# TALLINN UNIVERSITY OF TECHNOLOGY <br> School of Business and Governance <br> Department of Law 

Saija Pyysiäinen

# THE ONE BELT, ONE ROAD INITIATIVE: IMPACT ON HEGEMONY AND LEGAL ISSUES ARISING THEREOF 

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I hereby declare that I have compiled the thesis independently and all works, important standpoints and data by other authors have been properly referenced and the same paper has not been previously presented for grading.

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Saija Pyysiäinen $\qquad$
(signature, date)
Student code: 177724 HAJB
Student e-mail address: saija.pp@gmail.com

Supervisor: Peeter Müürsepp:
The paper conforms to requirements in force
(signature, date)

Chairman of the Defence Committee:
Permitted to the defence
(name, signature, date)

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#### Abstract

China has grown to be one of the major powers in a relatively short time, impacting global politics. China's growth has a positive impact on its economy and allows invest capital and resources to states in Europe, Africa and Asia that lack these options. China's the One Belt One Road initiative is known as their new foreign policy. Initiative's main purpose is to build a modern version of the Silk Road, which optimizes the allocation of resources and markets and promotes the coordination of international business and national economies. The purpose of this thesis is to examine the OBOR initiative's impact on world economic hegemony and the way China is financing it. Thesis answers to questions on what does China want to achieve with this multi-billion project expanding different continents. Also, since the OBOR is a complex system including private and governmental actors, it cannot avoid legal disputes. Therefore, this thesis compares the WTO's dispute settlement mechanism to CICC's dispute settlement system. Can these both systems be seen as fair and legal or are they biased? Examples show on what kind of disputes are settled in the CICC and the WTO dispute settlement system, in other words how does the WTO dispute settlement handle the OBOR. This thesis examines how the OBOR initiative brings hope for smaller nations - as they lack capital - but at the same time brings fear to the international scene as it influences the role of economic hegemon and rule of law considering dispute settlement.


Keywords: China, 'One Belt, One Road' initiative, economic hegemony, dispute settlement

## LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

| AIIB | The Asian Infrastructure Investment Bank |
| :--- | :--- |
| ASEAN | The Association of Southeast Asian Nations |
| CICC | China International Commercial Court |
| OBOR | One Belt, One Road |
| UN | United Nations |
| WTO | World Trade Organisation |

## INTRODUCTION

It is being said that the former French military leader and emperor Napoleon Bonaparte (17691821) said that "China is a sleeping giant. Let her sleep, for when she wakes she will move the world" ${ }^{1}$. Even though this has been more than two centuries ago, it is as accurate as it was back then. The President of China Xi Jinping announced in October 2017 his speech aim to make China one of the most powerful states in half a century - by the world by 2049. This date has a significant meaning for China, because it marks the $100^{\text {th }}$ anniversary of the instauration China ${ }^{2}$. Despite being a very influential aim, China does not try to achieve to be like the United States and to be unquestionable superpower. Instead they want to change the current international system ${ }^{3}$, where there none of states have place as global hegemon. China has their own strategies to achieve this goal, one of them being China's new foreign policy initiative - the OBOR initiative, which covers both the Silk Road Economic Belt and the $21^{\text {st }}$ Century Maritime Silk Road. This strategy aims to enhance China's economic and capital influence in the areas, where there is lack of globalisation as well as build stronger relationships with its neighbouring states. The other strategy is to be part of international financial organisations and institutions, which are ruled by mostly development developed countries. Although, China's position in those institutions is relatively weak ${ }^{4}$. The OBOR initiative will span more than 50 years, has enormous effect on international economic, international law and politics. This thesis aims to discover China's desire and ability to grow its own position as world financial hegemon and China's ambitions increasing regionally and globally. Because of this China's grand strategy has an enormous impact on developing multidimensional transport corridors as well as enhance logistics and communications networks in Persian Gulf, Africa and Europe ${ }^{5}$, it is almost certain that you cannot avoid legal issues arising from this new foreign policy. Contracts are between states and private actors or between companies; for example legal issues can violate contract, delays, or payment issues. These issues need to be settled in a correct way.

[^0]There are several reasons why I chose this topic for my thesis. First, this topic has not been researched enough to the extent that it could be, even though that the OBOR initiative is reported widely in various news outlets and medias. From this news we can tell about China's growing interest on regions outside of its borders. Second, it is crucial to notice the growing economic advantage what China is having at the moment - simply, it is too major to ignore. The other reason involves the legal issues. Since the OBOR initiative involves private and public players in multibillion international trade deals, I believe it is important to have a functioning legal environment for this to run smoothly. Legal environment needs to be researched carefully to understand China International Commercial Courts and its procedures, CICC was established to resolve international disputes arising from the OBOR initiative projects.

This thesis aims to identify the outstanding legal issues, subsequently, this thesis consists of four main chapters, which answers the following research questions:

- Does China want to become a global power or be a regional hegemon in international trade?
- How does the OBOR initiative effect on world and China's economy?
- How does China solve arbitration issues involving international partners?
- What is the difference between the WTO's dispute settlement mechanism and China International Commercial Court in relation of the OBOR initiative?

The first chapter of this thesis is about China's economic historical background and its reasons for becoming one of the largest economies in today's world. First this chapter includes knowledge about the economic hegemony and China's motives behind the economic hegemon. It also gives a deeper analysis of Chinese-led new financial institutionalism - giving more details about the Asia Infrastructure Bank, which China established. In addition, literature review will define what China wants to achieve in the future considering financial institutionalism.

