Uighurs (the Economist, 2013). It seems that this policy has, to a certain degree, led to more so-called 'radicalised' groups with ties to Salafi jihadists outside China. Especially after 9/11, ties between Salafi jihadists in Xinjiang and al-Qaida (AQ) have developed a more global approach, with Chinese foreign fighters in Syria and active media activity similar to AQ: Islam Awazi. While TIP is very critical of Islamic State (IS), they are close to AQ Central and AQ in Syria. Despite TIP's critique of IS, China as well as other intelligence agencies consider IS to be active with regard to Xinjiang, which is supported by public threats from IS (Foreign Policy, 2017) as well as by the recruiting of foreign fighters via Turkey:

> Anthony Davis of IHS-Jane's Defence Weekly estimated in October that as many as five thousand Uighur would-be fighters have arrived in Turkey since 2013, with perhaps two thousand moving on to Syria. Moustapha (Syria's ambassador to China) said he has information that 'up to 860 Uighur fighters are currently in Syria'. (Hersh, 2017).

The Chinese response to the jihadi threat has so far been new counterterrorism legislation in December 2015, the State Security Law of July 2017 (though it's not only focused on terrorism), as well as various national and local-level regulations, security measures etc., in particular after violent riots in Xinjiang in 2009 and a stabbing incident in Yunnan province in 2014. Although criticised by many, including human rights organisations, China is taking up similar tools to those already familiar from Western CT approaches, namely: surveillance and Countering Violent Extremism (CVE), as well as demonstrating a more activist approach, both at home and abroad, including deploying combat troops in conflict zones.

Although Pakistan has been a strategic buffer from India and a partner of China for years, China has simultaneously viewed Pakistan as a nest for and source of terrorism and jihadism in South Asia, with Afghan Taliban and other groups located in the troubled areas of Pakistan. This problem has greatly challenged Chinese–Pakistani relations, as Chinese workers have been attacked or

kidnapped, and as Uighur separatists have been able to operate beyond Pakistani control, thereby finding a safe haven for recruiting, training and disseminating jihadists into Xinjiang and contributing to instability in the region. With the election of Nawaz Sharif as prime minister (who took office in July 2013) Pakistan's counterterrorism strategy changed. In 2016 the violence in Pakistan had decreased significantly and it looked as if the strategy had worked. However, as seen so many times before, harsh counterterrorism (CT) and counterinsurgency (COIN) strategies can produce new supporters and the figures for 2017 are not promising! Whether or not Sharif's strategy actually will succeed is an open question. In 2017 insurgency violence and terrorism have again been on the rise, as documented by South Asia Terrorism Portal, which in the first two months of the year counted 128 civilians killed in terrorist attacks (South Asia Terrorism Portal, 2017).

Thus a change in China's traditional foreign policy approach towards an activist one is also to be seen in China's relation to Pakistan. President Xi Jinping visited Nawaz Sharif in Islamabad in April 2013. Here they agreed on a China Pakistan Economic Corridor (CPEC) where China invests $46 billion in infrastructure projects including rebuilding the port of Gwadar and energy development. At the same time military cooperation between China and Pakistan has developed. As stated by Lisa Curtis, senior research fellow at the Heritage Foundation, in a hearing in the US Congress: 'China continue to focus more attention on building Pakistan up strategically and militarily than it does on convincing Pakistan to crack down on terrorist groups that are causing instability in the region' (Curtis, 2016). This interpretation might mirror a different approach to CT between the US and China where the latter focuses more on addressing root causes based in underdevelopment than on military COIN operations, which is also supported by the fact that China urges Pakistan to have a more constructive role and position in the attempts for peace negotiations in Afghanistan.

CPEC as a part of the OBOR initiative might be seen as an expression of this different approach by addressing what are seen as root causes promoting economic development, employment and infrastructure. With its $46 billion investment plan CPEC is an enormous Chinese commitment. But it remains to been seen if this will be realised. According to Andrew Small, Transatlantic Fellow, the German Marshall Fund, it is very difficult to estimate how far this project will go and its substance in terms of real investments. So far it is estimated to have led to investments to the amount of perhaps $15 billion. Small writes, '[t]he value of CPEC for China will come from its impact on Pakistan's economy as a whole, the strategic benefits that ensue from that, the commercial benefits its firms derive from the investments themselves and for the growth of the Pakistani market' (Small, 2015). There is also significant doubt whether Pakistan, both in economic and in political terms, is able to fulfil its part of the deal.

The Chinese approach to create stability and eliminate extremism by using a combination of CT and – as a new approach – facilitating negotiations and economic development is, to some degree, similar to China's policy in Xinjiang. So far the results here have been mixed, to put it bluntly, which could indicate that there are some obstacles and serious challenges in China's new security policy approach. The context in Afghanistan and Pakistan though is very different to that in Xinjiang; while there are Han Chinese settlers in Xinjiang who both are in charge of and are promoting from the bingtuan project there, the projects in South Asia will to a larger degree be run and exploited by locals which probably will make a difference.

Thus China might, with its more activist policy in South Asia, have a more constructive impact that would be of mutual benefit for China (with its economic and security interests) and for the locals' search for stability and development. That would also very much be in the interest of the US and, in a broader perspective, it is very difficult to avoid seeing that China and the US in South Asia de facto have substantial common interests that point more in the direction of future cooperation than conflict.

References

Cordesman, Anthony H. (2015) **Transition in Afghanistan. Losing the Forgotten War? A Need to Reshape US Strategy in Afghanistan, Pakistan, and Central Asia**, CSIS, Washington DC, 26 January 2015. Available at: https://csis-prod.s3.amazonaws.com/s3fs-public/legacy_files/files/publication/150126_Losing_Forgotten_War.pdf

Curtis, Lisa (2016) "China's South Asia Strategy", Testimony before The US–China Economic and Security Review Commission, 10 March 2016, Washington DC

The Economist (2013); "Settlers in Xinjiang. Circling the wagons", 25 May 2013.

Felbab-Brown, Wanda (2016) **Blood and Faith in Afghanistan**. A June 2016 Update, Brookings, Washington DC, June 2016.

Financial Times (2017); "Mystery deepens over Chinese forces in Afghanistan", 26 February 2017.

Foreign Policy (2017); "The Islamic State Pledged to Attack China Next", 1 March 2017.

Hersch, Seymour M. (2017) "Military to Military", **London Review of Books**, 7 January 2016.

Hirono, Miwa (2016) "China's proactive diplomacy in Afghanistan: A challenge to the principle of non-interference", in **China and the Challenges of the Greater Middle East. Conference Report**, DIIS 2016.

Small, Andrew (2015) "CPEC: Road to the future? " **Herald**, 15 November 2015.

South Asia Terrorism Portal (2017); "Major incidents of
Terrorism-related violence in Pakistan – 2017", Institute for Conflict Management, Islamabad 2017.

CHINA'S ECONOMIC DIPLOMACY IN CONFLICT REGIONS[1]

Yang Jiang, Senior Researcher
Danish Institute for International Studies

The 21st century has seen a drastic expansion of Chinese overseas investment, encouraged and supported by the state. In developing countries, China has invested heavily in energy and natural resources projects and related infrastructure like oil and gas pipelines and transportation. A key part of its OBOR initiative is building infrastructure across the Asian, Eurasian, North African and European continents, and the map continues to evolve. With the expanding reach of the OBOR initiative, China's pledge to help other countries to build infrastructure and its invitations to them to join the Asian Infrastructure Investment Bank are very attractive too (the AIIB only lends money to member states), and the promise of infrastructure has entered into the calculation of some countries when they engage with China in the latter's effort to create peace.

As part of its old principle of non-interference in domestic politics, China used to try to 'keep business and politics apart'— or to do business without getting involved in local politics — in countries where it has commercial investments, and to stay away from local conflicts. With China's increasing commercial activities around the world and its significant economic and military capabilities, it has become difficult for Beijing to stick to its old diplomatic principle of keeping a low profile and not interfering in political matters of other countries. The safety of its expanding overseas assets and citizens is increasingly threatened by local political disturbances, and Beijing pays more attention to its international reputation in an effort to build the image of a responsible great power. China's expanding international economic engagement is accompanied by a growing presence of overseas Chinese citizens and assets, and the state is obliged to protect them when they are threatened by political and security turmoil. Starting in 1990, China has played an increasing role in UN peacekeeping missions around the world and has started to send combatant peacekeeping troops.[2] Chinese diplomats and leaders are also more actively involved in conflict mediation, between rival countries and between governments and opposition forces.

This short paper analyses China's economic diplomacy in conflict regions, using examples from the Middle East and North Africa (sometimes referred to as the 'Greater Middle East') in order to explore the following questions: How

does China use diplomatic means to protect and pursue economic interests, and economic tools to advance foreign policy goals in conflict regions? What are the deciding factors behind China's current strategy in dealing with conflicts where it has commercial interests?

It is argued that China can no longer follow the old diplomatic strategy of keeping a low profile and keeping business and politics separate. China's recognition of its entangled economic and political interests overseas means two things. First, China is sometimes forced to intervene in local conflicts in order to protect its citizens and commercial interests. Second, China is becoming more resourceful and adept at using economic instruments to facilitate its diplomatic efforts to resolve conflicts. The change in China's diplomatic strategy, from passively or reactively 'keeping a low profile while accumulating material strength' and 'never claiming leadership' to actively 'achieving something' that matches the image of a responsible great power,[3] originates from China's understanding of what it can do and is expected to do by both domestic and international audiences based on its enhanced capabilities.

China's old stance challenged

After the Tiananmen Square incident in 1989, China faced international isolation and adopted a diplomatic strategy in the 1990s of 'keeping a low profile while accumulating material strength' and 'never claiming leadership'. Through such pragmatic low-profile diplomacy, China developed commercial relations with a broad range of countries, and did not shun countries that had problematic human rights records. In response to international criticism that China supports autocratic regimes by investing there, Chinese officials stated that China would not interfere in the internal affairs or sovereignty of other nations. Through its status as one of the five permanent members of the UN Security Council, China has regularly blocked UN sanctions on some governments for their 'domestic' political issues.

China's pragmatic, low profile diplomacy is embodied in its Middle East policy, which has been to avoid conflicts with the US and expand its economic interests, by freeriding on the US security umbrella there.[4] Chinese analysts even described the long-standing US aircraft carrier presence there as a 'public good'.[5]

After the civil war in Afghanistan in 1996 and the 9/11 terrorist attack in 2001, the Middle East began to be regarded by China as a 'strategic extension' relevant to the security of Muslim regions in West China. Given its energy interests in the Middle East and North Africa, China defined the Middle East as belonging to its 'Greater Neighbouring Areas'.[6] Both economic interests and the linkage to its own Muslim population determine that China is affected by events in the region. There have been signs in recent years of China taking a more active stance in contributing to resolving overseas conflicts, and the cases below demonstrate such an activism out of an need to protect Chinese citizens and economic interests. This is not to say that China engages itself in conflict resolution or mediation only out of economic considerations. Undoubtedly it does so for strategic or diplomatic reasons too, but this paper focuses on the aspect of economic diplomacy – the use of diplomatic means for achieving economic objectives or vice versa.

Diplomatic interventions to Protect Citizens and Businesses

The crises in Sudan and Libya made China realise the necessity of intervening in local conflicts in order to protect its citizens and businesses abroad. So far, the forms of China's intervention have included contributing to UN peacekeeping forces, passing UN Security Council Resolutions, and mediating between conflicting parties via special envoys or high-level dialogues.

It was during the Darfur Crisis in Sudan that China made a clear policy shift from initial non-interference in internal affairs to one that pressurised the incumbent government to end the humanitarian crisis and cooperate with the international community. Even though the Khartoum government threatened to end its preferential treatment of Chinese oil companies in the country, several factors induced Beijing to make a policy change regardless: international criticism of China's unconditional support of the government, an attack on China's oil facilities by Sudanese opposition forces, the ongoing humanitarian crisis, Beijing's concern for its image as a responsible stakeholder, and also the timing - this immediately preceded the Beijing Olympics. Then Chinese Vice President Xi Jinping even linked a peaceful solution in Darfur with the common interest of China and Sudan.[7]

In Libya, China was caught off guard by the Arab Spring revolutions. In 2010, before the revolution, China consumed 11% of Libya's oil exports, had outstanding contracts worth about $20 billion, and employed 36,000 Chinese in the country.[8] During the initial upheaval, one of the three major Chinese oil companies, the China National

Petroleum Corporation (CNPC), complained that its operations in Libya were attacked by rampaging mobs.[9] The rapidly worsening situation came as a shock to China as the embassy was not equipped to suddenly evacuate such a large number of workers and had to enlist the help of Greek merchant ships to make the first few rescue missions.[10] The Chinese navy, which was already deployed on a first-time anti-piracy operation in the Gulf of Aden, was then redeployed to evacuate the Chinese citizens from Libya in late February and early March 2011. Four Chinese military transport planes were also sent to assist the evacuation.

Moreover, China has learned to engage with different parties to conflicts. China used to mainly deal with host country governments for diplomatic and economic relations. It has found out, however, that it is not safe to put all eggs in one basket; that companies and diplomats alike need to engage with various parties. It is not only because China would like to facilitate the creation of a stable political environment for its citizens and assets, but also because they need to hedge against uncertainties brought about by regime change in host countries, and sometimes to recognise that certain regions in a country are under the de facto control of opposition forces. In South Sudan China pushed rival factions to talk and halted negotiations over an arms deal with the government.[11] In Afghanistan Beijing is now one of the leading actors, working closely with the US, at trying to bring about a political settlement between the Taliban and the Afghan government. That is not only because it fears Afghanistan becoming a safe haven for Uyghur militants, but also because China-invested mines and the China–Pakistan Economic Corridor of its OBOR initiative are located in Taliban-controlled areas.

The above signs indicate that China has become more active in mediation, supporting UN resolutions and contributing to UN peacekeeping in regional conflicts. There are also signs that Beijing has not developed a coherent strategy on international intervention in regional conflicts. On the one hand, where China struggled to extract its own citizens from a destabilised zone or lost significant economic assets, it faces criticism at home. At the beginning of the upheaval in Libya, domestic public opinion in China weighed heavily against Beijing's decision not to thwart the Western-backed UN resolution on Libya.[12] On the other hand, China has largely stayed out of some regional conflicts, including the civil war in Syria.

Using economic tools for conflict diplomacy

The legitimacy of the current Chinese state comes not only from maintaining domestic economic growth, which is slowing, but also from an image of a responsible great power that is respected by the international community. With its economic resources, an army of state policy and commercial banks and state-owned enterprises (SOEs), as well as rich experience of conducting economic activities under various conditions and with various kinds of actors, China is becoming more resourceful and adept at using economic instruments to support its diplomatic efforts to resolve conflicts. It is also a consistent belief in Beijing that lack of socio-economic development is one of the fundamental reasons for conflicts.

Carrots and sticks

Some countries under international isolation (including Iran, North Korea and Myanmar before the democratic transition in 2011) rely on China as a major destination for exports and sources of investment. China has been criticised by Western countries for supporting these regimes, and impatience has also grown in Beijing with these countries' stubborn resistance to collaborating with the international institutions. Sometimes Beijing uses economic incentives or punishments for the country's behaviour or misconduct for the initiatives that China is involved in.

In recent years, China has firmly opposed Iran's nuclear programmes while safeguarding its energy interests in Iran. Both the ambitious nuclear programme and growing Islamism in Iran are potential threats to China's energy interests there and political stability at home. Moreover, China does not want North Korea to possess nuclear weapons, and Iran represents a parallel case at the UN. China slowed its energy investment in Iran from late 2010 up till late 2013, which was aimed at easing tension with the US and cutting the risk of Chinese oil firms being hit by US sanctions. The Chinese government reportedly informally instructed its state-owned companies to slow down after the US imposed unilateral sanctions on Iran in June 2010.

Since the Iran nuclear talks made progress in November 2013, Beijing has been moving closer to Tehran, provided that international conditions allow. Chinese oil imports from Iran surged to 630,000 b/d in the first six months of 2014, up 48% from the same period in 2013, thanks in part to reduced Western sanctions as part of the interim agreement.[13] At the same time, Beijing and Tehran are

enhancing their diplomatic and military ties. Multilateral organisations sponsored by China, including the Shanghai Cooperation Organisation (SCO) and the Asian Infrastructure Investment Bank, are also potential channels for Iran to break diplomatic and economic isolation imposed by the West.

Building dual-use infrastructure

Thanks to the shock of the emergency to evacuate Chinese workers from Libya, as well as of the cost of abandoning vast amounts of oil-producing facilities, China is augmenting its embassies and nascent military presence in the Middle East.[14] China is building infrastructure and diplomatic ties along the sea lanes from the South China Sea and the Indian Ocean to the Middle East and Africa to protect China's energy interests. Since 2010, Chinese and Hong Kong companies have completed or announced deals involving at least 40 port projects worth a total of about $45.6bn as well as announced a dozen others without financial details.[15] It has become a typical practice that China first secures commercial ownership over a strategic trading port and later turns it into military or dual usage, as it did with Gwadar in Pakistan, Piraeus in Greece, Colombo in Sri Lanka and Djibouti in the Horn of Africa.

Conclusion

China's expanding economic interests in the world are accompanied by greater political and security risks. In conflict regions where China has significant presence in the form of assets, businesses or citizens, it is sometimes forced to intervene in local affairs, instead of strictly abiding by the traditional principle of non-interference in domestic affairs. It can be said that the current legitimacy of the Chinese state comes not only from maintaining domestic economic growth, but also from the image of a great responsible power that is respected and able to protect its interests in the international sphere. The international community also expects Beijing to play an increasing role in maintaining international order and contributing to peace and stability as well.

The analysis in this paper has demonstrated the two following implications of China's global economic presence for its economic diplomacy in conflict regions. First, China is sometimes forced to use political and military means to protect its overseas citizens and commercial assets. Second, with its growing economic power, China has more economic tools at its disposal to play a role in conflict mediation, peacekeeping and diplomatic negotiations. With the OBOR being placed at the centre of current Chinese economic diplomacy, the promise of enhanced infrastructure and trade relations with China has entered into the calculation of some countries when they engage with China in the latter's effort to propel peace.

NOTES

1 Parts of this paper draw on a co-authored report: Lars Erslev Andersen and Yang Jiang (2014) 'Oil, Security, and Politics: Is China Challenging the US in the Persian Gulf', DIIS Report 2014: 29, http://pure.diis.dk/ws/files/79420/DIIS_Report_29_WEB.pdf.

2 Over the years, China has contributed a total of more than 20,000 peacekeepers in more than twenty missions, and it is one of the major contributors of financial and personnel resources to UN peacekeeping operations. 'Interview: UN peacekeeping chief lauds Chinese soldiers' contribution', Xinhua News, 1 August 2014, http://news.xinhuanet.com/english/china/2014-08/01/c_133524874.htm. United Nations Radio (Chinese), 28 May 2014, http://www.unmultimedia.org/radio/chinese/archives/206034/#.U_SJQ2M08qJ.

3 Deng Xiaoping used these terms in a series of talks after the Tiananmen Incident and collapse of the Soviet Union. See '邓小平韬光养晦外交战略的来历 (The Origin of Deng Xiaoping's Taoguangyanghui Diplomacy'), http://news.china.com/history/all/11025807/20120301/17065999.html, 1 March 2012.

4 Bingbing Wu (2011) 'Strategy and politics in the Gulf as seen from China', in –China and the Persian Gulf: Implications for the United States edited by Bryce Wakefield and Susan L. Levenstein (Washington DC: Woodrow Wilson International Center for Scholars): pp. 10–26.

5 David Schenker (2013) 'China's Middle East footprint', Los Angeles Times, 26 April 2013.

6 Wu, 'Strategy and politics in the Gulf as seen from China'.

7 Gaafar Karrar Ahmed (2010) 'The Chinese Stance on the Darfur Conflict', SAIIA Occasional Paper No. 67. David H. Shinn (2009) 'China and the Conflict in Darfur', Brown Journal of World Affairs 16(1): 85–100.

8 Steven Sotloff (2012) 'China's Libya Problem', The Diplomat, 14 March 2012.

9 'Chinese oil interests attacked in Libya', Financial Times, 24 February 2011.

10 Between 2006 and 2010, a total of 6,000 Chinese citizens were evacuated from upheavals in Chad, Haiti, Kyrgyzstan, Lebanon, Solomon Islands, Thailand, Timor-Leste and Tonga. The scale of evacuation in Libya was unprecedented. See Mathieu Duchâtel, 'Overseas Citizen Protection: A Growing Challenge for China', SIPRI Commentary, 12 February 2012.

11 A report by a UN sanctions committee claimed that Chinese companies supplied anti-tank missiles and launchers, rifles, ammunition and rockets to South Sudan worth about $20m. Weapons sales are reported to have stopped before the recent rebellion ignited at the end of 2013. 'What China hopes to achieve with first peacekeeping mission', BBC News, 2 Dec. 2015, http://www.bbc.co.uk/news/world-africa-34976580

12 Johan Lagerkvist (2012) 'China's New Flexibility on Foreign Intervention', YaleGlobal, 29 May 2012.

13 Shannon Tiezzi (2014) 'How China Complicates the Iranian Nuclear Talks', The Diplomat, 25 Nov. 2014, http://thediplomat.com/2014/11/how-china-complicates-the-iranian-nuclear-talks/.

14 David Schenker (2013) 'China's Middle East footprint', Los Angeles Times, 26 April 2013. 'How China Rules the Waves', Financial Times, 12 January 2017, https://ig.ft.com/sites/china-ports/?mhq5j=e6.

15 'How China Rules the Waves'.

Intercontinental 'Silk Hub':
SINO-EMIRATI RELATIONS AND THE UAE'S ROLE IN CHINA'S TRADE AND INVESTMENT WITH THE GCC AND BEYOND.

Philip Gater-Smith, PhD Researcher
Durham University

Introduction

Often categorised as a New Silk Road element, the growing economic connections between China and the Gulf states are now a booming subject matter.[1] Yet, thus far, theoretical contributions analysing their scope and wider geo-economic and geopolitical implications are in shorter supply. Utilising the framework of complex interdependence theory (CIT) and, as part of that, its realist theoretical counterpart, this paper seeks to address one small, but important part of that story as a case study: namely the United Arab Emirates' pivotal role as a major intercontinental hub for China's trade and investment with the GCC, wider West Asia, and beyond.

A brief analysis of Sino-Emirati trade and investment flows demonstrates the UAE's regional importance with respect to China's New Maritime Silk Road interests, a fact that reduces the level of bilateral asymmetry between the two states and increases the level of China's stake in the UAE's success. Vice versa the paper shows the UAE's growing focus on China as an economic partner. Finally, it briefly addresses the wider nature of the relationship's diplomatic and geostrategic impact, incorporating the current role of the United States as a reluctant Gulf hegemon. For now, Sino-Emirati and wider Sino-GCC relations have remained largely apolitical – reducing potential tensions and direct rivalries in the Gulf. As the four, theory-underpinned, scenarios this paper identifies demonstrate, change in this regard is not impossible, but remains, for now, unlikely.

Theory

The neo-liberal institutionalist theory of complex interdependence was coined in direct opposition to realism. Keohane and Nye define an interdependent relationship between two or more states as one that would result in 'reciprocal costly effects' in the event of its breakup. Furthermore, they differentiate between 'symmetrical' and 'asymmetrical interdependence', as well as between 'sensitivity' and 'vulnerability interdependence'.[2]

A wholly interdependent world represents an ideal type at the opposite end of the spectrum to the ideal type known as realism. While realism is strongly 'state-centred', sees 'force [or the threat of force] as the most effective tool' for securing national interests, and military security

dominates all other 'issue areas', CIT entails a very different structural situation: 'multiple channels' connect societies across borders, no military force is used between states, and the complexity of affairs nullifies any preceding 'hierarchy of issue areas'.[3]

These conditions outlined by CIT do not guarantee a world without conflict. Nevertheless, political escalation (via destructive issue-linkage) let alone military escalations (via the dominance of security concerns) are usually resisted. An interdependent world, where conflict would break those interdependent ties, would see no winner. Hence, cooperation benefits most participants, whereas conflict harms them.[4]

As Section 5 of this paper shows, these core assumptions of the complex interdependence and realist ideal types result in highly different implications for the four different, imagined futures of China-GCC/UAE relations and their regional impact.

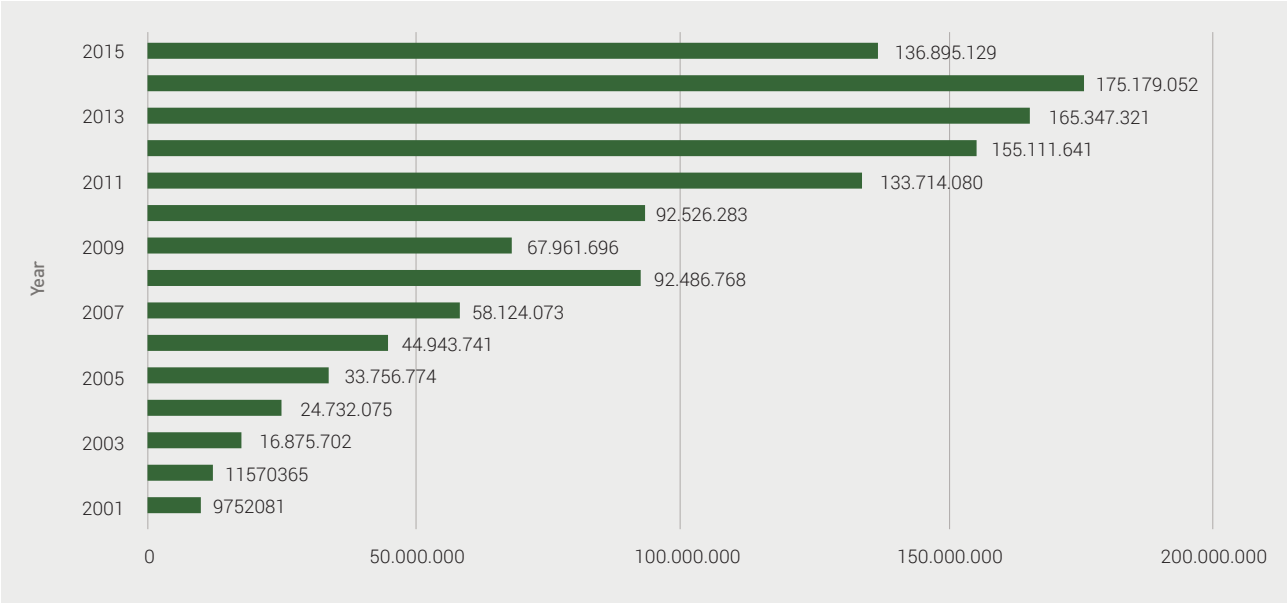
Trade

Over the last 15 years there has been substantial trade growth between China and the GCC members, as Figure 1 shows, reaching its hitherto peak in 2014 with a value of $175 billion. In Figure 2 it becomes evident that over the last few years, the dominating bulk of that trade consisted of Chinese imports from the GCC. These were again heavily dominated by energy exports from the GCC, as demonstrated in Figure 3. After China's acceptance to the WTO in 2001, its GDP galloped forward even more than it had done already in the preceding two decades. With this came a growing thirst for energy, especially oil imports, in order to sustain and enhance the industrialisation at home.[5] Despite import diversification measures, the Gulf soon reigned supreme as China's most important source region, supplying around half of its oil imports.[6]

At first glance, the picture is the same when it comes to Sino-Emirati trade (see Figure 4). It grew substantially between 2000 and 2015, and just as for China and the whole GCC, dipped only twice: once in 2009, following the global financial crisis, and again in 2015, following the fall of the oil price and China's slowing growth. Nevertheless, China–GCC and China–UAE trade growth during this whole timeframe has been speedy and substantial enough for the term interdependence rather than merely interconnectedness to come into play.

Yet, there is an important difference between this UAE case study, and the wider GCC picture in terms of their trade with China. As Figures 2 and 5 show, the trade balances are reversed. Whereas China in most of the observed years saw a trade deficit with the entire GCC, due to the amount of its oil imports, it saw a trade surplus with the UAE. This difference can be explained through the UAE's unique role as a regional and global trading hub. Given President Xi Xinping's terminology of a New

Figure 1: China–GCC Trade Value (2001–15 in US $ Thousand)

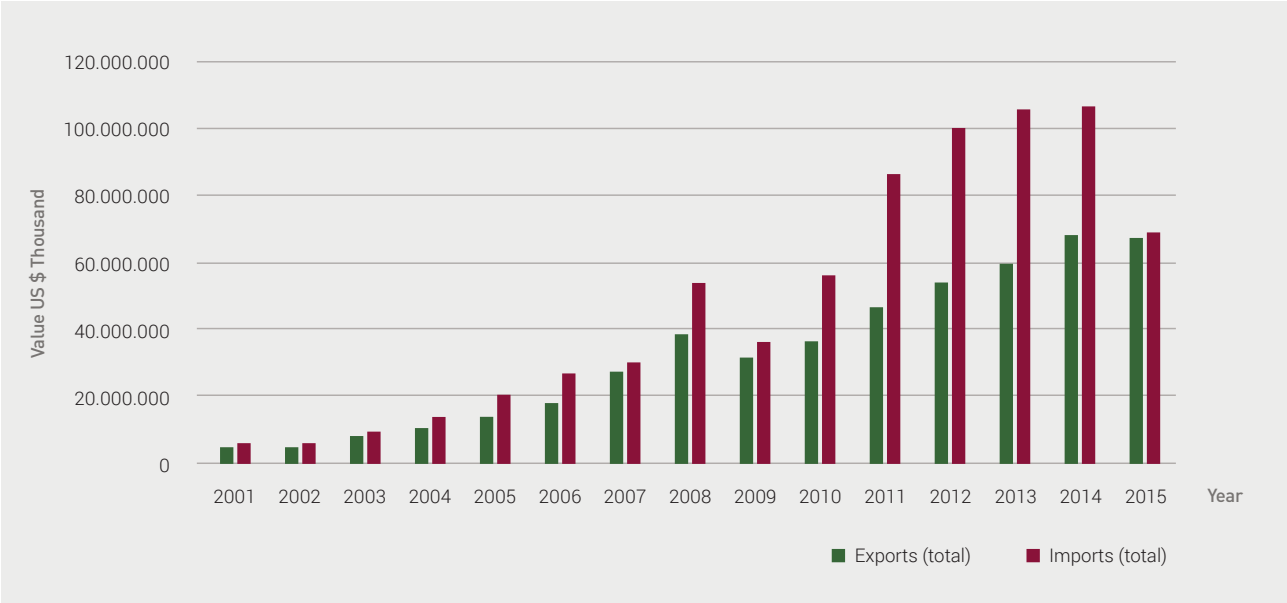


Source: International Trade Center, Trade Map (MS Excel chart created by author).

