One Road One Belt Initiative: China and Poland

Dariusz Filipiak
1(School of Economics/ Shanghai University, Poland)
Corresponding Author: Dariusz Filipiak

Abstract: China aims to be the largest economy in the world. It’s One Road One Belt Initiative is a huge and challenging project and requires certain efforts from China as well as from its trading partners to be completed successfully. It involves building transportation and communication infrastructures. From the perspective of international trade theories, the One Belt One Road Initiative helps to advance and to assist the free trade across borders and destination because without an effective infrastructure with proper cooperation, the economic activities cannot be done. The One Belt One Road Initiative creates more opportunities making international trade more suitable for China and its trading partners. On the other hand, there are risks and concerns about this project; the concern about the low-quality of Chinese construction is one of them. Another is the concern of the multitude country toward the effect of Chinese workers that would come to their country to build and manage infrastructure projects. The goal of this paper was to investigate the determinants of the pattern of bilateral trade flows of Poland with China. In accordance to the research made we may conclude that economic size should cause a positive effect in the situation of Polish market size. Polish market size has a robustly positive impact on the volume of trade.

Keywords: Bilateral Trade, Belt and Road Initiative, International Trade, One Road One Belt, New Silk Road

Date of Submission: 21-05-2019
Date of acceptance: 06-06-2019

I. Introduction

The historical Silk Route was a broad network of different roads and paths connecting China to the Mediterranean Sea. The ancient network was an important trade route for goods like silk, spices, ceramics, gold and glass. Furthermore, it was also used for other purposes, for example missionaries used the roads to spread their religion by talking to the travelers and people living along the route. At the same time some diseases spread by means of this network, which was travelled by a great number of different people. Eventually, the importance of the ancient Silk Road declined as maritime trade came up, leading to a decreased transportation of goods by land, as sea transport formed a faster and more convenient way of transporting goods.

However, recently the Silk Road is of big interest again. A lot of different developments are taking place at the moment, with China making an attempt to revive the historical Silk Road, bringing its variety into the 21st century. The historical Silk Road was very influential in the ancient times as it served as an important trade network. Therefore, the recent attempts of China to revive the Silk Road could have big impacts on the whole world. The fact that there are already more than 100 countries and organizations involved in the initiative supports the assumption that it can influence the world greatly. It can be a reason why the interest in this Chinese initiative has been growing last years, but nevertheless there is still a lot of uncertainty.

1.1 Background of the One Road One Belt Initiative

In September 2013, during his visit to Kazakhstan, the Chinese president Xi Jinping introduced the concept of the Silk Road Economic Belt (SREB). A few month later, China announced that the realization of the Silk Road Economic Belt is going to be a key priority policy before 2020 and the concept of the 21st Century Maritime Silk Road has been declared.

Both the concepts are part of the Chinese government’s initiative plan that is called One Belt, One Road (OBOR) Initiative, later referred to as Belt and Road Initiative (BRI) explains that in September, 2015 the Chinese government decided to change the official English name from One Belt, One Road to Belt and Road Initiative and there were several reasons for that. The most important and obvious reason was the fact that the initiative did not just include One Road and One Belt, but a number of roads and belts. In addition, in 2015 the Chinese government published the official document “Vision and Actions on Jointly Building the Silk Road Economic Belt and 21st-Century Maritime Silk Road”, which aimed at formalizing the Belt and Road Initiative.

Regarding the geographical location of the BRI it should be mentioned that it encompasses two different routes. Firstly, the Silk Road Economic Belt, which should be based on the historical trade routes network of the so-called “old” Silk Road by land and secondly, the 21st Century Maritime Silk Road, which is
going to be a maritime route through the oceans. As a result, the concept exists within the terrestrial and the maritime axe, crossing Asia, Africa and Europe and connecting three different continents with each other. It needs to be stated that the action plan of the Belt and Road Initiative doesn’t stop on these two axes. They are aimed at building the starting point to develop a much broader network between these two main corridors. Giving a deeper look into these main axes, it’s evident that the terrestrial route will comprise China, Mongolia, countries in central Asia, Russia, Iran, Turkey, the countries of the Balkans, countries of Central and Eastern. The connection will be mainly done through the railway lines, as this form is the best way of transportation in comparison with sea and air transportation. The plans for the Maritime Silk Road are to connect Southeast China with Southeast Asia, the countries of Bangladesh and India, the sea of the Persian Gulf and the Mediterranean Sea further until the Netherlands, Germany, Poland.