The second chapter tells you more about the core of this thesis - China's new foreign policy: the 'One Belt, One Road' initiative, which in fact, is an ambitious economic diplomacy. This chapter will mainly focus on defining the OBOR initiative, how it was established and then going to its details. It will answer questions when and where this initiative was first announced, its action plan, and the name 'One Belt, One Road' means. How is this initiative going to affect China's economic position, consequently answering this will reach the research's aim. Moreover, this initiative
demands a lot of knowledge and capital, therefore the OBOR is supported by Chinese economic institution - the Asian Infrastructure Investment Bank, which is now valued at US $\$ 450$ billion ${ }^{6}$. The Asian Infrastructure Investment Bank is one of the ways how China aims to grow its economic power. This chapter will also focus on other ways this initiative is financed.

The third chapter is focusing on the legal aspects of the OBOR initiative. Because the OBOR has a substantial effect on world trade, it should follow the rules and customs of international trade law, and customs set by the World Trade Organisation as well as other international treaties. Due to the fact that the OBOR involves many private and public parties, cannot avoid the need for international arbitration and the dispute settlement. This chapter compares the dispute settlement mechanism by the World Trade Organisation and China International Commercial Court. The chapter ends in example case analysis, which examines the core elements of international arbitration, dispute settlement and the OBOR initiative.

The qualitative text analysis methodology is used in this thesis, including academic sources, such as journals, books, etc., and legislative literature, i.e. treaties and case law. The legal case study includes the CICC case: Siemens International Trade (Shanghai) Co., Ltd. v. Shanghai Golden Landmark Co., Ltd., to compare the dispute settlement process in CICC and the WTO dispute settlement system and what could be implemented in the OBOR initiative's legal issues.

[^1]
## 1. HISTORY OF CHINESE ECONOMY

### 1.1. Development of China's economic growth

From very early on, China's economic history has allowed China to grow to be one of the world's biggest economies ${ }^{7}$. The Ming Dynasty allowed the Portuguese to set up a trading base in Macao in 1557, which was the started international trade in China. Although this did not last very long, the Qing government restricted trade with foreign nations and wanted to trade to be more in China's favour. This changed in 1778 when Great Britain started to sell opium to China to balance international trade, which eventually led to four 'Opium Wars'. These wars were important in international trade's perspective since they all ended with a treaty, which extended international trade opportunities and opened Chinese ports for foreign ships ${ }^{8}$. In the $19^{\text {th }}$ century, the Chinese economy faced the Daoguang Depression', from 1820-1850, due to deflation in silver prices ${ }^{9}$. In the 1960s, after 'Opium Wars', The Sino-Japanese war and The World Wars, China had minimal contact with the Western countries and was very isolated economically from the rest of the world. This changed in 1980s when Chinese political leader Deng Xiaoping supported the general policy of China's modernising ${ }^{10}$.

During the last three decades, Chinese foreign policy has been following the economic concept 'Open door'. It has led to market-oriented reforms and most importantly liberalisation, which moved barriers away from the movement of goods, labour, and capital. This made China a significant player in international trade ${ }^{11}$. China's economic development and growth do not only benefit China, but also it will provide economic benefits to the neighbouring states, especially those who are affected by the One Belt, One Road initiative. There is no sign that China would go back to 'closed-door' international trade and economy, since it would harm China's position and weaken the economy ${ }^{12}$.

[^2]
### 1.2. Chinese-led new financial institutionalism

There are other aspects which support China's economic growth and function of the markets. Financial institutions have an important role in international trade and economic, where every one of them serves for a different purpose. Most well-known institutions are the International Monetary Fund, World Trade Organisation, World Bank and the International Bank for Reconstruction and Development. Over the years China's position in international financial institutions has become much greater, but this has not always been like that ${ }^{13}$. As mentioned in the previous chapter, between the 1940s and 1980s China had no connections with the international community and financial institutions; however, this changed in 1980 when Beijing became a representative of China and the Republic of China for both the World Bank and the IMF. ${ }^{14}$ In fact, since then, China even became a shareholder in the African Development Bank to gain more power in international institutions as well as motivation for granting access for Chinese capital, labour, goods and equipment in this area. This shows China's interest as well as motivation in international markets and motivations grow bigger player in this field.

Over the years, China joined to Asian Development Bank in 1986, the Inter-American Development Bank in 2009 and latest the European Bank for Reconstruction and Development in 2016. This all suggest that China wants to reform its position in the international community and institutions ${ }^{15}$. As Galán states in his article, the Chinese new financial institutionalism supports the OBOR initiative in various ways and aims at becoming global ${ }^{16}$. Galan also found out that there are four different types of Chinese led financial institutionalism, which are the following: "the creation of quasiglobal financial organizations; the engagement of financial conglomerates of national organizations (the domestic development banks); and the financial component of China's partnership strategy" ${ }^{17}$. All of these four different factors are designed to support Chinese led financial institutionalism, international trade and the OBOR initiative on a global scale, to empower China's international economic position. Financial institutions create proper and function legal environment for international economics ${ }^{18}$.

[^3]
### 1.3. China's relationship with other major powers

In order to succeed in international trade and the economy, China needs to have good relations with major powers. The Western powers have been using soft power in order to achieve their goals. Joseph Nye defines the concept of soft power that it is achieved with attraction and persuasion ${ }^{19}$. It requires cooperation with other governments, and needs to be able to organize networks, create institutions and persuade other players in the international arena to join in common endeavors. Soft power has the ability to get the desired outcome you wish without coercion or "payment" ${ }^{20}$. Soft power can be harder to achieve compared to military power. Joseph developed idea of soft power by thinking that the United States' influence was more than just great military and economic power ${ }^{21}$. In the matter of fact, China is also using soft power in order to strengthen its position among other great powers ${ }^{22}$.

