



International Initiative
for Promoting
Political Economy

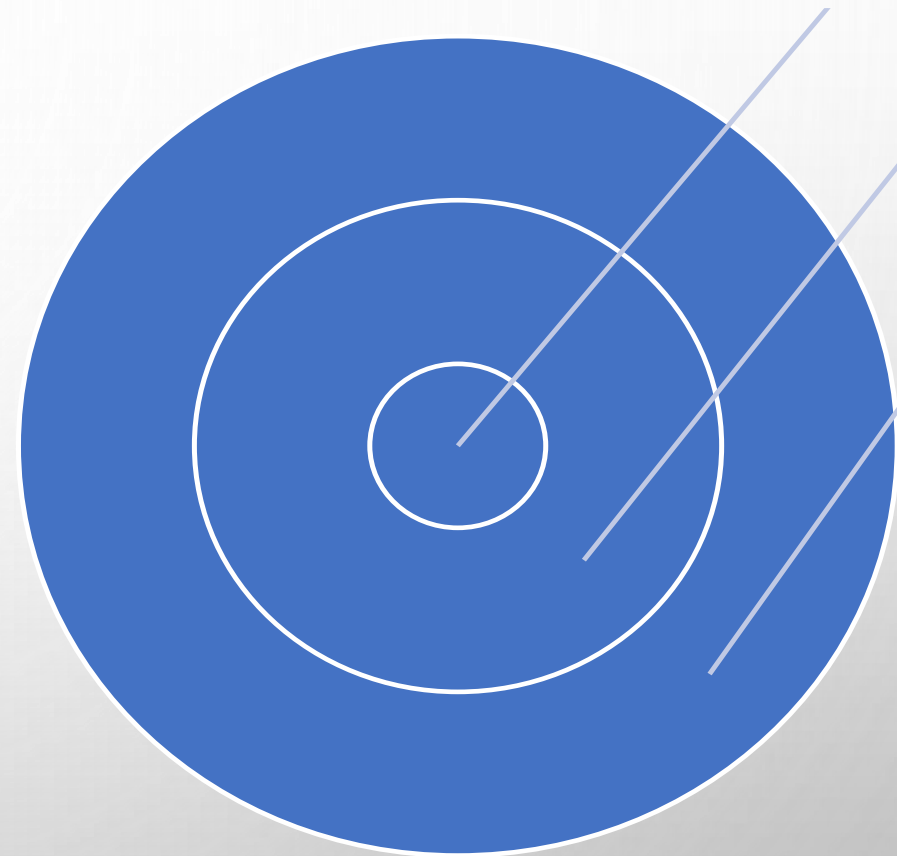
JAVIER VADELL – PUC MINAS – VISITING RESEARCHER AT AVEIRO UNIVERSITY
SAMUEL SPELLMANN – PHD CANDIDATE AT PUC MINAS

TOWARDS A THEORY OF CHINESE EMBEDDED GLOBALIZATION

12TH ANNUAL CONFERENCE IN POLITICAL ECONOMY
SOCIO-ECOLOGICAL CRISIS AND THE POLITICAL ECONOMY OF SUSTAINABILITY
SEPTEMBER 7 – 9 2022, BOLOGNA, ITALY

- THIS PRESENTATION ELABORATES ON THE **SERIES OF TRANSFORMATIONS** PROPOSED BY CHINA ON **THE GLOBAL SYSTEM**.
- IT SHOULD BE UNDERSTOOD THAT **CHINA** HAS HISTORICALLY PRESENTED ITSELF AS A **PROMOTER OF A MULTIPOLAR GLOBAL SYSTEM** AND A SUPPORTER OF 5 PRINCIPLES OF PACIFIC COEXISTENCE (NO INTERVENTION, ETC.)
- WE PROPOSE **AN INTERPRETATION OF THE RISE OF CHINA** FROM A **SYNTHESIS BETWEEN INTERNATIONAL POLITICAL ECONOMY AND GEOPOLITICS** AND AIMS TO DECIPHER AN ONGOING GLOBAL PROCESS THAT WE CALL **CHINESE EMBEDDED GLOBALIZATION** (*GLOBALIZATION WITH CHINESE CHARACTERISTICS*) (**CEG**)
- THE CEG SHOULD BE UNDERSTOOD AS A **STRUCTURAL COMPONENT** OF THE CURRENT GEOPOLITICAL SCENARIO CENTERED AROUND THE CHINA-US RIVALRY.