In 2014, the Silk Road Fund as well as the Asia Infrastructure Investment Bank was established to provide necessary support for the infrastructure construction for relevant countries. A series of steps taken by the Chinese government are sure to bring golden opportunities to the local enterprises to edge into the international world and strive for greater development. Besides, in order to response to Chinese policies, the governments from other countries have also brought out relevant policies to support the investment.

1.2 Poland as a Trading Partner of China

One of the macroeconomic indicators that bring a noticeable effect of economic growth in the given country is trade cooperation. As Benjamin Franklin once said "No Nation was ever ruined by trade". Poland is the largest trading partner of China among all Central and Eastern European countries. In recent years, trade between the People Republic of China and Poland has been steadily increasing. Bilateral trade between Poland and China increased from USD 4.6 billion to USD 29.5 billion in 2004-2017. This means that it has increased more than five and a half times. This is a very fast pace. However, it is worth noting, that it did not take place in a stable manner. During this period, trade turnover decreased three times - in 2009, 2012 and 2015. In the first two cases, this could have been associated with the then economic situation - the financial crisis of 2007-2008 and the crisis of the euro area. The fastest turnover in trade increased in the first years after Poland’s accession to the European Union - from USD 4.6 billion in 2004 to USD 18 billion in 2008. It is almost a fourfold increase over five years.

The growing trade turnover, however did not contribute to the reduction of Poland's trade deficit. On the contrary - it has increased faster than the turnover itself. In the years 2004-2017, Polish export increased from USD 556 million to USD 1.9 billion, or less than three-and-a-half times. At that time, imports from China grew from USD 4 billion to USD 24 billion, so six times. In 2004, Polish exports accounted for around 1/7 of imports from China, in 2005, 1/8, in 2006, 1/10, in 2007 almost 1/12, and in 2008 less than 1/13. The growing trade turnover, however did not contribute to the reduction of Poland's trade deficit. On the contrary - it has increased faster than the turnover itself. In the years 2004-2017, Polish export increased from USD 556 million to USD 1.9 billion, or less than three-and-a-half times. At that time, imports from China grew from USD 4 billion to USD 24 billion, so six times. In 2004, Polish exports accounted for around 1/7 of imports from China, in 2005, 1/8, in 2006, 1/10, in 2007 almost 1/12, and in 2008 less than 1/13. After the crisis, the situation stabilized somewhat and exports remained at around 1/10 of the value of Chinese imports. However, the fall in trade in 2015 caused the return of the growing trend in the disproportion of bilateral trade. At that time, exports accounted for less than 1/11 of the value of imports, and in the following year - less than 1/12. Interestingly, imports from China, despite the fact that they increased dramatically in the entire period discussed, however, decreased in three years. This took place in 2009, 2012 and 2015. Polish exports decreased in 2012 as well as in 2015 and 2017 - twice in a row but Polish deficit in 2004-2017 increased from USD 3.5 billion to USD 24.9 billion, almost 8 times. The detailed values of bilateral trade are presented in the figures 1.
Fig. 1 Bilateral trade between Poland and China in mln USD in 2004-2017


After the accession of the Republic of Poland to the European Union, the importance of trade with China increased in relation to total turnover. This is particularly evident in the field of import. Its share in total Polish imports increased from 5.4% in 2004 to 11.8% in 2017, almost 2 times. In other words, imports from China grew 2.2 times faster than imports from other countries. In contrast, only in one year, its share decreased - in 2011. The share of exports to China in relation to total Polish exports increased, in turn, slightly, by 0.2 percentage point - from 0.7% to 1% in 2017. The largest share reached in the crisis year 2009 - 1.1%. Then its value changed slightly, which did not exceed 0.1 percentage point².

In 2004-2017, the structure of trade with China changed, although not so much as before Poland's accession to the European Union. The continuation of the same trends can be seen. In the case of imports, the most important department according to the SITC categorization was machines and transport equipment. In 2017, the total value of import noted of 7659 mln USD. They definitely are dominant compared to the other products. The second in terms of volume was miscellaneous manufactured articles, which in 2017 reached 3424 mln USD. The third product in terms of volume was manufactured goods classified chiefly by material with total value of 21159 mln USD. The other categories were characterized by trace values.