Other major powers in the world, such as the United States and other western countries have very delicate relations with China. Also, David C. Kang explain in his 'China Rising - Peace, Power, and Order in East Asia' book that China as a rising power poses both opportunities and threats to its neighbouring countries ${ }^{23}$. For example, the ongoing trade war between the US and China shows that China does not fear to challenge the biggest economy in the world to achieve their own goals. This trade war effects to different global actors and international stock, trade market and politics ${ }^{24}$.

### 1.4. What is hegemony?

Great powers can be hegemonies. Cambridge dictionary defines that a hegemonic state is "strong and powerful and therefore able to control others. ${ }^{25 "}$ In the field of international relations, different scholars have their own definition for the term 'hegemony'. Realists define it as a stage where one single state has significantly much more power compared to other states. In other words, this state has control and dominate smaller states in the international system. However, this definition does

[^4]not tell how much power does the state need to have to be a hegemon ${ }^{26}$. Hegemony can be on different kind of aspects, such as political, military, economic or cultural and realist claim one state can be hegemon in one area while another state is hegemon in other area ${ }^{27}$. Hegemonic states have different strategies and motives. First, hegemonic states seek to achieve general and personal benefits. Second, hegemonic states seek to disbalance the power in the world and effect in different disputes outside its borders.

According to the hegemonic stability theory, international economic stability is for the public good and therefore, hegemonic power is needed to maintain an open trading system. Since the early 1900s the US can be seen as the absolute economic power and military wise in the world ${ }^{28}$. This has changed in the 1970s and 1980s when the US leadership declined for various reasons, i.e. the Cold War. By the end of the century, the US started to experience increased competition from emerging economies, especially China. This can lead to that situation where China's GDP is predicted to exceed the US GDP ${ }^{29}$. From this, we can claim that China's economic hegemon power is strengthening. In other words, China displays same attributes as other hegemons with global influence, not just economically ${ }^{30}$.

### 1.5. China as an economic hegemon

Historically speaking, China can be seen as a regional hegemon in Southeast Asia due to fact of enormous geographical area and being one of the most populous states in the world ${ }^{31}$, as mentioned in the previous chapter, China's GDP is expected to grow bigger than the US GDP. China is an excellent example of how a growing level of economic interconnection between two different states, in other words, economic globalisation, has made it one of the economic major powers and a regional economic hegemony in Asia ${ }^{32}$. This interdependence through external trade and foreign investments is one of the core pillars for China ${ }^{33}$.

[^5]China's rapid economic growth raised questions about hegemonic economic stability despite the fact that China has a prerequisite to becoming the world's leading economy. But, we still need to examine the United States position as the biggest economy in the world. The question is how successful is China counter-hegemonic challenge, and does China want to change the United States economic position? Transition of hegemon can happen on military-economic grounds, but for a bigger transition there also needs to be ideological within the nation ${ }^{34}$. Allan B. states that it is unlikely to China to become next hegemon in the near future because China's identity is very different compared to other great powers ${ }^{35}$, lacking the Western mindset and culture. Chinese identity includes "socialism with Chinese characteristics" which is economic doctrine about China's development. This a reason why China is unlikely to shape grounds for next international vision and other great powers don't find this doctrine appealing ${ }^{36}$.

For the time being China is balancing in the status quo - free trade agreements and the American domination ${ }^{37}$. Ho-fung Hung's The China Boom book examines China's rapid economic growth, and he stated that despite being one of the most advanced economies in the $18^{\text {th }}$ century, liberal capitalism failed to succeed in China, which left China's development behind the West ${ }^{38}$. The other reason why he states that even though China is undisputable economic power, it still prefers the current global capitalist economic structure, as it is a receiving end of this system. Add to this, China's development is interdepended of mass consumption of wealthy countries ${ }^{39}$. Because China relies on the free international market, the flow of investment capital, which is mostly instituted by the US' ${ }^{40}$ treasury bonds, which all of these elements ensure the stability of the current economic system. In other words, Beijing is relying on the US' support for the export economy. China is 'addicted' for the United States' overconsumption and underinvestment, whereas the United States depends on China's cheap labour, affordable production and overinvestments. On the social aspect, China's development is lacking behind, in example about 40 percent ${ }^{41}$ of the Chinese population still lives in rural areas, and investments for these rural areas' infrastructure is costly. Considering

[^6]all of these political and economic as well as social reasons, China will not have the ability nor the will to change the current economic hegemon ${ }^{42}$.

## 2. THE ONE BELT, ONE ROAD INITIATIVE

This chapter will tell about the 'One Belt, One Road' initiative, how it was established, its characteristics, drawbacks, how it is financed as well as impact on China's internal and external position and China's economy. As mentioned before, the OBOR initiative is China's new foreign policy, which was introduced by President Xi Jinping in Astana Kazakhstan in 2013. A month later, he announced that maritime roads from mainland China to Africa and Europe are also part of this new maritime 'Silk Road' ${ }^{43}$. To illustrate, this is an infrastructure network in the Eurasian area, which brings countries economically closer together and bring the next level of global prosperity.

The core idea of this initiative is to connect over sixty different states to one economic area, where China and different financial institutions are at the centre of this new economic cooperation as well as integration ${ }^{44}$. This has a major effect on the world economy and international trade since over half of the world's population live on this geographical area, which is covered by the OBOR


[^7]initiative. Most importantly, the OBOR initiative will empower China's position among other hegemonic states.