- INSTITUTIONALLY, CEG SHOULD BE UNDERSTOOD THROUGH **CONCENTRIC CIRCLES THAT SIMULTANEOUSLY REINFORCE EACH OTHER.**
- THE NUCLEAR CONCENTRIC CIRCLE IS RELATED TO **BILATERAL RELATIONS.**
- THE SECOND CONCENTRIC CIRCLE IS BASED ON THE PROMOTION OF **MINILATERAL RELATIONS IN TWO DIRECTIONS:**
 - A) BY CONDUCTING AGREEMENTS BETWEEN THE PRC WITH SPECIFIC REGIONS VIA "FORUM POLICY" WITH DEVELOPING COUNTRIES, AND
 - B) BY TRADE AND INVESTMENT AGREEMENTS THAT CHINA HAS SIGNED WITH DIFFERENT REGIONS OF THE WORLD (E.G. OF THE REGIONAL COMPREHENSIVE ECONOMIC PARTNERSHIP – RCEP).
- THE EXTERNAL CONCENTRIC CIRCLE ENCOMPASSES THE **PROMOTION OF ASSISTANCE AND COOPERATION TO EXISTING MULTILATERAL INSTITUTIONS AND.**
 - **THE CREATION OF ANOTHER ONE,** THE ASIAN INFRASTRUCTURE INVESTMENT BANK (AIIB),
 - AND DEMANDS FOR A MORE PROMINENT ROLE FOR DEVELOPING AND **EMERGING COUNTRIES** WITH STRONG ADVOCACY FOR MULTILATERALISM.



- THE CEG IS ORGANICALLY RELATED TO THE EMERGENCE OF A NEW SOCIAL FORMATION WITHIN CHINESE SOCIETY (JABBOUR & GABRIELE, 2021) AND TO ITS PROJECTION OF POWER IN THE CONTEMPORARY WORLD.
- FOR THIS REASON, **GLOBALIZATION IS UNDERSTOOD AS A SPECIFIC INTERCONNECTIVITY OF DIFFERENT ECONOMIC SOCIAL FORMATIONS IN DETERMINED HISTORICAL TIMES.**
- **NEOLIBERAL GLOBALIZATION REFLECTS THE US HEGEMONY AND ITS CONTRADICTIONS,** THE EXPANSION OF GLOBAL FINANCE, THE MONOPOLY DOLLAR IN THE GLOBAL CAPITALIST SYSTEM, AND REVEALS ITS (JANUS FACE) RAW GEOPOLITICS THROUGH AN EXPANSIVE NATO IN A POST-COLD WAR,
- THE CEG ALSO EXPRESSES A **PARTICULAR PROJECTION** OF CHINESE ECONOMIC AND POLITICAL POWER.
- IT IS NECESSARY TO FOCUS ON THE CONCEPT OF GLOBALIZATION FROM THE MAINSTREAM TO BUILD BRIDGES WITH OUR CRITICAL AUTHORS

DECOMPOSING THE CHINESE EMBEDDED GLOBALIZATION

- **CEG AS A TOTALITY** – NEGATION OF NEOLIBERAL GLOBALIZATION (NEGATION OF A NEGATION)
 - CRISIS OF CURRENT PHASE OF CAPITALIST ECONOMIST GLOBAL UTOPIA (S. AMIN)
 - SAMIR AMIN INTUITION IN 1996: NEOLIBERAL GLOBALIZATION “IS THUS ONCE AGAIN MERELY THE SIGN OF A CRISIS OF ACCUMULATION RATHER THAN ITS SOLUTION
 - FINANCIALIZATION IN AN UNPRECEDENT DIMENSION
 - WHAT A NEW SYSTEM OF ACCUMULATION IS PUTTING ITSELF, OR NOT PUTTING ITSELF, INTO PLACE?
 - **THE CRISIS** OF NEOLIBERAL GLOBALIZATION: WE COULD INTERPRET IT AS
 - A **SOLUTION OF THE MODE OF ACCUMULATION** AND RESTAURATION OF US HEGEMONY (AS IN THE SEVENTIES), OR
 - A **CRISIS OF ACCUMULATION AND THE THE EXHAUSTION OF 'FINANCIALIZATION AS A MODE OF CRISIS MANAGEMENT'** (MOMENT OF TRANSITION TO A MORE SOCIALLY PROGRESSIVE MODE OF ACCUMULATION)
- RISING CHINA AND THE CHALLENGES OF 21ST CENTURY