Maritime Silk Road for pan-Eurasian economic integration, one could say that the UAE, and especially Dubai, is a recent and likely future maritime 'Silk Hub'. It is the destination of a huge amount of Chinese manufactured goods, which supply not merely the Emirati economy, but the wider West Asian and indeed African markets in large part. The overwhelming bulk of Chinese exports to the UAE are re-exported to these diverse destinations.[7]

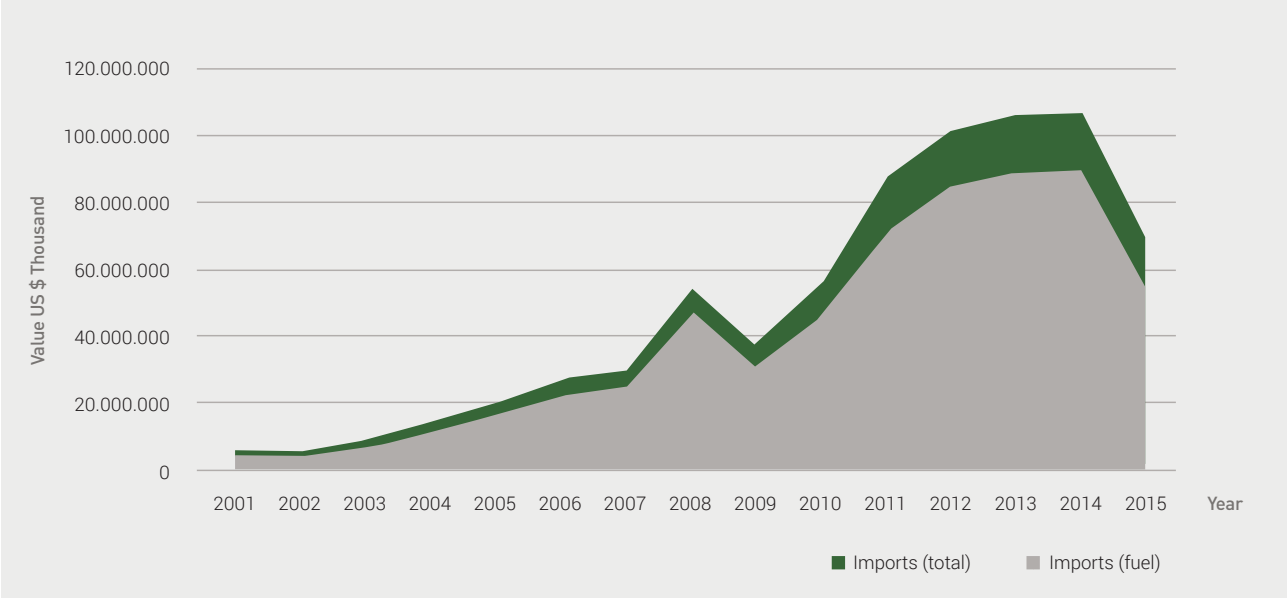
If one bears in mind that Chinese GDP over this time period was – and still is – vastly export-driven,[8] the UAE's role as a trade hub can be said to have had a surprisingly high impact on China's economy. Hence, in CIT terminology, China would be at least sensitive, if not even vulnerable to a hypothetical trade halt with the UAE in the short-to-mid-term future because, so far, no other GCC or West Asian country can offer a comparable package of high-tech (port-)infrastructure, business-friendly environment, and political stability.[9]

Figure 2: China's Trade with GCC (2001–15, Exports vs Imports in US $ Thousand)



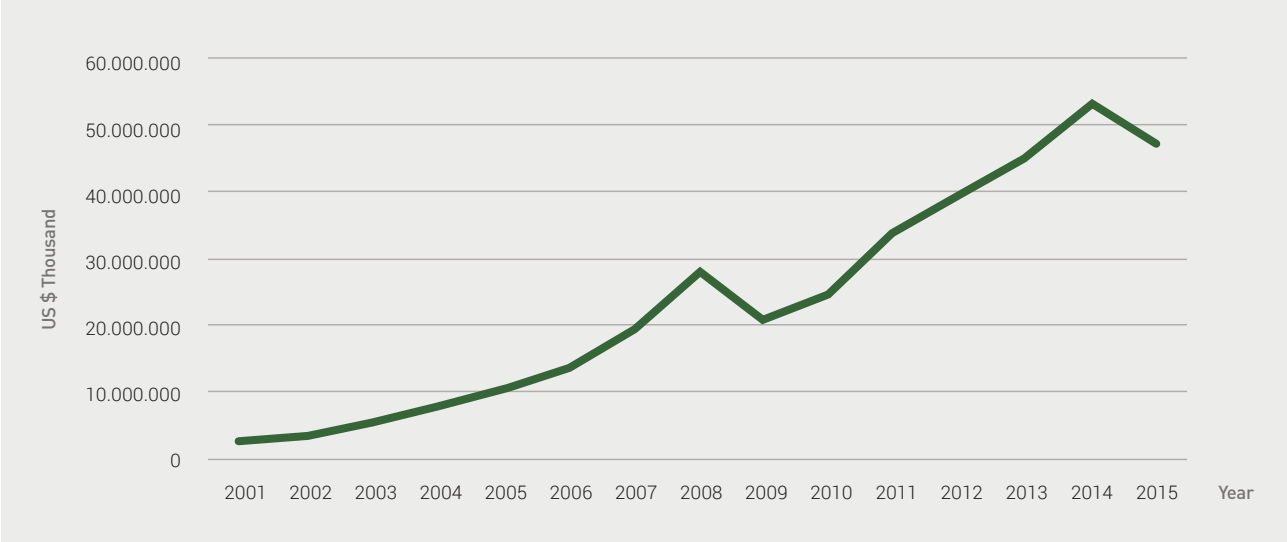
Source: International Trade Center, Trade Map. (MS Excel chart created by author.)

Figure 3: China's Imports from GCC (total vs fuel) (2001–15 in US $ Thousand)



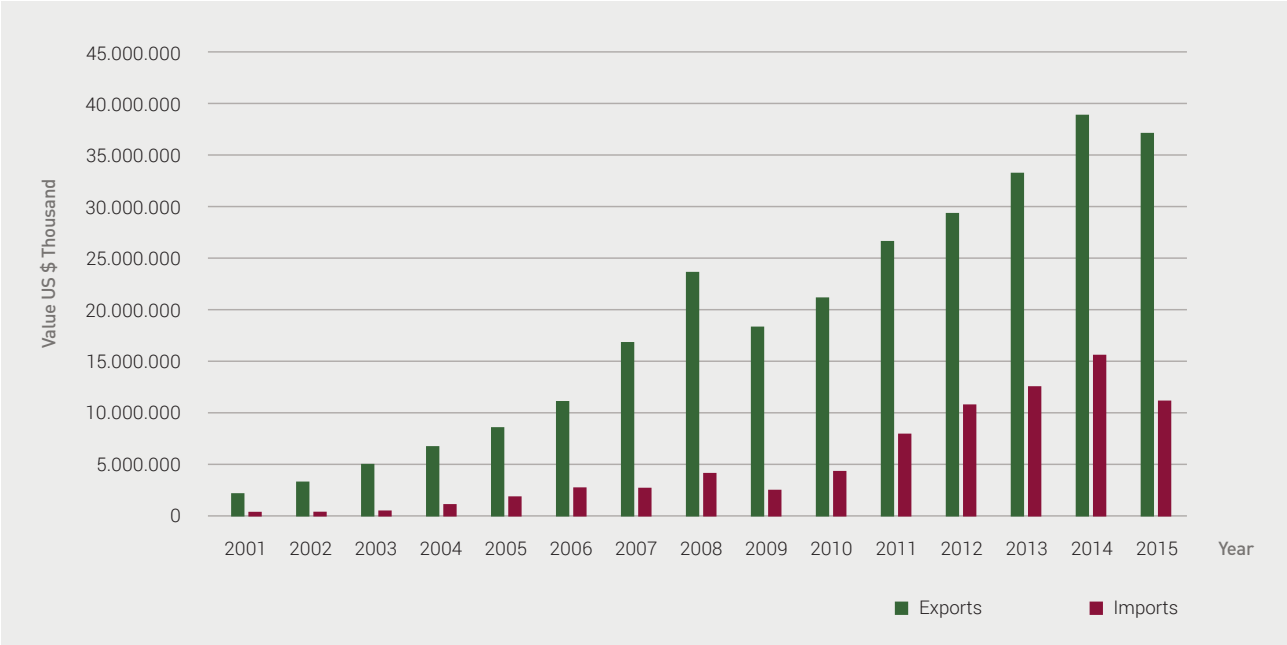
Source: International Trade Center, Trade Map. (MS Excel chart created by author.)

Figure 4: China–uae trade value (2001–15 in US $ Thousand)



Source: International Trade Center, Trade Map. (MS Excel chart created by author.)

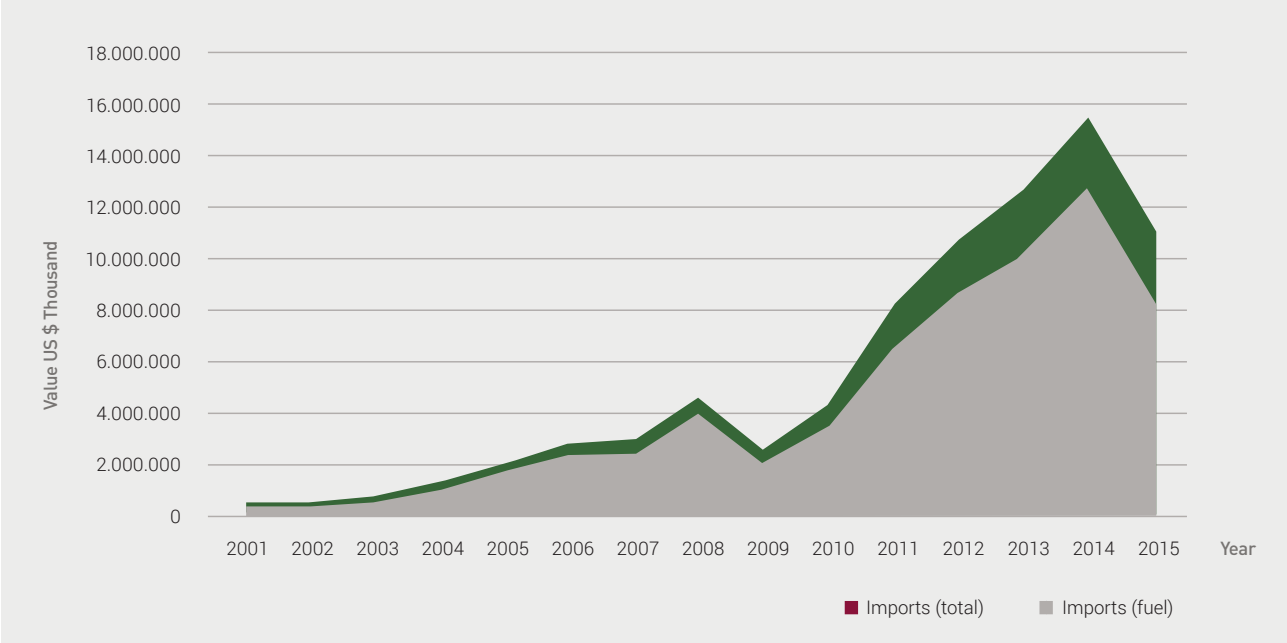
Figure 5: China's Trade with UAE (2001–15, Exports vs Imports in US $ Thousand)



Source: International Trade Center, Trade Map. (MS Excel chart created by author.)

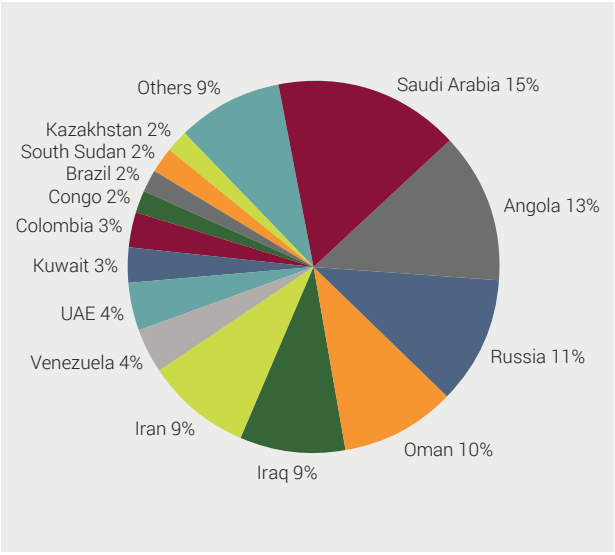
Vice versa, the UAE would also be sensitive to a hypothetical halt to imports from China, the world's second-largest economy, especially due to the loss in re-export revenue. However, it would not be vulnerable to it, due to its globally diversified trading importance and due to the fact, that the bulk of its GDP – unlike China's – is no longer prodigiously trade-driven.[10] The UAE's non-hydrocarbon exports to China are marginal, as shown in Figure 6, hence there is no interdependence in that respect. On the other hand, Emirati reliance on hydrocarbons in its exports to China is overwhelming. The UAE would be relatively vulnerable to the loss of the Chinese energy market. Yet, despite Abu Dhabi's large oil reserves in relative terms, and given the UAE's small territorial size, China is nowhere near a dependence on those Emirati hydrocarbons. For instance, the UAE's 4% share of China's crude oil imports in 2014 could very easily be replaced in the short-, mid-, and long-term (see Figure 7). When it comes to energy, it is

Figure 6: China's Imports from UAE (total vs fuel) (2001–15, in $ US Thousand)



Source: International Trade Center, Trade Map. (MS Excel chart created by author.)

Figure 7: China's crude oil imports by source, 2014



Source: Energy Information Administration

clearly only the GCC as a whole, as mentioned above, that makes China closer to being vulnerably dependent, but not individual Gulf countries, with the cautious exception of the much larger Saudi Arabia. In the energy issue area therefore, the UAE is more dependent on the Chinese market, than China is on the UAE as an individual energy source.

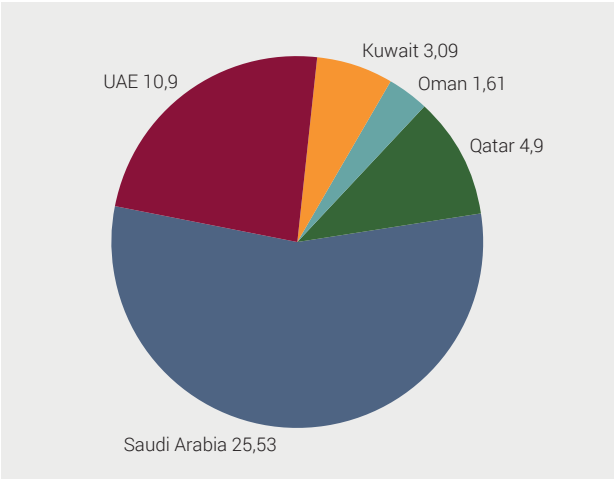
All in all, therefore, both asymmetries of interdependence cancel each other out, and despite the more than overwhelming difference in country size, China and the UAE are surprisingly symmetrically dependent on each other in trade matters.

Investment

In the past decade, China–GCC and China–UAE capital flows in the form of foreign direct investment (FDI) have also greatly increased, though on a slower and lesser scale than trade. A significant bulk of FDI flows between the countries have been conducted by state-owned enterprises (SOEs), often co-facilitated via credit supplies from their mother countries' large sovereign wealth funds (SWFs), but also between private companies.[11]

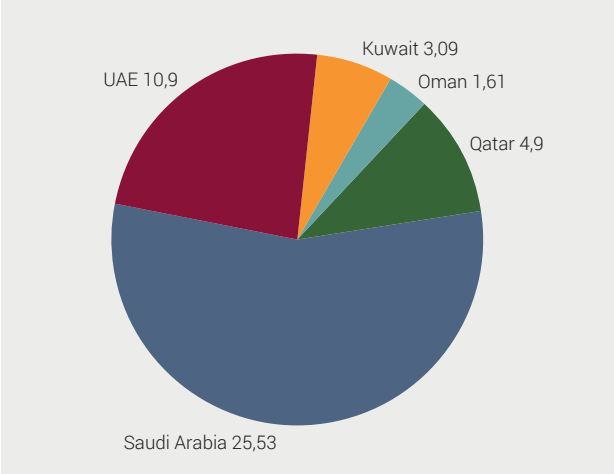
Figure 8 and 9 show the distribution of China's outward infrastructure investment into GCC countries between 2005 and 2015. Due to its size and importance as a hydrocarbon source, Saudi Arabia clearly dominates the field, with a Chinese infrastructure investment inflow of approximately $26 billion – representing more than half of the GCC's share. The UAE though follows as a clear second, absorbing approximately $11 billion over the same period, which accounts for roughly a quarter of all Chinese infrastructure investments in the GCC.

Figure 8: Chinese Infrastructure Investment into GCC* in $ Billion (2005–15)



* excluding Bahrain (no data)
Source: American Enterprise Institute,
China Global Investment Tracker.
(MS Excel chart created by author.)

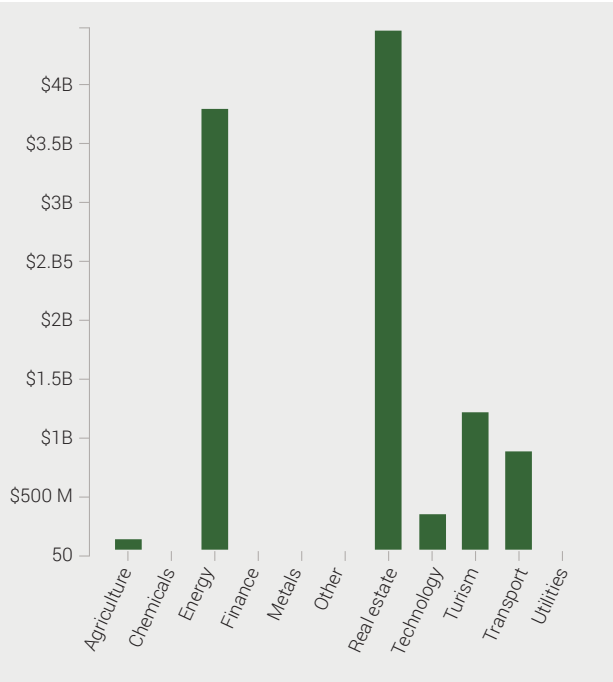
Figure 9: Chinese Infrastructure Investment into GCC* (2005–15)



* excluding Bahrain (no data)
Source: American Enterprise Institute, China Global Investment Tracker
(MS Excel chart created by author.)

Figure 10 breaks down those Chinese infrastructure investments into six Emirati sectors, encompassing agriculture, energy, real estate, technology, tourism and transport, with energy and real estate seeing a strong dominance. Most of these infrastructure projects were and are undertaken by China State Construction Engineering Corporation (CSCEC), others by the likes of China National Petroleum Corporation (CNPC) or Shanghai Electric.

FIGURE 10: Chinese Infrastructure Investment into UAE in $ Billion (2005–15)



Source: American Enterprise Institute,
China Global Investment Tracker.

Moving from construction to other FDI flows, China's investment into the UAE also incorporates the presence of several established Chinese commercial tech-brands such as China Mobile, China Telecom, Huawei, Lenovo, and Xiaomi. More than 4,000 Chinese enterprises are said to be listed in the UAE.[12] In terms of retail business, China has also already had a significant impact not only on the UAE's consumers, but also on regional shopping-tourism and indeed transcontinental wholesaling. Dragon Mart Dubai is China's largest mall outside the mainland and is also a wholesale hub for the African market.[13] Initiated by China's Ministry of Commerce and financed by Chinamex, it has recently seen an expansion – confirming the UAE's importance in China's trade with the GCC, West Asia and beyond, as shown above.[14]

China's outlook on investment in the UAE is also highlighted by the growing number of Chinese banks there. Since 2008, Dubai International Financial Centre (DIFC) has welcomed the Industrial and Commercial Bank of China, Bank of China, the Agricultural Bank of China, and the China Construction Bank. It has been reported that these four players alone now already account for roughly a quarter of total assets booked in DIFC – itself a growing international financial hub.[15]

Vice versa, several Emirati state-owned and private companies have invested increasingly in China, but not yet to a similarly high degree compared to their FDI in other countries and regions. Indeed, as Figure 11 shows, China ranked eleventh in Emirati outward investment between 2003 and 2015 – representing a mere 3.05% in the UAE's global outward investment. Given the size of China's economy and inward investment potential, this is a very modest Emirati performance so far. Among the few prominent examples of Emirati FDI into China are several construction contracts by Dubai-based luxury hotel chain Jumeirah Group,[16] as well as numerous joint ventures by Dubai Ports World in several Chinese ports,[17] and an increased expansion of the UAE's aviation giants, Emirates and Etihad into China.[18] Yet, these investments may point to a future with a much higher and diverse growth potential.

RANK	HOSTING COUNTRIES	COMPANIES	PROJECTS	JOBS CREATED	COST (MILLION $)
1	**EGYPT**	64	99	44,827	32,378
2	**INDIA**	135	354	101,083	29,692
3	**IRAQ**	33	48	17,445	29,135
4	**JORDAN**	39	59	22,490	15,447
5	**UAE**	25	26	11,561	15,280
6	**TUNISIA**	14	16	4,295	14,839
7	**SAUDI ARABIA**	135	201	32,140	13,489
8	**UNITED KINGDOM**	55	169	15,410	12,658
9	**MOROCCO**	25	46	21,120	11,693
10	**SYRIA**	17	21	22,388	9,275
11	**CHINA**	42	66	18,484	9,074
12	**QATAR**	100	135	21,609	7,897
13	**INDONESIA**	14	19	10,886	7,897
14	**LEBANON**	44	53	18,509	7,308
15	**PAKISTAN**	28	60	15,831	7,202
16	**BAHRAIN**	71	104	16,353	6,582
17	**UNITED STATES**	47	69	12,897	5,395
18	**TURKEY**	24	26	11,013	5,184
19	**OMAN**	81	127	19,013	3,036
20	**NIGERIA**	14	17	4,459	2,957
21	**AUSTRALIA**	15	33	4,303	2,754
22	**KUWAIT**	57	79	10,027	2,620
23	**RUSSIA**	14	18	7,851	2,204
24	**MALAYSIA**	25	34	8,837	2,068
25	**SPAIN**	14	22	3,594	1,943
26	**GERMANY**	17	26	4,358	1,930
27	**PERU**	1	2	3,836	1,850
28	**SENEGAL**	5	7	4,814	1,743
29	**DJIBOUTI**	4	4	2,545	1,695
30	**GEORGIA**	7	12	5,353	1,383
	OTHERS		504	74,965	30,759
	TOTAL		**2,456**	**72,296**	**297,365**

Source: Dhaman Investment Attractiveness Index 2015, 113:

All in all, as seen above, it has to be said that the level of investment flows is still relatively low, compared to trade, and compared to China's investment in other regions and countries, and the GCC's and the UAE's elsewhere too. So far, the author observes a rapidly growing interconnectedness that in the future could develop into some form of interdependence. Given the number of Chinese companies in the UAE, multiple channels additional to governmental ones are already connecting both societies. The UAE is also the Gulf state with the flattest hierarchy of issue areas in its relations with China. Yet, finance and investment still take a relatively marginal role. Hence, a hypothetical breakup would not have high costly affects yet in the area of investment, though that could change in the future, especially for the UAE.

China–UAE investment flows have hitherto been marked by an asymmetry in interconnectedness. Whilst a stop to Emirati banking in China would have no impact on the world's second largest economy, a stop to Chinese banking in the UAE would have a noticeable, and increasingly painful impact in the UAE, given DIFC's recent, fast and vast absorption of Chinese capital. However, there are plenty of untapped markets in China for the UAE, such as luxury real estate and Islamic Finance.[19] Moreover, China's One-Belt-One-Road project could, in the future, benefit from Gulf and Emirati investment participation across Asia.[20] Thus, the UAE's and especially the entire GCC's financial importance to China might at least moderately increase.

Since at least the UAE is growing more appreciative of Chinese capital and infrastructure investment, I thus conclude that an overall asymmetrical financial interdependence might take shape between China and the UAE.

Impact

Mirroring most of China's foreign relations and trade, its political ties to the GCC countries, including the UAE, are a fairly recent phenomenon. After the Chinese Cold War pivot to the West and China's economic opening in 1979, the two countries set up official diplomatic ties in 1984.[21] Bilateral trade was soon launched with a series of agreements between the two governments in the following years. Since then, there has been a series of high-profile state visits between the two country's leaders and senior ministers on a frequent basis. These visits and exchanges have birthed a widening diverse range of cooperative agreements and helped to cement political synchronisation on global and regional issues. Only in very recent years, though, have diplomatic relations grown much closer, trailing the growing trade and investment flows. A result of the new interconnectedness and growing interdependence has been a rising sense of the countries' increased stake in each other's economic success and thus political stability. The UAE's 'Look East' policy underlines this fact, as does China's initiative to sign a 'strategic partnership' agreement with the UAE in 2012.[22]

Yet, so far, these closer economic and diplomatic ties have not been heavily politicised. This has several reasons. With the exception of its direct neighbourhood in East and South-East Asia, China claims, and mostly shows, a largely apolitical approach to its foreign affairs. Beijing's primary interests abroad are business-driven, which leaves the matter of (geo)political stability, a necessary precondition for low-risk trade and investment, as the only relevant one. Despite a violent and highly unstable Middle Eastern region, the Persian Gulf area and the UAE have so far managed to remain stable. However, numerous dangers loom, especially the Saudi–Iranian enmity, in which the UAE as a GCC member would have to pick Riyadh's side if the conflict escalated. So far though, such an escalation into direct military confrontation has been avoided, much to China's satisfaction, because it seeks to remain apolitical and hence not be forced to choose economically between Iran and the GCC.[23]

However, one crucial barrier to a Saudi–Iranian descent into war has been the enduring military presence and buffer zone of the US Armed Forces, including the US Navy's Fifth Fleet in the Persian Gulf. This presence exemplifies the high level of American political engagement in Gulf and Middle Eastern affairs. Yet, due to costly and unsuccessful military interventions in the previous decades, and due to the revolution in unconventional energy production at home, that American political engagement and military presence in the Middle East and even in the Gulf has been called into question by some analysts, even though American and GCC security interests are also marked by high interdependence.

This overall situation at the time of writing leaves four imaginable scenarios for the geopolitical future of the Gulf region, that could come about due to or in spite of China's growing economic impact there.[24]

Scenarios One and Two: Successful or Unsuccessful Access Denial

A realist logic, where the security issue area dominates, could see the US seek to (1) successfully, or (2) unsuccessfully deny China enhanced military access to Gulf waters, and especially land bases – something that China does not aspire to for the time being anyway, despite its 'strategic partnerships' in the Gulf, including with the UAE. Moreover, for the moment, and the short to mid-term future, China's military does not have the capability to fulfil a role similar to the current American one.[25] However, given China's enhanced stake in Gulf and UAE stability and prosperity, a potential future rivalry with Washington might force Beijing to upgrade its regional engagement in order to protect its geoeconomic interest in energy and trade.

Scenario Three: Multilateral Cooperation

Since this stake is already growing rapidly – a result of increasing interconnectedness and likely interdependence – China and the GCC and UAE have a strong interest in upholding the status quo. This scenario (3) includes stable and cooperative relations with each other and with the US, but also the presence of American military in the Gulf, on which not only the GCC, but also China currently 'freeride'. The latter condition resembles CIT's notion of a de-linkage of issue areas for China. It validates several lines of thought in Keohane's and Nye's theory.

Scenario Four: Regional Anarchy

None of these three scenarios are certain though. For a number of reasons the US might decide to withdraw militarily from the Gulf in the not too distant future. Simultaneously, as shown above, China's interconnectedness with the GCC and the UAE, though moving rapidly towards sensitivity interdependence, is not extensive enough for China to be without any other options in energy, trade, and finance – the issue areas that matter here. A potential lack of either US or Chinese, or other outside powers' military presence (e.g. European or Indian forces) in the Gulf could then easily result in a new intra-regional anarchy, since no solely intra-regional security framework would seem to have a current chance of success, given the intra-regional rivalry and enmity that exists. This scenario (3) would also closely resemble realist dynamics.

Conclusion

This paper had the purpose of contributing towards an assessment on the wider economic and geopolitical impact of the growing economic ties between China and the GCC via a case study on the UAE. The theories of complex interdependence and realism were utilised as a facilitating framework.

China–GCC and China–UAE economic ties have grown at rapid speed since the millennium. In terms of hydrocarbon trade China and the GCC are already highly interdependent. The UAE is part of that story, but adds an additional layer to this condition by serving as China's West Asian 'Silk Hub' – importing and re-exporting a vast amount of Chinese goods. In trade alone, therefore, CIT would label the relations as moving closer to surprisingly symmetrical vulnerability interdependence.

In terms of investment, there is so far a mere interconnectedness, though in the not too distant future, the UAE could become slightly more dependent on China than vice versa, especially due to the huge Chinese energy market and due to Chinese capital in DIFC.

CIT is therefore a helpful tool via which to grade China–GCC/UAE relations, though it is clear that for now, they are on balance more sensitive than vulnerable to a breakup. This could change in the near future though, because within West Asia, there are only worse choices than the UAE to serve as a 'Silk Hub'. More importantly, there is a large and ever-growing oil demand in China, making an increased dependence on the GCC hard to avoid. Chinese energy security is mirrored by the GCC's demand security, although the UAE's more diversified economy is less vulnerable than that of other GCC members.