Figure 1 Map of 'One Belt, One Road' Initiative, source: http://ecoculus.com/wp-content/uploads/2019/03/Website-graphics-1v2.png

As seen in figure 1, the OBOR initiative mimics the old Silk Road from thousands of years ago, which was used for international trade as well as passing knowledge between different nations between China and Europe ${ }^{45}$. The new silk road will consist of roads as well as railways from China to Central Asia, Iran and Turkey, from travels through Eastern Europe to Russia's capital Moscow. From there, the main way goes from Belarus to Lithuania. In the future, the idea is to expand infrastructure all the way from Lithuania to Northern parts of Africa. On the other hand, the maritime silk road initiative travels from China's mainland to various destinations in Asia in sea one of the most important being sea passage to Colombo, Sri Lanka.

### 2.1. The first publication of the OBOR initiative and Maritime Silk Road

To better understand China's new foreign policy, it is crucial to understand that what is the OBOR initiative. For the first time it was announced in September 2013, when the president of the China Xi Jinping held a speech at the Nazarbayev University of Astana in Kazakhstan ${ }^{46}$. This speech was titled as "Promote Friendship between Our Peoples and Work Together to Create a Bright Future". To illustrate this speech, he said that "to forge closer economic ties, deepen cooperation and expand space for development in the Eurasian region, we should take an innovative approach and join hands in building an 'economic belt along the Silk Road'. We may start with work in individual areas and link them up over time to cover the whole region" ${ }^{47}$.

One month later in October 2013, President Xi Jinping announced the second part of this initiative a maritime silk road. What is important, this was announced in Asia Pacific Economic Cooperation's Economic Leaders Meeting, because Xi Jinping wanted to emphasise that China is willing to strengthen cooperation with the Association of Southeast Asian Nations ${ }^{48}$. China's government had set up China-ASEAN Maritime Cooperation Fund for the purpose of jointly

[^8]building the $21^{\text {st }}$ century 'Maritime Silk Road' together with other states in the region ${ }^{49}$. Publication of the OBOR shows motives behind this grand initiative, it aims for impact people around the globe and strengthen China position ${ }^{50}$.

### 2.2. Features of the OBOR initiative

The idea behind these new initiatives changes China's strategy and opens its tight borders to the outside world. Wang ${ }^{51}$ emphasis three features of the OBOR initiative in his paper. First content wise, where changing from bringing in an idea to opposite to going out. To clarify this, China wants to participate and, also lead to international economic cooperation. This, as a matter of fact, is the Chinese government's opinion to improve the economic situation in Asia. Second, spread wise, China's borders in the western and southeast area are in very crucial geographical locations politically. With this initiative, China aims to develop its influence in these areas. Third, depthwise, is important and vital for free flow of goods, capital and labour ${ }^{52}$. With this China wants to mimic EU's freedom of movement idea in order to gain more economic power, as well as following the global trend of regional economic integration ${ }^{53}$.

### 2.3. Financing the OBOR initiative

The OBOR initiative is very costly, so it needs to have different sources of incoming capital to be financed. It is definitely not easy to predict what China will invest in this initiative. According to economic news channel Bloomberg, China plans to have a US\$16.3 billion fund for the OBOR initiative. This fund is regulated by Chinese policy banks, which finance building and expanding railways, roads and pipelines ${ }^{54}$. Other financing sources the OBOR initiative are loans, which other banks grant for countries involved in the OBOR initiative.

China established the Asian Infrastructure Investment Bank in July 2015 in order to partly finance the OBOR initiative, because it wants to control the financing the $\mathrm{OBOR}^{55}$. In the first meeting there were 57 states represented from Asia, Middle East and West Europe, who discuss the core

[^9]element of the AIIB - multilateral development financing, which is institutionalized ${ }^{56}$. The main reason why the AIIB was established was due to China's disappointment to not being heard loud enough in other international organisations lead by the US ${ }^{57}$. As an example of these organisation, the World Bank and the International Monetary Fund ${ }^{58}$. This tells about Chinese multilateralism, which focuses on the development of global governance and is in favour of those underrepresented ${ }^{59}$. The two aims of the AIIB are, first to promote economic development and regional integration in Asia and second to provide to rest of the world that China is capable of governing of the AIIB in matters of governance, safeguard policies and debt sustainability ${ }^{60}$. This defines some of China's motives behind the OBOR initiative.

Before the establishment of the AIIB, China lent money from Japan and the WTO, so it could build infrastructure ${ }^{61}$. This impacted on the Chinese citizens' living standards and the economic growth as the Chinese had to lean on someone else. It gave guidelines for the AIIB. It finances the OBOR initiative's projects, which are conducive for Asian citizens' living standards. The bank is also expected to meet other Asian infrastructure investments needs with the help of international cooperation. But there are also conditions, the investments from the AIIB are only for projects with very high standards, which is only in China's own interests ${ }^{62}$. This tells about China's motives to think about their own best interest and answers to one of the research questions about China's desire becoming economic hegemon.