TWO MOMENTS OF US HEGEMONY

- **POST 1945**
- **US-LEAD EMBEDDED GLOBALIZATION** OF BRETTON WOODS SYSTEM IN A PERMANENT CONFLICT WITH THE OTHER “TWO WORLDS”:
 - URSS AND ITS SPHERE OF INFLUENCE
 - GLOBAL SOUTH (THIRD WORLD)– BANDUNG AND FRAGMENTED LATIN AMERICA
- **SEVENTIES AND EIGHTIES – HEGEMONY OF US BY NEOLIBERAL GLOBALIZATION (REAGAN THATCHER)**
 - MAIN TOOLS: MILITARY AND FINANCIAL/MONETARY PRIMACY (DOLAR-WALL STREET SYSTEM)
 - DEBT CRISIS IN LATIN AMERICA AND AFRICA (REAL DEBT TRAP)
 - END OF THE COLD WAR
 - EXPANSION AND INTENSIFICATION OF CAPITALIST RELATIONS IN THE WORLD
 - GEOPOLITICAL ASPECTS OF NEOLIBERAL GLOBALIZATION: EXPANSION OF NATO (FROM A DEFENSIVE TO AN OFFENSIVE TASKS) AND UNILATERAL INTERVENTIONS – UNIPOLAR MOMENT

21 ST CENTURY (FIRST HALF): THE CRISIS OF NEOLIBERAL GLOBALIZATION AND US UNILATERAL POLITICS (RULES-BASED LIBERAL WORLD ORDER)

RISING CHINA

- 2001 CHINA IN WTO
- 2001 – SHANGHAI COOPERATION ORGANIZATION
- COMMODITY BOOM
- GOING GLOBAL POLICY
- AFTER 2008 - EMERGING POWERS (DEMANDING MORE PARTICIPATION IN BW INSTITUTIONS – G20)
- BRICS
- 2022-2012 UNPRECEDENT GROWTH

DECLINING US HEGEMONY

- 1999 – NATO BOMBING YUGOSLAVIA
- ENLARGEMENT OF NATO (1999, 2004, 2009, 2017, 2020)
- 2001 – INTERVENTION AFGHANISTAN (AFTER WTC TERRORIST INCIDENT)
- 2003 – INTERVENTION IRAQ
- 2008 – FINANCIAL CRISIS
- 2020 – COVID-19
- 2014-2022 – RUSSIAN FEDERATION – UKRAINE – NATO CRISIS

CHINA SINCE 2012/2013

- CHINESE ASSERTIVENESS IN FOREIGN POLICY
- **POWER PROJECTION OF A CHINESE SOCIAL-ECONOMIC FORMATION**
- BELT AND ROAD INITIATIVE (MILESTONE) FROM EURASIA TO THE WORLD
 - MULTILATERAL PROJECT BY BILATERAL ACCORD (MOU)
 - CHINA AS A GREAT PUBLIC GOOD PROVIDER
- CHINESE ECONOMIC POWER
 - A) MOST OF US ALLIES HAVE CHINA AS THEIR BIGGEST ECONOMIC AND TRADE PARTNER (INCLUDING THE EU)
 - B) AFTER THE FAILURE OF THE TRANS-PACIFIC ECONOMIC COOPERATION AGREEMENT (TPP) LED BY THE UNITED STATES, CHINA MANAGES TO ARTICULATE THE RCEP, A KIND OF ASEAN PLUS WITH CHINA, NZ, AUSTRALIA, SOUTH KOREA AND JAPAN.
 - C) CHINA IS, AT THE SAME TIME, THE **WORLD'S LARGEST EXPORTER OF CONSUMER GOODS** AND THE **LARGEST CONSUMER MARKET** AND;
 - D) THE **PRC IS TODAY THE LARGEST PROVIDER OF FINANCING IN THE WORLD, SURPASSING THE WORLD BANK AND THE ASIAN DEVELOPMENT BANK, AND THE MOST IMPORTANT PLAYER IN INFRASTRUCTURE INVESTMENTS FOR DEVELOPING COUNTRIES**
 - E) BEING A “WORLD FACTORY”, CHINA HAS A PIVOTAL POSITION IN GLOBAL SUPPLY CHAIN AND VALUE CHAIN.
 - F) CHINA IS OCCUPYING A LEADING POSITION IN SOME HIGH-TECH DOMAINS, SUCH 5G TELECOMMUNICATION, PHARMACEUTICAL INDUSTRY, AUTOMOTIVE INDUSTRY, AEROSPACE INDUSTRY, SEMICONDUCTORS, IT, AND ROBOTICS