So far China has primarily followed its economic interest when enhancing its diplomatic relations with the UAE and the wider Gulf. The UAE and the GCC have been doing the same, but arguably only because for now the US has maintained its Gulf security provision. This absence of issue-linkage/politicisation is chiefly down to the fact that China is neither capable of nor willing to replace America's geopolitical role in the Gulf. Yet, China has arguably only been able to afford to do so as easily as it does, because the US has linked the issues 'for' a freeriding China via its Gulf military presence.

Consequently, for now, due to this exogenous variable and China's insufficient military capacity, CIT is more accurate than realism, even though the case study is still far away from the former's ideal type. If this status quo is continued, multilateral cooperation (scenario 3) would be the most credible outcome. This would ensure that China and the US wield different kinds of power in the Persian Gulf.

NOTES

1 Al-Tamimi, N. (2014) China–Saudi Arabia Relations, 1990–2012. Marriage of Convenience or Strategic Alliance? (London/New York: Routledge); Alterman, J.B. & Garver, J.W. (2008) The Vital Triangle. China, The United States, and The Middle East, (Washington DC: The CSIS Press); Davidson, C.M. (2010) The Persian Gulf and Pacific Asia: From Indifference to Interdependence, (New York City/Chichester: C. Hurst & Co Publishers Ltd.); Ehteshami, A. & Carter, H. (eds.) (2004) The Middle East's Relations with Asia and Russia, (London/New York: Routledge); Ehteshami, A. and Miyagi, Y. (eds.) (2015) The Emerging Middle East-East Asia Nexus, (London/New York: Routledge); Gupta, R. & Janardhan, N. (eds.) (2015) A New Gulf Security Architecture: Prospects and Challenges for an Asian Role, (Berlin/London: Gerlach Press); Horesh, N. (ed.) (2015) Toward Well-Oiled Relations? China's Presence in the Middle East following the Arab Spring, (Basingstoke/New York: Palgrave Macmillan); Kemp, G. (2012) The East Moves West. India, China, and Asia's Growing Power in the Middle East, (Washington DC: Brookings Institution Press); Niblock, T. & Malik, M. (eds.) (2013) Asia-Gulf Economic Relations in the 21st Century. The Local to Global Transformation, (Berlin/London: Gerlach Press); Niblock, T. & Guang, Y. (eds.) (2014) Security Dynamics of East Asia in the Gulf Region, (Berlin/London: Gerlach Press); Olimat, M.S. (2013) China and the Middle East. From Silk Road to Arab Spring, (New York City: Routledge); Simpfendorfer, B. (2009) The New Silk Road. How a Rising Arab World is Turning Away from the West and Rediscovering China, (London: Palgrave Macmillan); Wakefield, B. & Levenstein, S.L. (eds.) (2011) China and the Persian Gulf. Implications for the United States. (Washington, DC: Woodrow Wilson International Center for Scholars); etc.

2 Keohane, R.O. & Nye Jr., J.S. (2011, fourth edition), Power and Interdependence, (London/New York: Pearson [first edition 1977]), pp. 10–16.

3 Ibid: 19.

4 Ibid: 25–26.

5 Simpfendorfer 2009: 1–30.

6 EIA (2014) 'China is now the world's largest net importer of petroleum and other liquid fuels'. Today in Energy. 24 March 2014; Al-Tamimi 2014: 2.

7 Thafer, D. (2013), 'After the Financial Crisis: Dubai–China Economic Relations'. Middle East Institute. 15 September 2013.

8 Jacques, M. (2012, second edition), When China Rules the World. The End of the Western World and the Birth of a New Global Order, (London: Penguin [first edition 2009, Allan Lane]), pp. 187.

9 Kumar, B.R. (2013) 'The UAE's Strategic Trade Partnership with Asia: A Focus on Dubai'. Middle East Institute, 19 August 2013.

10 Davidson, C.M. (2008) Dubai. The Vulnerability of Success, (London: Hurst & Company), p. 135.

11 Bazoobandi, S. (2015) 'GCC Sovereign Wealth Funds: Aims and Motives'. In: Talbot, V. (ed.), The Rising Gulf. The New Ambitions of the Gulf Monarchies, (Milan: ISPI); Clark, G.L. et al. (2013) Sovereign Wealth Funds. Legitimacy, Governance, and Global Power, (Princeton/Oxford: Princeton University Press), pp. 105–120.

12 Rakhmat, M.Z. (2015) 'The UAE and China's Thriving Partnership'. In: Monthly Monitor Report, June 2015, Gulf State Analytics.

13 Molavi, A. (2015) 'The United Arab Emirates, China, and the new "Triple-South"'. Foreign Policy Institute, SAIS, 22 December 2015.

14 Chinamex website: http://www.chinamex.com.cn/english/show2.asp?id=479.

15 Isaac, J. (2016) 'Rising UAE–China trade spurs growth in DIFC', Khaleej Times, 1 March 2016.

16 Jumeirah Group website: https://www.jumeirah.com/en/jumeirah-group/development/future-plans/hotels-and-resorts-in-asia-pacific/.

17 DP World website: http://web.dpworld.com/our-business/marine-terminals/asia-pacific-indian-subcontinent/.

18 Emirates website: https://www.emirates.com/media-centre/emirates-expands-network-in-mainland-china-to-be-distributed-in-30-minutes; El Gazzar, S. (2016), 'Etihad Airways plans expansion in China and Africa'. In: The National, 1 June 2016.

19 Vizcaino, B. (2015) 'China turns to Islamic finance to expand economic clout', Reuters, 22 September 2015.

20 Scott, E. (2015) 'China's "One Belt, One Road" strategy meets the UAE's Look East Policy', China Brief 15(11), Jamestown Foundation.

21 Olimat 2013: 163.

22 Ibid: 163–175; Malek, C. (2015) 'UAE and China to rewrite relations', The National, 9 December 2015; Scott 2015; Zongyuan, L. (2015) 'Rising Chinese Waves in the UAE', Middle East Institute, 5 August 2015.

23 Clover, C. & Hornby, L. (2015) 'China's Great Game: Road to a New Empire', Financial Times, 12 October 2015; Niblock, T. (2016) 'Situating the GCC in China's Transforming Roles in Asia', Middle East Institute, 16 February 2016.

24 Glaser, L.C. & Kelanic, R.A. (2017) 'Getting Out of the Gulf. Oil and US Military Strategy', Foreign Affairs, January/February 2017 Issue.

25 Bianchi, R. (2015), 'China and the USA in the Middle East and Islamic world', in Etheshami, A. and Miyagi, Y. (eds.), 'The Emerging Middle-East – East Asia Nexus', (London/New York: Routledge).

BIBLIOGRAPHY

Al-Tamimi, N. (2014), **China–Saudi Arabia Relations, 1990–2012. Marriage of Convenience or Strategic Alliance**? (London/New York: Routledge).

Alterman, J.B. & Garver, J.W. (2008) **The Vital Triangle. China, The United States, and The Middle East**, (Washington DC: The CSIS Press).

American Enterprise Institute, China Global Investment Tracker: https://www.aei.org/china-global-investment-tracker/.

Bazoobandi, S. (2015) 'GCC sovereign wealth funds: aims and motives', in Talbot, V. (ed.), **The Rising Gulf. The New Ambitions of the Gulf Monarchies**, (Milan: ISPI).

Bianchi, R. (2015) 'China and the USA in the Middle East and Islamic world', in Etheshami, A. & Miyagi, Y. (eds.), The Emerging Middle East – East Asia Nexus, (London/New York: Routledge).

Chinamex website: http://www.chinamex.com.cn/english/show2.asp?id=479.

Clark, G.L. et al. (2013) **Sovereign Wealth Funds. Legitimacy, Governance, and Global Power,** (Princeton/Oxford: Princeton University Press).

Clover, C. & Hornby, L. (2015) 'China's Great Game: Road to a New Empire', in **Financial Times,** 12 October 2015.

Davidson, C.M. (2008) **Dubai. The Vulnerability of Success**, (London: Hurst & Company).

Davidson, C.M. (2010) **The Persian Gulf and Pacific Asia: From Indifference to Interdependence**, (New York/Chichester: Columbia University Press).

Dubai Ports World website: http://web.dpworld.com/our-business/marine-terminals/asia-pacific-indian-subcontinent/.

Ehteshami, A. & Carter, H. (eds.) (2004), **The Middle East's Relations with Asia and Russia**, (London/New York: Routledge).

Ehteshami, A. & Miyagi, Y. (eds.) (2015) The Emerging Middle East-East Asia Nexus, (London/New York: Routledge).

El Gazzar, S. (2016), 'Etihad Airways plans expansion in China and Africa', The National, 1 June 2016.

Emirates Group website: https://www.emirates.com/media-centre/emirates-expands-network-in-mainland-china-to-be-distributed-in-30-minutes.

Energy Information Administration (2014) 'China is now the world's largest net importer of petroleum and other liquid fuels', **Today in Energy,** 24 March 2014.

Energy Information Administration EIA (2015) '**China. International Energy Data and Analysis**'. 14 May 2015.

Glaser, L.C., & Kelanic, R.A. (2017) 'Getting out of the Gulf. Oil and US Military Strategy', **Foreign Affairs**, January/February 2017 Issue.

Gupta, R. & Janardhan, N. (eds.) (2015) **A New Gulf Security Architecture: Prospects and Challenges for an Asian Role**, (Berlin/London: Gerlach Press).

Horesh, N. (ed.) (2015) **Toward Well-Oiled Relations? China's Presence in the Middle East following the Arab Spring,** (Basingstoke/New York: Palgrave Macmillan).

International Trade Center, Trade Map: http://www.trademap.org/Bilateral_TS.aspx?nvpm=1|156||784||TOTAL|||2|1|1|2|2|1|1|1|1.

Isaac, J. (2016) 'Rising UAE–China trade spurs growth in DIFC', **Khaleej Times,** 1 March 2016.

Jacques, M. (2012, second edition) **When China Rules the World. The End of the Western World and the Birth of a New Global Order**. (London: Penguin [first edition 2009, Allan Lane]).

Jumeirah Group website: https://www.jumeirah.com/en/jumeirah-group/development/future-plans/hotels-and-resorts-in-asia-pacific/.

Kemp, G. (2012) **The East Moves West. India, China, and Asia's Growing Power in the Middle East**, (Washington, DC: Brookings Institution Press).

Keohane, R.O. & Nye Jr., J.S. (2011, fourth edition) **Power and Interdependence,** (London/New York: Pearson [first edition 1977]).

Kumar, B.R. (2013) 'The UAE's Strategic Trade Partnership with Asia: A Focus on Dubai', **Middle East Institute,** 19 August 2013.

Malek, C. (2015) 'UAE and China to rewrite relations', The National, 9 December 2015.

Molavi, A. (2015) 'The United Arab Emirates, China, and the new "Triple-South"', **Foreign Policy Institute,** SAIS, 22 December 2015.

Niblock, T. & Malik, M. (eds.) (2013) **Asia–Gulf Economic Relations in the 21st Century. The Local to Global Transformation**, (Berlin/London: Gerlach Press).

Niblock, T. & Guang, Y. (eds.) (2014) **Security Dynamics of East Asia in the Gulf Region**, (Berlin/London: Gerlach Press).

Niblock, T. (2016) 'Situating the GCC in China's transforming roles in Asia', **Middle East Institute,** 16 February 2016.

Olimat, M.S. (2013) **China and the Middle East. From Silk Road to Arab Spring**, (New York City: Routledge).

Rakhmat, M.Z. (2015) 'The UAE and China's Thriving Partnership', **Monthly Monitor Report**, June 2015, Gulf State Analytics.

Scott, E. (2015) 'China's "One Belt, One Road" Strategy Meets the UAE's Look East Policy', **China Brief** 15(11), Jamestown Foundation.

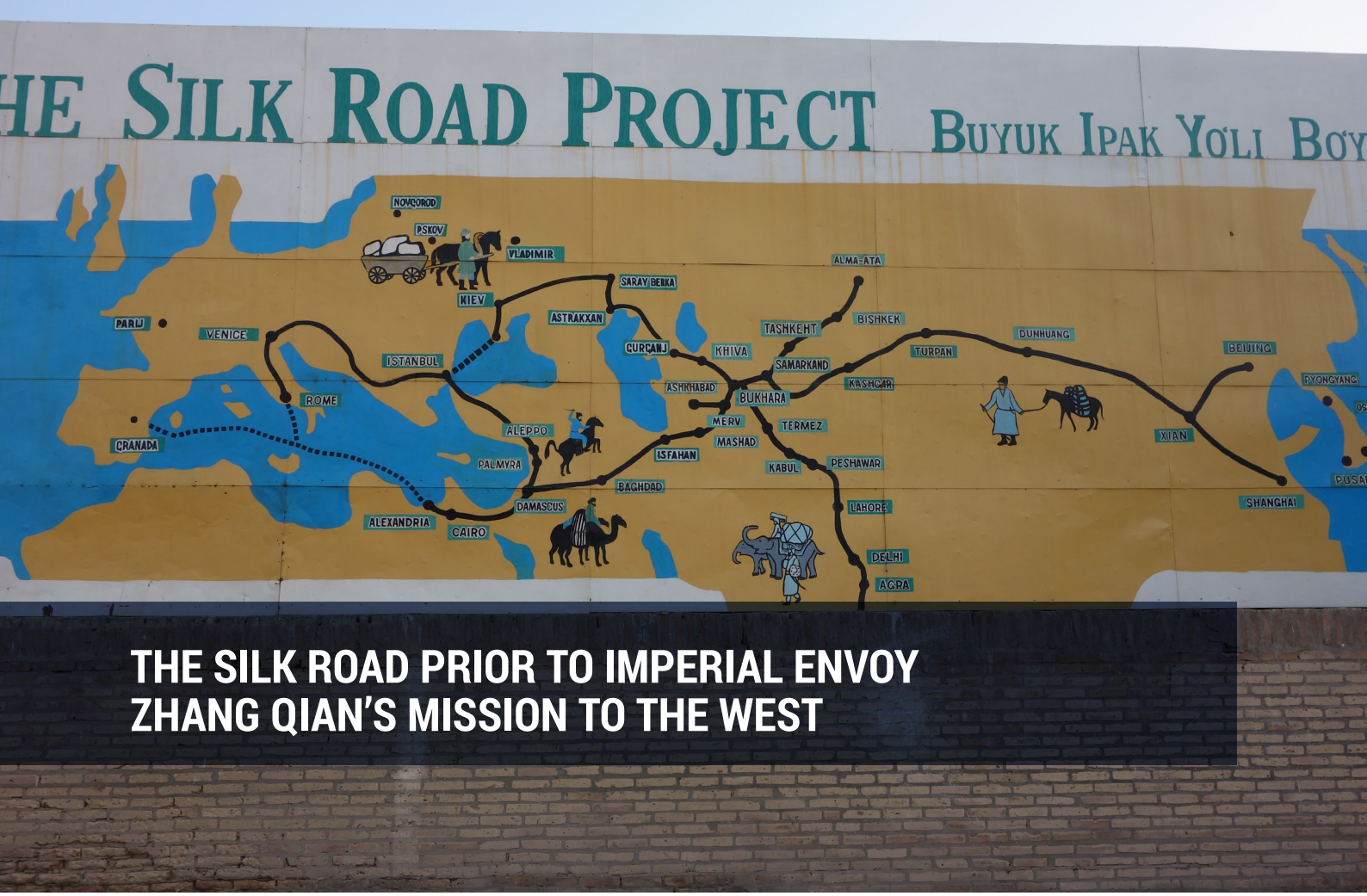
Simpfendorfer, B. (2009) **The New Silk Road. How a Rising Arab World is Turning Away from the West and Rediscovering China**, (London: Palgrave Macmillan).

Thafer, D. (2013) 'After the Financial Crisis: Dubai–China Economic Relations', **Middle East Institut**e, 15 September 2013.

Vizcaino, B. (2015) 'China turns to Islamic finance to expand economic clout', **Reuters**, 22 September 2015.

Wakefield, B. & Levenstein, S.L. (eds.) (2011) **China and the Persian Gulf. Implications for the United States**, (Washington, DC: Woodrow Wilson International Center for Scholars).

Zongyuan, L. (2015) 'Rising Chinese Waves in the UAE', **Middle East Insitute**. 5 August 2015.



THE SILK ROAD PRIOR TO IMPERIAL ENVOY ZHANG QIAN'S MISSION TO THE WEST

Lin Meicun, Professor
Peking University

China's economic and cultural exchanges with the West began in the Altai Mountains. They are the location of renowned gold mines and their name, Altai, originates from the Turkic word for gold. They were called the 'Gold Mountains' in Chinese during the Han dynasty. A Greek poet who travelled to the area in the 7th century BC called the people there 'Gold Keepers'. Han Dynasty Chinese silk was discovered by Russian archaeologists in various locations across the Altai Mountains and southern Siberia in the 20th century, including at Pazyryk, Oglakhty, the Mongolian highlands, and Ilmovayapad.[1] These archaeological findings indicate that the steppe Silk Road was originally collectively pioneered by ancient nomadic people, including Scythians, Huns, Jiankun people of southern Siberia and Dingling people from the outer Baykal Lake region.

Chu state artefacts discovered at the Pazyryk Burials

The Pazyryk Burials are located in the Altai republic of the Russian Federation. Burial sites of ancient nomadic people were discovered there from as long ago as the 19th century. These giant stone tombs are located in the Alpine zone, within the permafrost, and thus are also called the Pazyryk Frozen Tombs. Russian archaeologists started excavation at the site in 1856. The tombs are all Scythian; there are five giant stone tombs in the Pazyryk burial complex all lying in a straight line from north to south. Golden artefacts from the Pazyryk Burials have long been subject to illegal excavation and are completely exhausted. However, there are still some artefacts remaining at the site. Carbon dating of Pazyryk 2 and Pazyryk 5 tombs confirms that these tombs arre from 730 BC and 300 BC respectively, roughly corresponding to China's Spring and Autumn Period and Warring States Period. Ancient nomads of the Altai Mountains had extensive contact with other peoples of the Eurasian continent. Special horses were bred, and woollen felt was produced in the Central Asian grasslands, artefacts bearing Persian art and mythological themes were produced in ancient Persia and phoenix-patterned embroidery and bronze mirrors with the mountain character pattern were made in Chu state along the Yangtzi River valley. A remnant of a mirror with four mountain character patterns was excavated from tomb 6, and

is now held at the Hermitage museum in St Petersburg. Mountain character-patterned mirrors are the most widely discovered mirror type from the Warring States period and the four mountain character-patterned mirrors are the most numerous among these, accounting for 70–80% of bronze mirrors excavated in Hunan Province. The artefacts excavated in 1981 from the Chu state tombs in Jiangling Mashan in Hubei Province have great significance for research into the history of Chinese textiles and embroidery. Two pieces of Chu state silk have been recovered from the Pazyryk Tombs; the one recovered from tomb 3 with a geometric pattern is the same as that discovered in Hubei Jiangling Mashan No. 1 tomb. The other Pazyryk Chinese silk embroidery was recovered from tomb 5 and has exactly the same pattern as the one discovered in Mashan tomb No. 1. This demonstrates that during the Warring States period, Chu state art was considered the best example of Chinese art and that Chu state had taken the lead in exporting Chinese art to the world.

From Yingdu to the Altai Mountains

In 1993 Austrian scientists G. Lubec and colleagues published an article in the journal Nature claiming that they had discovered traces of silk in ancient Egyptian mummies. If this research result is confirmed, it means that Chinese silk had reached Egypt before 1000 BC.[2] But this appears to be an isolated case and there is no other material evidence to suggest that discovery of Chinese silk in the West predates the silk recovered from Pazyryk Tombs.

During the Warring States period the production of silk and artefacts centred in Yingdu in Chu state (modern day Jinan town, Jiangling, Hubei). The remnants of a lacquer vessel excavated from Pazyryk tomb 5 is the same as the Big Dipper patterned lacquer vessel found in the Warring States tomb in Shuihudi, Yunmeng, Hubei Province. In 1976–77, the Archaeology Institute of Xinjiang Academy of Social Sciences excavated remnants of a Warring States period lacquer vessel from a vertical hole wooden coffin tomb in Alagou, Nanshan mine, Urumqi.[3] The image on the remnant indicates that it is a Big Dipper-patterned lacquer vessel produced in Chu state. The remnant of dragon phoenix embroidery is the same as the one recovered from Jiangling Mashan No. 1 tomb. A remnant of mountain character-patterned bronze mirror was also found in the tomb in Xinjiang, which as we saw above, were also produced in Chu state.

As far as is known, Chu state bronze mirrors were exported worldwide as early as the 4th century BC. A feather patterned, four-leaf mirror which was found in the Tomsk region in Russia is very similar to another patterned mirror found in a tomb from the middle Warring States period in Zixing, Hunan Province.[4] The bronze mirrors found in Hunan are the most abundant, numbering over a thousand.[5] In 2005, a completely intact four mountain character-patterned bronze mirror was discovered in a Warring States period tomb in Heiliangwan, Baojiadian township, Manas county, Xinjiang. It is identical to the one found in Pazyryk tomb 6.[6]

In 1976–77, Wang Binghua excavated more than 40 animal-patterned pieces of gold and silver jewellery from a vertical hole wooden coffin tomb in Alagou. Of particular interest is the image of a lion which is foreign to China. Lions as an image in art originate from ancient Persia. Scythians brought Persian art to the Altai Mountains; from there it reached China's central plains via Alagou and Erdos.[7]

Additionally, the Westerners also learned about China via the Scythians. The ancient Greek writer Ctesias of Cnidus (5th–4th century BC) used the term 'Seres' for China. Seres is the name originally used by the Scythians for ancient China and is similar to the term 'Sry' used by the Sogdians.[8]

During the Warring States era, Scythians from the Altai Mountains had trading relations with the inhabitants of the Yellow River and Yangtze River valleys in China. An important evidence of this is the discovery of dragonfly-eye glass beads in both regions. This type of glass is soda lime glass which is different to native, Chinese lead-barium glass. It was originally produced in Phoenicia in the eastern Mediterranean. A necklace made of dragonfly-eye glass beads was discovered in the tomb of the Marquis Yi of Zeng in Suixian in Hubei Province. This indicates that the trade route already existed before the 4th century BC. Many other similar examples have been discovered in various locations across the Central Plains. This clearly indicates that a transport corridor existed from Yingdu in Chu state via Luoyi and northern Shanxi to the Altai Mountains.

Route from Qin capital Xianyang to Shendu

The 'Monument to Spread of Christianity in China under the Great Qin' and the ancient Sogdian documents discovered in Dunhuang, both in Syriac script, use the

term 'Khumdan' for 'Chang'an'. Scholars agree that this originates from the Qin capital city Xianyang and that it only changed under the Han Dynasty after it became the dynastic capital. Sogdian documents use the term 'Cinastan' for China. It is believed that there was a significant Chinese migrant population in Central Asia before Zhang Qian's mission there. 'Qin people' was the term used by inhabitants of the Western region for Han inhabitants from the Central Plains. If the above is the case, then there would have been Qin inhabitants migrated to the Western region and Mongolian grassland. 'Cinastan' as the Sogdian name for China originates from the Sanskrit term 'Cina', a term appearing in a book written in 4-3rd century BC. There were Qin immigrants living in the Western region as early as the Warring States period. The most convenient route between Xianyang and Shendu state (modern day Indus valley) is the route via Jiuquan. British archaeologist Marc Aurel Stein found five corrugated red stones in Xinjiang dating back to 3-2nd century BC. In 1985, a corrugated red stone bead necklace was discovered in an ancient tomb at Bozdong in Konashahar, Xinjiang. It has been dated to the Eastern Han dynasty. Corrugated red stone is a handicraft specific to the ancient Indus River valley. This tradition still continues in Pakistan to date. The discovery demonstrates that there was trading between India and Khotan in the southern Tarim basin.

Conclusion

Summarising the discussion, we can reach the following conclusions:

- As early as the Warring States period, Scythians from southern Siberia pioneered the Silk Road from the Altai Mountains to Yingdu (today Jiangling in Hubei). Ancient Greeks used the name 'Seres' for China, which originates from the Scythian name for Luoyi, the nominal capital of China during the Warring States period.

- In the 4th century BC migration from the Qin Kingdom to the Western Regions began and they were called Qin people. The Silk Road from Xianyang to Shendu (India) was established.

- In the 4th century BC Indian maritime traders opened the maritime route to Nanyue (today's Guangzhou) and Qi state (today's Linzi in Shangdong). If this is the case, the Arabic term 'al-Sīn' and the ancient Greek term 'Thinai' are all originated from 'Cina', the name used by Indian merchants for China.

NOTES

1 1《后汉书•窦宪传》记载:"明年(永元三年/ 91 年)，复遣右校尉耿夔、司马任尚、赵博等将兵击北虏于 金微山，大破之，克获甚众(《后汉书》，第 818-819 页)。 E.D. Phillips (1955) "The Legend of Aristeas: Fact and Fancy in Early Greek Notions of East Russia, Siberia, and Inner Asia", Artibus Asiae XVIII(2): 161–177;林梅村:《阿尔泰山和天山的大石冢》，余太山主编《欧亚学刊》 第 3 辑，中华书局，2002 年，第 110 页。 S.V. Pankova et al. (2010)"Radiocarbon Dating of Oglakhty Grave Using a Wiggle Matching Method", Archaeology Ethnology & Anthropology of Eurasia 38(2): 46–56. [苏] 鲁金科:《匈奴文化与诺彦乌拉巨冢》，孙危译，中华书局，2012 年。 Krishnā Riboud (1972/3) "Some Remarks on Strikingly Similar Han Figured Silks Found in Recent Years in Diverse Sites", Archives of Asian Art 26: 12–25.

2 G. Lubec, J. Holaubek, C. Feldl, B. Lubec & E. Strouhal (1993) "Use of Silk in Ancient Egypt", Nature, 4 March 1993.

3 新疆社会科学院考古研究所:《新疆阿拉沟竖穴木椁墓发掘简报》，《文物》1981 年第 1 期，第 18–22 页。插图 004 阿拉沟木椁墓出土丝绸残片照片，引自祁小山、王博编:《丝绸之路 新疆古代文化》，新疆人民出 版社，2008 年，第 131 页。

4 孔祥星、刘一曼:《中国铜镜图典》，文物出版社，1992 年，第 24 页。

5 孔祥星、刘一曼:《中国古代铜镜》，文物出版社，1984 年，第 30–33 页。

6 陈金宝主编:《丝绸之路天山廊道——新疆昌吉回族自治州古代遗址与馆藏文物精品》上册，文物出版社，2014 年，第 16–17 页。

7 林梅村:《狮子与狻猊》，收入林梅村着:《汉唐西域与中国文明》，文物出版社，1998 年，第 49 页。

8 [法] 伯希和:《景教碑中叙利亚文之长安洛阳》，冯承钧译《西域南海史地考证译丛》第一编，商务印书 馆，1962 年，第 34–35 页;季羡林等:《大唐西域记校注》，中华书局 1985 年，第 141–142 页。

PORCELAIN TRADE AND THE REPRODUCTION OF WORLD CIVILISATION IN THE PERSPECTIVE OF 'ONE BELT, ONE ROAD'

Fang Lili, Professor
China Academy of Arts

Abstract
This paper discusses the Chinese porcelain trade along the span of the 'One Belt, One Road' initiative, reviewing the history of interaction of world civilisations brought by the Chinese porcelain trade along the 'Silk Road' and the 'Maritime Silk Road'. Such an approach allows us to redefine the role of Chinese material culture in the reproduction and reinvigoration of world civilisations and its position in cultural history. Trade along the historical 'One Belt, One Road' involved not only tea, spices and silk, but also porcelain. The former were on a one-way journey from East to West. While it is difficult to trace back tea, spices and silk, as they were all consumed upon arrival, porcelain, by contrast, has been permanently preserved at museums or passed down by families. Therefore, it has played a long-lasting, core role in cultural interaction. The world trade in porcelain had a universal impact on art images and forms and allows us to see the continuous interaction and reproduction of images in different countries in the world. In addition, porcelain is also a highly sensitive indicator of interactions between people and material objects – more sensitive than any other commodity in the world – because it records the impacts on several aspects, including traditional art skills, international trade, industrial development, political distress, beliefs of elites, ritual customs and cultural contacts and so on. This kind of discussion allows us to see how culture has been shaped historically along the 'One Belt, One Road' and also helps us see our way to the future.

Keywords: One Belt One Road, porcelain trade, the Indian Ocean, great geographical discovery

The role of Chinese porcelain trade in world history

China's 'One Belt, One Road' initiative is drawing attention to the ancient land and maritime Silk Roads. In fact, commodities transported and sold along these roads included not only silk, but also tea, porcelain, lacquerware and many other products made in China. Robert Finlay, an American scholar, writes, 'the first step to globalisation of human materialistic culture was launched under China's leadership. Throughout most of human history, the Chinese economy has been the most advanced and developed in the world.'[1] But today, while we do pay attention to China as a 'yellow' agricultural country, not enough attention is paid to a 'blue' China with developed maritime trade.

Therefore, this paper mainly discusses the Chinese porcelain trade along 'One Belt, One Road' and examines the impact on worldwide cultural interaction of the Chinese porcelain trade on the 'Silk Road'. This approach will allow us redefine the role of Chinese material culture in the reproduction of world civilisation and its position in cultural history.

