Open Expansion Blue Chrysalis Closed Contraction Grey Dialysis

The Structural Paradox of the New Silk Road 一带一路

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INTRODUCTION. The Belt and Road Initiative (BRI) is designed to offshore China's capital-works driven investment model while building access to global commons and global commodity resources (Kenderdine, 2018a). As China sheds heavy industry to newly industrialising nations of the Belt and Road, it effects a series of structural paradoxes where *Grey is blue. Open is closed. Earth is Cloud* and *Old is New.* For Massumi, a structural paradox 'suspends itself in a state of undecidability' where what are normally opposites coexist in superposition. The shape of the Belt and Road's paradox might therein be described as a rotating *double helix* of movement and counter-movement, expansion and contraction, opening and closure, operative in simultaneity as the Belt and Road is the paradox of a system that opens behind a closed capital and currency account. In consequence, the possibility that the Belt and Road might develop into a parallel trade and investment system to the current Bretton Woods/World Trade Organisation structure has been raised.

This dissertation follows a year long research project documented at <u>thenewsilkroadproject.com</u> and <u>https://</u> <u>www.instagram.com/rob.krawczyk/</u>. The status of this image archive inflects its argument. Drawing across Economic Geography, Research Architecture and Political Economy, I am interested in the structure, shape and colour of a paradox. At one moment or another, the Belt and Road rotates its heartland and oscillates on its hinters in a constant forwarding (open expansion blue chrysalis) and retrograde (closed contraction grey dialysis) motion. Its helix vibrates like a steel tuning fork. The dissertation is split into four acts: *Heavy Heart*, *Soybean*, *Sole* and *Hinter*. Each opens on a scene, threading a visual cord through Bratton's call for 'a new aesthetics of the lived experience in an Eastern, Hemispherical stack' (Bratton, 2017). *Heavy Heart* opens on China's urban machine and financial bureaucracy as paradox generators. To understand where the Belt and Road is coming from starts in the workshop of the world with a sagging New Normal heart condition. *Soybean* traces the Belt and Road to its axis in the Indian Ocean and Eurasia and introduces the *Sinoparallel*.

Sole forms an allegorical structure for China and opens a number of paradoxes at its heart: Xinjiang, a China in the prime of life but on crutches, growing old before growing rich, the eternal recurrence of grey. As China offshores and sheds its industrial capacity to external geographies through the Belt and Road, this movement simultaneously grinds a slow, heavy rotation of the earth into a new technological layer of its eastern hemispheric stack: the cloud (Bratton, 2015). However the rotation also creates a paradox of *clean at home, dirty abroad* as China sheds its emissions to its hinterlands. *Hinter* therein concludes tracing how the Belt and Road intersects and relays the geography of the anthropocene, and creates both opportunities and risks to the newly industrialising nations of its Indian Ocean axis and endogenously to China itself. This dissertation forms part of a longer term research project opening ground between emergent visual forms (*geocinema*, Suess et. al, 2018 / *Bitter Lake*, Curtis, 2015) and travel writing that interlace with the political economy of the Belt and Road. Thus as it filters into dissertorial form, it holds its paradox of expanding in a contraction chamber. A further set of essays are in writing at: www.thenewsilkroadproject.com/writing/.



Open Expansion Blue Chrysalis Closed Contraction Grey Dialysis champion of globalization, while simultaneously advocating a model of Internet sovereignty and closing its cyber world to information and investment from abroad

economic nationalism. This is perhaps the greatest paradox of vanguard of globalisation, as the West succumbs to bouts of All of a sudden, communist China is emerging as the new

our age.

by investing in renewable energy, "it is building coal plants abroad as part of an ambitious 'One Beit, One Road' initiative, designed to Another paradox: While China attempts to wean itself off coal

expand Chinese global influence," observes Sengupta.

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The Structural Paradox of the New Silk Road

The seeming paradox in the Third Plenum statements between the claim that the market would play "a decisive role" and the pledge to "persist in the dominant position of public ownership" has apparently been re-solved in favor of the state. Despite the early promise of radical reform, SOE reform has been distinguished by a deepening of the already robust role of the party and the state in SOEs and limited opportunities for effi-ciency gains through privatization, competition, or bankrupty. Many observers suggest that there is significant disagreement within China's political system over SOE and broader economic reform.²⁰¹

BEIJING - Facing a confounding paradox of labor oversupply and structural shortages, the Chinese government plans to take more targeted measures to improve the employment situation.

a higher rate than any other major emitter, according to the Global Carbon President Xi Jinping wants China to replace the U.S. as the world's leader in fighting climate change, yet emissions from China are projected to increase at

> information, and goods between China and the rest of the world." himself as a champion of globalisation, while at the same time restricting the free flow of capital, Economy writes that one of the "great paradoxes" of China is "Xi Jinping's effort to position

China's globalisation paradox

influence makes for sober reading

A timely account of how Beijing is expanding its

ACT I: HEAVY HEART

Scene opens.

A man sits in a room.

The distant sound of cranes and metallic turn outside

Multiplier pressure on China's industrial mantle,

turning width and weight on a vertical

Viagra problem.

- too much talking, too much arguing, not enough kissing

Mirroring industrial capacity utilisation problem

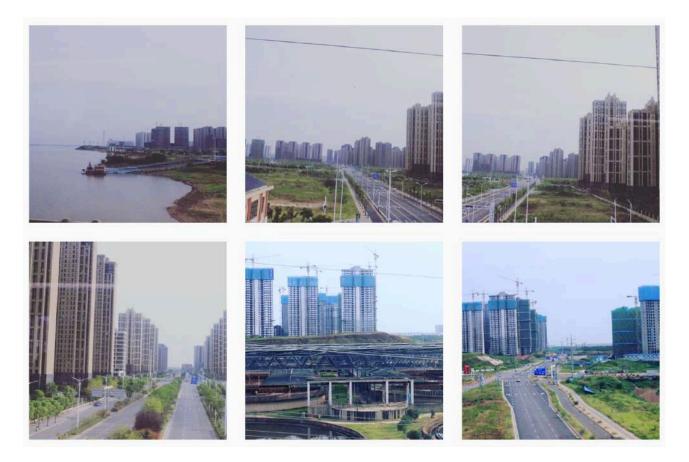
 $-too\ many\ factories,\ too\ much\ factory\ output,\ not\ enough\ consumption$

The man - a laid off steeler - stands up and walks outside to the water's edge,

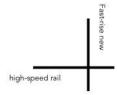
He coughs in the heavy air and leaves west.

REMANTLE

When I began looking into China's Belt and Road Initiative as a research project in October 2017, I wrote a first brief on the project called: *Vertical Logistics: Spheres, Stacks and Other Stories along the New Silk Road* (一带一路): "when we think of logistics, or trade, the horizontal often forms the guiding frame of movement. However, more imperceptibly, logistics is also a vertical project, one which 'rewrites and redivides the spaces of geopolitics in ways that are inclusive of aerial volumes, envelopes and oceanic depths' (Bratton, 2015, p 7) [...] Thinking the New Silk Road Project as a foamic mega-structure, a telekinetic bubble machine generating stacks and spheres of manifold weight, density and insulation, therein begins to open out the parameters of the project. *Vertical Logistics* is a project for geometric vitalism and begins on unsteady ground, amidst the mediatic *polyssembly* of a New Silk Road proliferated by 'new lines, endogenous frames, anomalous segments, medieval returns, infomatic interiors, ecological externalities, megacity states and on and on [...] zones folding and flopping on top of one another, interweaving into abstract and violent spatial machines of uncanny jurisdictional intricacy' (Bratton, 2015, p 6).



Imaging now Bratton's 'abstract and violent spatial machines' interweaving in vertical operation, I think of those countless new cities passed on an eastern trajectory across China to its Pacific seaboard. And when I re-think now of the frame of logistical research being as much vertical as it is horizontal, I think of the sheer weight of steel, cement and glass of a Chinese fast-rise urbanism burning corneal. This is Bratton's real Eastern, hemispheric stack: a *steelacementocene* 'rewriting and redividing the spaces of its Sino-spheric supernova in ways that are inclusive of steel aerial volumes, glass envelopes and oceanic depths' of cement (Bratton, 2015, p7).