“
THERE IS IN EVERY SOCIAL FORMATION A PARTICULAR BRANCH OF PRODUCTION WHICH DETERMINES THE POSITION AND IMPORTANCE OF ALL THE OTHERS, AND THE RELATIONS OBTAINING IN THIS BRANCH ACCORDINGLY DETERMINE THE RELATIONS OF ALL OTHER BRANCHES AS WELL. IT IS AS THOUGH LIGHT OF A PARTICULAR HUE WERE CAST UPON EVERYTHING, TINGEING ALL OTHER COLOURS AND MODIFYING THEIR SPECIFIC FEATURES; OR AS IF A SPECIAL ETHER DETERMINED THE SPECIFIC GRAVITY OF EVERYTHING FOUND IN IT” (MARX)

- **THEORETICAL APPROACH – 1) MARX/LENIN**

- IMPORTANCE OF THE CONCEPT OF ECONOMIC-SOCIAL FORMATIONS TO UNDERSTAND:
 - A) THE POWER PROJECTION OF CHINA AS AN INTERNATIONAL GEOPOLITICAL EXPRESSION OF AN EMBRYONIC ESF – SOCIALIST OF XXI CENTURY (GABRIELE JABBOUR)
 - B) NEW PARADIGM OF INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS IN A RENEWED GEOPOLITICS (INTERNACIONAL/TRANSNACIONAL/INTER-CIVILIZATIONAL)
- **GLOBALIZATION AS ECONOMIC-SOCIAL FORMATIONS (ESF) IN DISPUTE IN THE REORDERING WORLD POLITICS**
- **GLOBALIZATION IS THE INTERACTION OF ECONOMIC-SOCIAL FORMATIONS IN A DETERMINED HISTORICAL PERIOD WITH SUBSTANTIVE CHANGES IN THE SPACE-TIME RELATIONSHIP**
- **CRISIS IN CURRENT CAPITALISTS SOCIAL FORMATIONS AND THE GOVERNANCE OF IMPERIALISM**