### 2.4. How did the OBOR change Chinese foreign policy?

As mentioned in the previous chapter, this OBOR initiative and Maritime Silk Road changed China's perspective and view on the international economy. Before China wanted to keep its boarders relatively closed from the outside world, as a part of this initiative China aims to lead international economic cooperation. This initiative brings up concerns on how China will establish multilateral trade deals and collaborations, and China's ability to gather needed resources. In order

[^10]to the OBOR initiative run smoothly, such collaborations are vital ${ }^{63}$. One of the challenging tasks is the realization of these projects as they need capital, intellectual capital, resources, workforce and proper political and legal environment. Most often realization of these project depends on agreements and arrangement between international participants ${ }^{64}$ but as a drawback political-legalbureaucratic complication make them progress haltingly. Also, the OBOR challenges China's ability in international cooperation, meaning that their way of behaving and policies can be very different to the Western states' policies ${ }^{65}$. One the other hand, this initiative brings nations closer together, as a lot of cooperation is needed to run smoothly. In other words, this initiative forces China for deeper integration between participant states and making China more open for the outside world. This answers to one of the research questions about China's motives behind this initiative.

## 3. EFFECTS OF THE OBOR INITIATIVE ON CHINA'S ECONOMY

### 3.1. China's economic growth along the OBOR

President Xi Jinping is known for making many new policies in China. After two years in being power, the Chinese noticed that the economy had grown only 7.4 percent, which is the lowest rate since 1990. Therefore, Chinese announced to focus more on the quality of the growth instead of speed of the growth ${ }^{66}$. In short, with the OBOR initiative, China aims for strengthening its position as an economic hegemony, and it has a massive economic impact on international trade and investments.

According to The Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development Business and Financial Outlook, this initiative's projects are estimated to add over USD 1 trillion funding to foreign infrastructure over the next 7 to 10 years' time ${ }^{67}$. Most importantly, this is very influences to those economies, which are participating in the OBOR initiative. The figure below shows how Chinese exports have changed since the OBOR was first announced. From this, we can tell that in early 2000 , exports to the OECD countries were about $61 \%$ and at the same time exports to the OBOR participating economies was only as low as $19 \%$. After the OBOR was announced, exports

[^11]to the OBOR participation economies, neighbouring countries of China ${ }^{68}$, has grown up to $34 \%$ and at the same time exports to the OECD countries declined to $49 \%$. This tells about China's interest in the neighbouring states.


The OBOR participating economies make up more than one-third of global GDP and about half of the world's population. The OBOR's impact ASEAN area's investments have risen also benefited a lot, investments have grown from US\$ 3.5bn in 2010 to US $\$ 11.3 \mathrm{bbn}$ in $2017{ }^{69}$. The OBOR not only contributes to investments but also for trade in goods to and from China. These good can be anything from tools, vehicles, trains, nickel, copper and products, and they together form another multi-billion industry ${ }^{70}$.

From this chart, we can tell that the OBOR initiative contributes to both short- and long-term economic growth. The OBOR projects help to finance much needed update for infrastructure in Asia, a well-functioning infrastructure will boost the economy. The OBOR initiative's projects will boost China's economy ${ }^{71}$.

### 3.2. Economic drawbacks of the OBOR initiative

Despite of having multiple social, political and economic benefits, still the OBOR initiative does not benefit every participant. First, once these the OBOR projects are finally fully completed the

[^12]need for construction labour force and importation of some of the products will decrease. Furthermore, while these projects are still going on, they are being accused to be too favourable for China ${ }^{72}$. This makes the international community to question this initiative but because it benefits China's economic growth, it also boosts China as a great power.

Second drawback is very harmful and can be long-lasting, especially for the developing countries. Chinese investments, exclusively in Sri Lanka, have made the country suffer from "dept-trap diplomacy". Sri Lanka is very desired destination for Chinese investors, who have been enjoying of the China's government's favour ${ }^{73}$. These investments, primarily large-scale infrastructure projects, are funded by loans from the Chinese government or investments made by Chinese enterprises ${ }^{74}$. Especially the OBOR initiative's investments have caused very unfortunate situation in Sri Lanka at domestic, regional as well as international level. At a domestic level, Chinese investments have received critique over Sri Lanka's economic viability and sustainability ${ }^{75}$. In example, Chinese have financed the Hambanthota Deep Seaport and Mattala International Airport, which expensive repayments have caused economic insecurity and political uncertainty for Sri Lanka ${ }^{76}$. Most critical situation come from the Colombo Port City - also financed and governed by Chinese authorities - a geopolitically strategic port in the Indian Ocean. This project posed a serious threat for Sri Lanka's sovereignty, identity and national security, because of an agreement, which allowed investors from China to acquired and possess a plot of land on a freehold basis ${ }^{77}$. Fundamentally, this tells about China's desire to only seek for their own best interest and answer to research question about China's motives behind the OBOR initiative.

## 4. LEGAL PROBLEM ARISING FROM THE OBOR INITIATIVE

As mentioned in the previous chapters, the OBOR initiative has a colossal effect on international trade and China's position as economic hegemon. But yet, still this initiative does not belong to any categories of international pacts and treaties, therefore there might be multiple legal issues concerning multilateral trade agreements and other dispute settlements to be solved. Legal problems

[^13]arising from this initiative are mainly between states and states, states and private actors and between private actors.

International trade relations are being monitored by different institutions, such as the IMF, the World Bank, the WTO and the EU, where especially the WTO expands authority over international trade. The WTO is a formal legally constituted organisation, which oversees new treaties and international trade related to the OBOR initiative. China joined the WTO in December $2001{ }^{78}$. This had a major impact on international trade, because of the enormous size and growth of the Chinese economy. China's membership in the WTO changed the balance of power in the organisation due to various reasons, example of China's close trade relations with the Association of Southeast Asian Nations became more distant after the joining the WTO ${ }^{79}$. Because the OBOR initiative increases international commercial trade, the need for well-functioning effective commercial dispute settlement is inevitable for business environment and global governance under the rule of law ${ }^{80}$.