On 27 July, we crossed the Yellow River, in Gansu Province

Or one of its many tributaries blindsiding us after 15 of 18 hours carving the rail-line from Urumqi to Lanzhou. The number of tunnels and bridges crossed showcases the geo-engineering capabilities China aims to export to other geographically-complex regions in Asia through OBOR. It's not often you can cross the concept being exported but Gansu gives a real sense of the BRI and its structural manual, thinking and experience to date (notes, 27.07)

In Khorgos, a free trade zone on the Kazakh-China border, days prior:

The taste of noodles held as we left in the late afternoon with the sight of steel uploading into the sky. The thought occurred and redoubles now, that Khorgos FTZ might not be the engine after all, but a structural sideshow to the heavier deep-motion bilateral moves being carved in grain, steel, cement and glass between China and Kazakhstan under the mountains. Welcome to Khorgos FTZ, front of house to a tectonic maze of high-pressure industrial kitchens, cooking concrete into the desert, shifting capacities (notes, 25.07)

It would seem strange to commence an essay on the Belt and Road Initiative from a heavy man's heart on the east coast of China but that to understand the structure of the BRI's open-closed paradox is to first take measure of China's interior, shifting weight. In 2015, news outlets in the US publicised the stark metric of how China had used more cement (6.4 gigatons) in the three years of 2011, 2012 and 2013 than the U.S did in the entire 20th Century in its 'great period of expansion in which almost all of its roads and bridges, the Interstate system, the Hoover Dam, and many of the world's tallest skyscrapers' were built (Swanson, 2015).



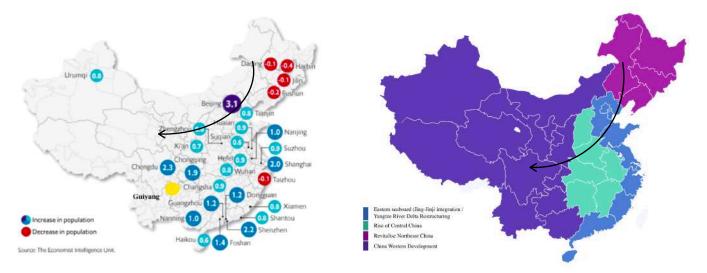
▲ Guiyang, the capital of south-west China's Guizhou province. Photograph: Xinhua/Alamy

Tan Guo is 24 years old and bewildered. After years living away from Guiyang, she returned last year from Germany to find the formerly small provincial capital had become China's fastest-growing city, and completely unrecognisable.

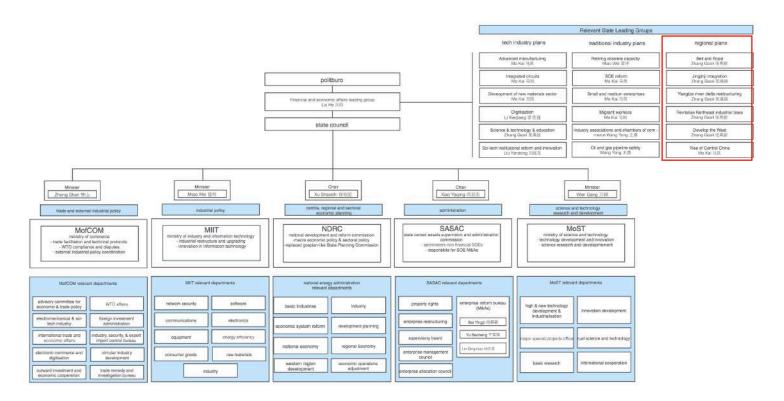
The fields her grandparents worked, once over eight kilometres from the small city centre, are now covered with closely packed high-rises. Her family members live on the eighth floor, looking over shopping malls and ring roads. Former slums have been razed, farmland converted, rivers diverted and forests felled.

Each year China adds a population the equivalent of Australia's to its urban head count (Shepard, 2016). Within the past thirty years 400 million people, equivalent to the population of the United States, have transitioned from rural to urban areas. By 2030, up to 70% of the Chinese population - some one billion - will be living in cities (World Bank Group, 2018). As of June 2018, China had a total of 672 cities, more than 100 of which hold populations of over 1 million people. To put China's exploding urban fabric in perspective, in 2005, China had 286 cities (Xiaobing Li et. al, 2017). As the Economist Intelligence Unit notes, 'China's phenomenal economic growth in the past 40 years' - driven by urbanisation as a factor input and multiplier - 'led to a steady flow of migrants from central and western China to the eastern and southern parts of the country' (The Economist Intelligence Unit, 2018). This rapid migration created a number of "megacities" such as Beijing, Shanghai and Shenzhen, each with populations in excess of 10 million. These

trends did however also cumulatively begin to stretch the resources in China's eastern cities to their limits, resulting in skyrocketing apartment prices, industrial-scale air pollution and a sociopolitical backlash against new migrants (those with or without *hukou* provincial work-right statuses) among long-term residents. In recent years therein, a new wave of urbanisation toward China's western and inland cities has emerged. *He coughs in the heavy air and leaves west*.



Soybeans in the reverb of a wave, individuals are drawn to increasingly better job prospects, cleaner air and cheaper living costs. Guiyang in China's Big Data Valley is a fast-riser, one of the fastest in China in 2017 (Roxburgh, 2017). Yet as Guiyang verticals, industrial northern China (Daqing, Harbin, Fushun) simultaneously sags where much of the economy is struggling and out-migration is predicted toward China's dynamic eastern, southern and western regions (The Economist Intelligence Unit, 2018). Within the vertical bureaucracy of the Chinese Communist Party, regional plans are implemented by several state leading groups and population movement is administratively controlled through a *hukou* provincial registration system that affixes individuals' work rights to location (Kenderdine, 2017). The names of the CCP's regional plans are illuminating for want of piecing together the developmental shape of China's future mantle: *Belt and Road, Jingjinji Integration (Beijing-Tianje-Hebei), Yangtze River delta restructuring, Revitalise the Northeast industrial base, Develop the West, Rise of Central China*. As China shifts its urban weight westward, it opens an interesting parallel with the U.S in the 19th Century and the movement from its developed eastern seaboard to its western frontier/interior. Adding complexity to the thesis of a world economy shifting east (Rachman, 2017) is that its supernova is actually tilting west.

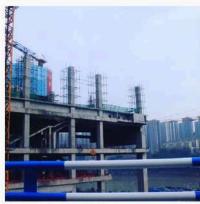
































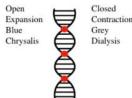
CEMENT HOUSE

Locating China's colossal cement usage is therefore woven into the shape of an intricate set of urbanising dynamics in the CCP's assemly hothouse of simultaneously building up China's second, third and fourth tier cities while alleviating pressure on its overcrowded eastern cities like Beijing and Shanghai. Urbanisation weaves pressure from the inside as China tilts west and demands cities. The strange loop of China's cement-house however is that its shape is also the structural effect of an outside. As the world economy contracted following the global financial crisis in 2008, the Chinese Communist Party's response to the slump in global trade and demand for manufactured products was to keep the lights of the workshop of the world on by re-pumping a huge Keynesian stimulus programme of cheap credit into China's mantle of state-owned heavy industries in steel, aluminium, cement and glass (State Council, 2013). Thus China's industrial Northeast and eastern powerhouses were propped up temporarily. The shape of its supply-side programme did however also begin to aggravate structural imbalances. This wave of cheap credit into China's overbuilt industrial sectors structured a 'new normal' of low industrial growth rates and an industrial capacity utilisation problem -too many factories, too much factory output, not enough consumption (Lin et. al, 2018). Between 2008 - the beginning of the programme - and 2016, plant capacity across a range of core industries in China was drastically underutilised, with ratios as low as 50 and 60 per cent in China (European Union Chamber of Commerce quoted in Kenderdine, 2017). For Wolf Richter, the underutilisation was furthermore a consequence of a structural paradox at the heart of China's bureaucratic political form: that an immature financial architecture, vested politically and over-invested industrial infrastructure co-exist and inter-operate, Richter notes that:

among the twelve largest steelmakers in the world in 2017, five [were] owned by various government entities in China. These entities receive no-questions-asked funding from the four state-owned policy banks. Many of the steelmakers' largest customers are also state-owned. China's Central Bank, the PBOC, is part of the same group and ensures that the state-owned banks do not collapse from the results of their lending practices to state-owned steelmakers that have turned into under-utilising, loss-making zombies (Richter, 2018)

The strange loop therein is that, as the Chinese Communist Party attempts to release pressure on its eastern board today it is responding structurally to its own multiplier pressure effects on its industrial mantle ten years prior. The wave, a heavy heart and a shoreline of new cities thus formed the strange old-new world from which the Belt and Road was announced in 2013 by Xi Jinping at Nazarbayev University in Astana, Kazakhstan. Xi in 2017 and at the inaugural *Belt and Road Forum for International Cooperation* in Beijing would call for the Belt and Road to be built into a 'road of opening up', like 'the struggle of a chrysalis breaking free from its cocoon' (Xinhua, 2017). Yet this shies from its initial undergirding: a dialysis machine, propping an overweight industrial heart in closed operation on the base-floor of the workshop of the world.