2) **KARL POLANYI** (1975) THEORETICAL INSPIRATION -

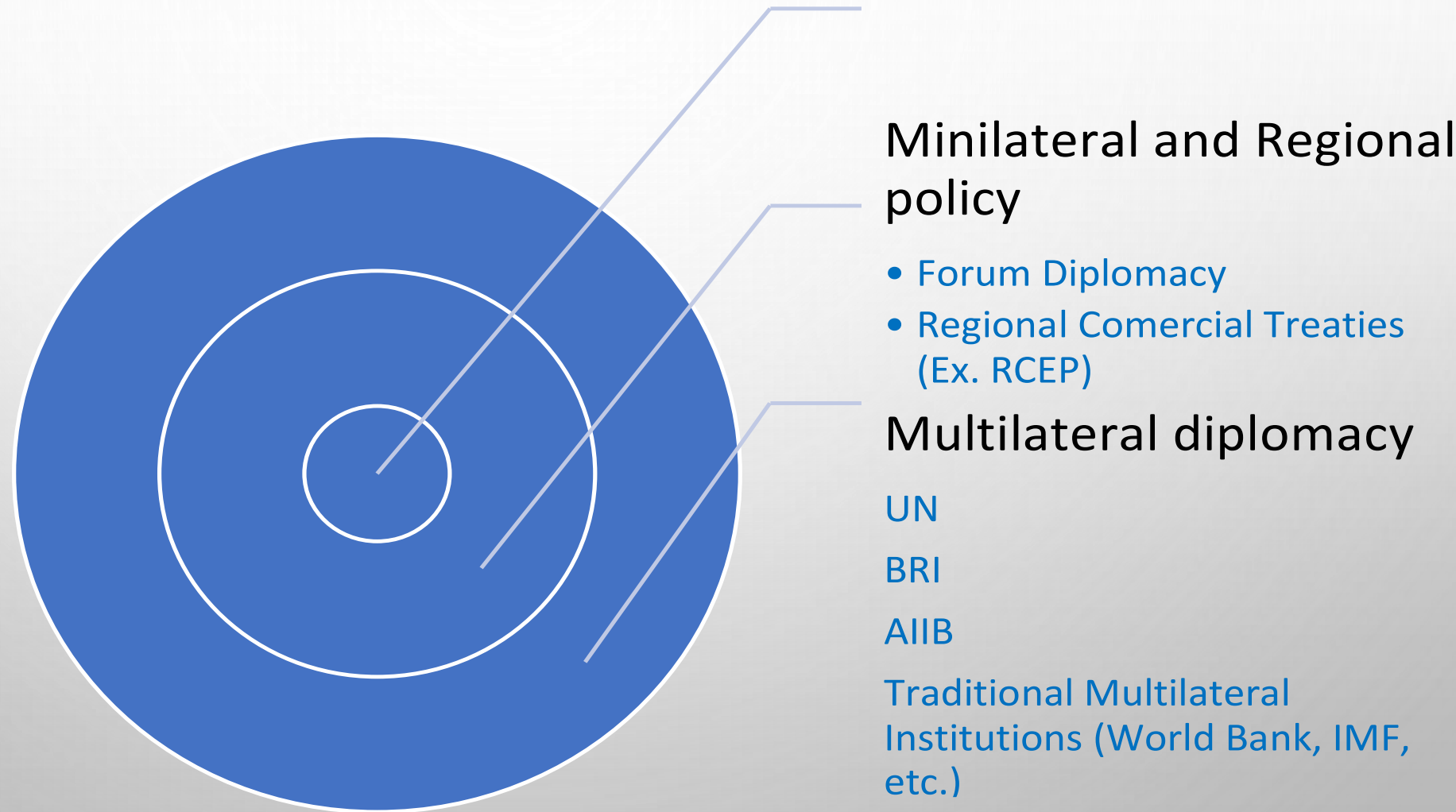
- ECG: INSTITUTIONAL AND MULTIDIMENSIONAL HISTORICAL CONSTRUCT THAT IS STRENGTHENED BY THE BELT AND ROAD INITIATIVE (BRI).
- THIS ONGOING PROCESS, CATEGORIZED AS A POLANYIAN COUNTER-MOVEMENT, DOES NOT ABANDON SOME 'LIBERAL' VALUES (AS HIGHLIGHTED BY PRESIDENT XI JINPING IN 2017, AFTER THE RADICALIZATION OF TRUMP'S PROTECTIONIST DISCOURSE).
 - NEGATION
- CHINA REFORMULATES THEM ON A GLOBAL SCALE IN FOUR EMBEDDED DIMENSIONS
- 3) **WORLD SYSTEM THEORY** – SAMIR AMIN – G. ARRIGHI
- 4) **RELATIONAL POLITICS** – DIALECTIC APPROACH – QIN YAQING

IN THE TOTALITY: CHINESE EMBEDDED GLOBALIZATION CONFRONTS NEOLIBERAL GLOBALIZATION

- ECG CHALLENGES THE LIBERAL INSTITUTIONAL FOUNDATIONS OF THE WEST IN FOUR DIMENSIONS SIMULTANEOUSLY:
 - **STRUCTURE**
 - A) ECONOMICALLY: **PRODUCTIVE AND COMMERCIAL** INTERCONNECTION (BRI) CONFRONTS US **FINANCIAL** AND MONETARY HEGEMONY IN A **POLYCENTRIC WORLD**
 - B) GEOPOLITICS: GUANXI **MULTIPOLARISM** CONFRONTS **SECURITY-ALLIANCE-UNIPOLARISM VISION**;
(GLOBAL NATO?) EURASIAN POLITICAL AND ECONOMIC PIVOT
 - **TWO OVERLAPPING CHESSBOARDS**
 - **SUPERSTRUCTURE**
 - C) INSTITUTIONALLY: **MULTILATERALISM** (AIIB) – MINILATERALISM AND BILATERALISM CONFRONTS THE US **UNILATERALISM**
 - **CONCENTRIC CIRCLES OF INCLUSIVE INSTITUTIONALISM (RELATIONAL POLITICS)**
 - D) IDEATIONALLY: **COMMUNITY WITH SHARED FUTURE FOR MANKIND AND BANDUNG SPIRIT** RELOADED CONFRONTS THE **RESTRICT WESTPHALIAN WORLD ORDER (RULES-BASED LIBERAL ORDER)**