China was the first country in the world to discover porcelain. Beginning from the Eastern Han Dynasty, Chinese porcelain production began to develop. During the Tang Dynasty period Chinese porcelain was sold around the world. For more than thousand years, Chinese porcelain has been treasured worldwide. As a material medium, it has crossed great distances and contributed to the fusion and spread of art symbols, themes and patterns. However, this history has not received wide attention from researchers and has rarely been discussed from a broader perspective involving culture, politics and economy. As Robert Finlay says, porcelain is also a highly sensitive indicator of interactions between people and objects because it records traditional art skills, international trade, industrial development, political distress, beliefs of elites, ritual customs, cultural contacts and so on.[2]

Yet, porcelain has another special feature. While it is more difficult to trace the impact of other commodities as they were all consumed upon arrival, porcelain, in contrast, lasts and is preserved in museums or passed down by families. Therefore, it has played a long-lasting, core role in cultural interactions. On one hand, the Chinese art subjects and patterns on the porcelain were accepted and embraced by distant societies, then recombined and interpreted into decorations on other commodities and eventually returned as 'exotic' culture to the place where they were first created. On the other hand, Chinese ceramic craftsmen often modified exotic patterns and used them in their own products, which were then exported by merchants and returned to their place of origin. For instance, one Chinese decorative pattern was spread to areas half a world away and imitated by local craftsman, and these men did not know that this 'exotic' culture that had inspired the Chinese and was imitated by them had actually been created by their own ancestors.

China's ceramic trade linked most parts of the Eurasian Continent together, and ultimately connected them to the American continent through Europe. In some sense, China was actually the most important hub and engine that drove the whole system. Unfortunately, this engine gradually lost power after the 18th century. So will this engine be started again under the 'One Belt, One Road' strategy launched by China today? This question is really worth our thinking.

Water transport, canals and trade in porcelain

The foreign trading of Chinese porcelain probably began as early as in the Eastern Han Dynasty, but it was not large-scale and did not extend to many countries in Asia and Africa until the Tang Dynasty. It took off because of the large-scale development of a canal system in China during the Tang Dynasty; it was with the help of these canals that porcelain products were shipped in large quantities to the coastal ports and then transported on to various countries in the old world.

The canal system in China was conceived in the Sui Dynasty and began to flourish in the Tang Dynasty. The developed water transport in the Tang Dynasty contributed to the rapid development of the shipbuilding industry, especially the shipbuilding in the Jiangnan area along the Yangtze River basin. During the reign of Emperor Taizong, Yan Lide built 500 seagoing ships in Nanchang, Jiangxi, which later made voyages from the East China Sea and the Yellow Sea up to Korea. Some merchant ships even sailed as far as the Red Sea.[3]

Matteo Ricci, who lived in China for a time in the Ming Dynasty, claimed that travelling by ship was one of the marvellous experiences of China – 'composed of natural rivers and artificial canals, the complex waterway system in this country can help you go anywhere by ship'.[4] Under such a convenient water transport system, porcelain in China was carried first along rivers to the coastal harbours and continental seas, and then through the Strait of Malacca to the Indian Ocean and at last to Europe, Asia and Africa. Of course, in the Tang Dynasty, there was also land transport, but apparently it was much safer to transport the fragile porcelain via waterways.

China in the Tang Dynasty extended its dominion and attached great importance to foreign trade. In order to manage the shipping trade, during the Kaiyuan period (AD 713–741), the government assigned officials to Guangzhou to manage foreign shipping.[5] Other trading ports in the Tang Dynasty included Quanzhou, Hangzhou and Yangzhou, etc. The prosperous Guangzhou and Yangzhou in the Tang Dynasty can be compared to the Hong Kong and Shanghai of today.[6]

Chang'an, the capital of China in the Tang Dynasty, was a central city with a population of nearly two million and a gathering place for merchants from the Byzantine Empire and various countries in the Middle East.[7] It was one of the largest cities not only in China, but in the world.[8]

At the beginning of the Tang Dynasty, commercial transportation and overseas trade increased greatly. Guangzhou and Quanzhou became important harbours for the first time. Contemporary accounts by people who visited Guangzhou report that countless ships came from India, Persia and the South China Sea and that the incense, medicinal materials and treasures carried by these ships were piled up like mountains.[9] After the 9th century, Chinese sailing ships started to dominate the trade on the Indian Ocean and replaced the small ships from other countries, and the porcelain making industry made a fortune out of this.

In the 7th century the Islamic Empire extended Persia and unified much of modern-day Middle East and Western Asia. This unity made the region increasingly stronger, and it started to penetrate surrounding countries. In the 8th century ships started to arrive in Guangzhou from southwest Asia and large numbers of Arabs and Persians settled there.[10] Many foreign cargo ships came to Guangzhou every year. Whenever ships arrived at the port, the place would be bustling with people.

Capital Chang'an was particularly prosperous. Like a big magnet, it attracted jugglers, painters, dancers, magicians and musicians from various areas.[11] There were also Syrian merchants, Persian priests (including Manichaeans, Zoroastrians and Nestorians), Sogdian craftsmen, Jewish doctors, Arab jewellers, Tibetan mercenaries, Uighur horse dealers, etc. travelling back and forth on the Silk Road and the Maritime Silk Road. Nowadays silver coins of the Persian Dynasty are often unearthed in northwest China and the region from the middle reaches of the Yellow River to Guangdong province, indicating that Persians were doing business in a lot of places in China at that time.[12] The Islamic Empire, straddling Asia, Europe and Africa, was called 'Dayi' in China. Arabs sold herbs, spices, jewellery and other items to China, and took silk, porcelain, papermaking techniques, alchemy and sericulture and weaving techniques to Europe and Africa. The Arabs were actually the bridge that facilitated the introduction of Chinese culture and products to Europe.[13]

Merchants traveling along the land and maritime Silk Roads carried Chinese porcelain to Asia and Africa, and at the same time brought the graphic decoration techniques and patterns from India, Persia and even Egypt in North Africa to China. Before the Tang Dynasty, art decorations were mostly characters, animals and abstract geometric patterns and a few plant patterns. But in the Islamic and Buddhist worlds, all kinds of plants and flowers were the themes of their artistic expression. Due to commercial activities, the rhythmic and continuous 'floral scrolls', the stylised flowers as well as other floral patterns, for example belladonna, palm leaves, peony and lotus from Islamic and Buddhist countries were imitated and applied by monks and all kinds of artisans in countless cave temples and giant tombs, and thereby incorporated into mainstream Chinese art and Chinese ceramic decorations, notably in the decorations of the products of Changsha kiln that was famous for coloured drawing in the Tang Dynasty. In this way, the flow of people and goods drove the flow and integration of art and cultural symbols.

The coexistence of 'yellow' land transport and 'blue' water transport

If the Tang Dynasty was the first peak of the Chinese porcelain export trade, then the second peak came at the beginning of the 14th century, under the support of the Yuan Dynasty established by the Mongolians. At that time, the Mongolians ruled the largest empire in the world, extending from North Korea in the east to Russia and Hungary in the west.[14]

The rise of this powerful empire made the Eurasian continent a safe business channel. Even lone individuals could travel across the entire Eurasian continent. At that time Marco Polo with his father and uncle made the journey on foot back and forth across the lands between China and Europe. Thanks to this channel, China was connected to distant Western Europe for the first time, and long-distance trade extended beyond the coastal areas of East Africa and into the interior.

In the Yuan Dynasty, not only the waterway transport but also land transport prospered. Due to the safety and convenience of land transport, a lot of porcelain was transported this way, but water transport was still safer and faster. Therefore most ceramic trade was still carried out along the sea routes established in the Tang and Song dynasties.

Of the export porcelain in the Yuan Dynasty, the most known type is the blue-and-white porcelain from Jingdezhen. However, the major product from Jingdezhen was originally bluish white porcelain, and the blue-and-white porcelain was not even created until the Yuan Dynasty. At the beginning, this kind of porcelain was not made for the Chinese; it was intended for export to the Muslim world. From the 13th century to the mid-15th century, Quanzhou was the most important port in China. Muslims living in China, especially those rich Persians and Arabs in Quanzhou, carried out a lot of business, with the Chinese, promoting the communications and exchanges between these merchants and Chinese artists. Persian and Syrian merchants who were interested in ancient Chinese porcelain introduced the cobalt blue pigment produced in Islamic countries to potters in Jingdezhen and ordered a great number of blue-and-white porcelain products from them. These merchants not only provided craftsmen in Jingdezhen with the material that contributed to the creation of the blue-and-white porcelain, but also offered a broad market for these porcelain products.

The appearance of the blue-and-white porcelain was a big event in Chinese ceramic history. Before that, there had been underglazed porcelain from Changsha Kiln in the Tang Dynasty and rust coloured porcelain from Cizhou and Jizhou Kilns in the Song Dynasty, but none of the decorations on these porcelain products were mainstream in Chinese porcelain. From the Northern Han Dynasty, Wei, Jin , Northern and Southern Dynasties until the Tang and Song dynasties, Chinese porcelain was mostly monochrome-glazed porcelain. The emergence of the blue-and-white porcelain brought a change to this situation, and China entered the era of decorative porcelain at that point. So-called 'decorative porcelain' refers to the type of porcelain on which there were decorative paintings and patterns applied with Chinese brushes. These paintings and patterns not only enriched the content of decorations on the porcelain, but also resulted in a worldwide communication of images.

Islamic style decorative patterns were brought by Persian merchants to Jingdezhen in China and applied to the blue-and-white porcelain produced there. The decorations are similar to those foound in mosques and on Persian carpets. Before the Yuan Dynasty, the decorations on the porcelain had been simple, leaving a lot of blank space, and the pictures were mostly free sketches. However, on the blue-and-white porcelain of the Yuan Dynasty the decorations were presented in a standard Islamic form, which were more two-dimensional and abstract and repeated infinitely, hardly leaving any blank space.

Muslims not only introduced the Islamic patterns and decorations into the Chinese porcelain system, they also brought glass and metalware to China. As early as the Tang Dynasty, rooster-headed silver pots were brought to China from Persia and the eastern Mediterranean and imitated by porcelain makers in China, making this vessel very popular among the Chinese. A kind of kettle was also carried by pilgrims to China from southwest Asia. This kettle was called a 'Junchi', which was a transliteration of 'Kundika' in Sanskrit. It was once popular in southeast Asia, and later became a common utensil used by Muslims.[15] It was used by Buddhist monks and Muslims as a container to store water. Chinese porcelain makers reproduced this kettle in porcelain, products which then spread widely in these areas. There were many other Chinese vessels and tools that were actually imitations by Chinese porcelain makers of metal vessels from Egypt, Syria and Persia. The samples of these vessels were sometimes specially brought to China by Muslim merchants and sometimes provided by Muslim families living in Quanzhou and Guangzhou.[16]

The Chinese blue-and-white porcelain, which was inspired by Islamic culture, reached its zenith in the 15th century. At that time potters in Egypt, Syria and Persia all tried to imitate this porcelain. However, this was not slavish imitation. The potters in these Islamic countries added a more liberated rhythm into it but kept the Chinese-style vitality and spontaneity. In China, potters borrowed the Islamic elements, like the ribbon-pattern decorations and the neat spatial design. They became good at using the southwest Asian-style spatial structure to express their visual lexicons.[17] In this way, the blue-and-white porcelain became a brand new element in Chinese culture and developed a new charm, which was irresistible to Islamic countries and even the whole world.

The spread of Chinese civilisation in the world

The Ming Dynasty ended the reign of the Mongols in the Yuan Dynasty. The Confucian tradition, neglected by the Mongol rulers, returned to the centre of Chinese culture. In the eyes of the Confucian ruling class, the most important task for China was to civilise other groups by introducing

its language, decrees and regulations, dress, laws, classic writings and art in the form of silk, paintings, porcelain etc. to them. All the materials exported were considered important carriers of culture.

During the Yongle period of the Ming Dynasty, in order to show the country's strength and to restructure the relationships between China and the wider world, the emperor made a very bold move – he appointed Zheng He, a eunuch with outstanding military exploits, to lead a fleet consisting of 317 ships and 28,000 crew on a voyage, sailing out from China in 1405. At that time, such a big expedition was incredible to the world.

In Chinese history this expedition is called 'Zheng He's Voyages to The Western Oceans'. The mission was completed in seven voyages and took 28 years, starting from 1405 and ending in 1433 (in the reign of Emperor Xuande). Emperor Yongle broke the tradition of waiting passively for various countries to pay tributes and demonstrated China's strength by using its dominance on the sea. This was the first and also the last time that a Chinese ruler took the initiative to command the maritime business of the 'Blue China'.[18]

Every time Zheng He's fleet of ships sailed into the harbour of a country, local people would be amazed by the scene – brownish-red sails, yellow banners on the rail, huge white sea birds painted on the hulls and masts reaching to the sky. Thousands of crew would disembark from the ships and build storehouses on the shore. According to Wonders Overseas, written by Ma Huan, a Muslim translator in the fleet, 'wherever the messenger of the Ming emperor arrived, the leaders there thronged to welcome him'.[19]

In the 15th century an Egyptian historian wrote, 'there was news coming (to Cairo) from Mecca that a lot of sailing ships from China arrived at Indian ports, two of which anchored in the Gulf of Aden.'[20] At that time the Sudanese were eager to do business with China, so they allowed Chinese ships to enter Kedah, which was the nearest port in the Red Sea to Mecca.

On the first three voyages Zheng He and his fleet arrived in southeast Asia, India and Ceylon. On the fourth voyage, they arrived in the Persian Gulf and the Arabian Peninsula. On subsequent voyages, they went south along the east African coast and visited some harbour cities, including Malindi in Kenya, the southernmost destination on their voyages. During the whole expedition Zheng He generously gave Chinese silk, porcelain and other commodities to other countries as gifts. He did this not to promote trade with other countries, but rather to establish the Chinese position in the Indian Ocean. For just one of the voyages the imperial court ordered Jingdezhen kilns to fire 443,500 pieces of porcelain. If each time the fleet carried the same quantity, it means that during the period from 1405 to 1433, a total of 3,104,500 pieces of porcelain were carried by Zheng He and his fleet to the islands in southeast Asia and countries around the Indian Ocean.[21]

Throughout Chinese ancient history, commerce was never the main focus. So when the government sent out this fleet to the oceans, it regarded the expedition more as a political mission than a business one. After Emperor Yongle, the Chinese government never again organised such a large expedition to the oceans because the national treasury did not have enough capacity to support such luxurious but unprofitable political propaganda activity.

More than half a century after Zheng He's voyages to the western oceans, the Portuguese and Spanish in Europe started their great geographical discovery. Their fleets were no match for Zhenghe's. The Portuguese explorer Vasco da Gama started a voyage in 1497 with only four ships and 140 sailors and Magellan's fleet only had five ships. However they opened up the contemporary history of human social development, making Europe the most advanced region in the world. At the same time, China missed just such a good opportunity.

Emergence of globalised porcelain trade

Due to their advantages in navigation, the Portuguese and Spanish became leaders in world trade in the early stage of great geographical discovery. The Portuguese occupied Macau and used it as a base for doing porcelain business with China. They loaded the ships in India and each shipment contained up to 60,000 pieces. After establishing direct trade relations with China, each ship was even further loaded, with as much as 200,000 pieces.[22]

In the late 16th century investors in other countries began to organise their own expeditions to explore the Asian market. Among the countries that followed the Portuguese into the Indian Ocean, the Netherlands and the UK were most outstanding. British and Dutch industrialists built global business networks. British businessmen were concentrated in India – they established commercial

ports in Mumbai, Madras and Kolkata, while the Dutch were widely active in Cape Town, Colombo and Batavia (now Jakarta on the island of Java) and established commercial ports there. Compared with their predecessors – the Portuguese and Spanish, British and Dutch businessmen possessed faster, cheaper and more powerful vessels, making them very competitive both economically and militarily. As a result, British and Dutch businessmen soon replaced the Portuguese and Spanish dominance at sea.

At the beginning of the 17th century, British and Dutch businessmen founded two powerful joint-stock companies, the British East India Company and the Dutch East India Company. Funds raised by individual businessmen supported the start-up of the companies and provided the commodities to trade and the money required for vessels and seamen. Although supported by government, the companies were still privately owned. Without any political resistance, company agents could concentrate on profitable trade.[23]

If we open the history book of China's porcelain exports, we can see that from the Wanli and Tianqi Periods in the Ming Dynasty on, Dutch colonists followed in Portuguese and Spanish footsteps and vigorously sold Chinese porcelain. They used Batavia (Jakarta) in Indonesia as their base and purchased porcelain in the coastal areas of China, or used Chinese ships to transport porcelain directly to Batavia, and then the Dutch East India Company transported it to countries in southeast and west Asia and the Netherlands. The freight volume was astonishing. During 1602–1644, the Dutch East India Company transported a total of 420,000 pieces of Ming porcelain to the Indonesian islands. In 1636 alone, there were about 380,000 pieces transported from Batavia to other places. The Dutch East India Company also ordered porcelain form China according to the demand in Southeast Asia.[24]

At that time, the British East India Company competed neck and neck with the Dutch. They stored a lot of stock in storehouses in London. Ten years later, a ship of the British East India Company transported up to 40t (about 500,000 pieces of porcelain), and in 1721, another four ships transported 210,000 pieces. According to a sales report of that time, in 1732 a Swedish merchant ship transported 499,061 pieces of Chinese porcelain back home in one shipment, and another Swedish ship, the Götheborg, was even more impressive – in 1745, it was loaded with 700,000 pieces of porcelain together with silk, tea, rattan articles, nacre and spice, and the whole voyage took two years and 40,000km. Unfortunately, it sank when it was just about to reach its home port of Götheborg, which was a terrible shock. During 1777 and 1778, Dutch, British and other european countries' East India Companies sent 22 ships which transported away 697t (i.e. circa 8.7 million pieces) of porcelain from Guangzhou.

At that time European merchants did not just come to China to purchase porcelain. They liked transporting and buying porcelain because it was heavy and watertight, making it the most useful bottom cargo to keep ships stable in rough seas. In 1672 the representative of the British East India Company stationed in Vietnam reported to the London headquarters that 'coarse porcelain is perfect bottom cargo'. These porcelain products were all shipped to the Philippines and Thailand.[25] Not only were they used as ballast, they could also be placed together with other goods. 'Various kinds of Chinese porcelain, especially plates and dishes, could be packed together tightly. There were also all kinds of bowls and flowerpots Any Chinese vessel could be used to contain crops, rice, coconut or other more profitable goods'.[26] Not only food, but also tea could be put into these vessels. Both the Dutch and British East India Companies used lead-lined containers to transport tea to keep it fresh, and then put the tea containers above the crates containing porcelain. The porcelain could keep the tea dry while the tea served as cushioning to minimise porcelain damage. As porcelain could be packed together with a lot of goods, almost every ship coming to China would buy some beautiful porcelain. That is why today we find chinaware in many old houses or when we visit the homes of some families in Europe and America, passed down by their ancestors .

Jingdezhen – porcelain capital of the world

From the 17th to 18th century, no city was as famous as Jingdezhen. People in the world may not have visited there, but they had all heard of this capital of porcelain. Jingdezhen controlled the global porcelain market, not only because of the excellent products, but also because of its great production scale and advanced production organisation. It represented the peak of handicraft industry and the greatest achievement of large-scale intensive production before the era of machines brought by the advent of the steam engine. According to Père d'Entrecolles, at night Jingdezhen was like a furnace burning brightly – this was not an illusion, but rather the real scene of daily production in that city.[27]

Hundreds of kilns in Guangdong and Fujian also produced numerous porcelain products that were sold to Korea, Japan and Southeast Asia, but those on the European market were mostly from Jingdezhen, and that was why this city was so renowned in Europe. At that time, Europeans did not have the ability to produce porcelain, and in order to buy porcelain from Jingdezhen, they paid a great many silver coins to China. Europeans who wanted to learn the Chinese porcelain making techniques visited Jingdezhen, trying to find the secret of porcelain making in this city.

In 1698 Père d'Entrecolles, a priest sent by the French Jesuits, came to Jingdezhen and served as a missionary in a Christian church. His purpose was to acquire technical materials on porcelain making in Jingdezhen. After some time, Père d'Entrecolles successfully accomplished this mission.[28]

When Père d'Entrecolles first arrived in Jingdezhen he knew nothing about the porcelain making history in this city. Besides, as the history of porcelain had never received much attention from Chinese scholars, there was hardly any written material for him to look into. So he had no choice but to do a field survey. He visited a lot of kilns, observing with his own eyes and asking questions of the Christians who were engaged in porcelain making. Apparently, he also received help from a lot of non-Christians, including store-owners, porcelain makers and a few officials, especially Tang Ying, a kiln supervisor at that time.[29] Through surveys, he gained an amazing amount of porcelain knowledge. He then recorded his findings and communicated the porcelain making methods in Jingdezhen to Father Orry, S.J., Procator of the Jesuit missions in China and the Indies.

During the Yuan Dynasty generations of illiterate painters in Jingdezhen faithfully copied complicated and beautiful botanic patterns and illegible Arabic calligraphy in order to meet porcelain orders from Islamic countries. This experience came in handy in the 16th –18th centuries. After such a long time in training, they had the ability to imitate anything. At that time the incoming samples were diverse and complicated. Some were coats of arms of European noble families and some were symbols of different crafts from London or Paris, such fish selling, butchery, baking, poultry farming, bricklaying and tailoring.[30] To meet the orders from other countries, painters in Jingdezhen must not only have had to interpret a lot of confusing family heraldry and symbols of crafts and trades, but also to portray images of Roman mythology, Bible stories and current events in Europe. Since these porcelain products were customised, they were very expensive. A Dutch merchant in Guangzhou told the board of the Dutch East India Company that 'Porcelain with European-style pictures or figures costs twice as much as that with Chinese local decorations'.62 By making porcelain products for different countries and classes in Europe, craftsmen in Jingdezhen improved their painting skills significantly. At that time, the markets that China was supplying included not only Europe but also south-east Asia, southwest Asia, east Asia, north Asia and east Africa, but Jingdezhen could not spare any time for these secondary markets and thus gave them to the kilns in the coastal areas like Fujian and Guangdong.

Here we see this reproduction of civilisation again. Originally printing was invented in China, but from the 1450s printing started to take hold in Europe. Printers gathered all kinds of talents – painters, sketchers, sculptors, metalworkers and scholars, in capitals of different countries to work on one product and ultimately created a so-called 'Knowledge Community' in Europe.[31] In the late 17th century these European entrepreneurs started to send these printed illustrations to Jingdezhen and other porcelain production bases in China as references for the decoration of export porcelain. The illustrations painted by the painters in Jingdezhen were then sent to different parts of the world and became the learning target of the people in these places. In this way, patterns, ornaments and symbols originating from different cultures of the world began to enter an era of large-scale global exchange. And as a result, generations of potters with exquisite painting skills in Jingdezhen emerged, and this tradition is still going on even today.

The culture of tea and tea pots

In the historical 'One Belt, One Road' trade, the most important product was tea. At that time, tea was a fashionable drink, which almost all Europeans were obsessed with. Due to their obsession with tea, the Europeans were also very interested in ceramic tea sets. Among the Chinese teapots, the most well-known and unique ones are the purple clay teapots of Yixing, Jiangsu. It is believed that the purple clay teapots are smooth in texture and thermally insulated and breathable, making them perfect utensils for drinking tea. But in my opinion, it is famous not just for its material, but also because of its profound cultural content. A craftsman named Gong Chun is said to have invented this vessel. Gong was once a boy

servant in the house of Wu Yishan, a scholar in Yixing. Influenced by this cultural atmosphere, he later brought the cultural elements into the teapots he made in his career as a potter. Gong Chun was born in the Zhengde Period of the Ming Dynasty (1506–1566), but he spent most of his lifetime in the Jiajing Period, when Europeans were coming to China to buy tea and teapots. Gong's teapots adorned with Chinese cultural elements immediately attracted the Europeans and the Yixing teapot market took off as a result. A lot of European literature refers to the ordering of Yixing teapots, though there is no official record of that in the Chinese ceramic history books.

In the mid 17th century, the Dutch East India Company started to transport both tea and Yixing teapots to Europe, and this kind of teapot became very popular among the Europeans.[32] They not only liked Yixing teapots, but also imitated them. Silversmiths in Europe copied this novel design and created all kinds of variants on them. The famous Queen Ann silver teapots were originated from a pear-shaped Yixing pot.

One Dutch potter was specialised in imitating Yixing pots. In 1678 he advertised his pots in a newspaper: 'my red teapots are so perfect that they are comparable with those imported by the East India Company in colour, purity and durability'.[33] Yixing teapots were also famous for their naturalistic style – they often looked like lotus flowers, melons, pomegranates, gourds and bamboos, etc. Western craftsman all imitated this exotic style because these designs fascinated their customers. Ary de Milde in the Netherlands, Joseph Elers in the UK and Johann Friederich Bottger in Germany all successfully imitated the purple clay teapots of Yixing.[34]

Yixing purple clay utensils were an important part of Queen Mary II's collections. Her basement, 'is filled with Chinaware, and her cloak was decorated with Chinese exquisite red ornaments, which are really amazing'.[35] For a long time, Chinese porcelain making techniques and materials kept Western people interested. Dutch painters always featured this kind of Chinese teapot in their painting works.[36] In the 17th century, a Dutch painter painted a still life called 'Tea Set', where a Yixing teapot is set on a black table, surrounded by a tea urn, several blue-and-white porcelain cups and a crystal. In another still life painting of his, beside a silvered nautilus, there is also a Yixing teapot, to which a golden cupid is tied, implying that this trendy Chinese drink can work as a love potion.[37]

The Yixing teapot, as a carrier of tea, was not only a utensil but also a symbol of culture in the eyes of Europeans. When the Europeans picked up the teapot and tasted the tea, they were tasting the elegant, profound and mysterious Chinese culture. So for the Europeans at that time, it did not matter how much the tea could benefit their health or how beautiful this teapot really was, what mattered was that it represented a kind of fashion and trend.

Spread of porcelain and shaping of material culture

The introduction of porcelain also changed Europeans' lifestyles. Before the 17th century, spoons, cups and plates were very rare in Europe, so people shared tableware when having meals. Going by the genre paintings of that time, we can see it was common that a group of people shared a cup, a bowl, a plate and a spoon at the table. The etiquette handbook instructed that 'before drinking, remember to clean your mouth and hands with cloth so that you will not make the cups dirty, or people at the table would not like to dine with you'.[38] Actually this custom is still preserved in some of the Christian churches today. When finishing the prayer and worship, people still use one cup to drink the wine that symbolises the blood of Christ.

As it became common that Chinese porcelain sat on Europeans' tables, the dietary habit of sharing tableware began to disappear from the upper classes. At the same time, concepts of sanitation, self-discipline and social etiquette also changed.[39] The use of a whole set of Chinese porcelain tableware not only delimited the dining space for everyone and drove everyone to interact with each other in a particular manner, it also changed the key point of table manners from 'how to use shared tableware' to 'how to use knives and forks to eat beef correctly'. The table culture of one using a whole set of tableware made European dietary culture more elegant and healthy.

Porcelain was not only used in daily life, but also had cultural-symbolic meanings. Some areas in southeast Asia were home to indigenous tribes when Chinese porcelain arrived. So, coming from a higher culture, porcelain was endowed with mystery by the aboriginal inhabitants. Chinese porcelain was used in witchcraft ceremonies, to contain offerings or to be danced with.[40] It was also used to treat illnesses as a container for magical figures and water. Not only in southeast Asia, but also in some African countries, people endowed Chinese porcelain with divinity; they decorated city gates, walls and columns of tombs with blue-and-white porcelain.[41]

Porcelain is also a kind of ritual supply in a culture. When it reached Japan, Chinese porcelain, together with tea and Zen, formed Japanese tea culture. Right up to the present day, Japan still follows the tea culture formed in the Tang and Song Dynasties. Before offering the tea to guests, persons use a bamboo whisk to stir the tea paste in the water and make a green tea soup. The whole process and skill was time-consuming, involving a lot of work and with about thirty kinds of tea sets, it became the central focus of tea culture. The tea break is very popular in Japan, often accompanied by games and Japanese sake. The elegant and quiet tearoom is a separate space, and was also used for flower appreciation, poetry writing and fragrance-smelling competitions. The necessities of the tea space included screens with paintings, scroll paintings, porcelain bottles, bronze incense burners and colourful brocade. The necessities and the people who use them together make up the tea culture. This kind of culture was once Chinese culture in Tang and Song Dynasties, which had disappeared in China, but was saved completely in Japan. And now, it is a part of typical traditional Japanese culture.

Here we see that the introduction of a material product not only changes the way people use a certain tool in their life, but also leads to the reproduction of a whole aspect of civilisation and customs.

The 'shattered' Chinese porcelain

From the time of first entering the Asian market and doing business with the Chinese on, Europeans imported Chinese porcelain fanatically, which revealed their admiration and envy of China, first kindled by reading Marco Polo. At that time, the entire upper class of Europe were proud of owning Chinese porcelain. Meanwhile, because of large purchase of Chinese porcelain, tea, lacquerware and so on, European silver coins entered China. From 1571 to 1821, half of the 400 million silver coins imported from South America and Mexico were used to purchase Chinese products, including porcelain. Indeed, due to a lack of silver coins, King Louis 14th melted large amounts of silverware from his palaces to buy Chinese porcelain. The destruction of silver tableware led silver to China and took the tableware of Chinese porcelain to Europe. A French comedy depicts a story where a fair lady breaks a piece of Delftware commonly known as Dutch porcelain, claiming that she will only use Chinese porcelain in the future.[42] Europeans loved Chinese porcelain so much that this situation was called 'craze for Chinese porcelain' at that time. This 'craze' actually shows the first wave of high respect to the culture of the oldest empire outside Europe.

However, such respect was lost before long. In order to shake off its economic dependence on China, after the 17th century Europe began to imitate Chinese porcelain, which challenged the industrial strength of China. Eventually Europe achieved commercial success in porcelain production and kicked Chinese porcelain out of the international market. This victory also indicated that the West was about to take the overwhelming dominance in the modern world. Chinese porcelain started to experience a total collapse in the global market. This happened simultaneously with China's recession in world affairs and the rise of the Western powers as the world centre.[43]

Porcelain made in China was cold-shouldered in Europe and that produced in UK and France dominated the international market – showing the huge changeover between Europe and Asia. At that time, Europe no longer welcomed the idealised images of China and criticised Chinese porcelain and Chinese aesthetics. Everything about China provoked negative reactions. European merchants who were familiar with China started to disprove the idealised images of China descried by Jesuits and pointed out in detail the corruption of Chinese officials. Here we can see how, when Europeans were crazy about Chinese porcelain, they held China in high esteem, but when China fell off the 'role model' throne, Chinese porcelain was also broken into pieces with it.