Kenderdine locates the closedness of China's financial system as it inter-operates on China's industrial infrastructure more forcefully when he writes: 'between the closed capital account, state policy banks and state commercial banks, there is no finance that can be considered truly private. On 'private capital' in China, it is important to remember that there is none. There is only state capital and 'less-state capital" (Kenderdine, 2018b) The CCP's administrative habitus of control - as with the movement of regional plans, cities and workers inside China - thus extends to Chinese capital moving broad. In the BRI, key provinces, state-owned enterprises (SOEs) and industry associations are administratively matched up to target countries and industries through the bureaucratic arms of the National Development Reform Commission (Yu, 2018). The BRI emerges as the paradox of a system that opens behind a closed bureaucratic functions, begin to weigh or impinge on economic and political sovereignty. Undecided until: the Belt and Road oscillates on its hinters in a constant forwarding (open expansion blue chrysalis) and retrograde (closed contraction grey dialysis) motion. Like a tuning fork, its steel girders vibrate.



ACT II: SOYBEAN

As a coughing man leaves out west,

Lens tracks out to the East China Sea

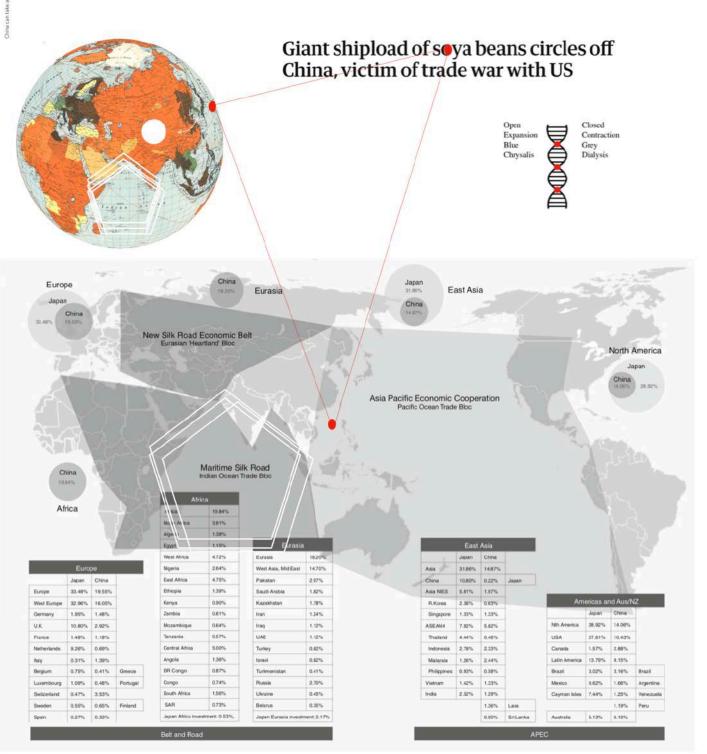
To a soybean boat

drifting

SINOPARALLEL

At the time of writing, a 299-metre soybean boat is circling the Pacific carring 70,000 tons of soybeans in its hold having missed a tariff imposition deadline from the China-US trade war by 30 minutes (Davies et. al, 2018). Soybeans in the reverb of a wave, the trade war is more fundamentally structured by U.S. concerns as the Belt and Road Initiative shifts the economic gravity of the world along a Westward axis from the Asia-Pacific to the Indian Ocean and Eurasia. The structural paradox: that 'as China places strategic state investment in ports and trade lines in East Africa, investment in heavy industry in Central Asia, advanced industry and agribusiness in the Middle East, and transplanting manufacturing clusters to East Asia' (Kenderdine, 2018a, p14), it in-builds globalisation 2.0 in a parallel trade and investment system to Bretton Woods between Africa, Central Asia, the Middle East and South America which 'does not conform to World Trade Organisation rules, uses the Chinese Communist Party's own bureaucratic forms and institutions, and presents developing countries with binary rather than pluralist options' (Kenderdine et. al, 2017). The structural paradox of a Sino-parallel opening behind a closed capital account emerges as Europe self-doubts, Eurasia turns up and the U.S. insulates *America first protectionist*.

To balance China in Indian Ocean, India needs to fix its gaze on Africa







ACT III: SOLE

Act III opens on a lens inland rising out of a glassy river to an urban haze of risers and tracks to a single high-rise - *Sole* - as a sliding lift shaft of strings like Moonlight (<u>https://youtu.be/O40LleRyyJU?t=1207</u>) dopplers in - subdued, underwater, vibratory, a surface exposed in heat islanding feedback

Tracking now towards Sole, the lens's movement is disrupted by four figures stood in the field arguing, the first:

Come no further. Do not be fooled by the Belt and Road and its words of integration. It is far more self-centred than you know.

The voice shifts to another distancing the previous:

Less hyperbole. 'Taking whole industrial chains abroad is designed to simply offshore the China model. The Keynesian capital-works driven investment development model has had much success in delivering steel, aluminium, cement and glass to Sole and his urbanising population.' (the figure glances back to the high-rise in the distance)

A different voice shifts lower and colder still:

'However it has also resulted in chronic industrial overcapacity and a local government debt burden which has not yet been fully accounted.'

The second voice retorts, snarling:

'The Belt and Road grants a stay of leave for Sole's industrial economy to move into legitimate competition with Europe, the US and its trading partners in Northeast Asia and the Asia Pacific.'

A fourth voice from the Split figure barrells in:

'Sole's Party-State-policy bank-SOE nexus has delivered an effective catch-up strategy for industrial development. For this model to be exported to the similarly developing low and middle income countries will mean more electricity, steel, cement, glass and food for the world, and for those countries struggling with industrial development and neglected by both the current system of international capitalism and the failed development aid doctrine of the past thirty years.'

The lower colder voice resumes:

'Energy security = Political security = The continuation of the Party. Let us not forget why we are here. The sole aim of the Belt and Road is to ensure that the productive capacity it cannot provide for itself is facilitated abroad. The export destination for goods produced under the BRI will increasingly be Sole itself, especially in industrial food production and energy production. Simply put, rather than rely on international trade to supply goods that Sole does not have a comparative advantage in, the BRI plans to replicate the cheaper labour and fixed capital inputs of moving factories to external geographies, while maintaining state control of the capital and supply chain'

The first figure shifts its gait, and propositions the lens forward to Sole's in-fields parting two riddles:

Do not be fooled by the Belt and Road, it is the eternal recurrence of grey, sausage meat.

Do not be fooled by Sole, it is the paradox that re-structures without restructuring at all.

When the lens moves on and approaches *Sole* as a heavy nebulous synth like Annihilation sullies in (<u>https://</u><u>www.youtube.com/watch?v=L6gwu8cOfVk</u>), it finds Sole's shimmer curving infinitely into a glassy sky, a moebial strip of steel, cement and glass breathing outward. The lens enters the tesseract only for the scene to start over in an infinite loop: rising out of a glassy river to an urban haze of risers, crossing the field, listing the figure, rising the

tesseract-growth Sole and its shimmer.

(italicised with ' ', adapted from from Kenderdine and Lim, 2017 pp. 48-49)

The Hole at the Heart of China's Silk Road

RE-EDUCATION CAMPS

Sole's allegorical structure for China shares in its vagueness and indeterminacy a breath with early Daoist Chinese philosophy. Chu - the home of Daoism in 300 BCE (Hubei Province today) - was 'an agrarian society surrounded by the Jing, Tu and Dabie mountains, draining the Huai and Yangtse rivers' (Coutinho, 2004 p32). *Yin* and *yang* would develop here as 'metaphors derived from images relating the movement of the sun to the faces of a mountain, the bright side, and the shady side. In some places and at some times the earth and air are baked in the sun (hot and bright, clear, and dry, hard, dusty, and firm), *yang*; in others, they are drenched in the shade (wet, green and fertile, cool, dark, and cloudy, soft, and yielding), *yin*, and always there is some gentle transition toward one direction or the other' (Coutinho, 2004, p34).