International trade disputes related to the OBOR initiative can be classified into three different gategories: international trade disputed between states, international investment disputes between state and invester and international trade disputes between private parties such as companies and organisations ${ }^{81}$. Due to the OBOR complexity it is unavoidable to commercial disputes happening ${ }^{82}$. To function properly the OBOR requires cooperation between governments and enterprises and this needs to be according to political, legal and administrative needs.

### 4.1. Four ways avoiding legal issues in the OBOR initiative

To avoid any legal issues arising from the OBOR initiative, China has set different goals to achieve this. First, "Abiding by and improving relevant international rules-based systems" ${ }^{83}$. With this this China wants to be fully commitment to obeying standards in international trade set by international organisations, such as the WTO. Second way is to "Actively Preventing and Properly Settling

[^14]Disputes" ${ }^{84}$. To achieve this China has establish the CICC, a comprehensive dispute settlement system, where the goal is to settle trade and investment disputes fairly by protecting the legal rights and interest of all parties as well as protect business environment under the rule of law. This has four important principles - "the principle of planning together, building together, and benefiting together", "the principle of justice, efficiency, and convenience", "the principle of party autonomy", and "the principle of diversified dispute resolution" ${ }^{85}$. Although these four principles have been set out, it is still a bit uncertain how new institutions and mechanisms will work together with the already existing international dispute resolution formed by the WTO to resolve cross border disputes in the field of international trade of the OBOR initiative.

Third and fourth points include "Promoting International Rule of Law by Enhancing Cooperation under the BRI" and "Advancing Legal Exchange under the BRI" ${ }^{86}$. With this China aims for have more support for the OBOR initiative and as well as promote international rule of law. In detail the third point aims to have cooperation between fundamental principles of international law and comprehensive legal cooperation which includes attendance of international as well as regional organisations ${ }^{87}$. The final, fourth point of this scheme includes better cooperation among legal services industries. In other words this means to have greater knowledge of foreign legal systems and treaties from those states which are part of the OBOR initiative. The third and the fourth points are relatively similar, where both aim to have grater amount and quality of legal exchange from possible legal issues which may arise from the OBOR initiative.

Add to this, to avoid any legal issues, forum on the Belt and Road Legal Cooperation was held in Beijing on $2^{\text {nd }}$ of July, 201888. This was co-organised with the Ministry of Foreign Affairs and China Law Society and the opening speech was delivered by Foreign Minister Wang Yi. In his speech he expressed that the OBOR initiative's fruitful cooperation has been beyond expectations and has had a warm welcome from the international community. He also stated that "We believe that regulations and the rule of law not only provide a pass for the Belt and Road to go global, but also serve as the safety valve to cope with risks and challenges ... We should constantly improve the Belt and Road legal guarantee system, and deepen the Belt and Road legal exchanges and international

[^15]cooperation. China will provide funding for the implementation of a Belt and Road legal cooperation research program and support the legal capacity building and international law talent training of countries along the Belt and Road." ${ }^{89}$ This forum had over 350 participants who discussed in panels about "The BRI and International Rule of Law", "Rules, Treaties and Laws Supporting the BRI" and "The BRI and International Dispute Settlement", where as the latter panel discussed about the hardware of International Dispute System related to the OBOR initiative ${ }^{90}$.

### 4.2. WTO dispute settlement system

World Trade Organisation was founded in mid 1990s with the aim of promoting peaceful relations among nations and same time the WTO dispute settlement system was founded ${ }^{91}$. This system was founded during the Uruguay Round by Member governments for various reasons such as trading rules would be respected. With fully functional international trade, it will benefit individuals, governments, businesses.

WTO dispute settlement system is the very important a vital for today's international trade as it benefits not only the states but also companies as well as individuals by enhancing stability and predictability for international trade ${ }^{92}$. The WTO members have agreed that if they violate trading rules, they will use WTO's dispute settlement system to settle it. Since the OBOR initiative influences in many fields from technology to infrastructure and to different states, it can cause some legal issues and questions ${ }^{93}$. WTO dispute settlement system aims to be equitable, fast, effective and mutually acceptable.

WTO dispute settlement also handles disputes considering the OBOR, as in example free trade disputes. Importantly not every country along the OBOR are not a member of the WTO. Therefore, China, can help some countries to negotiate and contribute to their accession to the WTO. This will enable more countries to make full use of the WTO dispute settlement mechanism, as well as

[^16]promote the improvement of the WTO mechanism ${ }^{94}$. As another drawback, country-to-country trade and investment disputes cannot be settled directly through the WTO mechanism, this makes these types of disputes more difficult to settle ${ }^{95}$.

### 4.3. The China International Commercial Court

The Chinese authorities quickly noticed the lack of Chinese influence in the dispute resolution as well as commercial arbitrations. Typical the OBOR project contract is to construct the railway, port, industrial project and financing it, all of these contracts have at least one Chinese party forming this agreement ${ }^{96}$. The previously mentioned China International Commercial Court - CICC - was established in 2018 to mainly focus on the developments of the OBOR. This establishment has a significant impact on the China's judicial system because it contributes to the good business environment in the multilateral trading system among the OBOR countries. These courts serve the purpose for handling cases in accordance with law as well as equally protecting all the legal parties and their rights ${ }^{97}$. Most importantly these courts are designed to handle the OBOR related disputes with cooperation with other courts in China and countries which are involved in the OBOR initiative.