Export, it is worth paying attention to a rather flexible structure. Its manifestation was relatively large annual changes in the share of particular categories in total exports. Above all, products from the classified mainly by raw material category maintained a strong role. Their share in total exports underwent the most significant fluctuations. The highest value was recorded in 2011 (49.7%), while the lowest in 2016 (30.1%). There was no uniform trend in this case - it happened that from year to year changes could reach up to 10 percentage points. This depended largely on contracts executed by KGHM Polska Miedz SA, the main Polish exporter on the Chinese market. In 2004-2017, the value of products from the category of inedible raw materials with the exception of fuels also fluctuated, although eventually their share increased from 2.7% to 7.5%. In 2017 year in 24% with total value of 679 mln USD³.

The two other categories: there was a significant increase in the share in the structure of Polish exports. The first of them was various industrial products, some of which increased from 2.9% to 14.1%. It happened without large annual fluctuations, but with a gradual arduous increase - only in 2009 there was a decline. The second category, whose importance grew, was food and live animals. Its share in exports will multiply from 0.9% in 2004 to 5.3% in 2016. During this time, four trends have manifested. First, by 2006, increase to 1.8%. Then, within two years, they decline to 0.7% - the lowest level since Poland's accession to the EU. In 2008, however, a strong upward trend started, which reached a 9.4% share in total exports in 2013. Another year is a delicate decline to 9.1%, followed by two years of worse results - 6.7% in 2015 and 5.3% in 2016. It is worth noting that just after signing the strategic partnership in 2011 for two years, the share of Polish exports in the structure of exports doubled every 12 months - first from 1.9% to 4%, and then to 9.4%. When we combine this data with the absolute value of Polish exports, it will turn out that it increased from USD 35.5 million to USD 194.4 million in this period. In the following years, the situation, from the point of view of the agricultural industry, deteriorated. This may have been linked to China's embargo on pork and poultry. This was related to the detection of the African swine fever and avian influenza in Poland. All the data come from Central Statistical Office, Statistical yearbook of foreign trade issue 2005-2017⁴.
The group of products share of which in exports in 2017 is comparable to that of 2004 were machinery, equipment and transport equipment. Their proportion was 34.9% and 37.4%, respectively. At the time, however, it fluctuated a lot, reaching the lowest value in 2007 - 17.4%. From 2012, the share of this category did not fall below 26%. The only department, whose share in total exports over the last dozen or so years has significantly decreased, were chemicals and derivative products. In 2004, they accounted for 21.7% of Polish exports, while by 2017 their share dropped to 7.3%. The value of other categories did not exceed half a percent.

The period after Poland’s accession to the EU was characterized by a dynamic increase in trade with China. Particularly in terms of imports, Warsaw became more and more dependent on Beijing - as many as 12% of products purchased abroad came from the PRC. In the case of exports, its share increased, but only by 0.2 percentage points, to 0.9% of total Polish exports. It is not surprising then that in 2017, China was the second partner for Poland when it comes to import (behind Germany), while in the case of exports it was in the 21st place. These points to a problem that has not only been resolved, but has also been drastically intensified. It is a negative balance in bilateral trade. It grew continuously and reached over USD 29.5 billion in 2017. In this context, a kind of smile on the face may cause reading opinions from the mid-90s, when the deficit of several hundred million USD was considered a big problem. The reality is that no government of the Third Polish Republic has pursued such an economic policy that would lead to its elimination. This was not done despite the growing pressure on contacts with non-European countries after the outbreak of the global crisis in 2007 and the signing of a strategic partnership with China in 2011. It is difficult to predict the future, but there is no indication that the situation would change the establishment of a comprehensive strategic partnership in 2017. The reasons for this state of affairs are to be found in the structure of both economies and other factors affecting the trade turnover - such as the ease of access to the EU market or the relative ignorance of Chinese business culture among Polish entrepreneurs. This does not mean, however, that politicians have no influence on trade. A strong emphasis on the export of agricultural products by Polish politicians is reflected in the statistics. Although in 2015 and 2017 they were no longer so impressive, they still constituted a significant improvement over the situation before the establishment of the strategic partnership.

It is worth starting a debate on new products that could be promoted on the Chinese market. Among the potential Polish hits may be computer games. This is an industry that has made incredible progress in recent years. The first attempts to promote it, including during the China Joy games fair in Shanghai in 2017. The Polish authorities supported Polish artists in this, and the event was attended by, among others, Paweł Lewandowski, Deputy Minister of Culture and National Heritage. Ultimately, however, one should ask whether it is possible in the foreseeable future to reduce the deficit in the trade balance of Poland with China. The current trend is denied. In this case, it may be worth looking for alternative ways to balance economic exchange with China.