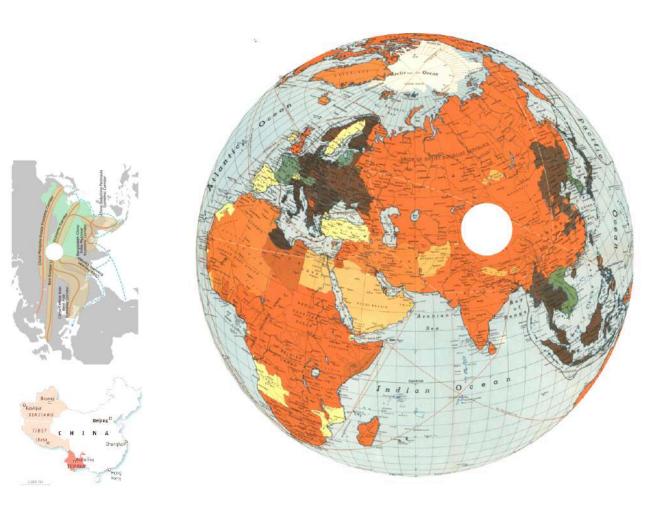
The grindstone in the Daoist lifeworld thus came to be 'the slow, heavy rotation of the earth, where through the transformations of the seasons a natural displacement of opposites takes place: the heat of summer becomes the frozen winter; green shoots rise and fall then rise again on churned earth. The movement is a constant turning, a curvature that both moves always forwards and yet brings things around to the place from which they came' (Coutinho, 2004, p 150). Early Daoist texts would trace growth and transformation through 'pragmatic contrasts' in this way. Phrases would form series of logical paradoxes steeped in vagueness, metaphor, multiplicity and polysemy (Coutinho, 2004, p18). The scourge of Western philosophy and logic, this complexity, ambivalence, inconsistency and uncertainty was treated less as a puzzle to be solved through analysis and distinction making but as world-process for the individual to embody and process insights of the way of things. "I shall go to the bank by the river' - is she going to the riverbank or a financial institution? In this, the four figures on the outskirts of *Sole* in the polysemy fields form the nebula to the mediatic polysembly of the New Silk Road and its *yinyang* cosmogram of simultaneous openness and closure, expansion and contraction, onshore and offshore, bright and shade. The Belt and Road's Chinese characteristics are Daoist, marked by 'incrementalism, inductive thinking, and experimentation' (Vangeli, 2017).

Sole's lens might as easily be the eyes of Xi Jinping in his adolescence, when his father, Xi Zhongxun, a revolutionary veteran, was purged for betraying the Communist Party in 1962, and his son, Xi, was sent from Beijing aged 15 to toil in a work brigade in Northern China. Xi would later state that he experienced his political awakening when he was "sent down" to Liangjiahe in Shaanxi province, as part of the campaign by Mao Tse-tung to "remould" the educated urban youth through hard labour and the experience of peasant life (Hsiung et. al, 2015). Sole's split figure in the field speaks of the light and shade, of Xi's China's steelacementic mountains (*yin:* the Keynesian capital-works driven investment development model has had much success in delivering steel, aluminium, cement and glass and *yang* but it has also resulted in chronic industrial overcapacity and a local government debt). In extension however the Belt and Road's polysemy fields press on a more onerous event-horizon: that as China's government now looks to open Xi's adolescent cave into a theme park-style tourist attraction; on its western outskirts, it transforms Xinjiang province into 'something resembling a massive internment camp' (UNHR, 2018).

Xinjiang

Part of the paradox of the system that opens closed is that as Xi champions 'the road of opening up' and 'the struggle of a chrysalis breaking free from its cocoon', he appears to consign its inverse to the Uighurs in Xinjiang. Light and shade, open and closed, it becomes a dangerous paradox and precedent for "globalisation 2.0" that camps form part of the same infrastructural assemblage of the BRI aiming to open up China's densely industrialised heartland to its western hinterlands and the world. The structure of its paradox is its operative fold: topologically proximate yet held politically apart in topographic distance (Mezzadra et. al, 2013) - tune fork edges - such that one and the other are non-equatable: Xinjiang for the humanitarians, Belt and Road for the economists. In The Hole at the Heart of China's Silk Road, Sharma recounts the testimony of Bekali, 'born in China in 1976 to Kazakh and Uighur parents, who had moved to Kazakhstan in 2006 and received citizenship three years later [...] On his return to visit his parents last year, five armed policemen showed up at the doorstep and took him away' in a Kafkaesque arrest without reason. 'They said there was a warrant for his arrest in Karamay, a frontier oil town where he lived a decade earlier. He couldn't call his parents or a lawyer, the police added, because his case was "special." Bekali was held in a cell, incommunicado, for a week, and then was driven 500 miles to Karamay's Baijiantan District public security office. There, they strapped him into a "tiger chair," a device that clamped down his wrists and ankles. They also hung him by his wrists against a barred wall, just high enough so he would feel excruciating pressure in his shoulders unless he stood on the balls of his bare feet. They interrogated him about his work with a tourist agency inviting Chinese muslims to apply for Kazakh tourist visas, they

asked for days what he knew about two dozen prominent ethnic Uyghur activists and businessmen in Kazakhstan' (Sharma, 2018).



Xinjiang in Chinese literally means "New Frontier" or "New Borderland" and it felt like a surveilled borderland when we were there. I remember our taxi driver waiting nervously at the other side as we went through the first police checkpoint of five in a sole day - *what are you doing? where are you going to next?* in coarse mandarin , translated via a mobile phone as our passports were taken and re-photographed. Behind, a policewoman siphoned through images of car number plates. At each train station, scanners captured our irises on entry (*burning corneal*) and we had to explain our presence and again re-hand over passports. Yet like the *New Silk Roads* or *Xi's cave*, Xinjiang's current state is also a re-conditioning of an historical relation-field. As early as the Tang Dynasty in 640AD, the *Protectorate General to Pacify the West* was established to control the region and secure the profitable routes of the Silk Roads (Tanner, 2009; Frankopan, 2015). In the very word for Xinjiang, 'New Frontier', a correlate threads with Anna Tsing where 'frontier intensification and proliferation lurch forward in a hall of mirrors', the frontier terraforming in the 'shifting terrain between legality and illegality', violence and law, new tarmac and tiger chairs (Tsing, 2004, p31). I take *5am24,07/ Chrysalis?* and *unanswered* on the blockaded street with new tarmac in Urumqi. I watch an old Uighur man pause with his arms folded behind his back, before moving on. I wonder if the figure in blue a litte farther ahead is an acquantaince, walking fast away as his soul's in-fields outpour black on the frontierland/his home.



GREY DIALYSIS

Of the four-headed sphinx's riddles at the close are two which solve more directly toward the relation between China's interior, shifting weight and the Belt and Road as an external geoindustrial projection:

Do not be fooled by the Belt and Road, it is the eternal recurrence of grey, sausage meat.

Do not be fooled by Sole, it is the paradox that re-structures without restructuring at all.

The first returns to the continuing structural problem for the Chinese Communist Party - how to transform China's economic development model - from credit-fuelled investment and export-driven growth to higher domestic consumption and net imports. The shape of its problem - the workshop of the world with a sagging New Normal heart condition - re-surfaces. As *Sole's* figure alludes, 'the Belt and Road grants a stay of leave for China's industrial economy to move into legitimate competition with Europe, the US and its trading partners in Northeast Asia and the Asia Pacific' (Kenderdine et. al, 2017 p41). But the Belt and Road also 'allows the Chinese leadership to revert to what it knows best, breathing new life into the old model' (Rolland, 2017 p12). I think of Sole's tesseract lift shafts built in the 70s and 80s, regurgitating into glass sky. As Rolland notes, in these inertial chrysalis games, 'Beijing is once again investing heavily in construction and infrastructure projects' - the grey sausage meats it knows too well - 'only this time outside the already saturated territory of China [...] The hope', Rolland continues, 'is that this new "stimulus package in disguise" will enable the country to sustain the GDP growth rates deemed necessary for social stability—just as was the case after the 2008 global financial crisis—and to achieve the 2021 goal of a moderately prosperous society (Rolland, 2017 pp. 18 / 24).