- **BELT AND ROAD INITIATIVE (BRI)** - THE GREAT INTERNATIONAL PUBLIC GOOD PROVIDER AND IT IS THE INFRASTRUCTURAL BACKBONE OF THIS HOLISTIC PROCESS (CEG) "*CHINA'S INTERNATIONAL DEVELOPMENT COOPERATION IN THE NEW ERA.*" (2020)
- **BRI** IS A DIRECT CHALLENGE TO NEOLIBERAL GLOBALIZATION AND A PROPOSAL FOR INTERCONNECTIVITY THAT EMERGES AS A REGIONAL INITIATIVE AND EXPANDS AS A GLOBAL AND OPEN PROJECT OF CHINA, RECONFIGURING THE ECONOMIC GEOGRAPHY THROUGH MASSIVE INVESTMENTS IN INFRASTRUCTURE THAT HAS NO PRECEDENT.
- **AIIB** – FIRST MULTILATERAL INSTITUTION SINCE 1945 NOT LED BY THE USA
- CHINESE MULTILATERAL/MINILATERAL/BILATERAL DIPLOMACY IN ACTION THROUGH WHICH IT SPREADS ITS 'RELATIONAL SOFT POWER'. IT COULD BE DESCRIBED AS A HOLISTIC FOREIGN POLICY IN CONCENTRIC CIRCLES THAT ONE COMPLEMENTS THE OTHER

CHINA AND THE THREE CONCENTRIC CIRCLES OF INCLUSIVE INSTITUTIONALISM. DECONSTRUCTING THE “CREATIVE INVOLVEMENT” (WANG) (RELATIONAL POLITICS OR RELATIONAL DIPLOMACY) Bilateral diplomacy