In the process of investment in Poland, the country will witness great opportunities, but at the time, will face a lot of cultural challenges (social factors) for Polish people have their own way of doing business and their own cultural conventions. The opportunities and challenges of Poland as a participant of One Road One Belt initiative are still unknown. Those are the reasons why Poland is chosen as the target country of the analysis in this paper.

II. Poland As A Participant Of The One Road One Belt Initiative

Poland is referred to as the “gateway” of Europe. Being the converging point of East Europe and West Europe, Poland plays a significant role in actively establishing cooperative relationship among countries along the route. It is the only country in Europe whose economy keeps developing during the last 20 years with a high growth rate of annual GDP, which has laid a solid foundation for the cooperation between two countries. In 2011, Poland and China has established Strategic Partnership and now it becomes the biggest trade partner of China in Central and Eastern Europe; China, at the same time, is Poland’s biggest trade partner in Asia, all of which has demonstrated the sound development momentum between two countries.

Five years ago, China proposed the Belt and Road Initiative (BRI), aiming to build a trade and infrastructure network connecting Asia with Europe and Africa along the ancient Silk Road trade routes. According to the newest research paper published in 2018 by Nordin and Weissmann the Belt and Road Initiative consists of a network of overland routes and railways, oils and natural gas pipelines and power grids. The researchers argue that China is keen to build a Sino-centric world order based on a networked capitalism. Chinese author Zhai in 2018 describes that China puts big effort investing money in the countries along the One Belt One Road. Invested money reaches from US $ 1.4 trillion up to US $ 6 trillion. Vangeli in his paper (2017) studied China’s relationship with the 16 countries of Central, East and Southeast Europe under the Belt and Road Initiative. The Initiative is about to bring a global political economic paradigm shifts and its spirit will be central in determining the bilateral regional relationship.

Poland joined this historic project and intends to play an active part in it. Local economists perceive it as an opportunity to accelerate the economic growth. For Chinese strategists, Poland, due to its geographical
location, is a key country on the renewed cross-Asian road. Poland can become a gate to Western Europe. Stanislaw Niewinski's article published in 2016 under the title “Poland on the Silk Road - chances, myths and threats”\textsuperscript{10} states that increasing the presence of Chinese capital in Poland may lead to a reduction in the economic dominance of the West over Poland and create better conditions for Polish business. Furthermore, Jakub Jakubowski, Konrad Poplawski and Marcin Kaczynski in their research paper entitled “The Railway Silk Road”\textsuperscript{11} in 2018 conclude that improving railway transport and enabling the transport of goods on a larger scale is not only an opportunity because it creates new jobs, develops infrastructure but also a threat, because we have to take into account the increase in Europe’s imports from Southeast Asia. Magdalena Stoszek in her article “Feature: Belt and Road Initiative helps Poland be a European transportation hub”\textsuperscript{12} provides some examples of the opportunities for Poland participating in the initiative. She states that under the initiative, a railway service was launched, linking the Chinese city of Chengdu with Lodz in central Poland. Today, it has become not only a popular logistics route for China to trade with Europe, but also the fastest direct freight route between the two sides. The service has also boosted the development of the Polish transport and logistics industry. Marcin Dobruchowski, president of Spedcont, a Polish company which operates a cargo terminal in Lodz mentions that the Belt and Road Initiative certainly had a positive impact on the development of the entire Polish TSL (Transport-Spedition-Logistics) sector as well as many companies -- including their company\textsuperscript{13}. Another example provided by Magdalena Stoszek is PKP Cargo, which is making similar changes to meet the development of rail freight transport between China and Poland within the next few years. PKP operates the Malaszewicz Logistics Center, one of the largest railway terminals in Europe. Around 60 percent of the center’s capacity is being utilized now. In 2026, its capacity will increase almost four times. The company is now systematically increasing its reloading capacity and implementing a long-term investment program. According to the words of Czesław Warszewicz, chief executive officer of the company, the dynamic growth of transportation within the BRI has stimulated the development of Polish logistics companies, both in terms of potential and optimization of the transport process and border procedures and in future, more detailed agreements regarding the development of transport within the One Belt One Road will be signed.