Yet - and this ties the first to the second paradox - China's stay of leave does also create the risk of locking in pathdependencies which withhold the difficult business of economic restructuring and lose an important demographic window at hand. As Howard W. French notes: 'China has embarked on a process of aging (by 2050 the median age in China will be forty-nine) that is due to proceed with almost unprecedented speed, soon placing the country in a situation unparalleled in world history: that of a newly and still unevenly modernised country that must build a social welfare system on the backs of a rapidly declining workforce. In shorthand, China's new dilemma is the paradox of growing old before growing rich' (French, 2018 p142). China's leaders are often thought of as able to plan and effect longer-term policies than their Western counterparts due in large part to the continuity of its political system. Yet, this inertial paradox of re-structuring without re-structuring at all images like an economy put on grey dialysis, above all forward blue chrysalis.

For Kenderdine, the significance of China's doubling down on industrial policy and heavy state investment for another generation at the stage it is at is furthermore without historic precedent. In Japan's 'destructuring' in the 1970s and in the cases of South Korea and Taiwan during their state-driven catch-up industrialisation periods, industrial policy was used 'as a crutch to leverage themselves into Organisation for Economic Cooperation and Development per capita income rates before conforming to the global trade regime' (Kenderdine, 2018a, p12). The paradox of China's catch-up industrial development however is that as it has reached OECD per capita income rates, it has remained by in large closed to foreign direct investment, instead relying on domestic primitively accumulated capital. The danger, Kenderdine writes - and it returns to the Sino-parallel in-evolution between Africa, Central Asia, the Middle East and Latin America - is that 'China's international capital has not been disembedded from its local governance institutional genesis.' Its shape is different to "clean' capital from economies with strong auditing practice, open capital accounts and clear administrative separation between local governments, state banking systems and industrial enterprises' (Kenderdine, 2018a, p14). A paradox of China's investment in BRI regions is therein that the capital provided has an embedded state function and comes with state capital strings attached. For China itself too, in Daoist metaphor - in the prime of life but on crutches - like the curious case of Benjamin Button, its inertia in political form and legacy in Soviet communism (a Leninist bureaucratic administration, five-year planning cycles and a centrally planned economy with vertical policy transmission down the levels of the state) carries the risk of a retrograde motion, Economy's paradox of China leading globalisation 2.0 in the 21st Century, on a 20th century bureaucracy and the control chassis of a Leninist, mercantilist party-state.

Yet there is also sleight of hand - a *yin* to China's *yang* of the eternal recurrence of sausage meat - which attends to securing the Party in China's future: *how a sausage sheds it skin*.

































OFFSHORE

Day 62. Yiwu, China. We found Konke (*Hangzhou Konke Information Technology Co.*) in Yiwu's third of five districts. Inside the latest smart technology was on show with five microchip boards on display in surreal white Jurassic egg incubators. Outside Konke, families sold an assortment of small commodity items on fold-out tables. Here was a strange sense of China's structural upgrading and technology transfer working its fold against the yoke of Yiwu's present shape and colour. The microchip boards in their Jurassic incubators, the smart city devices for smart cities planned, the strange juxtaposition served as a reminder that while the BRI is outward-looking and resolutely spatial, it is also inward-looking and temporal, intimately woven to an interior programme of technology indigenisation and upgrading that aims to crystallise new names, technologies and products as much as the new routes, corridors and markets to which said names might flow. Of course, intelligent design, intelligent manufacturing and intelligent cities will play an important role in the future shape of the BRI, yet the sense was still a strange one, like seeing a shoreline of new waves lapping up against fold-out tables, parallel worlds opening paradox in an inch of ocean squared (notes, 01 August)

As China offshores and sheds its industrial capacity to external geographies through the Belt and Road, this movement simultaneously opens up space, grinding a slow, heavy rotation of the earth into a new technological layer of its eastern hemispheric stack: the cloud. To locate the subtle about-hand of this rotation and the *yinyang* cosmogram of China's expanding cloud layer with its contracting earth layer is furthermore to trace the relation of the BRI within the CCP's broader bureaucratic machine:

| Belt and Road Initiative | 一带一路 | Politburo | Geoindustrial Policy |
|------------------------------------|----------|-----------|---------------------------------|
| Made in China 2025 | 中国制造2025 | MIIT | Industrial Policy |
| International Capacity Cooperation | 国际产能合作 | MofCOM | Trade and Industry Policy |
| Supply-side Reform | 供给侧结构性改革 | Politburo | Industrial Restructuring Policy |

'Made in China 2025 is the central coordinating industrial policy. Principally deployed by the Ministry of Industry and Information Technology (MIIT), MIIT coordinates the development of manufacturing innovation clusters, integrated circuits and new information technology, biotechnology and genetic industrialisation, green energy and nuclear power, advanced equipment and new materials, new generation satellites, space platforms and new payload technologies; commercial applications of remote sensing satellites; the construction of high-speed large-capacity optical communication transmission systems and the launch of the Beidou Navigation Satellite System (BNS 北斗卫星导航系 统), China's equivalent to the US Global Positioning System, Russia's GLONASS and Europe's GALILEO. (Kenderdine, 2018a, p7). On *Supply Side Reform* and its earth layer mantle, the National Development Reform Commission is tasked with curbing capacity in traditional industries such as steel, coal, aluminium, cement, and paper. Where China offshores this industrial capacity to external geographies while maintaining control of the capital and supply chain is the trade policy role of *International Capacity Cooperation*, which functionally threads through the broader ambit of the Belt and Road as a linear long-term, geostrategic and structural project, in-building a sinoparallel in the Indian Ocean.

Thus, as the man - a laid off steeler - stands up and walks outside to the water's edge, and coughs in the heavy air and leaves west, the mantle under his sole is also shifting a terraform blu. I find its colour wherever the mantle is turning aqualine, flattened before the risers. The about-hand of its rotation is in the announcement. 'In 2017, the NDRC achieved targeted reductions in production capacity, by cutting steel and coal production and resettling close to 1 million workers in institutional transition' and announced plans for '240 of 400 further steel mills to be closed' in old Chu country, Hebei Province, by 2020.' The policy sweetener to Hebei's provincial government to achieve this was that 'Hebei is the vanguard of the Belt and Road and its mills - through Industrial Capacity Cooperation - will be offshored to Kazakhstan and farther afield' (Kenderdine, 2018a, p16) as fully-formed BRI inputs, shed of their material identity as the overcapacity of a chronically overloaded sector. Thus when we entered Khorgos and found its cheap Russian coats and consumer goods, it felt like a welcome to the *front of house to a tectonic maze under-sole of high-pressure industrial kitchens, cooking concrete into the desert, shifting capacities*.



BLIPLANDS

There are two final threads to the Soybean boat's drift and the US-China trade war that stack from China's perceived circumvention of the Bretton Woods/WTO system as it rotates from heavy industry to high-technology. On heavy industry, International Capacity Cooperation is considered by the current U.S. administration as an effective circumvention of WTO rules against dumping steel and aluminium on international markets at below cost. While there are rules on commodities, the WTO does not rule on the dumping of whole factories. Thus the subtle about-hand, as Hebei steel mills wash up in Astana, 'is that the factory output [in Astana] is no longer [China's] domestic overcapacity being dumped on the international market but the developed capacity of the host economy which become legitimated exports, whether back to China when needed, or externally to a third country' (Kenderdine, 2018c). In this way, countries like Vietnam and Malaysia have become the rabbit holes through which Chinese-produced below-cost steel has circumvented the current rules and tariffs in place by whitewashing as BRI input China's steelic overcapacity (Yap et. al, 2018). On the cloud stack-layer, on March 22, 2018, the U.S filed the *Findings of The Investigation into China's Acts, Policies and Practices related to Technology Transfer, Intellectual Property and Innovation under Section 301 of the Trade Act of 1974* and reissued a statement from the President stating that:

'China has implemented laws, policies, and practices and has taken actions related to intellectual property, innovation, and technology that may encourage or require the transfer of American technology and intellectual property to enterprises in China or that may otherwise negatively affect American economic interests. These laws, policies, practices, and actions may inhibit United States exports, deprive United States citizens of fair remuneration for their innovations, divert American jobs to workers in China, contribute to our trade deficit with China, and otherwise undermine American manufacturing, services, and innovation' (Office of the United States Trade Representative Executive Office of the President, 2018).