For centuries, Jingdezhen, which was known as the porcelain capital of the world, had dominated the porcelain industry. But now it had an invincible rival. Jingdezhen represented the peak of the handicraft before the industrial revolution. Its labour-intensive approach and large-scale decentralised structure had been productive enough to handle the challenges from Japan and southeast Asia. However, all the advantages disappeared after 1800 when machines replaced hands, and intensification and large-scale production replaced decentralisation. The heart of the world system shifted to countries in western and northern Europe and the era of diversification finally arrived. Adam Smith wrote in The Wealth of Nations that the discovery of the American continent and the opening of the sea routes to Indies via the Cape of Good Hope are the two most important events in the history of mankind, which clearly points out the key premises to this remaking of the world order.

Indeed, because of these two major events Europe, once a peripheral member of Eurasia, began to rise and become the centre of the world in the early stage of modern history. It opened up the global sea routes, implanted European-style society into southern and northern America, made the most of Asia, its colony, shaped new economic and political systems, and finally accelerated and dominated the formation of modern times.[44] In this process Chinese porcelain lost its overseas markets and the cultural competitiveness of China. For a long time, Westerners were not so much in thrall of Chinese porcelain, but rather of Chinese culture and the etiquette system. When the Westerners did not admire them anymore, Chinese porcelain was abandoned by the Western world.

China's struggle between 'yellow' and 'blue'.

Though China used to dominate the sea and introduced handmade products like tea, silk and porcelain to the whole world, this great contribution was often ignored in the literary works of Chinese writers because China was a country that encouraged agriculture and restrained commerce. In this country, commerce was always seen as a 'doomed industry'. Under this influence, it is understandable that the porcelain trade representing Chinese commercial culture was finally defeated by the Europeans who, in contrast, stressed commerce. This was a fight between 'blue' and 'yellow' cultures, where Europe is the representative of the former while China, the representative of the latter. But if we look back at the history of China, including the history of the Chinese porcelain trade, we can see that for a long time, this country had been struggling between 'yellow China' and 'blue China'.[45] To put it simply, the former, based on the Yellow River and the Great Wall culture, gave priority to agriculture, promoted a command economy, implemented the Confucian civil service system and ignored the marine world, and the latter, centred around the lower reaches of the Yangtze River, promoted market economy, self-sufficiency, cultural interaction and long-distance trade and embraced the maritime culture.[46] I believe that though China tended to value agriculture over commerce for a long time, it has still been a country, where 'yellow' and 'blue' civilisations coexist. We Chinese people often call ourselves the descendants of the Yellow River, but in fact, historically we are also descendants of the Yangtze River. This river is an important channel leading to the sea. From the Tang Dynasty up until Zheng He's expedition to the West, Chinese people had always reached the sea through the Yangtze River, helping them later become the dominators of the sea. It was only after the mid-Ming Dynasty that the elite class started to promote their mainland view. In their opinion, the sea was a business world, where people pursued profit and ignored principles. It was a strange area out of their control; therefore they saw it as a concern and tried to stay away from it as far as they could.[47]

This all started from the end of the 15th century. At that time the Chinese retreated from the ocean world, meanwhile Europeans started their great geographical discovery. Thus, a collision between the East and the West led to a dramatic change in the pattern of the world. The former was mainland-oriented and built its centre of power on land while the latter was ocean-oriented and carried out its maritime trade backed by military force. In the end, the latter was the winner. Being defeated by the West has always been a scar in Chinese people's hearts. It makes us believe that China only has a history of yellow culture and nothing blue.

Today, when we look at the 'One Belt, One Road' area again, we see a blue China that was once as powerful as the yellow China. Our ancestors opened the famous Silk Road and Maritime Silk Road with their caravans and fleets. Later, not only our ancestors but also many outsiders left their footprints on these two roads. But afterwards, we were too afraid to move forward so we closed the door. In the end, the outsiders broke into our home with gunfire and made this place a semi-colonial country. Today, with the Chinese economy developing, not only do we have to open the door, but we also need to start our new journey. But where are we headed? Do we need to look back at our history? After all, that is the road we have taken. In my opinion, the history of 'One Belt, One Road' didn't die; instead, it has been constantly moving. But unfortunately, sometimes we have just neglected its existence and failed to see the vitality inside. That is why now we need to understand the history and wake it up, and let it guide our way to the future.

By reviewing this period of history, we find that porcelain was invented in China and spread out to the whole world, but it also brought other world cultures to China and nourished this country. Porcelain represents the most advanced handiwork in Chinese history and is the peak of agricultural civilisation. Today many traditions, including handicrafts, are reviving in this new historic stage. Jingdezhen, the famous porcelain capital, after staying quiet for over a hundred years, is starting to look vigorous again (I have studied this city for twenty years) and

re-attract the attention of the world. Maybe someday in the new ecological civilisation, the wisdom gained in the ancient agricultural civilisation will give us more inspiration. Civilisations in different parts of the world are being reproduced in this repeated manner. Today it is China's invention, tomorrow it will be utilised by civilisations outside China and the day after tomorrow, it may go back to where it is born and turn into some another culture.

Throughout history, China has made a lot of important contributions to world culture, politics, economy and science. Today, when we start a new journey and set foot on this 'One Belt, One Road' which our ancestors trod over and over again, what new things and ideas can we bring to the whole world? This is a question worth our thinking. Back in the days when porcelain swept the whole world, it was not really the Chinese porcelain but rather the Chinese culture, politics, rituals and customs that people in the world admired. When these things did not get respect from the world, the porcelain started to break. Today, when we pick up these broken pieces of porcelain and look back at the history, what new thoughts do we have and what should we do? These are the questions I am trying to figure out and what I want to remind everyone to think about in the future.

NOTES

1 Robert Finlay, translated by (Taiwan, China) Zheng Mingxuan, The Pilgrim Art: Cultures of Porcelain in World History, Hainan Publishing House, 2015 Edition, p.16

2 Ibid.

3 Qian Mu: Economic History of China, Beijing United Publishing Company, 2014 Edition, p. 224.

4 Ibid.

5 Ibid, p. 228.

6 Qian Mu: Economic History of China, p. 228.

7 John King Fairbank, translated by Zhang Lijing, The United States and China, World Affairs Press, p. 61.

8 Qian Mu: Economic History of China, p. 232.

9 Robert Finlay, The Pilgrim Art, p. 114.

10 Qian Mu: Economic History of China, p. 234.

11 Robert Finlay, The Pilgrim Art, p. 119.

12 Qian Mu: Economic History of China, p. 239.

13 Qian Mu: Economic History of China, p. 242.

14 John King Fairbank, translated by Zhang Lijing, The United States and China, World Affairs Press, p. 85.

15 Han Huaizhun, "A Study of Indian Kundika", Journal of the South Seas Society 6(1).

16 Bailey, Gauvin Alexander.1996a "The Response II: Transformation of Chinese Porcelain Production and Trade with Iran", in Golombek 57–108.

17 Robert Finlay, The Pilgrim Art, p. 198.

18 Chen Ching-kuang. 1993. "Sea Creatures on Ming Imperial Porcelains", in Scott, pp. 13–32.

19 (Ming Dynasty) Ma Huan, Wonders Overseas, Maritime Press, 2005.

20 Robert Finlay, The Pilgrim Art, p.252.

21 Ibid.

22 Jerry Bentley & Herbert Ziegler, translated by Wei Fenglian, Traditions & Encounters: A Global Perspective on the Past, Volume B: From 1000 to 1800, Peking University Press, p. 193.

23 Ibid.

24 Ye Wencheng, Collected Works of Chinese Ancient Pottery Researching, Forbidden City Publishing House, 1988.

25 Robert Finlay, The Pilgrim Art, p. 32.

26 Ibid.

27 Ibid.

28 Robert Finlay, The Pilgrim Art, p. 32.

29 Ibid.

30 Robert Finlay, The Pilgrim Art, p. 22.

31 Ibid.

32 Coutts, Howard. 2001. The Art of Ceramics: European Ceramic Design, 1500–1830. New Haven, CT: Yale University Press. pp. 146–47.

33 Robert Finlay, The Pilgrim Art, p. 148.

34 Ibid.

35 Robert Finlay, The Pilgrim Art, p.149.

36 Ibid.

37 Ibid.

38 Robert Finlay, The Pilgrim Art, p. 303.

39 Elias Norbert. 1982. The History of Manners. Translated by Edmund Jephcott. New York: Pantheon, p. 56.

40 富斯：《菲律宾发掘的中国瓷器》，《中国古外销陶瓷研究资料》第一辑；伊静轩：《菲岛风光》。

41 （明）费信：《星槎胜览•彭坑国条》。

42 Robert Finlay, The Pilgrim Art, p. 218.

43 Robert Finlay, The Pilgrim Art, p. 218.

44 Robert Finlay, The Pilgrim Art, p. 218.

45 Mote, Frederick W. 1999. Imperial China, 900–1800.Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, pp. 14–15.

46 Robert Finlay, The Pilgrim Art, p. 336.

47 Wang 2000, pp. 3–11 makes the case for the significance of a maritime focus in western Asia and a continental one in China; see also Chaudhuri 1985, pp. 122–23,208, and Padfield 2000, pp. 7–19.

COMMUNICATIONS OF ANCIENT CHINA TO THE WEST FROM AN ARCHAEOLOGICAL PERSPECTIVE

Zhang Ran, Researcher
Durham University

Introduction

Studies of economic and diplomatic exchanges between ancient China and the Western world (Indian Ocean area and Europe) have become integral to discussions on the establishment and development of the so-called 'world-system', assuming an increasingly crucial role in the understanding of globalisation in the premodern period (for key references, see, for example, Abu-Lughod 1989; Huntington 1997; Pomeranz 2000). Historical resources, as the basic source of information about this issue, have been very well studied in order to understand the economic development and comparisons (cf. Deng 2002; Deng & O'Brien 2014, 2017; Chaudhuri 1985, 1990; Frank 1998), art and geographic knowledge exchanges (cf. Kadoi 2009; Park 2012), and diplomatic communications (cf. Zhang & Zhu 1977; Yang 1991).

This historical debate, however, has rarely been discussed by archaeological studies. For many decades, by using material cultural evidence, some art historians have focused upon this issue to explore the communications (particularly in art exchanges) of ancient China with the West (cf. Krahl 1986a, b, c, d; Carswell 2000; Finlay 2010), and some initial explorations of economic development of this historical debate have been achieved archaeologically (cf. Guy 1986; Rougeulle 1996; Kennet 2004; Heng 2005; Zhang 2016).

To enhance the archaeological understanding of the issue, this article aims to examine some key, featured, Chinese imperial porcelain finds housed in archaeological and museum collections outside China, and to explore the development and change in the economic and diplomatic communications between ancient China and the West between the 15th and 19th centuries.

Background: Imperial Chinese porcelain as the archaeological evidence

Archaeologically, the study of ceramics as one of the most important artefacts for understanding archaeological chronology and historical contexts is mainly due to ceramics' ubiquity, durability, and abundance (Shepard 1956, Orton et al. 2010). In the case of Chinese ceramics, they have been among the most important archaeological

findings as they are found in high volumes and are reliable indicators for dating archaeological contexts. This is mainly due to the fact that the understanding of the location and production of ceramic workshops in China has greatly improved over the past 50 years, and the information on Chinese ceramic finds can be linked to shape, decoration, manufacturing methods, and ceramic materials (Zhang 2016:1–3).

Among Chinese ceramic products, the so-called imperial porcelain has many distinguished features which mean that it was a type of official ware used by the central court of Ming and Qing in China for official trading, gift exchanging or royal awarding. Imperial porcelain ware was normally decorated with a dragon pattern or imperial court-authorised design patterns, which were strictly for exclusive use by the imperial court. As recorded in Vol. 68 of Ming History (明史) (Zhang 1974), "from the 26th Year of Hongwu Reign (1393 AD), no red wares, gilding gold wares and dragon pattern wares can be used [on common objects]". Furthermore, the Collected Statutes of the Ming Dynasty (大明会典) (Xu et al. 1976) state: "From the 26th Year of Hongwu Reign, the manufacturing of tribute and imperial wares should follow the specific patterns and designs authorised by the imperial court". Archaeologically, it has been confirmed that the imperial ceramic kilns were established in Jingdezhen in the early Ming dynasty (Wang 2004:126–127, 2011; BJDXKGWBXY et al. 2007).

Imperial porcelain finds outside China

The highest-quality imperial porcelain ware has been referred to as one of the luxuries that were given as a tribute to the Ming and Qing Chinese central courts and emperors, and there were very strict limitations on their use outside the central palace. They can rarely be found in archaeological sites in the Indian Ocean area and Europe. The following section aims to introduce some key Chinese imperial ceramic collections in the Indian Ocean area and Europe.

The Williamson Collection Project in Iran

Between 1968 and 1971, an English archaeologist, Andrew George Williamson, undertook one of the most extensive and ambitious modern archaeological surveys in the Gulf. A large amount of Chinese ceramic material was assembled during this programme of excavations and surface surveys of approximately 900 archaeological sites in southern and south-eastern Iran (Priestman 2005:1). The collection includes over 19,000 ceramic sherds, around 3,500 of which were imports from the Far East (Priestman & Kennet 2002; Kennet et al. 2011:447–449). A few sherds with the Chinese imperial porcelain quality were identified. They came from Hormuz Island and south Iran.

The Fustat site in Egypt

The archaeological excavation of the Fustat site in Egypt started in the early 20th century. After the Second World War this project was taken over and joined by French, American, and Japanese research teams. A significant number of earthenware vessels, stoneware/porcelain ceramic finds, stone objects, and kiln furniture have been excavated. Regarding Chinese ceramic finds, around 10,000 items have been separately published and reported. A recent work by Japanese scholars published a classification work on Chinese ceramic finds from Fustat. Few sherds of early 15th century blue and white imperial type Chinese porcelain have been published.

The Arab City of Gedi

The Arab City of Gedi is located on the coast of Malindi in south-eastern Kenya. Although Malindi has been well recorded in history, there is no written reference for Gedi (Martin 1970). A British archaeologist, James Kirkman, started undertaking excavation works at Gedi in 1948. The excavated buildings such as the palace, fort, mosques, and residents' houses have been reported (Kirkman 1954). Over 1,200 pieces of Chinese porcelain have been also excavated or collected from the research in Gedi. An examination has been undertaken by Peking University to explore the trade in ceramics to East Africa. Over 300 pieces of early Ming Chinese celadon sherds have been examined, including many pieces of imperial celadon sherds (Liu et al. 2012). This might reflect the truth of Chinese admiral Zheng He's visit to Malindi in 1414, and it has been recorded that Malindi's ruler sent a personal envoy with a giraffe to pay tribute to China (Martin 1970).

The Royal Collection

The Royal Collection of Her Majesty the Queen is one of the most significant collections of Eastern arts in Europe. For many centuries, the Royal Collection has had a variety of some 2,000 pieces of rich and luxurious Chinese and Japanese fine art items consisting of porcelain, jade, lacquer, and other works. The earliest Chinese porcelain in the Royal Collection may date back to the era of Henry VIII; however, it seems that nothing has survived. The earliest Chinese celadon that appeared in England can be

dated to 1530 AD by William Warham, Archbishop of Canterbury. During this era, the Chinese porcelain had appeared occasionally in the UK, and then it became increasingly popular from the late 17th century (Ayers 2017). Many pieces of Chinese imperial porcelain can be seen in the Royal Collection which were gifts from Emperor Qianlong of Qing China to King George III when he sent the Macartney Embassy to Beijing on a diplomatic mission in 1792 AD (e.g. Ayers 2017: cat. 420–421, 423, 684–685). There were also the visits of the Special Chinese Ambassador, Li Hongzhang, on behalf of Emperor Guangxu, in 1896, and the visit of the Chinese Embassy to present gifts to Queen Victoria on the occasion of her Diamond Jubilee in 1897 (e.g. Ayers 2017: cat. 422, 424–425, 665–666, 669, 670–671, 672–673, 686–687, 688–689, 690–691, 696–697).

Discussion

Period 1: late Yuan to early Ming

The trade of imperial porcelain in the late Yuan to early Ming dynasty was initially discussed by Professor Liu Xinyuan. He pointed out that between 1328 and 1352 AD, the exporting of imperial porcelain aimed to cater for the overseas market, particularly the Islamic world (Liu 1999: 48–49), and in return, gemstones, spices, and gold ingots were sent to Yuan China (cf. Liu 1999: 50; Lin & Zhang 2017:13). Although few archaeological finds of imperial ceramics can be discovered from the very early era of the Ming dynasty, due to the diplomatic crisis between China and the Mohan court when the trade had been stopped, the exporting recovered during the era of the Yongle Emperor, the third ruler of the Ming dynasty, because of his ambitious trade policy to dominate the foreign market through the official voyages of Zheng He (Lin & Zhang 2015). In Jingdezhen in China, a large amount of exported porcelain was excavated during this period (Liu 1999: 49). It has also been archaeologically demonstrated that the imperial porcelain was exported to the Indian Ocean area, such as Indonesia, the Philippines, South India, Hormuz Island in Iran, Fustat in Egypt, and Gedi in Kenya (Liu et al. 2012; Lin & Zhang 2015; Yuba 2014; Lu 2003).

Period 2: Smuggling Trade

The Chinese maritime economy's withdrawal, which occurred suddenly in the early 15th century (Deng 1995; Lo 2012), began in 1433 AD and led to a long gap of almost 80 years. This decline in Chinese sea power separated the Chinese economy from the prosperity of the Indian Ocean trade, and provided an economic opportunity for both Arab and European merchants to explore the Indian Ocean further (cf. Lo 1958; Abu-Lughod 1989; Brown 2009). This Chinese maritime isolation was mainly due to the first emperor of the Ming dynasty's (1368–1644 AD) concern about coastal border security; he banned private maritime trade between the late 14th century and the mid-16th century (cf. Chao 2012). The official re-opening of Ming China for trade was very difficult, but it finally occurred in the late 16th century (Twitchett & Mote 1998: 333–336; Chao 2012: 149). During this period of a trade ban in China, the demand for Chinese porcelain in the Islamic markets was met by Southeast Asian porcelain production (Brown 2009). Although very little archaeological evidence can be found for the trade of both Chinese porcelain and imperial porcelain, they had still been sent from China to the outside world, probably by the smuggling trade (Liu 2012: 87). The archaeological evidence unearthed from south Iran can be seen in the Williamson Collection. It is an imperial blue and white porcelain sherd dated to the Chenghua reign (1465–1487 AD).

Period 3: Gifts to show off China

A short sea ban on private trade occurred again between 1655 AD and 1685 AD because of the conflicts caused by the Chinese Ming dynasty being replaced by the Qing (1644–1912 AD) (Zhao 1985). Instead, Western (e.g. Dutch) merchants could trade with Bantam, Patani, Taiwan, Japan, and Batavia during this sea ban (Vainker 1991: 152). After 1684 AD, Chinese trading ports were generally kept open so that foreign merchants could come to China to trade. Four main trading ports in the cities of Guangzhou, Quanzhou, Ningbo, and Songjiang (present--day Shanghai) (Li 1989: Vol. 1), with over 100 sub-trading ports (Huang 1986: 155), were opened for domestic and foreign maritime trade. Because of the growth in maritime trade from the middle era of Emperor Kangxi's reign (1654–1722 AD), Jingdezhen-made fine porcelain was a booming output in the Indian Ocean, European, and North American markets, satisfying the developing Western taste for chinoiserie (Rowe 2010: 84).

From 1757 AD, Western (European and American) merchants were only allowed to trade in the port of Guangzhou, something which has been seen as an important change in Qing Chinese foreign trade policy (e.g. Li 1986; Huang 1986; Liao 2007). Emperor Qianlong, the grandson of Kangxi, was very concerned about coastal border security on the South China Sea, just as the early Ming Chinese emperors had been, and he attempted to restrict the number of foreign traders in the

port of Guangzhou (the so-called Canton System) (Zhang & Yang 2014). Moreover, Emperor Qianlong stated that he had little need for foreign trade with Europe, and believed that simply keeping Guangzhou open for Western trade was enough. In 1792, when King George III sent the Macartney Embassy to Beijing to request permanent diplomatic and commercial relations, Emperor Qianlong wrote a letter in reply, stating: "…we have no use for your country's manufactures … There was therefore no need to import the manufactures of outside barbarians in exchange for our own produce" (Frank 1978: 160). Due to this refusal, the Earl of Macartney's mission to China was considered to have been a failure; however, he returned with a variety of rich and imperial gifts from the Qianlong Emperor for the King, including porcelain, lacquerware, and jades. Many of them are still identifiable and housed in the Royal Collection of the UK (Ayers 2017: 9). These gifts from the Qianlong Emperor aimed to send a kind answer to the refusal regarding Macartney's visit, as well as to show that China, as the Celestial Empire, possessed all things in prolific abundance and lacked no product (Zhang & Yang 2014).

Period 4: Late Qing Chinese court gifts

In 1840 the Opium War ended with the Treaty of Nanking, and the British forces not only defeated Chinese armies, but also damaged the Qing dynasty's prestige. Following this, China changed in many aspects. China and the Qing government changed as a result of the Western shock. Not only had huge payments in reparations and in compensation for the destruction caused by the war been agreed by the Qing government, but also territory, such as Hong Kong, had been granted to Britain. Furthermore, the Canton System had been abolished by the treaty (Rowe 2010: 172–173). Although the diplomatic relations between China and Britain were in crisis due to the war and the treaty, the Qing had to open the border and received the British Embassy in the second part of the 19th century. It was not until 1896 that this diplomatic crisis was gradually resolved, which can be seen when Li Hongzhang, the Qing Chinese politician and First Class Marquis Suyi, was sent to Britain as the Special Chinese Ambassador. With his visit to Britain, Li Hongzhang had a very strong desire to see the advanced industrial technology to inspire railway development in China. In 1897, Zhang Yinheng, the Qing Chinese diplomat, visited Britain again to celebrate the occasion of Queen Victoria's Diamond Jubilee (Zhang & Yang 2014). Chinese imperial porcelain had been sent as gifts to the Queen, which, to some extent, showed the kindness of Qing China to a foreign country. It is interesting to see a pair of specially selected porcelain vases with the motif of a Daoist paradise, in which the Eight Immortals and other gods appear celebrating the birthday of Xiwangmu, the Queen Mother of the West (Ayers 2017: cat. 690–691). These vases might be a special representation of the best wishes from the Qing Chinese court to Queen Victoria.

Conclusion

In this short paper an attempt has been made, based on some key archaeological evidence and museum collections of Chinese imperial porcelain outside China, to outline the change and the communications of ancient China to the civilisations in the Indian Ocean area and Europe from the 14th century to the late 19th century. Chinese imperial porcelain, as one of the rarest luxury items in ancient China, could not be traded or used by ordinary markets or people. From the late Yuan dynasty to the Qing dynasty this porcelain had special functions as official communities, diplomatic gifts, and special luxury items were sent from China to the outside world. It can be seen as the archaeological evidence to gain a further understanding of the communications between ancient Chinese courts and foreign civilisations. The outline is far from complete or even satisfactory, and a great deal of further research is needed to address this topic.

REFERENCES:

ABU-LUGHOD, JANET L. 1989. Before European Hegemony: the World System AD 1250–1350. Oxford University Press.

AYERS, JOHN. 2017. Chinese and Japanese Works of Art in the Collection of Her Majesty The Queen, Vol. I. London: Royal Collection Trust.

BJDXKGWBXY, JXSWWKGYJS & JDZSTCKGYJS. [北京大学考古文博学院, 江西省文物考古研究所 & 景德镇市陶瓷考古研究所], 2007. 江西景德镇明清御窑遗址发掘简报 Jiangxi Jingdezhen Ming Qing Yuyao Yizhi Fajue Baogao. Wenwu Vol 5: 4–47.

BROWN, ROXANNA M. 2009. The Ming Gap and Shipwreck Ceramics in Southeast Asia: Towards a Chronology of Thai Trade Ware. Bangkok: Siam Society.

CARSWELL, JOHN. 2000. Blue & White: Chinese Porcelain Around the World. British Museum Press.

CHAO, ZHONGCHEN. [晁中辰], 2012. 明代海外贸易研究 Mingdai Haiwai Maoyi Yanjiu. Beijing: Gugong Chubanshe Press.

CHAUDHURI, KIRTI N. 1985. Trade and Civilization in the Indian Ocean: an Economic History from the Rise of Islam to 1750. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

CHAUDHURI, KIRTI N. 1990. Asia before Europe: Economy and Civilisation of the Indian Ocean from the Rise of Islam to 1750. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

DENG, GANG. 1995. An evaluation of the role of Admiral Zheng He's voyages in Chinese maritime history. International Journal of Maritime History 7: 233-245.

DENG, GANG. 2002. The Premodern Chinese Economy: Structural Equilibrium and Capitalist Sterility. Routledge.

DENG, KENT & O'BRIEN, PATRICK. 2014. Clarifying data for reciprocal comparisons of nutritional standards of living in England and the Yangtze Delta (Jiangnan), c. 1644–c. 1840.

DENG, KENT & O'BRIEN, PATRICK. 2017. How well did facts travel to support protracted debate on the history of the Great Divergence between Western Europe and Imperial China?, London School of Economics.

FINLAY, ROBERT. 2010. The Pilgrim Art: Cultures of Porcelain in World History. University of California Press.

FRANK, ANDRE GUNDER. 1978. World Accumulation and Underdevelopment. New York/London: Monthly Review Press and Macmillan Press.

FRANK, ANDRE GUNDER. 1998. Reorient: Global Economy in the Asian Age. Berkeley: University of California Press.

GUY, JOHN. 1986. Oriental Trade Ceramics in South-East Asia, Ninth to Sixteenth Centuries. Oxford University Press.

HENG, DEREK TIAM SOON. 2005. Economic Interaction Between China and the Malacca Straits Region, Tenth to Fourteenth Centuries AD. University of Hull.

HUANG, QICHEN. [黄启臣], 1986. 清代前期海外贸易的发展 Qingdai Qian Haiwai Maoyi De Fazhan [The Development of Foreign Trade in the Early Qing Dynasty]. 历史研究 Historical Research 4: 32–41.

HUNTINGTON, SAMUEL. 1997. The Clash of Civilizations and the Remaking of World Order. London/ Sydney: Simon & Schuster.

KADOI, YUKA. 2009. Islamic Chinoiserie: The Art of Mongol Iran. Edinburgh University Press.

KENNET, DEREK. 2004. Sasanian and Islamic pottery from Ras al-Khaimah: Classification, Chronology and Analysis of Trade in the Western Indian Ocean. Archaeopress.

KENNET, DEREK, RAN, ZHANG & PRIESTMAN, SETH. 2011. 近东地区考古已发现的龙泉窑瓷器—英国威廉姆森藏品及斯拉夫一直调查藏品中的龙泉窑青瓷简介 Jindong Diqu Kaogu Yizhi Faxian De Longquan Yao Ciqi, in I.O.C. CERAMICS (ed.) Longquan Yao Yanji: 447–457. Beijing: Gugong Chubanshe.

KIRKMAN, JAMES. 1954. The Arab city of Gedi: Excavations at the Great Mosque, Architecture and Finds. Oxford University Press.

KRAHL, REGINA. 1986a. Chinese Ceramics in the Topkapi Saray Museum Istanbul: A Complete Catalogue. Vol. I, Yuan and Ming Dynasty Celadon Wares. Sotheby's Publications.

KRAHL, REGINA. 1986b. Chinese Ceramics in the Topkapi Saray Museum Istanbul: A Complete Catalogue. Vol. II, Yuan and Ming Dynasty Porcelains. Sotheby's Publications.

KRAHL, REGINA. 1986c. Chinese Ceramics in the Topkapi Saray Museum Istanbul: A Complete Catalogue. Vol. III. Qing Dynasty Porcelains. Sotheby's Publications.

KRAHL, REGINA. 1986d. Export porcelain fit for the Chinese emperor. Early Chinese blue-and-white in the Topkapĭ Saray Museum, Istanbul. Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society 118: 68–92.

LI, SHIZHEN. 1989. 抚奥政略 Fu Ao Zheng Lue [The Strategy to Pacify Macau] [李士祯]. (近代中国史料丛刊三编 Jindai Zhongguo Shiliao Congkan Sanbian [Three Volumes of Modern Chinese Historical Records]. Taipei: Wenhai Chubanshe.

LI, ZHENJIN. 1986. 清代广州独口对外通商及其影响 Qingdai Guanzhou Dukou Duiwai Tongshan Jiqi Yingxiang [The Guangzhou One-Port Trade and its Impact in the Qing Dynasty]. 广东社会科学 Guangdong Shehui Kexue: 90–96.

LIAO, SHENGFENG. 2007. 乾隆实施 "一口通商" 政策的原因 Qianlong Shishi 'Yi Kou Tong Shan' Zengce De Yuan [On the Qianlong's Policy of 'One-Port Trade'] Journal of Jiangxi University of Finance and Economics 2007: 89–94.

LIN, MEICUN & ZHANG, RAN. 2015. Zheng He's voyages to Hormuz Island: the archaeological evidence. Antiquity 89: 417–432.

LIN, MEICUN & ZHANG, RAN. 2017. A Chinese porcelain jar associated with Marco Polo: a discussion from an archaeological perspective. European Journal of Archaeology: 1–18.

LIU, MIAO. [刘淼], 2012. The exported ceramics of the Sea Ban Policy in the early Ming period [明代前期海禁政策下的瓷器输出]. Kaogu 4: 84–91.

LIU, XINYUAN. [刘新园], 1999. Imperial export porcelain from late Yuan to early Ming. Oriental Art 45: 48–54.

LIU, YAN, QIN, DASHU & KIRIAMA, HERMAN. [刘岩, 秦大树 & 齐里亚马•赫曼], 2012. The Chinese Porcelains unearthed at Gedi Ruins in Coast Province, Kenya [肯尼亚滨海省格迪古城遗址出土中国瓷器]. Wenwu [文物] 11: 37–60.