The increased investment activity of Chinese companies on the markets of the countries covered by the One Road One Belt project also entails numerous problems and challenges for countries receiving inflowing capital. In contrast to the mentioned above researchers, Casarini (2015) expresses concerns about the whole initiative. She states that Chinese companies could form a threat for the European economy by selling goods much cheaper on the European market than European companies can do. European countries therefore could not be able to compete with Chinese companies anymore, which would result in big losses of jobs. The BRI thus could have big influences on European people and also on European companies. These influences could pack out positive as well as negative. Therefore, it is important to get to know more about the possible consequences of this Chinese initiative. If there is more certainty about which effects are more possible and which effects are less possible, governments can give special attention to expected developments. That would give governments the possibility to influence developments, before it is too late\textsuperscript{14}.

Karolina Lopacinśka in her paper “One Belt One Road as an expression of global expansion of China”\textsuperscript{15} (2017) pays attention to the risks arising from the project. The paper points to the social reluctance of those countries covered by the OROB initiative, additionally intensified by the so-called dumping, i.e. selling Chinese goods on foreign markets at prices lower than the prices at which these goods are sold on the domestic market, or at prices lower than their production costs. In this way, Chinese companies contribute to the creation of unfair competition on foreign markets, and thus weaken the position of companies offering the same goods in these markets. In extreme cases, this may lead to a crisis in European sectors, whereas in a mild dimension it may trigger local protests and contribute to the intensification of the lobbying activities of European enterprises. Second threat that the author emphasizes is a fear that as part of the implementation of the adopted model for the development of the Middle Kingdom economy Chinese investors will liquidate the acquired European companies and transfer assets of strategic importance from Europe to China. Analyzing the existing agreements established by Chinese companies not only on the European market, but also around the world, it can be seen that investors tend to buy more production volume and increase employment in acquired companies, trying to use their experience, technology and prestige, rather than focus on the liquidation of acquired enterprises.

The concerns of European countries are primarily related to the different approach of Chinese companies to the allocation of resources and investment risk management. In China, they depend on the applied model of state capitalism and not on the principles of the market mechanism. In turn, this results in disruption of the free market competition rules in force in Europe. The decisions of Chinese investors are therefore less predictable and raise concerns about their impact on the course of investments.

Additional factors distorting competition in the future are related to the presence in Europe of Chinese state conglomerates, which by their domination may threaten oligopolisation of the European market. For this reason, all Chinese state-owned companies that are in the control of the State Commission for Asset and Administrative Supervision (SASAC) are perceived by the European Union authorities as a single economic
entity, and its performance depends on its total market share (European Commission, 2011). Analyzing the increased investment expansion of Chinese companies in the countries covered by the Silk Road, cultural phenomena are a particular challenge, because Chinese managers often lack adequate experience and preparation for establishing business agreements with partners from other cultural backgrounds. The lack of such preparation, from appropriate knowledge of English, to reliable preparation of details of the transaction itself, makes it impossible to build lasting relationships and develop the investment activity of companies.

In accordance with Hanemann (2012) to avoid the threat of objects of strategic importance, European countries are beginning to apply the policy of economic protectionism. There is no doubt that the threat to European partners will increase as the biggest weaknesses in Chinese business operations are eliminated. However, before this happens, investing in the development of the acquired companies on the European market is in the best interest of the People Republic of China.

According to experts, a great challenge is also the practical application of the regulations in force in the European Union and other regions covered by the One Belt One Road Initiative, concerning intellectual value, environmental protection or employee rights. Clear differences, both in the corporate culture of enterprises and in the way they run their business activities, can therefore be a source of high tensions between management staff coming from Chinese companies and employees of companies in these countries, as well as customers, suppliers, financial institutions, authorities and other entities external environment of companies (Shambaugh, 2011).

In addition to the challenges faced by the countries that accept Chinese capital, experts also stress the challenges China is facing in the course of its expansion and implementation of such an ambitious project as One Belt One Road. In particular, the risk associated with engaging in cost-intensive investments with a low rate of return and the risk of diplomatic repercussions as a result of investing in uncertain and even perceived as potentially hostile areas is emphasized (Niewienki S., 2016). The same author also indicates that the project is aimed at American domination. For this reason, the Americans are ready to do very much to put this project to a halt - perhaps even with the military option as a last resort.