The filing documents the CCP's *Made in China 2025* policy of IDAR (Introducing, Digesting, Absorbing and Reinnovating foreign intellectural property and technology), the sensitive information disclosure requirements for a U.S. or foreign enterprise to operate in China, and a list of recorded, state-sponsored cyber-intrusions by 3PLA, the cyber unit of the 'People's Liberation Army, Third Department, 'into U.S. commercial networks to gain access to a wide range of confidential business information, including trade secrets, technical data, negotiating positions, and sensitive and proprietary internal communications' (Office of the United States Trade Representative Executive Office of the President, 2018, pp151-152). Thus when Bratton writes of an 'uneven computational troposphere [of] deep cold wars over data aggregation across state and party lines', generated by 'Stacks' which overflow and distort Westphalian models of state territory, and are able to site, subdivide and occupy "new" worlds', the shape of the Belt and Road as surficial infrastructure is overly simplistic. Where steel, cement, glass and coal pour into the Indian Ocean, in parallel, tropospheric machine-shimmers terraform and disappear like storms, the BRI's Pacific bliplands of techno-subterfuge. In this way, Economy's paradox also appears to refine further: of a China leading globalisation 2.0 in the 21st Century on a 20th century bureaucracy with 21st century technology, growing in firewall-parallel to the Western hemispheric stack current, simultaneously osmotic and opaque, open and closed, tuning forks in superpositional hum, the bliplands and a thousand quantum servers at dusk.

































ACT IV: HINTER

Scene opens.

A man sits in a room.

The distant sound of cranes and metallic turn outside

Multiplier pressure on []'s industrial mantle,

turning width and weight on a vertical

The sky is a grey, white and blue

China's Belt and Road projects drive overseas debt fears

CHEAP BARBEQUE SET

Mahathir Warns Against New 'Colonialism' During Visit to China As Hebei steel mills wash up on the shore of Astana, a rotating China thus appears to hold the paradox of modernsing its interior simultaneous to the traditionalising of its material gaze outside on a steelacementoscene. Like Seppuku it cuts its intestinal heavy industry to the outside. *Sole's* moebial strip of steel, cement and glass breathing grey outward shimmers not because of, but because it coalesces with a simultaneous light blue breathing in-ward, like the coalescensce plume when a river meets ocean. As Katja Dombrowski notes, China's strange rotation extends further to a paradox of *clean at home, dirty abroad*. As China builds less coal-fired power plants and increasingly uses cleaner, smarter and more efficient technologies at home, 'international Chinese construction companies (in often closed contract tender processes) massively invest in outdated coal power abroad [...] By the end of 2016, China was involved in 240 coal-power projects in 25 BRI countries' (Dombrowski, 2017). In Pakistan alone, 'coal-fired plants constituted half of announced CPEC energy generation projects and 69% of capacity' (Reynolds et. al, 2018 p2).

For Pakistan, where cities can experience blackouts for 10 to 12 hours a day and in villages up to 18 hours, energy generation and distribution is key to its social, economic and industrial development. The risk is however that - whereas China developed its economy rapidly through a huge consumption of raw materials and energy, throughputted through an industrial machine with a chronic capacity utilisation problem and scant regard for externalities - the ability for the newly industrialising nations in the Belt and Road to repeat this model are low and stacked with risks. Of course, as China offshores and sheds its emissions to external economies with lower capital and labour inputs it repeats a structural relation established between developed western nations and China in the 1990s and 2000s, a key difference being that whereas in the former private multinational corporations instigated the outsourcing, China's emissions shedding is led by its State Owned Enterprises and Policy Banks. In this way, a steelacementic and coal Sinoparallel in the Indian Ocean - the same paradoxical ocean threading a warming Dhaka into the sea - suggests a new geography of the anthropocene is in-evolution between an old emitter core (U.S. / Europe), new emitter semi-periphery (China/India) and newly emitting periphery (the BRIscape) where Bratton's uneven computational troposphere saturates on machine life differentially.

The risk for countries like Pakistan therein is of its own paradox evolving through the Belt and Road, the paradox of growing moderately prosperous on a cheap barbeque set (grey sausage meat on black coals) simultaneously as it aspires to grow blue and green. In the Financial Times July 31 2018, shortly after Imran Khan's election win, CPEC's critics would argue that: 'while solar prices are falling, Pakistan is building a series of large power stations that will not only pollute the environment but could also saddle the country with high debts and could even become stranded assets in the long run' (Stacey, 2018). Economists furthermore pointed out that 'with the country's stocks of foreign currency reserves rapidly declining, experts expect[ed] the new government to approach the International Monetary Fund for a bailout within months. The terms of the bailout, they warn[ed], could include renegotiating or cancelling some of the projects backed by China' (Stacey, 2018). In a similar backlash to the Belt and Road, the Myitsone Dam in Myanmar was cancelled in 2016 due to an improper closer door process in which the agreement between Myanmar's Department of Hydropower Implementation and China Power Investment Corporation (CPIC) neglected to consult broader government, the communities affected and undertake proper environmental due-diligence.

In 2017, Sri Lanka struggling with debt repayments on the Chinese-funded Hambantota Port, and under heavy pressure following months of negotiations with China Harbor Engineering Company (one of Beijing's largest state-owned enterprises) - conceded to hand over the port and 15,000 acres of land to China on a 99 year lease. The risk therein for Sri Lanka was realised of its BRI capital beginning to weigh or impinge on economic, political and territorial sovereignty (Abi-Habib, 2018). This month in Malaysia, the Malaysian president Mahathir cancelled three BRI projects - the East Coast Rail Link (ECRL) and two gas pipelines, the Multi-Product Pipeline (MPP) and Trans-Sabah Gas Pipeline (TSGP) - on the basis of misappropriation of funds, corruption, fiscal mismanagement and unsustainable debt agreements between his predecessor Najib Razak (who is on trial ongoing accused of channelling over RM 2.67 billion (nearly USD 700 million) from 1Malaysia Development Berhad 1MDB), a government-run strategic development company, to his personal bank accounts) and China Communications Construction Co. and China Exim Bank (Bloomberg, 2018).

Thus when we speak of the shape of China's paradox - *the workshop of the world with a sagging New Normal heart condition* - the weight of its cement-house (chronic industrial overcapacity, an endemically indebted closed financial system, an inelastic and closed-door bureaucracy) has begun to press on the form of its host economy relations. Stacking back-reverb in its fifth year of rotation, the heart finds the hinters, Myanmar, Malaysia and Pakistan each ask:

ANT I

is this the *open-closed door to a debt trap*? (Hurley et. al, 2018) *Will grey sausage meat stack into white elephants*? As Kenji Starrs retorts in a letter in the Financial Times to Gu Bin:

'Gu Bin is correct ("China has no interest in pushing its own Marshall Plan", August 8) that China's Belt and Road Initiative does not have the same level of security implications as did the US Marshall Plan for western Europe (although security considerations are certainly present, as China's first overseas military base in 700 years, in Djibouti, was partially built with BRI funds, as is the "string of pearls port network in the Indian Ocean).

But Dr Bin's intimation that BRI is solely a selfless act of building harmonious relations with the world ignores the very real concerns - both popular and elite - of debt bondage and even neocolonialism in various countries that the FT has amply reported on recently (especially in Laos, Malaysia, Pakistan, Sri Lanka, and Vietnam).