LO, JUNG-PANG. 1958. The decline of the early Ming navy. Oriens Extremus 5: 149–168.

LO, JUNG-PANG. 2012. China as a Sea Power 1127–1368. Hong Kong: Hong Kong University Press.

LU, TAIKANG. [卢泰康], 2003. The Early Ming Chinese Ceramics and the Voyages of Zheng He [海外遗留的明初陶瓷与郑和下西洋之关系], The International Conference of the Voyages of Zheng He [郑和下西洋国际学术研讨会论文集]. Taipei: Daw Shiang Publishing Co. Ltd.

MARTIN, ESMOND BRADLEY. 1970. Malindi: Past and Present. Kenya: The National Museum of Kenya.

ORTON, CLIVE, TYERS, PAUL & VINCE, ALAN. 2010. Pottery in Archaeology. Cambridge University Press.

PARK, HYUNHEE. 2012. Mapping the Chinese and Islamic Worlds: Cross-Cultural Exchange in Pre-modern Asia. Cambridge University Press.

POMERANZ, KENNETH. 2000. The Great Divergence: China, Europe, and the Making of the Modern World Economy. Princeton University Press.

PRIESTMAN, SETH. 2005. Settlement & ceramics in Southern Iran: an analysis of the Sasanian & Islamic periods in the Williamson collection. Unpublished: Durham University.

PRIESTMAN, SETH & KENNET, DEREK. 2002. The Williamson Collection Project: Sasanian and Islamic pottery from Southern Iran. Iran: 265–267.

ROUGEULLE, AXELLE. 1996. Medieval trade networks in the western Indian Ocean (8–14th centuries): some reflections from the distribution pattern of Chinese imports in the Islamic world, in Tradition and Archaeology: Early Maritime Contacts in the Indian Ocean: New Delhi: Manohar Publishers: 159–80.

ROWE, WILLIAM T. 2010. China's Last Empire: the Great Qing. Harvard University Press.

SHEPARD, A. O. 1956. Ceramics for the Archaeologist. Washington: Carnegie Institute.

TWITCHETT, DENIS & MOTE, FREDERICK. 1998. The Cambridge History of China. Vol. 8: The Ming Dynasty 1368–1644 Part 2. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

VAINKER, SHELAGH. 1991. Chinese Pottery and Porcelain: from Prehistory to the Present. Trustees of the British Museum.

WANG, GUANGYAO. [王光尧], 2004. Zhongguo Gudai Guanyao Zhidu [中国古代官窑制度 (Studies of Ancient Chinese Imperial Ceramic Forms and System)]. Beijing: Zijincheng Chubanshe.

XU, PU, LI, DONGYANG & SHEN, SHIXING. [徐溥, 李东阳 & 申时行], 1976. 大明会典 Daming Huidian. Taiwan: Xin Wen Feng Press.

YANG, GONGSU. [杨公素], 1991. Wan Qing waijiao shi [晚清外交史 (Late Qing Diplomatic History)]. Beijing: Peking University Press.

YUBA, TADANORI. 2014. Chinese porcelain from Fustat based on research from 1988–2001. Transactions of the Oriental Ceramic Society 76: 1–17.

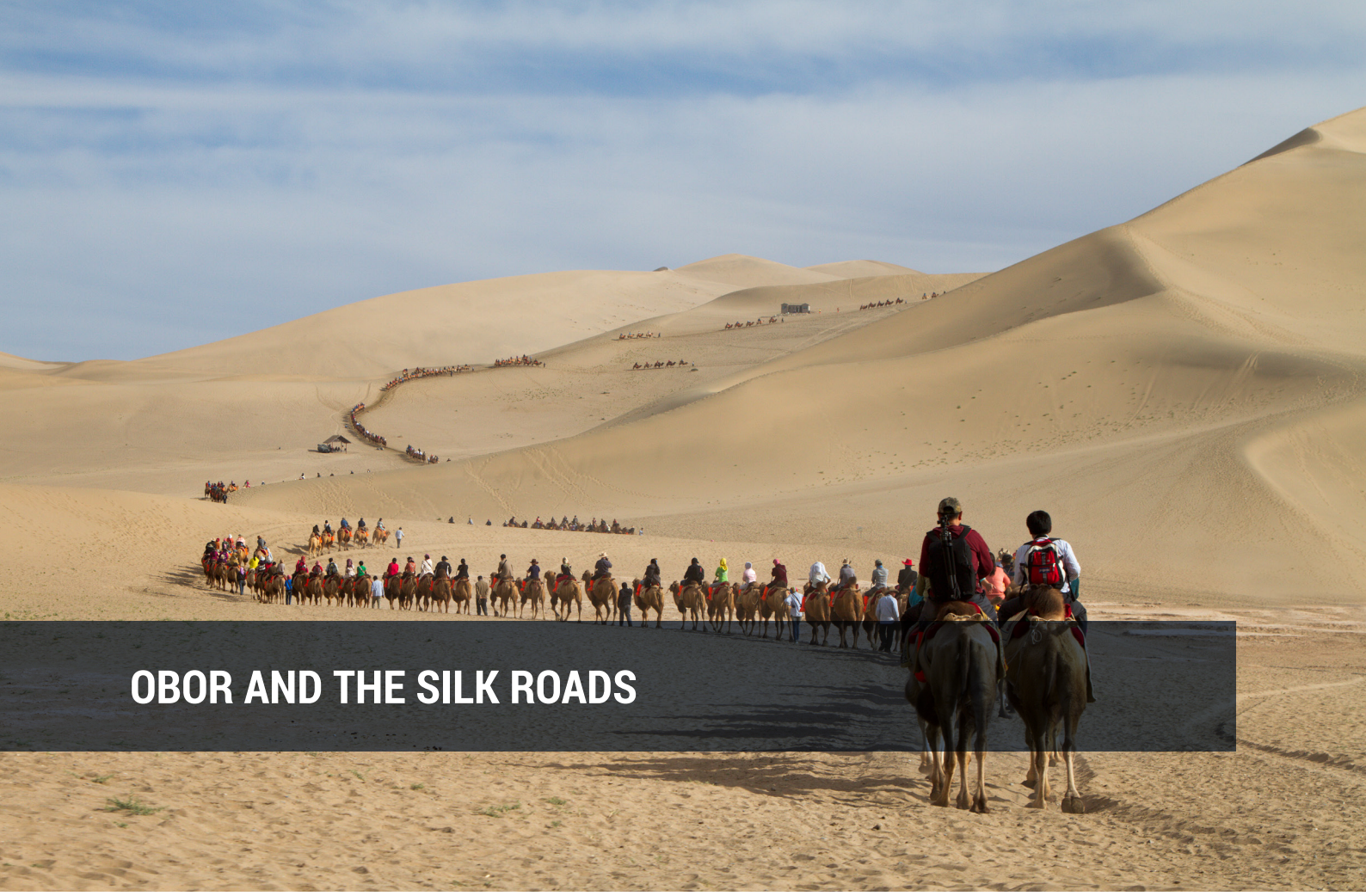
ZHANG, RAN. [张然], 2016. An Exploratory Quantitative Archaeological Analysis and a Classification System of Chinese Ceramics Trade in the Western Indian Ocean, AD c. 800–1500. (Archaeology Department. Unpublished: University of Durham.

ZHANG, RAN & YANG, XIAO. [张然 & 杨啸], 2014. 从英国王室珍藏看清代中英关系的变化 A preliminary study of the Chinese ceramics of the royal collection: the changes in Sino-British relations in the 18th to 19th centuries. 南方文物 Nanfang Wenwu 124: 125–129.

ZHANG, TINGYU. [张廷玉], 1974. 明史 Ming Shi. 中華書局.

ZHANG, XINGCAN & ZHU, JIEQIN. [张星烺 & 朱杰勤], 1977. Zhongxi Jiaotong Shiliao Huibian [中西交通史料汇编 (Compilation of Data of China–West Contact)]. Beijing: Zhonghua Shuju Press.

ZHAO, LIREN. [赵立人], 1985. 清初海禁时期广东的海外贸易与十三行 Qingchu Haijin Shiqi Guangdong De Haiwai Maoyi Yu Shisanhang. 国际经贸探索 Guoji Jingmao Tansuo: 49-51.



OBOR AND THE SILK ROADS

Susan Whitfield, Director
The British Library

While the term 'Silk Road' has now become ubiquitous, some scholars have argued for its rejection because of its use in a more widespread popular context and tendency to simplify what is a complex story. In this paper, discussion of the adoption of the term, its original scope and challenges will be reviewed very briefly, before considering the concept of the pre-modern 'Silk Road' in the context of UNESCO and in light of the growing exploitation of the 'Silk Road' theme in political and economic contexts, most especially the OBOR initiative.[1] For a working definition of the 'Silk Roads', I propose the following:

> A system of substantial and persistent overlapping and evolving interregional trade networks across Afro-Eurasia by land and sea during the first millennium CE, trading in silk and many other raw materials and manufactured items — including, but not limited to, slaves, horses, semi-precious stones, metals, musk, medicines, glass, furs — resulting in movements and exchanges of peoples, ideas, technologies, faiths, music, dances, languages, scripts, iconographies, stories etc.

I would argue that the 'Silk Road' concept should not be interpreted as restricting discussion to the relations between two points, China and Rome, East and West, though it is often popularly presented in this dichotomous way.[2] Lands (and seas and rivers) in between are just as much part of the story (Central Asia; south, southeast, and west Asia; Arabia), all involved in the interregional movement of goods and ideas.[3] The Silk Road story cannot be told without their involvement, yet, despite their geographical centrality, they have often been treated as peripheral to the empires on their borders.[4]

Given the discussion of OBOR in the other papers in this collection and the frequent linking of the OBOR with the pre-modern Silk Road, it is worth considering very briefly how this concept of a Silk Road — or Roads — differs from the OBOR initiative.

The first point to make — stating the obvious — is that there was no 'Silk Road' in the sense that there is an OBOR initiative. Over the fifteen hundred years or more of 'the Silk Roads', no government official nor merchant across Eurasia would have understood the term 'Silk

Road' or recognised the existence of any single initiative encompassing what were numerous complex and evolving trade systems. Many governments were involved in the 'Silk Road' trade (although private networks of traders, such as Sogdians and Radhanites, were also important) and there was no overarching attempt by one government to control it. OBOR is, by contrast, a named and recognised initiative in place for little more than a decade led by a single country, China.

In addition, it must be remembered that during the period of the Silk Roads there was often no unified China but multiple states, some with rulers who were not ethnically Chinese. In pre-modern times, military as well as diplomatic and economic means were used to ensure the trade routes remained open. As other papers discuss here, at present, there is little suggestion of Chinese employing military force today to ensure the success of OBOR.

However, like OBOR, the premodern Silk Road made use of and expanded existing long-distance trade routes by land and sea and it extended across Eurasia and into Africa.

To turn now to the evolution of the term, 'the Silk Road', there are two points worth noting about its early use. Both Baron Ferdinand von Richthofen (1833–1905), the original coiner of the phrase in 1877, and Sven Hedin (1865–1952), its populariser, had concerns beyond the scholarly.[5] Richthofen was funded by European and American corporations to undertake geological surveys to assess the most suitable route for a cross-Eurasian rail route.[6] His personal scholarship was tracing the routes from Balkh (present-day northern Afghanistan) to the old Chinese capital Chang'an (Xi'an) based on accounts in Ptolemy, Marinus of Tyre and the Chinese histories.[7] So from the start we have a potential tension between the economic and political concerns of two major powers — Europe and China — and the Central Asian focus of scholarship.

When the explorer Sven Hedin wrote the introduction to his book The Silk Road in the early 1930s, it was against a background where foreign exploration of northwestern China was becoming increasingly difficult. One of his intentions was diplomatic, to persuade the Chinese authorities to let him continue his work. This was successful, certainly in large part because the work continued as a Sino –Swedish collaboration, the Chinese archaeologist, Huang Wenbi (1893–1966), joining the team. However, as Tamara Chin notes, this diplomatic need led Hedin to credit the Chinese with opening up the 'Silk Roads' when he wrote:

> 'In the year 138 B.C., the great Emperor [Wudi], of the older Han dynasty, sent an embassy of a hundred persons, headed by [Zhang Qian], to modern Ferghana…'[8]

This has remained a persistent part of the narrative since this time.[9]

UNESCO was founded a decade later, in 1946, and was from the start concerned with historic and cultural links across Afro-Eurasia, framing this in dichotomous terms — East/West, Orient/Occident.[10] In 1951 it convened the plenary session of a symposium in New Delhi, entitled 'Concept of Men and Philosophy of Education in East and West'. In his closing address, Jawaharlal Nehru (1889–1964), then prime minister of India, expressed his dismay at the dichotomous nature in which this agenda was expressed: 'I have always resisted this idea of dividing the world into the Orient and the Occident.'

His opinion was not the consensus however and a ten-year major project followed in 1956 on the 'Mutual Appreciation of Eastern and Western Values'. The joint declaration argued for an understanding of the exchanges between east and west based on history.[11] In 1957 at the 'International Symposium on the History of East West Cultural Contacts', the Japanese National Commission to UNESCO presented a survey of the extensive Japanese scholarship in this field.[12] The term 'Silk Road' was noted in this report to name 'the international route of ancient times that passed through this area [Central Asia] from east to west'.[13] It credited the German geographer Albert Herrmann (1886–1945) with the name.

Herrmann had researched the course of the Silk Road for his doctoral degree in Germany, publishing this work in 1910 as *Die alte Seidenstrassen zwischen China und Syrien: beiträge zur alten geographie Asiens*.[14] This was translated into Japanese in 1944 using the term 古代絹街道 for 'Silk Road'. This was read as Shiruku rōdo (シルクロード) in its hiragama form.[15]

This interest was not new: as the 1957 report makes clear, the desire to search for the roots of Japanese culture in China, India and Central Asia had driven the expeditions of Count Otani earlier in the century[16] Post-war this interest revived.[17] Reports of European explorers contemporary with Otani, such as Hedin, were translated into Japanese using various terms for 'Silk Road'.[18] By the 1960s, however, the transliterated term Shiruku rōdo had become the most common.

The Japanese report of 1957 made a division into three intercultural routes between east and west — steppe, oasis and maritime. It stressed the importance of Central Asia, noting that 'it should not merely be interpreted as a "corridor" between China and Western Asia'.[19] Also, in a point possibly picked up from Herrmann's work, it argued that the contact with the steppe and the Tibetan plateau were 'equally as, or even more remarkable, than contact with China'. One of the stated aims of the report was to broaden the 'Silk Road' to challenge 'the traditional self-superior attitude of the Chinese'.[20] At this time China, represented by Taiwan, was not active in UNESCO.

UNESCO followed up the concerns on the lack of visibility of Central Asia with a pilot project in 1966 'to make better known the civilisations of the peoples living in the regions of Central Asia through studies of their archaeology, history, languages and literature'.[21] In 1976 it agreed a major research and publication project, 'History of the Civilisation of Central Asia'. A committee was formed and the first volume appeared in 1992. In the preface to the first volume, the Director-General of UNESCO, Federico Mayor, noted that Central Asia 'tended to be excluded from the main focus of historical attention'.

Following two decades when attention was elsewhere, in 1988 UNESCO returned to the theme of intercultural dialogue across Eurasia with another ten-year project, 'Integral Study of the Silk Roads: Roads of Dialogue'. Given the growth of the term 'Silk Road' in scholarship and literature by this time, especially in Japan and China, it is not surprising that this project used the term to replace the previous east–west dichotomy, but it retained the Japanese division into the three routes — steppe, oasis and maritime.[22]

Tourism to foreign countries in Japan, restricted in the post-war period, was fully liberalised from 1964 and grew throughout the 1970s.[23] But political events in China made travel there difficult at this time. However, by the 1980s Japanese had started travelling to sites in north-western China, many inspired by the ten-part documentary, 'The Silk Road'. This aired in 1980, jointly produced by the Japanese and Chinese national broadcasters. Among these early travellers was Ikuo Hirayama (1930–2009), a collector and painter of Silk Road themes. He became a UNESCO Goodwill Ambassador in 1989.

China started at this time to play a major role. Although they had been a founder member of UNESCO in 1946, Taiwan represented China at the UN from 1949 and it was only in 1971 that the People's Republic of China was declared the lawful representative. However, it did not engage in UNESCO cooperation until 1978. This followed a meeting between the UNESCO Director General and Deng Xiaoping.[24] Over the next decade China started cooperation on numerous projects, including the Silk Road documentary. When the Silk Roads Dialogue was established, China hosted its first conference and expedition and has remained active.[25]

The publication and 'Integral Studies' projects involved hundreds of scholars and conferences in nineteen countries, so further promoting the 'Silk Road' concept.[26] But a publication in 2004 of a report by UNESCO to assess the representation of World Heritage sites noted that 'in spite of its remarkable historical background and numerous historic/cultural sites in the sub-region, Central Asia remain one of the most under-represented regions on the World Heritage List.'[27] And it was during this period that the idea was raised of a transnational nomination inscription of the 'Silk Road' as a World Heritage site.[28] Consultation meetings were held between 2005 and 2009.[29] The 'Concept Document for the Serial Nomination of the Silk Roads in Central Asia and China' was adopted in Dushanbe in 2007, and an action plan was developed during the first meeting of the Coordinating Committee for the Silk Roads Serial Nomination in Xi'an (November 2009). This last meeting identified a need for a thematic study and this was commissioned by ICOMOS in June 2010, to 'consider whether a case could be made for considering the Silk Roads as a collection of World Heritage properties, linked by a concept, rather than one World Heritage property.'[30] This was funded by China, and published in 2014.[31] The report used the framework of nodes-corridors-sections, seeing 'civilisation as territorial output of the flow of goods and people and the encounter of ideas' with sections of 'nodes' linked by 'corridors of movement'.

The term 'corridor' had been criticised by the Japanese in their 1957 report as potentially distracting attention from the cultures along these 'corridors' in favour of the 'nodes' they joined. The authors of the 2014 report addressed this by stating that the corridor 'takes a form of surface with its overall value outweighing the sum of the nodes.'[32] These corridors 'of movement and impact' could become the basis for serial nominations by two or more states.[33] In the same year, the first Silk Road serial nomination was inscribed, namely the Chang'an to Tianshan corridor, covering China, Kazakhstan and Kyrgyzistan.[34] Others are now under consideration and preparation.

As mentioned above, in their report of 1957 the Japanese had discussed the tendency for early scholarship in Japan to centre on China. The emphasis in the report on the importance of the steppe and of Central Asia was clearly an attempt to 'reorient' scholarship from what was seen as a Sino-centric bias. This concern continued. In 1989 the Japanese government deposited funds in UNESCO: 'The Japanese Funds-in-Trust for the Preservation of the World Cultural Heritage'. These have been used for various projects connected with the Silk Road, notably two to help Central Asian countries prepare the UNESCO documentation for their corridor bids.[35] In fact the 2003 Mission to China had considered a case study proposing that the initial nomination came from China alone.[36] However, after the 2006 mission, the recommendation had changed to a transnational nomination within a timescale of 2–3 years. The nomination did not appear and the first Japanese funding was given in 2011 to assist the Central Asian countries in this process, leading to the first transnational inscription in 2014.

However, Japan is not itself currently part of any of the proposed 'Silk Road corridors', despite its attempts to get Nara accepted as the eastern end.[37] It continues to try to stress Japan's role in the UNESCO activities seen for example, in a 2014 conference which included a keynote lecture on 'Japan's Contribution to the Inscription of the Silk Roads as a World Heritage Site' and a panel discussion on 'The Silk Roads and Japan.'[38] It also continues a very active programme of scholarship to support this process.

China, meanwhile, has also embraced the Silk Road concept, realising its political and economic potential for orienting itself as a modern world power. In 2013, the year before its Silk Road nomination was inscribed, China announced its own initiatives, 'The New Silk Road Economic Belt' and 'The 21st Century Maritime Silk Road'. These are jointly termed the 'One Belt One Road' (OBOR) initiative.[39] China declared OBOR a central focus of foreign policy in 2015. The opening of train and other transport routes to Central Asia and Europe have already been subsumed under OBOR. But, more importantly for this discussion, OBOR has also been used to frame many academic conferences in China, proposals for research and cultural projects and scholarships.[40] This is certain to have an impact on Silk Road studies in coming years, and potentially to expand the area of study for example, more into the Arab world. It remains to be seen how much it will affect the continuing Sino-centric bias of much of Silk Road scholarship.

While UNESCO interest in the Silk Road and its sponsorship of events, including academic conferences, expeditions and publications, certainly has a role in the growing scholarly interest in Silk Road studies, it is only part of the story. In turn, the greater interest in the Silk Road has led other countries to see the potential for exploiting the idea of the Silk Road. While Japan's role was at least supported, if not actively led, by a foundation of scholarship, the interest from these European countries has been led rather by the perceived economic and political advantage of branding projects as part of a Silk Road to give them a higher profile in a new world order.[41] It had started by the 2000s, but has been re-energised with China's OBOR initiative.[42]

However, although the east European and Baltic states are now pushing for recognition of the northern routes to the Baltic in UNESCO discussions, the lack of involvement by Russia means there is a dissonance between the routes of the past and those being developed in the present.[43] While China has very successfully asserted its cultural, political and economic role — past and present — in the 'Silk Road', Russia has not been as quick to take advantage. This is despite its rich tradition of exploration and scholarship on the routes to and in Central Asia. In 2016, the address by Sergey Lavrov, Russian Foreign Minister, to the General Meeting of the Commission of the Russian Federation to UNESCO made only one brief mention of the Silk Road project.[44] It remains to be seen how this will affect scholarship.

So where are we in our understanding for framing research on the Silk Road?

- The sinocentrism is still apparent, not least because of the persistence of the thesis that the Silk Road was initiated by China following Zhang Qian's mission, first proposed by Hedin.
- The OBOR initiative is further pushing the misleading idea of China having the leading role in the 'Silk Road' story.
- But, both UNESCO and OBOR recognise Central Asia and its role, and both also recognise land and sea routes.

Despite the excellent foundations laid by 19th and early 20th century geographers, explorers and scholars — the Japanese perhaps foremost among the latter — detailed and serious studies of the 'Silk Roads' are still comparatively few. This is especially for the Central Asian region that lies at the heart of any narrative about the Silk Roads, whether the routes from Scandinavia, India, China or Persia. Michailidis again: 'As a whole, the region of Central Asia is prone to being treated with sweeping generalizations and frequent inaccuracies.'[45] We can only hope that the new economic and political focus on this region will help to rectify this

NOTES

1 This is a summary of a fuller discussion published in Susan Whitfield, "The Expanding Silk Road: UNESCO and OBOR", Bulletin of the Museum of Far Eastern Antiquities 81(2018).

2 Dichotomies simplify our view of a complex world and are therefore always seductive, if inevitably misleading and distorting. See Victor Lieberman (1997) "Transcending east-west dichotomies: State and culture formation in six ostensibly disparate areas", Modern Asian Studies 31(3): 463–546 and Susan Whitfield, "The Perils of dichotomous thinking: ebb and flow rather than East and West", in Marco Polo and the Encounter of East and West (papers presented at a conference, University of Toronto Humanities Centre, May 2002), eds. Suzanne Akbari & Amilcare A. Iannucci (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2008), 247–61. Chin discusses how Hedin stated this dichotomy in his vision of a new Silk Road: 'It should unite two oceans, the Pacific and the Atlantic; two continents; two races, the yellow and the white; two cultures, the Chinese and the Western', Chin, The Invention of the Silk Road, 217, quoting Sven Hedin, The Silk Road, trans. F. H. Lyon (New York: E. P. Dutton 1938), 223, 233, 234. The background to the UNESCO interest in the Silk Road, discussed below, is firmly based within a dichotomous framework, as discussed by Laura Elizabeth Wong, "Relocating East and West: UNESCO's Major Project on the Mutual Appreciation of Eastern and Western Cultural Values", Journal of World History 19.3 (2008): 353–358.

3 Including silk, since it was only in the early centuries of Silk Road history that China maintained the monopoly on cultivated silk production. It had spread into Central Asia by the first or second century CE. For a summary of the development of silk production along the Silk Road see Susan Whitfield, Silk, Slaves and Stupas: Material Culture of the Silk Road (Oakland: University of California Press 2018), Chapter 8.

4 There is also the issue of being labelled a 'peripheral' trading partner in the framework of World Systems Theory. This is not something I explore here but see the papers in Kristian Kristiansen, Thomas Lindkvist and Janken Myrdal, eds. Trade and Civilization in the Pre-Modern World (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2017), for discussion and alternative models. The issue with using 'periphery' is that it assumes a core and is, even if meant descriptively – as in geographical terms – a loaded term.

5 Chin discusses the adoption of the term by Sven Hedin and the start of its wider usage from the 1930s. See Tamara Chin, "The Invention of the Silk Road, 1877", Critical Inquiry 40.1 (Autumn 2013): 194–219. See the table of usage in Chin's fig. 1. Also see Daniel C. Waugh, "Richtofen's 'Silk Roads': Toward the Archaeology of a Concept", The Silk Road, 5.1 (2007): 1–10 and "Sven Hedin and the Invention of the Silk Road", (paper presented at the Sven Hedin and Eurasia symposium, Stockholm, Sweden, 10 Nov. 2007). The term started coming into general usage in Europe and the United States in the late 1980s, as I showed in a previous discussion, Susan Whitfield, "Was There a Silk Road?" Asian Medicine 2 (2007): 201–213.

6 He was prescient when he noted: 'Little doubt can exist that, eventually, China will be connected with Europe by rail…' Baron Richthofen's Letters, 1870–1872 (Shanghai: North China Herald Office, 1903), 151–152.

7 See Chin, "The Invention of the Silk Road", for a detailed discussion of this.

8 Hedin 2009: 223.

9 Any single episode such as this, even if a factor, cannot by itself account for the rise of a complex system such as the Silk Road and to ascribe it this role, as do most popular and even some academic books, is misleading and unhelpful.

10 As Wong points out, this dichotomy was found in the 1946 publication of UNESCO's first Director General, "Relocating", 353.

11 UNESCO General Conference Resolution 4.81, Ninth General Conference, 1956. For the political background leading to this and a fuller discussion see Wong, "Relocating". I am indebted to her work for this summary.

12 Japanese academics had been involved in the debate from before this. For example, the 1946 'Joint Statement on International Tensions' was translated into Japanese and published in an academic journal in 1949, accompanied by a statement from Japanese scholars.

13 Japanese National Commission for UNESCO, Research in Japan in History of Eastern and Western Cultural Contacts: its development and present situation (Tokyo: UNESCO, 1957), 6.

14 Albert Herrmann, Die alte Seidenstrassen zwischen China und Syrien: beiträge zur alten geographie Asiens (Berlin: Weidmannsche Buchhandlung, 1910). His supervisor was Hermann Wagner (1840–1929), who had corresponded with von Richthofen (archive of letters in the Leibniz-Institute für Läanderkunde, https://www.ifl-leipzig.de/fileadmin/user_upload/Bibliothek_Archiv/Archiv_Findb%C3%BCcher_PDF/Richthofen.pdf). Herrmann and Hedin also knew each other: Herrmann contributed to volume 8 of Hedin's series on the geography of southern Tibet (The Ts'ung-ling Mountains: Sweden 1917). This term was picked up by others, including the contemporary explorer, Marc Aurel Stein (1862–1943), who used it in a letter to Hermann in 1926: 'As I have had occasion to turn my attention again to matters concerned with the ancient "silk route" I should be very grateful if you could kindly let me know whether you have followed up your very useful publication of 1910…' (Dated 23 Aug. 1926. Bodleian Library, MS. Stein 84). However, this is a rare use of the term by Stein.

15 Translated by Osamu Yasutake and published as アルバート•ヘルマン著 ; 安武納訳編. 安武納 (Shiruku rōdo : pamīru kōgen rūto no kenkyū) Tokyo: Kasumigaeskishobo 1944. Thanks to Selçuk Esenbel who alerted me to this reading and to the reference in Katayama Akio, "Shiruku Rōdogaku no kyō" (The Present day of the Silk Road Studies) in Aija Yugaku- Intriguing Asia, Special Edition: Shiryō ni miru saishin chūgokushi, Vol. 96 (Feb 2007), (Tōkyō: Benseisha): 63. For more detail see Selçuk Esenbel, ed. Japan on the Silk Road: Encounters and Perspectives of Politics and Culture in Eurasia. (Leiden: Brill, 2018).

16 For a summary of the Japanese expeditions see the International Dunhuang Project, "Japanese Collections: The Otani Explorations in Central Asia". http://idp.bl.uk/pages/collections_jp.a4d

17 For a summary of Silk Road studies in Japan see Katayama "Shiruku Rodagaku" and Nagasawa, "Silk Road Studies".

18 Hedin's work was translated as early as 1939 by Yōkichi Takayama with the title: 赤色ルート踏破記. (Walking Along the Red Route), Tōkyō : Ikuseisha, Shōwa 14. Incidentally, the term 'red route' was one used earlier in the century to refer to a proposed railway through British territory in Canada to link to routes to Asia, the 'red' referring to Britain in this case (R. Douglas Francis, Richard Jones & Donald B. Smith. Journeys: A History of Canada, (Boston: Cengage, 2009) 284). More pertinent perhaps is its use in the title of a Japanese book, published in 1938 by the political organisation Shinminkai (新民会) that had been founded in occupied North China with Japanese support (with Japa「支那赤色ルートノ概況」. (Beiping: Xin min hui zhong yang zhi dao bu diao cha ke, Minguo 27 [1938]).

19 The term corridor continues to be used in UNESCO and is now commonly found in the discussions of China's 'One Belt One Road' (OBOR) initiative. See below.

20 Japanese National Commission, Research, 8.

21 Approved at the fourteenth session of the UNESCO General Conference in November 1966. See Mohammad S. Asimov. 'Description of the Project', in A. H. Dani & B. M. Masson, eds. History of the Civilizations of Central Asia: Volume 1: The Dawn of Civilization: Earliest Times to 700 B.C. (Paris: UNESCO Publishing 1992) 11.