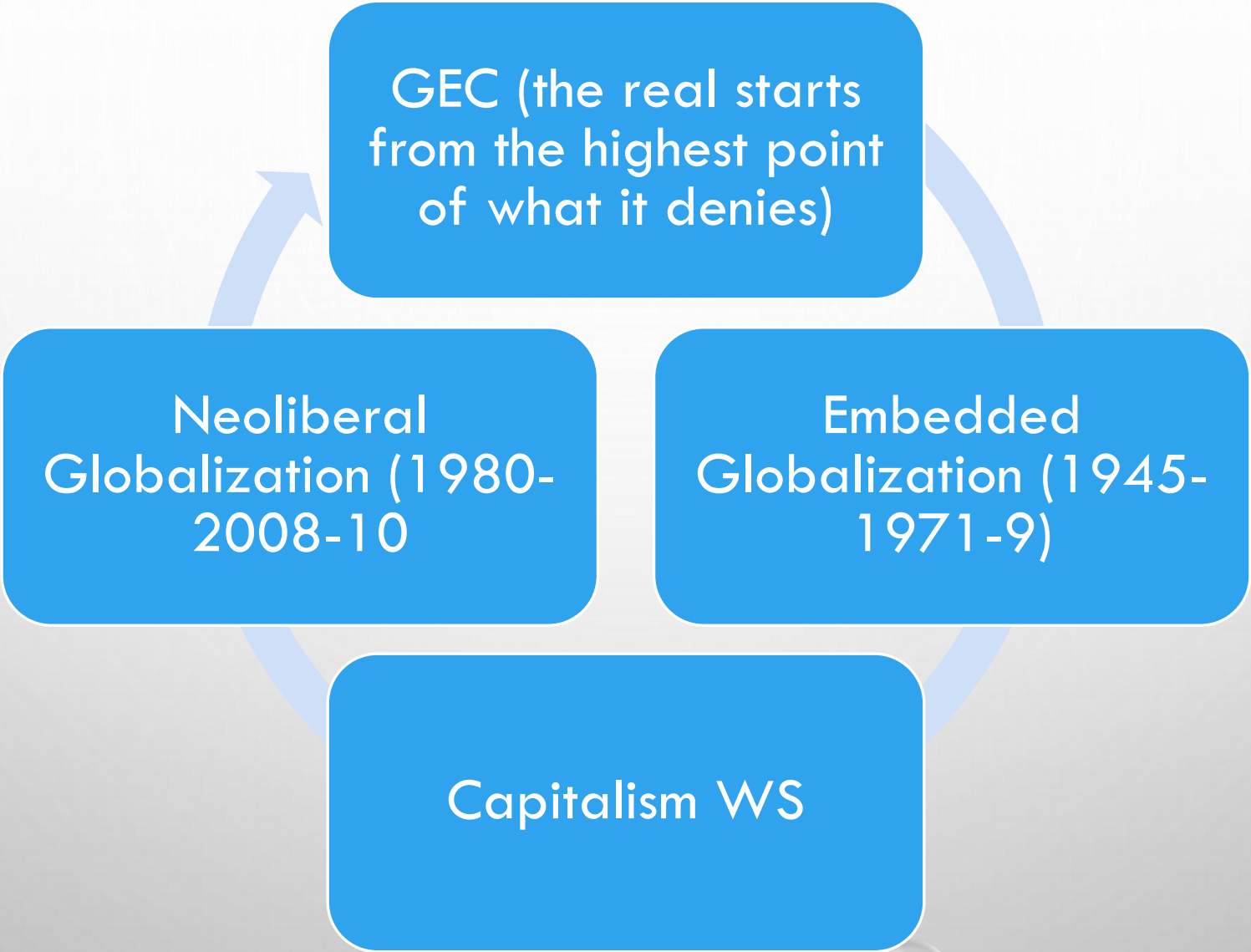


CEG INTERCONNECTIVITY MODUS OPERADI CHINESE “EMBEDDED CREATIVE INVOLVEMENT” (WANG; CHENG, MAWDSLEY & LIU) (COOPERATION, AID, TRADE, INVESTMENTS)

- FLEXIBILITY
- ADAPTABILITY
- MULTI-DIMENSIONAL
- MULTI ACTOR (PROVINCES, CITIES, FEDERATION)
- NO CONDITIONALITIES
- NO INTERFERENCE IN INTERNAL AFFAIRS

DIALECTIC OF GEG

- HEGEL
- “AUFHEBEN” QUE SIGNIFICA “UPHEAVING”
- “NEGATION OF THE NEGATION”
- THE REAL STARTS FROM THE HIGHEST POINT OF WHAT IT DENIES
- GEC - NEOLIBERAL GLOBALIZATION
- **ELEVATE/CONSERVE PRESERVE/ABOLISH**



FINAL CONSIDERATIONS


A NEW GOVERNANCE, A NEW CONVIVIVUM
BETWEEN ECONOMIC SOCIAL FORMATIONS?

A NEW MODE OF PRODUCTION
IN AN EMBRYONIC PROCESS OF DEVELOPMENT?

- CEG IS THE GLOBAL PROJECTION OF A NEW CAPITALIST RIVALRY? (CONSEQUENCES OF (NEO)IMPERIALISM/(NEO)COLONIALISM)
 - OR
- IS THE GLOBAL PROJECTION OF A NEW SOCIAL-ECONOMIC FORMATION: NEW ECONOMIC SYSTEM (HEILLMANN, 2018; NAUGHTON, 2020) OR NEW PROJECTING ECONOMY? (JABBOUR, 2020) OR SOCIALIST SOCIAL FORMATION (AMIN, 1976);
- GEC IS NOT A MODEL IS A FLEXIBLE ROAD

REFERENCES

- VADELL, JAVIER. "CHINA'S BILATERAL AND MINILATERAL RELATIONSHIP WITH LATIN AMERICA AND THE CARIBBEAN: THE CASE OF CHINA–CELAC FORUM." *AREA DEVELOPMENT AND POLICY* 7, NO. 2 (2022/04/03 2022): 187-203.
- JABBOUR, ELIAS, ALEXIS DANTAS, AND JAVIER VADELL. "DA NOVA ECONOMIA DO PROJETAMENTO À GLOBALIZAÇÃO INSTITUÍDA PELA CHINA." *ESTUDOS INTERNACIONAIS* 9, NO. 3: 1-22.
- VADELL, JAVIER, GIUSEPPE LO BRUTTO, AND ALEXANDRE CÉSAR CUNHA LEITE. " THE CHINESE SOUTH-SOUTH DEVELOPMENT COOPERATION: AN ASSESSMENT OF THE STRUCTURAL TRANSFORMATION." *REVISTA BRASILEIRA DE POLÍTICA INTERNACIONAL* 63 (2020): 1-22.

The background features a light gray gradient with several realistic water droplets of varying sizes scattered in the corners. The droplets have highlights and shadows, giving them a three-dimensional appearance.

THANK YOU!

- E-MAILS FOR CONTACT:

JAVIER VADELL: JAVIER.VADELL@GMAIL.COM

SAMUEL SPELLMANN: SAMUELSPELLMANN@GMAIL.COM