CICCs are also supported by the International Commercial Expert Committee established by the Supreme People's Court in August 2018, where to main function of the committee members is to advice any issues the courts may be having. As we can notice, many of these elements are Chinese led and organised, which tells about China's motives to aim for their own best outcome ${ }^{98}$. Add to this, the CICC was established to have an efficient, inexpensive and fair international commercial dispute settlement mechanism, which creates a durable working business environment for the OBOR ${ }^{99}$. As in example, judgements by the CICC are final, which makes the system effective in time management as well as saving cost from the parties. Party autonomy is respected and guaranteed by the CICC's jurisdictions which are agreement of the parties or discretion of the

[^17]CICC ${ }^{100}$. Evidence used in the CICC can be either in Chinese or English and importantly they do not need notarization, this process as flexible as possible for all the international participants, which makes the procedure more transparent.

The Shenzhen and the Xi'an were the first two location where the CICC were established. Since the establishment the CICC has achieved milestones; first, the Supreme People's Court of China assigned 14 senior judges with experience in international dispute settlement and international background to look over the CICC ${ }^{101}$. These judges are members of the International Commercial Expert Committee, which work together with the consent of the parties to solve the dispute ${ }^{102}$. This committee together with institutions providing law ascertainment can ascertain of foreign laws. The process is made as flexible as possible - connecting mediation and litigation. Furthermore, if parties reach a mediation agreement, the CICC will issue either a conciliation statement or a judgement which is law based on the meditation agreement. Importantly, the CICC can lean on the support from the other international commercial arbitration mechanisms ${ }^{103}$. The CICC has set up an electronic litigation service platform to support online case registration, litigation and meditation, preparation and evidence exchange, this is all done for making the CICC user-friendly as possible and flexible.

International commercial dispute settlement mechanism includes deep integration between national interest and expansion of private companies, therefore there are few aspects on what this dispute settlement mechanism should focus on to function even better. First, multilateralism is great for the international community as well as the development of the international dispute settlement mechanisms because the enhanced version of these mechanisms will benefit all the participants ${ }^{104}$. Second, the International Commercial Expert Committee should be expanded and focus more on the international judicial cooperation. Third, database for foreign law and foreign law ascertainment regarding the OBOR participant countries, would make the CICC and international dispute settlement to function even more smoothly, and it would also strengthen information management ${ }^{105}$. All of these answers to one of the research questions about Chinese dispute

[^18]resolution. CICC is China's way setting an example for well-functioning legal international dispute settlement ${ }^{106}$, and yet there has been no evidence, that CICC would be biased or other ways favourable for China.

### 4.4. Comparing WTO's and CICC's Dispute Resolution

Commercial arbitration disputes are unavoidable in international business but international commercial arbitration has its advantages, such as speed, timing, cost and being neutral as well as private ${ }^{107}$. Solving commercial disputes in the courts can be costly, time consuming and end up highly bitter. This is the reason why many commercial agreements and contracts have some level of arbitration clause written into them. As noticed in the previous chapters, these two dispute resolution systems have some similarities and differences related to the OBOR initiative.

As mentioned in the previous chapter, the CICC is very flexible and 'user-friendly' in regarding of the dispute settlement. But as a drawback, the CICC cannot appoint foreign judges because law restrictions, this makes consider are the International Commercial Expert Committee's judges favourable for China ${ }^{108}$. Also, it faces critique from lack of necessary supervision. If the CICC wants to be recognized internationally, it needs to deliver high quality judgements from a team of excellent judges. But due to lack of international judges in the International Commercial Expert Committee, makes it lack internationalization, can it really be "international" if all the judges are Chinese nationals? Judges should be free from any external interference and corruption ${ }^{109}$. The CICC is leading on Chines existing civil law traditions, which differences a lot from the Western/German law, but the CICC still plays an important part in the international dispute settlement. The CICC will contribute to the provision of better services, playing its part in facilitating the reinforcement of the rule of law in the international business environment.

What comes to the WTO's dispute settlement mechanism, it is much stiffer than the CICC. It roots back to time of the GATT and it is very valued and trusted in solving international commercial disputes. But due to a fact that some countries along the OBOR initiative have not joined the WTO,

[^19]therefore this mechanism cannot be applied ${ }^{110}$. There are other drawbacks as well, as most of the WTO mechanism makers are developed countries and the procedures are partly defective, which is not conducive to the appeals of developing countries ${ }^{111}$.

### 4.5. CICC Case: Siemens International Trade (Shanghai) Co. v. Shanghai Golden Landmark Co.

As an example case, this is underlining the core elements of contract law and honouring the New York Convention's obligation of international arbitration award enforcement, which creates superior environment of Rule of Law ${ }^{112}$. This case was settled through CICC.

Basic fact of this case concerns Siemens International Trade (Shanghai) Co., Ltd entering into contract on $23^{\text {rd }}$ of September 2005 for goods supply. Siemens agreed to deliver goods to a construction site before February 2006 and if there were any disagreements, they should have been settled at the Singapore International Arbitration Centre. Between these two dates, the contracting parties had disputes, which made Golden Landmark Co. to demand rescinding contract and end the goods' payment. Siemens' counterclaim demanded rest of the payment with interest and for the losses. The Singapore International Arbitration Centre rejected Golden Landmark Co.'s claim in November $2011{ }^{113}$. Despite of this outcome, Golden Landmark Co. had a large sum of outstanding payments and interest, which made Siemens to follow up actions.