22 Luce Boulnois's (1931–2009) book The Silk Road (first published in France in 1963 and translated into English in the same year) was translated into Chinese in 1982. (Interestingly, its 1964 German translation was entitled Die Strassen der Seide not Die Seidenstrasse). For a brief review of the terms used during this period see Whitfield "Was there a Silk Road?" Other routes were added by the time of the 1988 project, including the Buddhist route. The East–West dichotomy, unfortunately, continues to appear.

23 Eguchi Nobukiyo, "A Brief Review of Tourism in Japan after World War II", Journal of Ritsumeikan Social Sciences and Humanities 2 (March 2009): 141–153. www.ritsumei.ac.jp/acd/re/k-rsc/hss/book/pdf/vol02_10.pdf The Olympic Flame for the 1964 Tokyo games was transported via the Silk Road.

24 It was Deng Xiaoping's visit in 1978 to Japan that also led to the Sino-Japanese collaboration on the TV documentary, "The Silk Road". See NHK, "The Silk Road", 50 Years of NHK Television: 20. http://www.nhk.or.jp/digitalmuseum/nhk50years_en/history/p20/index.html

25 1990 in Dunhuang, exploring the 'desert route'. UNESCO. Integral Study of the Silk Roads: Roads of Dialogue. August 1990. unesdoc.unesco.org/images/0015/001593/159313eo.pdf

26 The Silk Road project resulted in 429 academic papers being presented in nineteen countries, see Vadime Elisseeff, The Silk Roads: Highways of Culture and Commerce (New York/Oxford: Berghahn Books and UNESCO Publishing 2000), 17.

27 UNESCO, "UNESCO Sub-regional Workshop on the Serial World Heritage Nomination of the Silk Roads", 2–5 June 2008, http://whc.unesco.org/en/events/493/.

28 F Jing & R van Oers, UNESCO Mission to the Chinese Silk Road as World Cultural Heritage Route. A systematic approach towards identification and nomination, from 21–31 August 2003. (UNESCO: Paris 2004). For a more detailed summary of this background see Tim Williams, The Silk Roads: an ICOMOS Thematic Study (Paris: ICOMOS 2014), 2–5.

29 Almaty (November 2005, Kazakhstan), Turpan (August 2006, China), Samarkand (October 2006, Uzbekistan), Dushanbe (April 2007, Tajikistan), Xi'an (June 2008, China) and Almaty again (May 2009). (Williams, The Silk Roads: 3).

30 Tim Williams, "Mapping the Silk Roads: for the UNESCO transnational serial nomination project" (paper presented at Archaeology of the Southern Taklamakan: Hedin and Stein's Legacy and New Explorations, The British Library and SOAS, 8–10 November 2012).

31 Williams, The Silk Roads.

32 Williams, The Silk Roads, 27–28. In the UNESCO Silk Road bids, everywhere is a corridor. But contrast this to the OBOR discourse, which uses corridors in the old sense – simply as links between two places of importance, China always being one of these places.

33 Fifty-four such 'corridors' have currently been identified. At present, these are land corridors – the maritime routes are not part of this initiative.

34 UNESCO, "The Silk Roads: the Routes Network of the Chang'an-Tianshan Corridor", World Heritage List 1442 (2014). http://whc.unesco.org/en/list/1442

35 UNESCO, "Silk Roads World Heritage Serial and Transnational Nomination in Central Asia: A UNESCO/Japanese Funds-in-Trust Project", http://whc.unesco.org/en/activities/825/ and a follow up, "Support for Silk Roads World Heritage Sites in Central Asia (Phase II)". http://whc.unesco.org/en/activities/870/

36 See Jing & Oers, UNESCO Mission. Interestingly this considered the Xi´an to Kashgar route and proposed a conservation management plan for Kashgar. When China joined in a transnational nomination, the route nominated bypassed Kashgar, avoiding recent debate about its conservation. See Haiming Yan, "World heritage and national hegemony: the discursive formation of Chinese political authority", in A Companion to Heritage Studies. Edited by William Logan, Miread Nic Craith & Ullrich Kocel. London: John Wiley and Sons 2015: 229–242 (235–8).

37 The decision to make Xi'an in China the eastern end was made at the 2007 'International Symposium for the Serial Nomination for the Silk Roads to the World Heritage', held in Xi'an. A Japanese report notes, 'unfortunately, Nara was excluded from this Silk Roads in the nomination. From the side of Japan, it is considered quite essential to keep discussing, in the nomination process, the geographical and historical definitions of the Silk Roads'. See Yamauchi Kazuya. "International Symposium for the Serial Nomination for the Silk Roads to the World Heritage", Tobunken Monthly Report 11 (2007). http://www.tobunken.go.jp/materials/ektauthor/yamauchi-kazuya Yamauchi Kazuya, Monthly report, 11 (2007). The 2014 ICOMOS report recommends further work on drawing in other areas, and includes 'the eastern extent of the routes, into Korea and Japan' in this. See Williams, The Silk Roads, 63.

38 Inouchi Chisa, "The Silk Roads as a World Heritage Site: Tracing the Origins of Japan's International Cooperation in Cultural Heritage", Tobunken Monthly Report 27 September 2014. http://www.tobunken.go.jp/materials/ekatudo/205940.html?s=silk+road

39 For a recent discussion of this from a political and economic viewpoint see Balázs Sárvári and Anna Szeidovitz, "The political economics of the New Silk Road", Baltic Journal of European Studies 6.1 (2016): 3–27. Also see Tim Winter, "One Belt, One Road, One Heritage: Cultural Diplomacy and the Silk Road", The Diplomat 29 March (2016), http://thediplomat.com/2016/03/one-belt-one-road-one-heritage-cultural-diplomacy-and-the-silk-road/

40 For example, a 2014 bi-annual conference on Turfan studies was branded under this and one of the presentations concerned a proposal to build an international Silk Road Museum in Turfan. Zhejiang University has established 'The Collaborative Innovation Center for the Cooperation and Development of the Belt and Road' and activities include a research project between Zhejiang and Peking University and a 2015 Silk Road conference. See The International Dunhuang Project, "Zhejiang University: Dunhuang and Silk Road Studies", IDP News 46 (Autumn 2015): http://idp.bl.uk/archives/news46/idpnews_46.a4d#section5. A scholarship scheme for students from OBOR countries to study in China was announced in 2015 (Huaxia. "China to Provide 10,000 scholarships annually to Belt and Road Countries", Xinhuanet 28 March 2015, http://news.xinhuanet.com/english/2015-03/28/c_134105304.htm). In 2016 it was announced that 10,000 places would be for students from Arab countries. See Alvin Cheng-hin Lim, "Middle East and China's 'Belt and Road': Xi Jinping's 2016 State Visits to Saudi Arabia, Egypt and Iran – Analysis", Eurasia Review 20 January 2016 (http://www.eurasiareview.com/30012016-middle-east-and-chinas-belt-and-road-xi-jinpings-2016-state-visits-to-saudi-arabia-egypt-and-iran-analysis/).

41 The proposed trade routes mainly avoid Russia, travelling through Minsk and Ukraine, see Vector News, "Ukraine Offers Alternative Transport Route to China Bypassing Russia", Vector News 6 January 2016. http://vectornews.eu/news/business/15011-ukraine-launches-alternative-transit-route-to-china-bypassing-russia.html. However, Russia has maintained an interest, with Vladimir Putin attending the 2017 OBOR summit in Beijing ("Belt and Road International Forum", President of Russia Website 14 May 2017. http://en.kremlin.ru/events/president/news/54491).

42 So, for example, Latvia and Lithuania signed several trade deals with China in 2015 and 2016. See Sárvári & Szeidovitz, "Political Economics", for a recent very positive analysis of this trend. It is interesting that the train running between Lithuania and Ukraine since 2013 is called 'Viking'!

43 The UNESCO Silk Road Online Platform (http://en.unesco.org/silkroad/unesco-silk-road-online-platform), a site funded by the Chinese-based Tang West Market Group, gives a summary of the geographic areas of modern Russia that are connected to the Silk Road, although it does not include the northern routes to the Baltic as part of the Silk Road: See "Russia" http://en.unesco.org/silkroad/countries-alongside-silk-road-routes/russian-federation

44 'As per the instructions of President of Russia Vladimir Putin on creating a permanent venue for Eurasian cultural cooperation, an international conference 'Intercultural Dialogue in the Eurasian Space' will be held in the Republic of Bashkortostan in May. Its agenda includes discussion on intercultural cooperation in the framework of the UNESCO Silk Road project', "Foreign Minister Sergey Lavrov's remarks at the 71st session of the UN General Assembly, New York, 23 September 2016". http://www.mid.ru/ru/foreign_policy/news/-/asset_publisher/cKNonkJE02Bw/content/id/2468262?p_p_id=101_INSTANCE_cKNonkJE02Bw&_101_INSTANCE_cKNonkJE02Bw_languageId=en_GB.

45 Michailidis, Samanid, 25. Note also the article by Levent Hekimoglu, "The back of beyond: trade, geography and Central Asia's predicament", in Traders and Trade Routes of Central and Inner Asia: The 'Silk Road', Then and Now. Edited by Michael Gervers, Uradyn E. Bulag & Gillian Long. Toronto: Asian Institute, University of Toronto, 2007, 207-214. Of course, this is not to detract from some excellent studies that do not suffer these faults.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

Boulnois, Luce. **La Route de la Soie**. Paris: Arthaud, 1963.

Boulnois, Luce. Die Strassen der Seide. Vienna: Paul Neff Verlag, 1964

Boulnois, Luce. (Si chou zhi Lu). Trans. Sheng Geng. Urumqi: Xinjiang renmin chubanshe, 1982.

Boulnois, Luce. **The Silk Road**. Trans. Dennis Chamberlain. New York: Dutton & Co., 1963.

Chin, Tamara. "The Invention of **the Silk Road**, 1877", Critical Inquiry 40(1) (Autumn 2013): 194–219. Online at **tamaratchin.com/wp-content/uploads/2013/.../Chin-Critical-Inquiry.pdf**

Dani, A. H. & Masson, B. M., eds.. **History of the Civilizations of Central Asia: Volume 1: The Dawn of Civilization: Earliest Times to 700 B.C**. Paris: UNESCO Publishing, 1992.

Elisseeff, Vadime, ed. **The Silk Roads: Highways of Culture and Commerce**. New York/Oxford: Berghahn Books and UNESCO Publishing, 2000.

Esenbel, Selçuk, ed. Japan on **the Silk Road: Encounters and Perspectives of Politics and Culture in Eurasia**. Leiden: Brill 2018.

Francis, R. Douglas , Richard Jones & Donald B. Smith. **Journeys: A History of Canada, Boston**: Cengage, 2009.

Hedin, Sven Anders. **The Silk Road**. Eng. trans. F. H. Lyon. New York: E. P. Dutton, 1938, rpt. London and New York: Tauris Parke Paperbacks, 2009. Jap. Trans. Yōkichi Takayama. 赤色ルート踏破記・Tōkyō : Ikuseisha, Shōwa 14 (1939).

Hedin, Sven Anders & Albert von Herrmann. **Southern Tibet: discoveries in former times compared with my own researches in 1906–1908. Vol. 8,** Part 1. The
Ts'ung-Ling Mountains. Stockholm: Lithographical Institute of the General Staff of the Swedish Army, 1917.

Hekimoglu, Levent. "The Back of Beyond: Trade, Geography and Central Asia's Predicament", in **Traders and Trade Routes of Central and Inner Asia: The 'Silk Road', Then and Now**. Edited by Michael Gervers, Uradyn E. Bulag & Gillian Long. Toronto: Asian Institute, University of Toronto, 2007, 207–214.

Herrmann, Albert. **Die alten seidenstrassen zwischen China und Syrien: beiträge zur alten geographie Asiens**. Berlin: Weidmann, 1910. 古代絹街道 : パミール高原ルートの研究 (Shirukurōdo : Pamīru kōgen rūto no kenkyū), Trans. Osamu Yasutake. Tokyo: Kasumigaseki Shobō, 1944.

Inouchi Chisa. "The Silk Roads as a World Heritage Site: Tracing the Origins of Japan's International Cooperation in Cultural Heritage", **Tobunken Monthly Report** 27 September 2014. http://www.tobunken.go.jp/materials/ekatudo/205940.html?s=silk+road

International Dunhuang Project. "Japanese Collections: The Otani Explorations in Central Asia". http://idp.bl.uk/pages/collections_jp.a4d

International Dunhuang Project. "Zhejiang University: Dunhuang and Silk Road Studies", IDP News 46 (Autumn 2015). http://idp.bl.uk/archives/news46/idpnews_46.a4d#section5.

Japanese National Commission for UNESCO. **Research in Japan in History of Eastern and Western Cultural Contacts: its development and present situation**. Tokyo: UNESCO, 1957.

Jing, F & van Oers, R. **UNESCO Mission to the Chinese Silk Road as World Cultural Heritage Route. A systematic approach towards identification and nomination, from 21–31 August 2003**. UNESCO: Paris, 2004.

Katayama Akio. "Shiruku Rōdogaku no kyō". (The present day of the Silk Road studies). In Aija Yugaku- Intriguing Asia, Special Edition: **Shiryō ni miru saishin chūgokushi** 96 (Feb 2007): 63.

Kristiansen, Kristian, Thomas Lindkvist & Janken Myrdal, eds. **Trade and Civilization in the Pre-Modern World**. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2017.

Lavrov, Sergey. "Foreign Minister Sergey Lavrov's remarks at the 71st session of the UN General Assembly, New York, 23 September 2016". http://www.mid.ru/ru/foreign_policy/news/-/asset_publisher/cKNonkJE02Bw/content/id/2468262?p_p_id=101_INSTANCE_cKNonkJE02Bw&_101_INSTANCE_cKNonkJE02Bw_languageId=en_GB

Lieberman, Victor. "Transcending east-west dichotomies: state and culture formation in six ostensibly disparate areas", **Modern Asian Studie**s 31:3 (1997): 463–546.

Lim, Alvin Cheng-hin. "Middle East and China's 'Belt and Road': Xi Jinping's 2016 State Visits to Saudi Arabia, Egypt and Iran – Analysis", **Eurasia Review** 20 January 2016 (http://www.eurasiareview.com/30012016-middle-east-and-chinas-belt-and-road-xi-jinpings-2016-state-visits-to-saudi-arabia-egypt-and-iran-analysis/)

Michailidis, Melanie. "Samanid silver and trade along the fur route", **In Mechanisms of Exchange: Transmission in Medieval Art and Architecture of the Mediterranean ca. 1000–1500.** Edited by Heather E. Grossman & Alicia Walker. Leiden/Boston: Brill, 2013: 17–40.

Nagasawa, Kazutoshi. "Silk Road Studies in Japan: its history and present situation", paper presented at the International Seminar for UNESCO Integral Study of the Silk Roads: Roads of Dialogue, Osaka, Japan 1988. http://en.unesco.org/silkroad/knowledge-bank/silk-road-studies-japan-its-history-and-present-situation

NHK. "The Silk Road". **50 Years of NHK Television:** 20. http://www.nhk.or.jp/digitalmuseum/nhk50years_en/history/p20/index.html

Nobukiyo, Eguchi. "A Brief Review of Tourism in Japan after World War II", **Journal of Ritsumeikan Social Sciences and Humanities** 2 (March 2009): 141–153. www.ritsumei.ac.jp/acd/re/k-rsc/hss/book/pdf/vol02_10.pdf

Richthofen, Ferdinand Reiherr von. **Baron Richthofen's Letters**, 1870–72. Shanghai: North-China Herald, 1903.

Richthofen, Ferdinand Reiherr von. **Leibniz-Institut für Länderkunde: Arhciv Geographie, Findbuch, Ferdinand Reiherr von Richthofen** (1833–1905). 2006. https://www.ifl-leipzig.de/fileadmin/user_upload/Bibliothek_Archiv/Archiv_Findb%C3%BCcher_PDF/Richthofen.pdf.

Sárvári, Balázs & Szeidovitz, Anna. "The political economics of the New Silk Road**", Baltic Journal of European Studies** 6.1 (2016): 3–27.

Shinminkai (新民会). 民衆把握戦二於ケル「支那赤色ルートノ概況」. Beiping : Xin min hui zhong yang zhi dao bu diao cha ke, Minguo 27 [1938].

UNESCO. **Records of the General Conference, Ninth Session, New Delhi 1956: Resolutions.** Paris: UNESCO, 1957. http://unesdoc.unesco.org/images/0011/001145/114585e.pdf

UNESCO. **Integral Study of the Silk Roads: Roads of Dialogue. 22 August 1990. unesdoc.unesco.org/images/0015/001593/159313eo.pdf**

UNESCO. "UNESCO Sub-regional Workshop on the Serial World Heritage Nomination of the Silk Roads", Xian, China, 2–5 June 2008. http://whc.unesco.org/en/events/493/.

UNESCO. "Silk Roads World Heritage Serial and Transnational Nomination in Central Asia: A UNESCO/Japanese Funds-in-Trust Project". http://whc.unesco.org/en/activities/825/

UNESCO. "Support for Silk Roads World Heritage Sites in Central Asia (Phase II)". http://whc.unesco.org/en/activities/870/

UNESCO. "The Silk Roads: the Routes Network of the Chang'an-Tianshan Corridor", **World Heritage List** 1442 (2014). http://whc.unesco.org/en/list/1442

UNESCO. "South Asia World Heritage Serial Nomination for the Silk Roads Project Launched with the Support of the UNESCO/Korea Funds in Trust". UNESCO News, 11 February 2014. http://whc.unesco.org/en/news/1104/

UNESCO. "Russia", **The UNESCO Silk Road Online Platform**. http://en.unesco.org/silkroad/countries-alongside-silk-road-routes/russian-federation

UNESCO. "The Great Silk Road Forum — platform for cultural cooperation of Eurasian countries", **The UNESCO Silk Road Online Platform**. http://en.unesco.org/silkroad/content/great-silk-road-forum-platform-cultural-cooperation-eurasian-countries.

Vector News. "Ukraine Offers Alternative Transport Route to China Bypassing Russia", **Vector News,** 6 January 2016. http://vectornews.eu/news/business/15011-ukraine-launches-alternative-transit-route-to-china-bypassing-russia.html.

Waugh, Daniel C. "Richtofen's 'Silk Roads': Toward the Archaeology of a Concept", **The Silk Road** 5.1 (2007): 1–10. Online at **silkroadfoundation.org/newsletter/vol5num1/srjournal_v5n1.pdf**

Whitfield, Susan. "Was there a Silk Road?" Asian Medicine 2 (2007): 201–13. Online at: http://idp.bl.uk/downloads/Whitfield_SilkRoad.pdf

Whitfield, Susan. "The Perils of Dichotomous Thinking: Ebb and Flow Rather than East and West", in **Marco Polo and the Encounter of East and West** (Papers from a conference held at University of Toronto Humanities Centre, May 2002). Edited by Suzanne Akbari &Amilcare A. Iannucci. Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2008, 247–61.

Whitfield, Susan. "The Expanding Silk Road: UNESCO and OBOR", **Bulletin of the Museum of Far Eastern Antiquities** 81(2018).

Whitfield, Susan. **Silk, Slaves and Stupas: Material Culture of the Silk Road.** Oakland: University of California Press, 2018a.

Williams, Tim. "Mapping the Silk Roads: for the UNESCO transnational serial nomination project", paper presented at Archaeology of the Southern Taklamakan: Hedin and Stein's Legacy and New Explorations, the British Library and SOAS, 8–10 November 2012. http://idp.bl.uk/conference/index.html#downloads

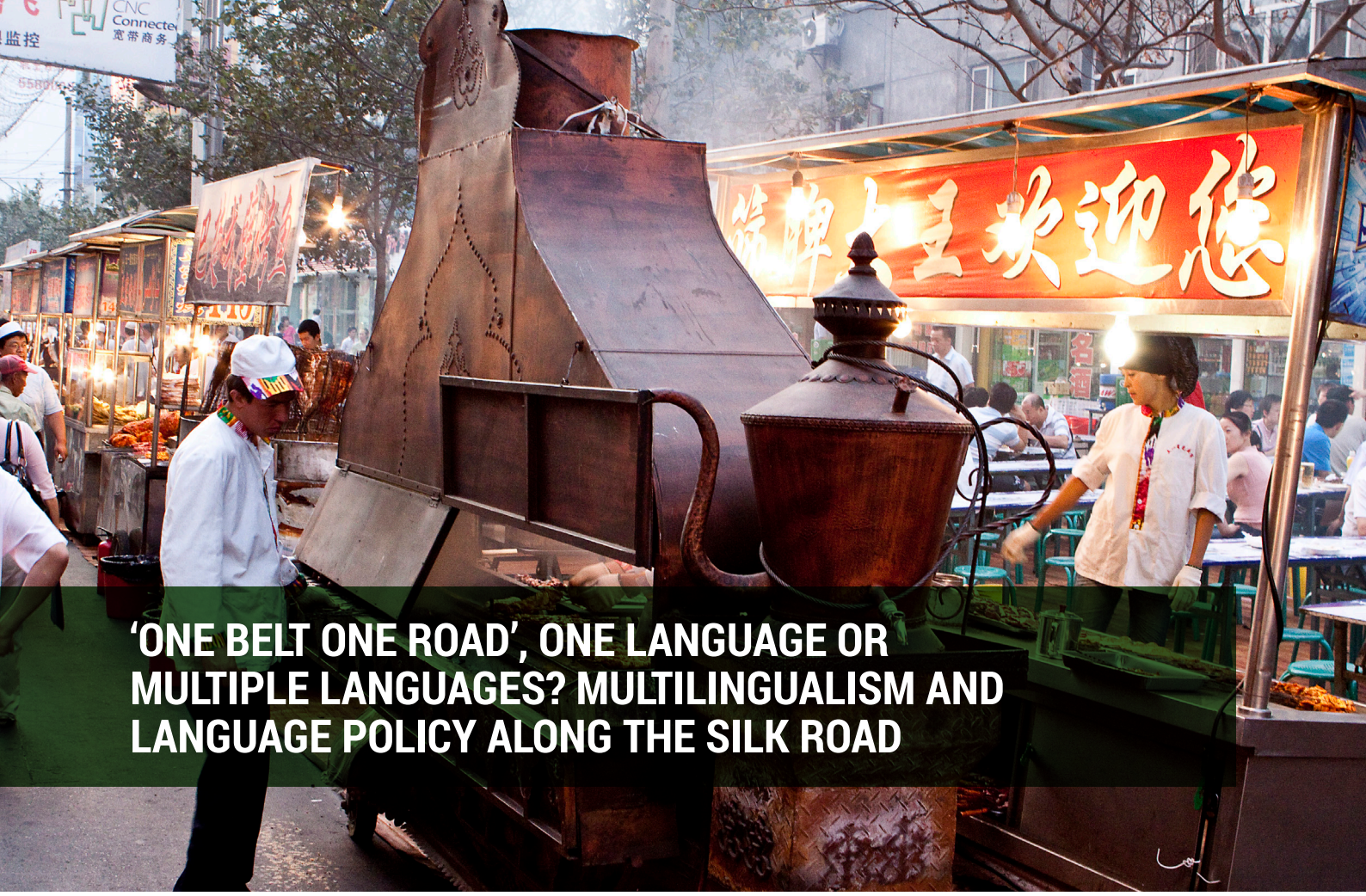
Williams, Tim. **The Silk Roads: an ICOMOS Thematic Study**. Paris: ICOMOS, 2014.

Winter, Tim. "One Belt, One Road, One Heritage: Cultural Diplomacy and the Silk Road", **The Diplomat**, 29 March 2016, http://thediplomat.com/2016/03/one-belt-one-road-one-heritage-cultural-diplomacy-and-the-silk-road/

Wong, Laura Elizabeth. "Relocating East and West: UNESCO's Major Project on the Mutual Appreciation of Eastern and Western Cultural Values**", Journal of World History** 19.3 (2008): 353–358.

Yan, Haiming. "World Heritage and National Hegemony: The Discursive Formation of Chinese Political Authority", in **A Companion to Heritage Studies.** Edited by William Logan, Miread Nic Craith & Ullrich Kocel. London: John Wiley and Sons 2015: 229–242.

Yamauchi Kazuya. "International Symposium for the Serial Nomination for the Silk Roads to the World Heritage", **Tobunken Monthly Report** 11 (2007). http://www.tobunken.go.jp/materials/ektauthor/yamauchi-kazuya



‘ONE BELT ONE ROAD’, ONE LANGUAGE OR MULTIPLE LANGUAGES? MULTILINGUALISM AND LANGUAGE POLICY ALONG THE SILK ROAD

Mamtimyn Sunuodula, Acting Director
Durham University

The ancient trade routes that crisscrossed China and the Eurasian continent were also a confluence of diverse cultures and languages. It was not only goods that were transported and exchanged along the Silk Roads, a continuous flow of ideas, cultures, religions and languages were also an important part of that exchange (V. Hansen 2012; Millward 2013). Twenty-four different scripts used for writing seventeen ancient languages were unearthed from the Silk Road sites along Tarim and Turpan basin in Xinjiang and manuscripts recovered from Buddhist caves in Dunhuang were written in multiple languages and scripts, indicating the existence of a high degree of linguistic exchange and multilingual populations (Kamberi 2005).

These discoveries are often perceived and held up as symbolising cultural and linguistic diversity as well as religious and ideological tolerance by contemporary authors. The ‘One Road One Belt’ initiative invokes memories of the historic ‘Silk Road’ and sets out ambitious new goals for trade and economic integration, promoting global interconnectedness of peoples and places into the 21st century and beyond. In this paper I examine the current challenges to the linguistic diversity which has developed and survived over many centuries in Xinjiang, China. By focusing on language and multilingualism in Xinjiang in the context of ‘One Road One Belt’, I discuss the ways in which cultural and linguistic diversity and the recent drive to achieve linguistic unity impact the new ‘Silk Road’ project.

Uyghurs in Xinjiang

The People’s Republic of China (PRC) is home to 55 officially recognised ethnic minority groups, in addition to the majority Han. These ethnic groups are very diverse in terms of history, culture and language, and their relations with the state, with the majority Han and among themselves (Sunuodula, Feng & Adamson 2015; Smith 2002, 2000; Tobin 2013; Yee 2003). They number some 113.79 million people (National Bureau of Statistics of China 2011) living in 155 ethnic autonomous areas, many of which are located near the country’s borders to the southwest, west, northwest, north and northeast (Poston et al. 2015).

Numbering some ten million people, i.e. less than 1% of the total population and just under 9% of the total non-Han population in China (XUAR Census Office 2012b), the Uyghur are the fourth largest in population size and most visible non-Han ethnicity in China (Mackerras 1994; Attané 2007; Poston et al. 2015). They predominantly reside in Xinjiang Uyghur Autonomous Region (XUAR) where they currently account for 46% of the total population. The Uyghur and the Chinese-speaking Han are the two principal ethnic groups in Xinjiang in terms of population size and together they account for over 85% of Xinjiang's population of 21 million (XUAR Census Office 2012b).

The Uyghur mostly reside in southern Xinjiang and in rural areas where they form over 80% of the local population, while the Han tend to live in urban areas and the population centres of northern and eastern Xinjiang (XUAR Census Office 2012b). The spatial segregation index for the Uyghur and the Han is the highest among all of China's non-Han ethnic groups, indicating that Uyghurs live together in compact communities communicating and interacting with each other in the Uyghur language, often separate from the majority Han (Poston et al. 2015). Quantitative studies measuring the degree of Sinicisation among China's seven most populous minority ethnic groups show that the Uyghur achieved the lowest score, behind Tibetans, an indication of visible or perceived distance of the Uyghur ways living from the majority Han cultural and linguistic norms (Attané & Courbage 2000; Poston et al. 2015).

The Uyghur language has been one of the two officially recognised languages of the XUAR government and public institutions along with Mandarin Chinese since the Peace Treaty of 1946 between the Chinese government and the Three District Revolutionaries, and its position was reaffirmed in 1950 when the region was incorporated into the administrative structure of the People's Republic of China (Benson 1990; XUAR Local History Editorial Office 2000).

In recent decades, the intensification of the state's top-down drive for linguistic integration of Uyghurs into Chinese linguistic norms and the ascendency of English as an international language gave rise to the phenomenon of dual track 'bilingual' education in Xinjiang (Sunuodula & Feng 2011; Adamson 2004). The first type of 'bilingual' education policy aimed at minority students demanded the switching of medium of instruction (MOI) from Uyghur to Mandarin Chinese at Uyghur schools, with Uyghur, the first and primary language of most Uyghur students, offered as a second language subject (Wilson 2013). The second type of 'bilingual' education policy, aimed at students in Chinese MOI schools, promoted English as the MOI language and elevated its position in education and society to an unprecedented level. Beginning from 2001, a series of policy documents were issued by the Ministry of Education calling for additional measures and enhanced resources to strengthen the teaching of English at schools and universities. The policies contributed to the acceleration of English language 'fever' sweeping through the country and a rapid rise of English MOI education, which was described as necessary for achieving communicative competence in the language to conduct foreign trade, increase China's interaction and integration with the outside world, expand its international influence and learn and acquire advanced Western technological and management skills (Le 2011a). As the policies were only applicable to the 'national education' strand in Xinjiang, the 'ethnic education' strand, to which all Uyghur language MOI schools belong, was left out of the system (Feng & Sunuodula 2009).

Uyghur language

The modern Uyghur language is used by over ten million Uyghur people living in Xinjiang Uyghur Autonomous Region of China (XUAR Census Office 2012a: 197). It is a Turkic language belonging to the south-eastern branch of Turkic languages, closely related to other Turkic languages spoken in neighbouring Central Asian countries and regions, such as Kazakh, Uzbek and Yugur in Gansu Province (Jong 2007: 1–2). Uyghurs claim a sophisticated literary tradition and linguistic accomplishments (Bovingdon 2004).