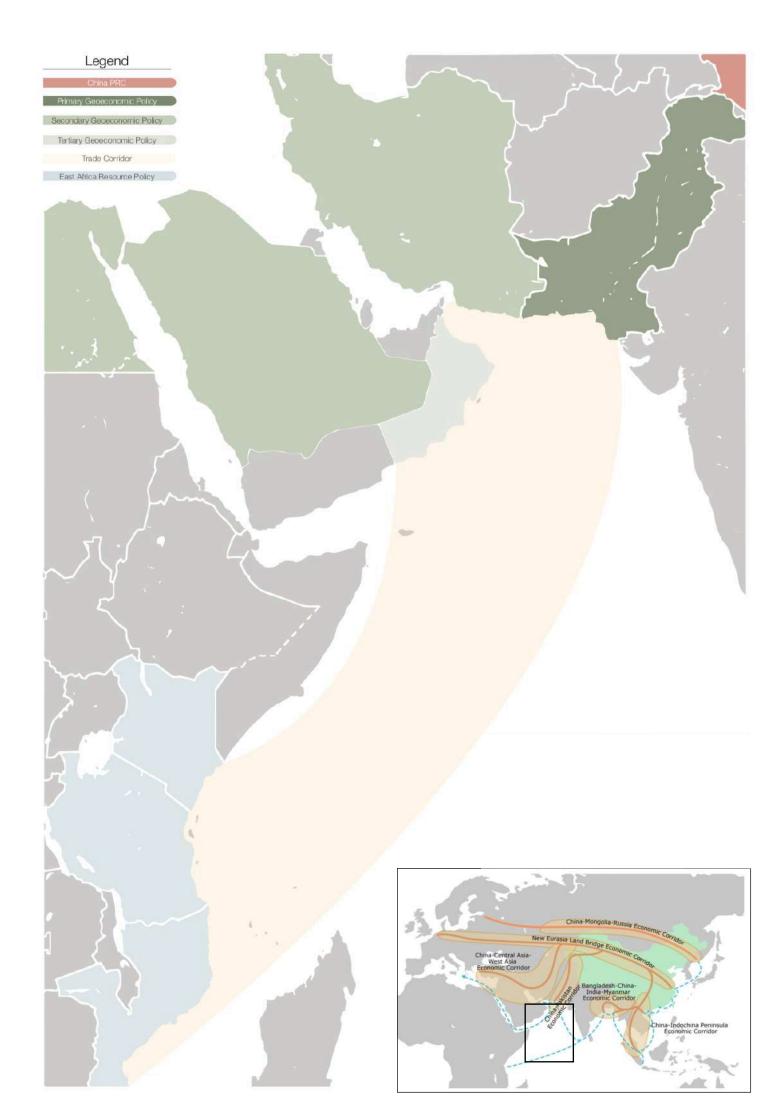
More broadly, if the debt-fuelled, infrastructure investment-driven growth model is itself slowing in China after three decades of the fastest urban, manufacturing and export boom the world has ever seen - then what are the chances of success for this development model in much smaller economies that are far from being the "workshop of the world"? For without an export and/or consumption-driven boom in recipient countries to approach the scale of China's BRI commitment (variously reported as up to \$1 trillion), much of this infrastructure investment will become white elephants on a scale we have never seen' (Starrs, 2018).

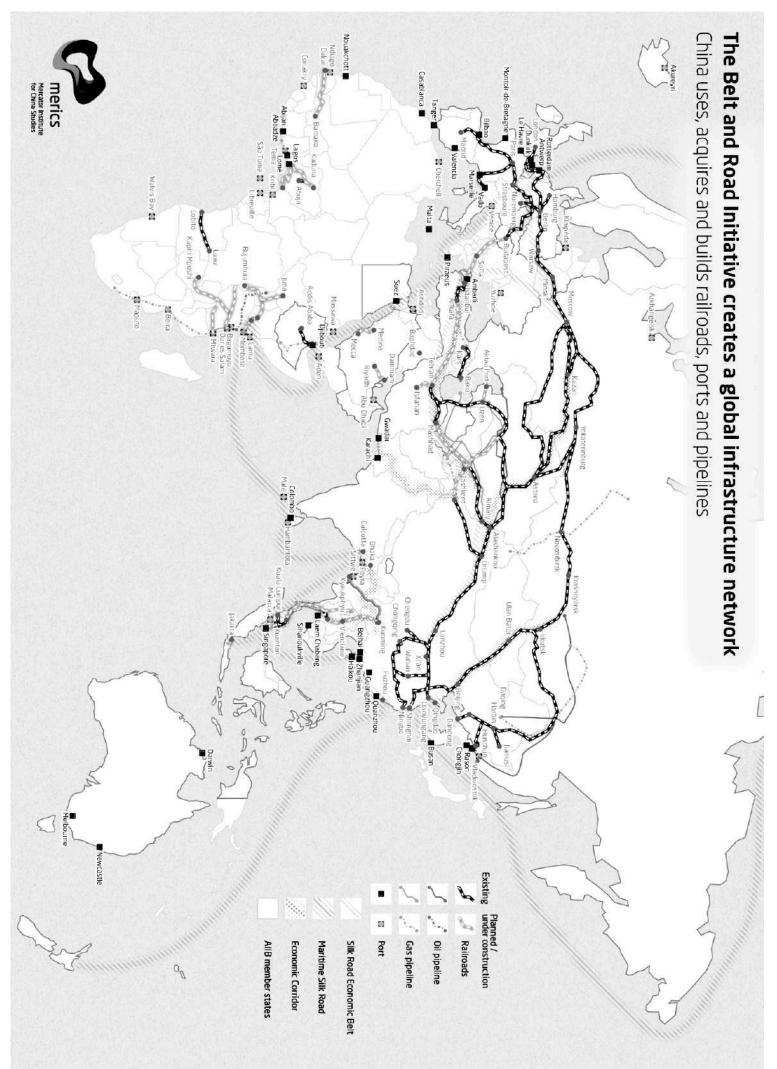
FOURTH INDUSTRIAL

The significance of geography enters the equation more forcefully. In East Africa (Ethiopia, Djibouti, Kenya, Somalia), where Indian Ocean port infrastructure co-evolves on its eastern seaboard with heavy industry and a young, rapidly urbanising population, the paradox of growing grey before growing at all is exacerbated by its position against a landlocked, western interior in the protokaryotic stages of various industrial-development models of its own such that the risk: of becoming a sinking open debt outpost in an ocean of closed option, similtaneous to becoming the cheap labour and fixed capital input of a supernova east is very real. To the fore as with Pakistan, Malaysia and Myanmar is furthermore not just that the machines, plants, ports and railroads come but that they phase with the diffusion of technological know-how, skill, and education of a young, urban workforce to operate, and interrelate with them. The paradox of an African industrial revolution evolving inside a Fourth Industrial Revolution (artificial intelligence, robotics, the Internet of Things, smart cities, autonomous vehicles, 3D printing, quantum computing, nanotechnology) is however that much lower-skilled traditional manufacturing labour may not for too long be at the dispensation of large human labour workforces but semi or fully-automated, or otherwise producable cheaper elsewhere through non-human inputs. Thus when Saskia Sassen writes of a 'growing surplus population of the global economy' (Sassen, 2018, p2) and a systemic deepening of the capital relations and interlocking zones of deep financial integration which simultaneously expel people as they incorporate new terrain, the Belt and Road Initiative should be front and fore of this discussion and its resolutions.

More fundamentally, the Belt and Road has a position in the future shape of the world economy as it shifts to the demographic weight-lands of the Indian Ocean. A large majority of maps on the Belt and Road fixate on the infrastructure in-building across its east-west land axes of the old Silk Roads - Europe to Asia - however it is in the Indian Ocean connecting East Asia, the Middle East and East Africa, that globalisation 2.0 is unfolding. Where this Sinoparallel might structurally intersect with Europe is furthermore more complex than this east-west land axes. For one, as the Belt and Road in-builds and carries with it industrial and technical transfers to the surrounding economies of the Indian Ocean, it approaches the shape of a European migrant crisis at source (in South Sudan, Syria, Yemen). The structural paradox of a Sinoparallel opening closed however is that as it does so - and circumvents the Washington Consensus and its historically under-invested geographies - it also finds structural resonance with the economic function which Western capitalist economies achieved with colonialism: offshoring industrial production to geographies with cheaper commodity inputs, feeding the manufactures (industrial and agroindustrial) back to the mainland for consumption (Kenderdine, 2018). As Sole's fourtet riddles: Let us not forget why we are here: Energy security = *Political security = The continuation of the Party.* The Belt and Road also therefore intersects and relays the emissionsscape and geography of the anthropocene. On the hinters of the Sinoparallel, the sky is a grey, white and blue, trapped in a hothouse oscillation between open-expansion-blue-chrysalis and closed-contraction-grey-dialysis. Like a tuning fork, its vibration steels.