New York Convention obligates enforcement of foreign arbitral awards and it is in a key element in this case as well as international arbitration ${ }^{114}$. Based on this convention, Siemens requested Intermediate People's Court of Shanghai Municipality to recognize the Singapore International Arbitration Centre decision. Golden Landmark Co.'s counter argument was that the arbitral award should not be recognised since contract was made within China ${ }^{115}$. They also argued that recognising and enforcing the Singapore International Arbitration Centre's decision would violate China's public policy ${ }^{116}$.

[^20]The final judgement was made by Intermediate People's Court of Shanghai, which ruled the Singapore International Arbitration Centre's decision to be recognized and enforced under the New York Convention. The key element concerned the contractual relationship and its possible foreignrelated factor ${ }^{117}$. It is having a foreign-related factor, then the arbitration is valid and on the other hand side, if it doesn't, it is invalid. This is stated in the Article 1 Item 5 of "the Interpretation (I) of the Supreme People's Court on Several Issues Concerning the Application of the "Law of the People's Republic of China on the Laws Applicable to Foreign-Related Civil Relationships "18" and it verifies that the core is a foreign-related civil law relationship. Reasons behind this were that both of the contractual parties were legal persons of China and both were based within Shanghai Free Trade Zone despite of their other business relations outside of China's borders. Furthermore, this contract involved elements of an international sale and purchase goods as the good were delivered and transferred crossing the Shanghai Free Trade Zone borders ${ }^{119}$. The deciding court, Intermediate People's Court of Shanghai, ruled that the arbitration clause was valid and did not violate China's public policy. The court also didn't support Golden Landmark Co. counter argument that this case was not done in good faith, fairness and reasonably ${ }^{120}$.

The significant factor of this case are the pilot free trade zones, which link and support China to promote the OBOR initiative. Because the goods were transported across this zone, it made it a subject of international arbitration. This case is also enchanting China's international credibility and rule of law by supporting the development of free trade zones and improving cross border arbitration and other international dispute resolution mechanisms ${ }^{121}$. As mentioned previously, the core of this case relies on determination of foreign-related factor which will be in an important role of further the OBOR arbitration and dispute settlements. The court ruling is also important due to a fact that it executes enforcement of international arbitral awards of the New York Convention, which also reflects on China's standing of obligation international treaties. All of this makes more stable legal business environment for the OBOR initiative and importantly underlines China's willingness to honour international organisations, the UN and implement their conventions to its juridical system.

[^21]
## 5. CONCLUSION

The aim of this thesis was to examine China's position in the current international system as a possible economic hegemon and find China's real motives behind it's the OBOR initiative. It also, examined the impact of the OBOR initiative to China's economic growth. The other aim was to compare the WTO's and CICC dispute settlement arising from the OBOR initiative.

First, this thesis examined China's position among the other major powers and its possibilities to become a hegemon. It becomes evident that China's the OBOR initiative is one of the multiple reasons behind China's growth to be one of the leading countries in the world. The OBOR shows that China has all the prerequisites to create new international order but it is still too early to claim that China will do so. But China's economic and political power is challenging the role of the US, the EU, Russia and other major powers. It is safe to say that China's real motives behind the OBOR initiative as a foreign policy is very difficult to define. This initiative is very complex and has raised a lot of concerns and scepticism. And to recall that the OBOR, even in its hegemonic aspect, has many dimensions.

Second, this thesis discovered the economic impact of the OBOR initiative. It is clear that China's emphasis on multilateral and bilateral agreements shape the OBOR initiative, which in fact effect on multiple economies around the globe. The OBOR initiative embraces international trade and long-term direct foreign investments as well as flows of national investments in order to boost China's economic and political place in current international environment. China and the neighbouring countries have both benefitted from this initiative's projects as it creates more job vacancies, deepens cooperation and boosts the economies. But as a drawback, this project also creates difficult environment for the developing states. In example, Sri Lanka and dept-trap diplomacy, where China has made huge investments for critical infrastructure points and Sri Lanka does not have the funds to pay back the dept for China anytime soon. In dept-trap diplomacy, the creditor cannot pay off the debt and ends up giving economic or political concessions.

Third, this thesis defined different types of legal challenges which are included in the OBOR initiative and how to avoid this legal issues and disputes. The OBOR initiative also includes different kind of legal and even sometimes illegal investments across borders - one example of them being the Siemens International Trade (Shanghai) Co., Ltd. v. Shanghai Golden Landmark

Co., Ltd. case. To answer my research question about how are disputes that arise within the OBOR project settled and compering the WTO's Dispute Settlement System to Chinese Dispute Settlement system I found out the following.

Both of these dispute settlement systems have positive and negative aspects. WTO has a long history and Since China's accession to the WTO, China has changed from a negative and passive observer to one of the most active participants in the WTO dispute settlement. The China International Commercial Court was established to solve arbitration issues and legal problems arising from the OBOR. But as a drawback, all of the judges in the CICC are Chinese, which makes the international community to consider are these judges to favourable for China. As in the example case, it got critique over that aspect.

To conclude, the OBOR initiative is a massive long-lasting project expanding different continents which has and will have impact on China's position in the world, economy and it will shape the Chinese dispute settlement and other legal environment. This initiative benefits travel industry and increase transportation services, since many of the OBOR projects include railways, ports or roads. It is also a pass way to share knowledge and information and enhances the cooperation among the countries along the OBOR.

The OBOR initiative is an intractable bone of connecting China between states around it and other continents. As the OBOR affects the international community as a whole, the step towards dispute settlement will need to be taken to secure the maintenance of international trade and security, both regionally and globally.

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