Uyghurs trace their history to the Uyghur Empire that ruled a vast region from modern-day Central Asia to the shores of Pacific Ocean and the Sea of Japan, from 744 AD to 840 AD (Rudelson 1997: 5; Mutii 1982; Almas 1989). Such a claim is supported in official government publications (XUAR Local History Editorial Office 2012: 387–388). Uyghurs trace their written literary language to the oldest Turkic inscriptions, the Orkhun-Yenisey stone inscriptions, that date back to the 8th century (Gladney 1998). Works written in old Uyghur include Manichaean, Buddhist and Nestorian religious writings written between the 9th to 12th centuries and discovered at ancient sites located in modern day Xinjiang (Naby 1991; Eliyop & Jari 1980; Xoja, Yusup, & Ayup 1984). The archaeological evidence also

points to the fact that Uyghurs were well advanced in their use of printing techniques for mass production of Buddhist and other legal texts from at least the 13th century on. Wooden movable typeface discovered at Turpan dates back to the Idiqut Uyghur Khanate (605–1250 CE). Medieval Uyghur Buddhist printed documents have been found at almost every site excavated in the Turpan Basin (Kamberi 1999; Gunaratne 2001). The author of one of the most significant works written on old Turkic languages in the 11th century, Mahmud Kashgari, was said to have been born and buried on the outskirts of Kashgar in modern day Xinjiang. His work 'The Compendium of Turkic Languages' was the earliest lexicographical work on Turkic languages and grammar and is widely recognised as the foundation of later Turkic oral and literary languages (Akün 2002; 9–15; Hazai 2013; Kashgari 1981; Tursun 2013). The other significant contribution to early Turkic literary language attributed to Uyghurs is Yūsuf Khāṣṣ Ḥājib's Qutadhghu Bilig ('Wisdom of Royal Glory'). Completed in 1069–70, it is the oldest monument of Islamic Turkic literature. These two classical works of the Karakhanid dynasty (840–1211) were written within a decade of each other and lay the foundations for a Turco-Islamic literary culture (Dankoff 2013).

The Uyghur script was adopted as the imperial writing system throughout the expanding Mongol Empire in 13th century, and many Uyghur literati were recruited to work as court scribes, historians, diplomats, technologists and advisors in the Mongol court and throughout the Empire (Brose 2005). Through the Mongols, the Uyghur script was also adopted by the Manchus, who ruled China from 1644–1912 (Golden 1998: 16–29; Nolan 2002). Like many other languages in the world, the Uyghur language has historically been in contact, influenced, and been influenced by, other languages and cultures, including Chinese language and culture (Chen 2010: 11–39; Li & Cao 2009a,b; Niyaz & Li 2009; Zhang & Zhang 2012). However, until the first half of the 20th century, the Chinese influence paled in comparison to the influences coming from the Turkic and Persian speaking world (Fuller & Lipman 2004: 327).

Uyghurs today take pride in their linguistic and cultural achievements, seeing them as a source of authority and authenticity, and set them as the norms by which to measure their linguistic and cultural behaviour and actions (Tursun 2013). Communicative competence in Uyghur language and culture and literacy in the Uyghur written language is considered as one of the salient yet unconscious or semiconscious embodying acts of Uyghur identity. It is part of everyday participation in Uyghur social and institutional practices as habitual, and structured by socio-historical antecedents and as having a reproducing force (Baquedano-Lopez & Kattan 2008). Through education in Uyghur language, the Uyghur novices are inculcated in the language ideology, concept of legitimate language and linguistic habitus 'from which the community of consciousness, which is the cement of the nation, stems' (Bourdieu 1991: 48). However, Uyghur education and Uyghur language practices did not exist in a vacuum. They were situated within a web of cultural, social, and ideological beliefs and practices that shape both language practices and the way that these practices are interpreted (Friedman 2010)

A poem attributed to Qutluq Shawqi, who was at the forefront of the Uyghur renewal movement in the early part of the 20th century, was widely quoted by contemporary Uyghur intellectuals and other proponents of Uyghur medium of instruction education. The short poem has also become a hit song and was sung by one of the most well-known contemporary Uyghur folk singers, Abdurehim Heyit (Shawqi & Heyit 2012). It sums up the ways in which Uyghurs see and feel about their language. The English translation of the poem is as follows:

> I salute those who speak my mother tongue,
> I am willing to pay in gold for the words they speak,
> Wherever is my mother tongue, be it Africa or America,
> I would go there, whatever the costs and expenses,
> Oh, my mother tongue, you are the sacred bequest to us from our great ancestors,
> With you, I desire to share my pride in you in the spiritual world.

Chinese language

Confucian style education was first introduced in Urumqi and surrounding areas in 1768 (Hening 1968: 219; Matniyaz 1994: 223) to educate the children of Manchu and Han officials who arrived in Xinjiang after the Qing conquest of the region in 1759 (Zhu 2013), following the success of the Zhungarian campaign (Perdue 2005). There were seven such schools in Xinjiang in the 44th year of the reign of the Emperor Qianlong (i.e. 1779) (Zhu 2013). There were no students from the local population enrolled in these schools until the second half of the 19th

century (Zhu 2013). The promotion of education in Chinese language and Chinese classical works among Uyghurs was one of the ideals and visions of Han nationalist figures from Gong Zizhen and Wei Yuan in the early 19th century onwards (Millward 2007: 150). Some Han proponents of sinicisation called for the schools to be established to teach the Chinese classical works along with the establishment of a provincial administrative system in Xinjiang in the latter half of the 19th century (Millward 2007: 138). They argued that it would be easier and cheaper for the Manchu court to govern the region after a period of adjustments and even imagined that the people of Xinjiang would naturally and willingly adopt the superior Chinese language and customs (Millward 2007: 246). After the suppression of Yaqub Beg's kingdom and re-conquest of Xinjiang by the Qing army in 1876 (Kim 2004), General Zuo Zongtang, who led the military campaign, put forward proposals for Xinjiang's future that included promoting Han migration to the region and cultural and linguistic assimilation of non-Han populations. He cited the language difference as particularly problematic and advocated for an education system for Uyghur and other indigenous peoples of Xinjiang that is based on the Confucian style education in China proper:

> Xinjiang has been pacified and demarcated for some time, but Han and Uyghurs are still completely out of tune. If the government officials and local people were estranged, it would be difficult to carry out the government decrees. Transmitting rules and edicts through Uyghur interpreters creates particular impediment. If we wish to change their peculiar customs and assimilate them to our Chinese ways, we must set up free schools and make Uyghur children read [Chinese] books, recognise characters and become proficient in the spoken language (i.e. Chinese). (Zuo 1986: 519, author's translation)

Until 1949 the region's successive governments after Zuo had generally seen their role in Xinjiang as a civilising one (Harrell 1995). In their view, civilisation was characterised by 'culture', which refers to the moulding of a person (and by extension the community to which the person belongs) by training in the philosophical, moral, and ritual principles considered constituting virtue in the Confucian tradition. It follows that degrees of civilisation can be measured, with the most civilised being those who had the greatest acquaintance with the relevant literary works (Harrell 1995).

The state's language policies in Xinjiang veered from being incremental and pluralistic to intrusive and interventionist throughout the history. The promotion of and education in Chinese language has been one of the key areas in the central government's attempt to exert control over the local population in Xinjiang and extend the reach of the Chinese state power to this historic borderland since 1949. The state language policy was, in its genesis, linked to the state-building efforts in Xinjiang. It has often taken a top-down approach that has reflected the state's linguistic ideological position and its interests in establishing a unified linguistic space with Mandarin Chinese as the norm. Underpinning the state's language policies in Xinjiang since the turn of the new millennium is a monolingual ideology with the ultimate aim to assimilate the Uyghur population into Chinese cultural, linguistic norms and a politically unified Chinese national identity. The local officials in Xinjiang often view Chinese culture and language as necessary and of superior quality to Uyghur language and culture and they see it as their duty to bring those Uyghurs who are not proficient in the language up to speed by assimilating them into Chinese linguistic norms and cultural practices. For them, Uyghur culture is backward and Uyghur language is the most visible sign of that and a major obstacle to progress. The traditional Uyghur ways of living are considered incompatible with the modernisation project and are viewed in opposition to the central government's objectives and sometimes with contempt (Su 1968: 64-65; Harrell 1995).

The drive for Mandarin Chinese proficiency among the Uyghurs and setting of Mandarin Chinese as the 'national common' language with 'core' language status went hand in hand with the education in Uyghur and other minority languages being negatively and pejoratively defined in opposition to it. Some policymakers view the Uyghur language as entrenching the social, political and economic marginalisation of its speakers, and only through Mandarin Chinese can upward mobility for Uyghurs be assured (May 2012). The language policies emerged out of interplay of actors at different levels, including, but not exclusive to, the central government. The promotion of Mandarin Chinese as well as its relation to the state is an ideological process. The relative hierarchies of languages in Xinjiang are normatively constructed and maintained by the state through dominant language ideology which includes the ownership, membership and authority, expressed in statements such as 'Mandarin Chinese is "common" language', 'as citizens of China, it is only right and proper for Uyghurs to be able to speak Chinese', 'they must be able to speak Mandarin Chinese to find a job' (Blommaert 2006).

English language

In the early twentieth century English teaching was undertaken in the ancient Silk Road city of Kashgar by Swedish missionaries arriving from the west (not from the treaty ports on the eastern and southern seaboard of China). Although they mainly taught students from the Han majority, the classes included Uyghurs, and local Muslims were inducted as teachers in the school (Fällman 2003). The new education movements that were initiated in the late nineteenth century, and formed the foundation of modern Uyghur education and identity formation, advocated the study of languages such as Russian and Turkish. But, until the 1950s, only a small number of Uyghurs had learnt Chinese, Russian or any other languages (Clark 2011; Fuller & Lipman 2004: 334).

The rise of Deng Xiaoping to the post of paramount leader in 1978 introduced an era of modernisation that has resulted in China becoming a major world economy today. In modern China, English is widely used in science and technology, mass media, commerce, the tourist industry, academia, formal and informal education systems, postal services, customs, the law and other settings (Gil & Adamson 2011). Since the beginning of the new millennium the role and status of English have accelerated to the extent that one government official states the following:

> Here are two interesting statistics: the first is that 400 million Chinese people have been lifted out of poverty over the past 30 years. The second is that 400 million Chinese have learned English in these 30 years.
> At the first, it might seem that the two figures are unrelated. But I believe there are close links between the two. Without learning from the West, we could not have raised so many people out of poverty, at least not so fast (Le 2011b).

As a result of the dual track minority and national education system in Xinjiang, the English language in education policy has not been applied to those students studying at Uyghur medium of instruction schools. Even at tertiary level, the English language provision has been particularly limited or unavailable for those educated in Uyghur language. For Uyghur students, it was argued, the overriding priority was to achieve competency in Mandarin Chinese, and only then it might be possible for them to learn English or other foreign languages. Insufficient consideration is given to the potential social inequality that can be caused as a result of this policy as English becomes a powerful symbol of not only educational success, but also economic, social and political advancement.

Yet the research shows that Uyghur students perceive the importance of the English language, and are highly motivated to learn it, though they face more difficulties than their Han counterparts because of the very limited provision of English language in education they received in earlier schooling (if at all). While the origins of this motivation observed in student interviewees are complex, students' strong desire for recognition and equal conditions in education, as well as their willingness to invest, signify that they seek to acquire a wider range of symbolic and material resources, which will increase the value of their cultural capital. The consideration for economic and material gains in second or third language learning is not the only factor influencing the second language acquisition by linguistic minorities (Sunuodula & Feng 2011). The English language carries specific symbolic meaning, which is culturally and socially constructed within Uyghur society. The symbolic meaning of English is specific to the Uyghur society rather than to the language itself as it is constituted by social, political, and cultural factors within Uyghur society. It operates to a great extent at a symbolic level and is not necessarily dependent on use of the language, but rather on promotion, discussion, and reaction to the idea of the language in political, social and educational contexts (Seargeant 2005).

As linguistic groups, Uyghur and Han students are situated in an unequal and dynamic power relationship in the linguistic marketplace, which exerts a significant influence on how they invest in linguistic capital. While Uyghur students faced difficulty in adjusting to studying in their second language, Chinese, they were at the same time aware that this system put Han students in an advantageous position because of their natural linguistic capital. English, which is a foreign language for both groups, may therefore provide Uyghur students with a chance of balancing this power relationship. Uyghur students are aware of this possibility, and many therefore invest heavily in the third language. A Uyghur contestant at the CCTV English Speaking Contest demonstrates that enthusiasm clearly:

> I have to tell you that people in Xinjiang [are] really enthusiastic about learning English. Because we have lots of youngsters who are willing to speak English, who are willing to learn English. There are lots of ethnic groups in Xinjiang. They are passionate and enthusiastic. They like new things; English is really new and it is like new blood in their body (Mardan, 2008).

The following quote attributed to another Uyghur contestant at a more recent CCTV English Speaking Contest illustrates the awareness of power relations in the linguistic market place:

> When we see that (Han) also struggle hard at this and that sometimes we can outperform them, we get a huge amount of satisfaction with the amount of progress we have made. Also, when we speak (English), our accent tends to be less strong compared to theirs. After having our Chinese accent judged as a mark of our 'diminished intelligence' for most of our lives, it feels like a great opportunity for us to see that we are actually worth something and not as stupid as we have been stereotyped. Instead, it is clear that we are in our current situation because of a range of complex historical, political, and socioeconomic reasons (Wind 2014; Akün 2002)

Conclusion

Linguistic exchange and linguistic diversity in Xinjiang, which is one of the most enduring and significant characteristics of this ancient Silk Road region, have come under increasing pressure in recent years due to perceived necessity of economic development and of building a unified national identity among the diverse peoples. Strong minority ethnolinguistic vitality and linguistic diversity is constructed as an obstacle to economic development and a site of potential ethnic conflict and political fragmentation in political discourse. However, language practices are multidimensional and complex and cannot be reduced to only economic productivity and value, or to political considerations. Language has a significant power dimension that has major implications for social, political and economic relations in a stratified world. As sociologist Pierre Bourdieu simply puts it, 'A language is worth what those who speak it are worth'.

Uyghur language competency is perceived as a key symbol of Uyghur ethnic identity and a prerequisite for participation in Uyghur social life as a fully qualified member of the Uyghur community. Uyghurs are particularly sensitive to the changes to the status of their language and any attempt to weaken that status is conceived as a direct threat to their ethnic identity and their way of life.

Research also demonstrates that a significant majority of Uyghurs support the learning of Mandarin Chinese at school. This shows that majority of Uyghur students are willing and keen to improve their Chinese language skills and recognise the growing dominance and economic value of Mandarin Chinese in the linguistic marketplace. They are willing to invest their time, financial resources and effort to learn Mandarin Chinese so that they can gain the economic capital valued by the Han-dominated economy and polity in order to prepare themselves for the employment market.

Uyghur youth are particularly influenced by the rise of English as an international language and the elevation of its symbolic and material value. Their enthusiasm for learning English is not only motivated by economic and political reasons, but also a strong desire for recognition and equal opportunity.

Balancing the different dimensions of language practices and giving full consideration to the significance of language practices in the social relations of power and the role language plays in the construction of Uyghur ethnic identity, while structurally integrating the Uyghurs into the wider economic, political and social development can help to reduce the ethnic tensions and minimise the potential for ethnic conflict in the region. This in turn will promote China's soft power projection in Central Asia, which shares ethnic, cultural, linguistic and historical similarities with Uyghur people, as envisioned in 'One Belt One Road'.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

Adamson, Bob. 2004. **China's English: a History of English in Chinese Education, Asian Englishes Today.** Hong Kong: Hong Kong University Press.

Akün, Ömer Faruk. 2002. Kâşgarlı Mahmut. In **İslam Ansiklopedisi,** edited by Türkiye Diyanet Vakfı İslâm Araştırmaları Merkezi. İstanbul Türkiye Diyanet Vakfı, İslâm Ansiklopedisi Genel Müdürlüğü.

Almas, Turghun. 1989. Uyghurlar. Urumqi: Xinjiang Yashlar Osmurlar Nashriyati.

Attané, Isabelle. 2007. "Minorities: Cultural Integration, Family Planning, and Population Changes", in **Transition and Challenge: China's Population at the Beginning of the 21st Century,** edited by Zhongwei Zhao and Fei Guo. Oxford/New York: Oxford University Press.

Attané, Isabelle, & Youssef Courbage. 2000. "Transitional stages and identity boundaries: the case of ethnic minorities in China", **Population and Environment** 21(3): 257–280. doi: 10.1007/BF02436131.

Baquedano-Lopez, Patricia, & Shlomy Kattan. 2008. "Language socialization in schools", in **Encyclopedia of Language and Education,** edited by Nancy H. Hornberger. Boston, MA: Springer.

Benson, Linda. 1990. **The Ili Rebellion: the Moslem Challenge to Chinese Authority in Xinjiang**, 1944–1949. Armonk, NY: M.E. Sharpe.

Blommaert, Jan. 2006. "Language policy and national identity", in **An Introduction To Language Policy: Theory and Method,** edited by Thomas Ricento, 238–254. Oxford: Blackwell.

Bourdieu, Pierre. 1991. **Language and Symbolic Power.** Cambridge: Polity.

Bovingdon, Gardner. 2004. "Heteronomy and its discontent: 'Minzu regional autonomy' in Xinjiang", in **Governing China's Multiethnic Frontiers,** edited by Morris Rossabi, 117–154. Seattle: University of Washington Press.

Brose, Michael C. 2005. "Uyghur Technologists of Writing and Literacy in Mongol China",**T'oung Pao** 91: 396–435. doi: 10.2307/4529015.

Chen, Yangbin. 2010. "Boarding School for Uyghur Students: Speaking Uyghur as a Bonding Social Capital", **Diaspora, Indigenous, and Minority Education** 4: 4–16. doi: 10.1080/15595690903442231.

Clark, William. 2011. "Ibrahim's story", **Asian Ethnicity** 12: 203–219. doi: 10.1080/14631369.2010.510877.

Dankoff, Robert. 2013. Yūsuf Khāṣṣ Ḥādjib, in **Encyclopaedia of Islam**, Brill Online.

Eliyop, Teyipjan & Rahmitulla Jari. 1980. **Uyghur kilassik adibiyatidin namunilar.** [Urümchi?]: Shinjang khalq nashriyati.

Fällman, Fredrik. 2003. "Swedish missionaries, modernization and cultural exchange in China: The Mission Covenant Church of Sweden in Hubei and Xinjiang", in **Jidujiao yu Zhongguo wenhua congkan (Christianity and Chinese culture book series**), 335–353. Wuhan: Hubei Jiaoyu Chubanshe.

Feng, Anwei & Mamtimyn Sunuodula. 2009. "Analysing language education policy for China's minority groups in its entirety", **International Journal of Bilingual Education and Bilingualism** 12: 685–704. doi: 10.1080/13670050802684396.

Friedman, D. A. 2010. "Becoming National: Classroom Language Socialization and Political Identities in the Age of Globalization", **Annual Review of Applied Linguistics** 30: 193–210. doi: 10.1017/s0267190510000061.

Fuller, Graham E., and Jonathan N. Lipman. 2004. "Islam in Xinjiang", in **Xinjiang: China's Muslim Borderland**, edited by S. Frederick Starr, 320–352. Armonk/ NY/ London: M.E. Sharpe.

Gil, Jeffrey & Bob Adamson. 2011. "The English language in Mainland China: a sociolinguistic profile", in **English Language Education Across Greater China**, edited by Anwei Feng, 23–45. Bristol UK/Tonawanda NY: Multilingal Matters.

Gladney, Dru C. 1998. "Internal colonialism and the Uyghur nationality: Chinese nationalism and its subaltern subjects", **Cahiers d'Etudes sur la Méditerranée Orientale et le monde Turco-Iranien** 25.

Golden, Peter B. 1998. "The Turkic peoples: a historical sketch", in **The Turkic Languages**, edited by Éva Ágnes Csató Johanson. London: Routledge.

Gunaratne, S. A. 2001. "Paper, printing and the printing press: a horizontally integrative macrohistory analysis", **International Communication Gazette** 63: 459–479. doi: 10.1177/0016549201063006001.

Harrell, Stevan. 1995. "Introduction: civilizing projects and reaction to them", in **Cultural Encounters on China's Ethnic Frontiers**, edited by Stevan Harrell, 3–36. Seattle: University of Washington Press.

Hazai, Gyorgi. 2013. al-Kāshgharī, in Encyclopaedia of Islam: Brill Online.

Hening. 1968. **San zhou ji lüe, Zhongguo fang zhi cong shu Xi bu di fang.** Taibei: Cheng wen chu ban she.

Jong, F. de. 2007. **A Grammar of Modern Uyghur**. Utrecht: Houtsma.

Kamberi, Dolkun. 1999. "A survey of Uyghur documents from Turpan and their importance for Asian and Central Eurasian history", **Central Asian Survey** 18: 281–301. doi: 10.1080/02634939995588.

Kashgari, Mahmud. 1981. **Turki tillar divani = Divanu lughatit Turk**. Urumchi: Shinjang Khalq Nashriyati.

Kim, Ho-dong. 2004. **Holy War in China: the Muslim Rebellion and State in Chinese Central Asia**, 1864–1877. Stanford: Stanford University Press.

Le, Yucheng. 2011a. "Different kind of exceptionalism", **China Daily**, 24 June, 8. http://www.chinadaily.com.cn/opinion/2011-06/24/content_12765291.htm.

Le, Yucheng. 2011b. "Different kind of exceptionalism", **China Daily (Hong Kong Edition)**, 8.

Li, Ruzhong, and Chunmei Cao. 2009a. "Xinjiang shaoshu minzu shuangyu jiaoyu qiannian dashi nianbiao: 1 (Chronology of important events in ethnic minority bilingual education in Xinjiang over a millennium: 1)", **Xinjiang Jiaoyu Xuyuan Xuebao** 2009 (2): 5–10.

Li, Ruzhong, and Chunmei Cao. 2009b. "Xinjiang shaoshu minzu shuangyu jiaoyu qiannian dashi nianbiao: 2 (Chronology of important events in ethnic minority bilingual education in Xinjiang over a millennium: 2)", **Xinjiang Jiaoyu Xuyuan Xuebao** 2009 (3):10-20.

Mackerras, Colin. 1994. **China's Minorities: Integration and Modernization in the Twentieth Century**. Hong Kong/New York: Oxford University Press.

Matniyaz, Rezak. 1994. **Xiyu fanyi shi (History of translation in Western Region).** Di 2 ban. ed. Wulumuqi: Xinjiang Daxue Chubanshe.

May, Stephen. 2012. **Language and minority rights: ethnicity, nationalism and the politics of language**. 2nd ed. New York ; London: Routledge.

Millward, James A. 2007. **Eurasian Crossroads: a History of Xinjiang**. New York: Columbia University Press.

Mutii, Ibrahim. 1982. "Zhong Ya diqu de san ge zhongyao minzu ji qi yuyan [Three important ethnic groups in Central Asia and their languages]", in **Xinjiang li shi lun wen xu ji,** 63-84. Wulumuqi Shi: Xinjiang ren min chu ban she: Xinjiang xin hua shu dian fa xing.

Naby, Eden. 1991. "Uighur Literature: The Antecedents", in **Cultural Change and Continuity in Central Asia**, edited by Shirin Akiner, 14–19. London: Kegan Paul.

National Bureau of Statistics of China. 2011. "2010 nian di liu ci Quanguo Renkou Pucha zhuyao shuju gongbao (2010 Sixth National Census core data communique)", Guojia Tongjiju, accessed 21 October. http://www.stats.gov.cn/tjsj/tjgb/rkpcgb/qgrkpcgb/201104/t20110428_30327.html.

Niyaz, Gheyret & Yongfeng Li. 2009. "Special report: Uyghur NGO worker, former Chief Editor of Xinjiang Legal Daily Gheyret warned about the 5th of July event " **Asia Weekly**, 2 August 2009.

Nolan, Cathal J. 2002. Qing (Ch'ing, or Manchu) dynasty (1644–1912), in **Greenwood Encyclopedia of International Relations.** Santa Barbara, CA: ABC-CLIO.

Perdue, Peter C. 2005. **China Marches West: the Qing Conquest of Central Eurasia**. Cambridge, Mass: Belknap Press of Harvard University Press.

Poston, Dudley L., Yu Xiong, Yu-ting Chang, Danielle Xiaodan Deng, Dan Yin & Marilyn Venegas. 2015. "The social demography of China's minority nationalities", in **The International Handbook of the Demography of Race and Ethnicity,** edited by Rogelio Saenz, David G. Embrick & Nestor P. Rodriguez. Dordrecht: Springer.

Rudelson, Justin Jon. 1997. **Oasis Identities: Uyghur Nationalism Along China's Silk Road.** New York: Columbia University Press.

Seargeant, Philip. 2005. "'More English than England itself': the simulation of authenticity in foreign language practice in Japan", **International Journal of Applied Linguistics** 15(3): 326–345.

Shawqi, Qutluq & Abdurehim Heyit. 2012. Ana til (Mother tongue). Youtube.

Smith, Joanne N. 2000. "Four generations of Uyghurs: the shift towards ethno-political ideologies among Xinjiang's youth", **Inner Asia** 2: 195–224. doi: 10.1163/146481700793647832.

Smith, Joanne N. 2002. "'Making culture matter': symbolic, spatial and social boundaries between Uyghurs and Han Chinese", **Asian Ethnicity** 3: 153–174. doi: 10.1080/14631360220132718.

Su, Erde. 1968. **Hui Jiang zhi (Annals of the Muslim Borderland), Zhongguo fangzhi congshu Xibu difang**. Taibei: Chengwen Chubanshe.

Sunuodula, Mamtimyn & Anwei Feng. 2011. "Learning English as a third language by Uyghur students in Xinjiang: a blessing in disguise?" In **English Language in Education and Society in Greater China**, 260–283. Clevedon: Multilingual Matters.

Sunuodula, Mamtimyn, Anwei Feng & Bob Adamson. 2015. "Trilingualism and Uyghur identity in the People's Republic of China", in **Language and Identity: Discourse in the World,** edited by David Evans, 81–104. London: Bloomsbury Academic.

Tobin, David. 2013. "Nation-Building and Ethnic Boundaries in China's Northwest", PhD, University of Manchester.

Tursun, Nabijan. 2013. Kaşgarlı Mahmudun günümüz Uygur milletçiliğine katkısı (The contribution of Mahmud Kashgari to the current Uyghur nationalism). **Uluslararası Uygur Araştırmaları Dergisi** 1(1): 121–134. Accessed 3 April 2015.

Wilson, Robert Warren. 2013. "Ethnographic multiple case study on the language ecology of Urumchi, Xinjiang and the language practices of Uyghur young adults", University of Texas – Austin, http://www.oatd.org/.

Wind, Beige. 2014. "Dispatches From Xinjiang: Why Do Uyghurs Speak English So Well?" **Beijing Cream**, last modified 18 September 2014, accessed 3 April. http://beijingcream.com/2014/09/dfxj-why-do-uyghurs-speak-english-so-well/.

Xoja, Abduqäyyum, Israpil Yusup & Tursun Ayup. 1984. **Qädimqi Uygur yazma yadikarliqliridin tallanma**. Urümci: Sinjan xälq näsriyati.

XUAR Census Office. 2012a. **Xinjiang Weiwu'er Zizhiqu 2010 nian renkou pucha ziliao (XUAR 2010 Census Report)**, 3 vols. Vol. 1. Beijing Shi: Zhongguo Tongji Chubanshe.

XUAR Census Office. 2012b. **Xinjiang Weiwu'er Zizhiqu 2010 nian renkou pucha ziliao (XUAR 2010 Census Report),** 3 vols. Vol. 2. Beijing Shi: Zhongguo Tongji Chubanshe.

XUAR Local History Editorial Office. 2000. **Xinjiang tongzhi: di 76 juan: Yuyan wenzi zhi (Xinjiang Gazette: Volume 76: Language gazette)**. Vol. 76. Wulumuqi: Xinjiang Renmin Chubanshe.

XUAR Local History Editorial Office. 2012. **Xinjiang nianjian 2012 (Xinjiang Yearbook 2012).** Wulumuqi Shi: Xinjiang Nianjianshe.

Yee, Herbert S. 2003. "Ethnic Relations in Xinjiang: A survey of Uygur-Han relations in Urumqi", **Journal of Contemporary China** 12(36): 431–452. doi: 10.1080/10670560305475.

Zhang, Jie & Mei Zhang. 2012. "Xinjiang shaoshu minzu shuangyu jiaoyu fazhan licheng zongshu (Historical overview of Xinjiang ethnic minority bilingual education development) " **Xibei Minzu Daxue Xuebao (Zhexue, shehui kexue ban)** 2012: 97–102.

Zhu, Yuqi. 2013. "Qingdai Xinjiang guanban minzu jiaoyu de zhengfu fansi (Official reflections on the government-run education for ethnic minorities in Xinjiang in Qing Dynasty period)", **Xiyu Yanjiu (Western Region Studies)** 2013(1):89–97.

Zuo, Zongtang. 1986. **Zuo Zongtang quan ji.** Di 1 ban. ed. 15 vols. Vol. 7. Changsha shi: Yue lu shu she.

Contributors

Thomas Allen, Professor
Durham University Law School, Master of Grey College

Lars Erslev Andersen, Senior Researcher
Danish Institute for International Studies

Anoush Ehteshami, Professor of International Relations
Al-Sabah Program Chair, Director of the Institute for Middle Eastern and Islamic Studies,
School of government and International Affairs, Durham University

Philip Gater-Smith, PhD Researcher
School of Government and International Affairs, Durham University

Yang Jiang, Senior Researcher
Danish Institute for International Studies

Fang Lili, Professor, Director
Institute of Art Anthropology, China Academy of Arts, Chairman, China Society for Anthropology of Art

Lin Meicun, Professor of Silk Road Archaeology
School of Archaeology and Museology, Peking University

Timothy Niblock, Professor of Middle Eastern Studies
Exeter University

Zhang Ran, Researcher
Department of Archaeology, Durham University

Mamtimyn Sunuodula, Acting Director
Centre for Contemporary Chinese Studies, Durham University

Susan Whitfield, Director
International Dunhuang Project, the British Library

DIIS · DANISH INSTITUTE FOR INTERNATIONAL STUDIES
Østbanegade 117 | DK-2100 Copenhagen | Denmark | www.diis.dk