and opaque conditions





The Structural Paradox of the New Silk Road 一带一路

STRUCTURAL PARADOX

For Massumi, a structural paradox 'suspends itself in a state of undecidability' where what are normally opposites coexist in superposition (Massumi, 2015). The shape of the Belt and Road's paradox might therein be described as a rotating *double helix* of movement and counter-movement, offshore and onshore, expansion and contraction, opening and closure, grey and blue, operative in simultaneity as the Belt and Road evolves into a contiguous trade strategy in the demographic weightlands of the Indian Ocean. Whether China will drive a new wave of inclusive globalisation or birth a debt-outpost sinoparallel evolves out from the structure of *Sole's* paradox. It is the image of a 21st century economic powerhouse shedding its heavy industrial heart through the control catheter of a 20th Century bureaucracy, on the hinters of a field named world economy. As a soybean frigate floats its edge, there are critics who suggest that the rotating helix of the Belt and Road and International Capacity Cooperation is no sinecure, that while it 'extends the lifespan of China's industrial policy state capitalist investment-driven model, 'it does not transform China's domestic productive capacity', does not integrate with the global trading regime, dilutes the international capital stock and carries with it the 'lax banking standards, inefficient capital allocation, and endogenous risks' of a closed bureaucratic financial system to newly industrialising and 'middle-income countries which do not have the financial infrastructure to survive a collapse' (Kenderdine, 2018c, pp. 14-16)

This twinning helix of open-expansion-blue-chrysalis and closed-contraction-grey-dialysis might further present the Belt and Road's evolving *yinyang* frame between (open) geoeconomic and (closed) geopolitical structurations. Where geopolitics focuses on exercising control over territories and populations (Xinjiang, Hambantota), geoeconomics focuses on exercising control over currencies, commodities, technologies, and markets (an internationalising remnimbi, Vietnam steel mills, Pakistan power plants, East African agribusiness). Furthermore, where geopolitics is structured by military action and threat, geoeconomics is the reserve of trade and investment policy, economic and financial sanctions, debt diplomacy, energy, aid and cyber. The Belt and Road as state capitalist 'extrastatecraft' (Easterling, 2014) is a geoeconomic strategy building access to global commons and global commodity resources while offshoring China's domestic industrial economy. However as with the case of 3PLA's cyber intrusions on U.S. commercial networks and the 99-year lease handover on Hambantota Port, this helix increasingly intertwines and cascades. What is more, as China pumps trillions of remnimbi into a Sinoparallel of ports and trade lines in East Africa, heavy industry in Central Asia, advanced industry and agribusiness in the Middle East, and manufacturing clusters in East Asia, it in-builds systemic risks. Tooze draws the analogy to Europe in 2008, where - 'as the US Federal Reserve and European Central Bank pumped trillions of dollars into the European banking system' - the financial crisis systemically cascaded into questions of geopolitics: 'Germany and Greece, the UK and the eurozone, the United States and the EU, Russia and the destiny of Georgia and Ukraine' (Tooze, 2018, pp. 24-25). If the BRI is a system building in-parallel to Bretton Woods and leveraging China's unique paradox of an immature financial architecture with an over-invested industrial infrastructure, then when a crisis does emerge, who will play its Troika? And who the caged PIIGS?

The helix finally then might present the paradoxical state of a world economy strung filtering its future shape between a vacating Bretton Woods/World Trade Organisation/Washington Consensus and arriving Sinoparallel/Post-WTO/Beijing Consensus. As Europe ekes by in Piketty's paradox (the highest level of private wealth in the world and the greatest difficulty in resolving its public debt) (Piketty, 2014 p112); a German Paradox ('its economy too dominant to preserve a stable balance with its eurozone and EU partners, yet too weak to enforce economic stability from above') (Kundnani, 2016); illiberal paradox (anti-immigrant nationalism and an open door) and BREXIT (Open Britain/Closed borders, departing), the U.S. retreats into protectionist measure, withdraws from open trade agreements (Trans-Pacific Partnership) and existentialises NATO, the WTO, old binds. In this way, some argue the Belt and Road folds into the vacant or forgotten lots of a receding blond mop Pax Americana. The structure of its paradox is a buoyant Soleian soybean boat. As each wave of event and evidence ('the BRI is a debt trap') cascades to one end of the hold, a conflicting wave counter-develops ('the BRI is an industrial kick-start), the soybeans slide, then sprint then densify out on the other edge of Weightland. Farther out, tropospheric machine-shimmers terraform and disappear like storms in the deeper structuration-games of Stacks and bureaucrats. Debt figures and utilisation rates spittle above the wave forms. Heavy Heart Soybean Sole Hinter might therien be read as first entry into the polysemy fields, chasing cascading interscales as the Belt and Road rotates, oscillates, and offshores a heavy heart oceanic. In this way, the hope is that the concept of its paradox-helix opens new visual forms, frames and experiments to trace the human face in all this machine and come paradoxically full circle: to Spheres, Stacks and Other Stories along the New Silk Road (一带一路).

























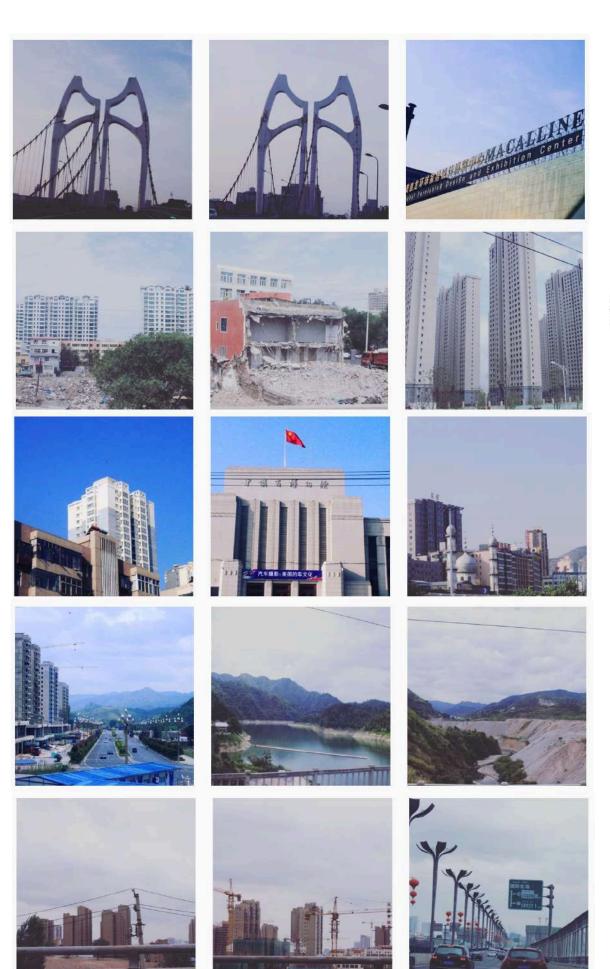




champion of globalization, while simultaneously advocating a model of Internet sovereignty and closing its cyber world to information and investment from abroad

economic nationalism. This is perhaps the greatest paradox of vanguard of globalisation, as the West succumbs to bouts of All of a sudden, communist China is emerging as the new our age.

> by investing in renewable energy, "it is building coal plants abroad as part of an ambitious 'One Beit, One Road' initiative, designed to Another paradox: While China attempts to wean itself off coal expand Chinese global influence," observes Sengupta.



The seeming paradox in the Third Plenum statements between the claim that the market would play "a decisive role" and the pledge to "persist in the dominant position of public ownership" has apparently been re-solved in favor of the state. Despite the early promise of radical reform, SOE reform has been distinguished by a despening of the already robust role of the party and the state in SOEs and limited opportunities for effi-ciency gains through privatization, competition, or bankrupty. Many observers suggest that there is significant disagreement within China's political system over SOE and broader economic reform.²⁰

BEIJING - Facing a confounding paradox of labor oversupply and structural shortages, the Chinese government plans to take more targeted measures to improve the employment situation.

China's globalisation paradox

China's Climate Change Paradox

influence makes for sober reading A timely account of how Beijing is expanding its

Project. a higher rate than any other major emitter, according to the Global Carbon fighting climate change, yet emissions from China are projected to increase at President Xi Jinping wants China to replace the U.S. as the world's leader in

> information, and goods between China and the rest of the world." himself as a champion of globalisation, while at the same time restricting the free flow of capital, Economy writes that one of the "great paradoxes" of China is "Xi Jinping's effort to position

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The Structural Paradox of the New Silk Road 一带一路

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