Increased activity of Chinese enterprises on the markets of European countries and around the world as part of the implementation of the One Belt One Road initiative will contribute to the increase in the scale of direct foreign investments in these markets and the related inflow of new capital. By creating links with global value chains and export markets, it is anticipated that One Belt One Road will contribute to an increase in expenditures on research and development activities, creation of development clusters and improvement of employees’ qualifications. In addition, the scale and growth rate and complementarity of the Chinese economy create unique development opportunities for the economies of the New Silk Road. However, it should be remembered that the nature of the economic and political system of China may give rise to some concerns and challenges for partner countries, including the European market. As an emerging market with China's financial system still not fully stable, it may expose Poland where it invests in volatility and instability of capital flows. In addition, there is a risk of bad practices diffusing into One Belt One Road countries where Chinese investments are located.

III. Significance Of The Study

After analyzing the theoretical background on the given topic it can be concluded that literature review shows that there already exist some articles about the opportunities and threats of Central and Eastern European Countries participating in the China’s One Road One Belt initiative. Nevertheless, the analyzed papers and articles show that the topic still remains ambiguous. The main reason of this fact is because the issue is quite recent. In 2013 the plans for the initiative have been officially announced by Chinese president Xi Jinping. So, the limitation of time lead to the fact that there have not been done much research on this specific issue. Due to this, there is a lot of uncertainty about what exactly will happen and what the opportunities and threats for Poland are. This can also be proved by the literature that already exists. The literature is not consistent enough and authors disagree with each other on different problems and the descriptions of the project. Firstly, that has to do with the complexity of the whole initiative. As it is said, the project is not just about infrastructure, but includes a much more aspects, like economic and political issues (Huang, 2016). Secondly, one more influential point is that a lot of literature is written in Chinese, which means that it is not accessible for everybody. The problem of linguistic barrier makes the research for people more even more complicated. Moreover, the already existing literature is mostly about the project itself, with the focus on China and the reasons for implementing this strategy and its benefits. Over the implications for Europe, with regard to Poland, there is not much written in the scientific literature, which means that there is not a lot of knowledge about this specific topic until now. The situation on the opportunities and threats for Poland in participating in the China’s One Road One Belt initiative still remains an Achilles’ heel in the economy.
IV. Conclusion

The One Road One Belt concept is probably the most ambitious geopolitical and geo-economic project carried out today. Beijing will implement this project, it can make the 21st century the epoch of its dominance. However, any very ambitious programs have the problem that they are also extremely risky. The One Belt, One Road project is to be realized by 2049, the centenary of the proclamation of the People's Republic of China. It is perceived by China as the main foreign policy venture initiated by Xi Jinping. The assumption is to increase trade, expand Chinese influence in its area, accelerate the modernization of the western provinces of the PRC and at least partially make China independent of sea transport. This initiative has the potential that can completely change the political and economic architecture of the globe. China is creating the New Silk Road primarily for its own benefit. Of course, many countries can gain from this project. In this and Poland. However, the profits of third countries in this project are a concern for these countries. Beijing is focused on realizing its own interests. Thanks to this project, Chinese concerns will be able to increase their influence on other markets. Remember that by joining the concepts of One Belt, One Road, we get access to the Chinese market, but we also enable Chinese companies to expand into Poland. We are committed to using this opportunity to become independent of the West.

References

[7]. Nordin, A. H. M., Weissmann, M, Will Trump Make China Great Again? The Belt and Road Initiative and International Order, International Affairs, 2018, 94(2), 231-249
[9]. Vangeli, A, China s Engagement with the Sixteen Countries of Central, East and Southeast Europe under the Belt and Road Initiative, China & World Economy, 2017, 25(5), 101-124
[10]. Niewinski S., Poland on the Silk Road – chances, myths and threats, article for Center of the studies Poland-Asia 2016
[12]. Stoczek M., Feature: Belt and Road Initiative helps Poland be a European transportation hub, Article for Forsal, 2018
[13]. Dobruchowski M, More and more traffic on the Silk Road, Article for PESA, 2018
[14]. Casarini N, Is Europe to Benefit from China’s Belt and Road Initiative?, International Affair Institute , IAI Working Papers, 2015
[15]. Lopacinska K., One Road One Belt as an expression of global expansion of China, University of Economics in Wroclaw, MA, Wroclaw, 2017
[16]. Hanemann T, China invests in Europe: patterns, impacts and policy issues, Rhodium Group 2012
[17]. Shambaugh D, Charting China’s Future Routledge, 2011
[18]. Huang, Y., Understanding China's Belt & Road Initiative: Motivation, Framework and Assessment, China Economic Review, 2016