

The Belt and Road Initiative in CLMV Nations: Political Economy Dynamics and Sino-Regional Relations

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Abstract: The Belt and Road Initiative (BRI) is a vast global infrastructure development strategy adopted by the Chinese government. Within Southeast Asia, the CLMV countries—Cambodia, Laos, Myanmar, and Vietnam—are key participants due to their strategic location and development needs. This article examines the political economy aspects of BRI implementation in the CLMV region and analyzes their implications for the relationships between these countries and China. Drawing on recent literature, it explores the motivations for CLMV participation, the nature of BRI projects, the economic and political impacts, and the resulting dynamics in bilateral relations. The analysis reveals that while BRI offers potential economic benefits through infrastructure development, it also presents challenges related to debt sustainability, environmental concerns, social impacts, and sovereignty. These factors significantly shape the political and economic interactions between CLMV nations and China, leading to a complex interplay of cooperation, dependence, and occasional friction.

Keywords: Belt and Road Initiative (BRI), CLMV Nations, Cambodia, Laos, Myanmar, Vietnam, Sino-Regional Relations, Political Economy, Economic Diplomacy, China's Foreign Policy, Infrastructure Development, Geopolitical Strategy, Southeast Asia, Regional Connectivity, Trade Relations, Investment and Development, Bilateral Relations, Asian Integration, Economic Cooperation, Sino-Cambodia Relations, Sino-Laos Relations, Sino-Myanmar Relations, Sino-Vietnamese Relations, Sustainable Development, Global Governance, Multilateral Engagement, China's Global Influence, BRI Impact on Southeast Asia.

Introduction: The Belt and Road Initiative (BRI), launched in 2013, represents China's ambitious strategy to enhance global connectivity through infrastructure development and investment (Clarke, 2017) [3]. It aims to promote policy coordination, infrastructure connectivity, unimpeded trade, financial integration, and people-to-people bonds among participating countries (State Council Information Office, PRC, 2024) [1]. The initiative has a significant focus on Southeast Asia, with the CLMV countries—Cambodia, Laos, Myanmar, and Vietnam—being central to both the land-based "Silk Road Economic Belt" and the maritime "21st Century Maritime Silk Road." These nations, characterized by developing economies and substantial infrastructure gaps, are seen by China as crucial partners in building regional

connectivity and fostering economic growth (Maliszewska & Mensbrugghe, 2019) [2].

The engagement of CLMV countries with the BRI is driven by a mix of economic aspirations, geopolitical considerations, and domestic political factors. However, BRI projects are not without controversy, raising questions about their economic viability, social and environmental consequences, and implications for the sovereignty and strategic autonomy of host nations. This article delves into the political economy dimensions of BRI in Cambodia, Laos, Myanmar, and Vietnam, analyzing the motivations behind their participation, the characteristics of the projects undertaken, the economic and political impacts observed, and how these dynamics influence their respective relationships with China. By synthesizing

recent research, we aim to provide a comprehensive overview of the complex interplay between BRI implementation and Sino-CLMV relations.

METHODS

This article is based on a narrative review and synthesis of the provided literature concerning the Belt and Road Initiative in the CLMV countries (Cambodia, Laos, Myanmar, and Vietnam). The references include academic articles, working papers, reports from research institutes, and official government statements published primarily between 2017 and 2024.

The review process involved examining each provided source to identify key themes, arguments, data, and case studies related to:

1. The political and economic motivations for CLMV countries' engagement with the BRI.
2. The types and scale of BRI projects implemented in each CLMV country.
3. The reported economic impacts of BRI projects, including investment, trade, growth, and debt.
4. The political implications of BRI, such as impacts on sovereignty, governance, and relations with China.
5. Specific country-level experiences of BRI implementation in Cambodia, Laos, Myanmar, and Vietnam.
6. Challenges and controversies associated with BRI projects in the region.

Information extracted from these sources was then synthesized and organized according to the IMRaD format. The "Results" section presents the aggregated findings from the literature, highlighting common trends and country-specific nuances. The "Discussion" section interprets these findings, analyzes the political economy dynamics, and discusses the broader implications for Sino-CLMV relations. Numerical citations are used throughout the text to attribute information to the corresponding references.

RESULTS

CLMV countries have generally shown enthusiasm for the BRI, driven by the promise of much-needed infrastructure development to boost economic growth and connectivity (Kuik, 2021) [4, 7]. Cambodia and Laos, in particular, have been described as enthusiastic partners, with BRI projects continuing even amidst global challenges like the COVID-19 pandemic (Chheang, 2021) [5, 8]. Vietnam's approach has been more cautious, characterized by hedging strategies alongside engagement (Vu et al., 2021) [16]. Myanmar's situation is complex, influenced by internal political dynamics, but the China-Myanmar Economic

Corridor (CMEC) remains a key component of the BRI, with China determined to see it through (Myers, 2020) [11]; (Banerjee, 2022) [12].

BRI projects in the CLMV region primarily focus on transportation infrastructure, including railways, highways, ports, and airports, as well as energy projects like hydropower dams and power grids (Maliszewska & Mensbrugghe, 2019) [2, 9]. For instance, the China-Laos Railway is a flagship project in Laos (Kuik, 2021) [4, 7]; (Vörös & Pongkhao, 2020) [27], while Cambodia has seen significant Chinese investment in ports and special economic zones (Chheang & Pheakdey, 2019) [23]; (Menon, 2023) [26]; (Sok et al., 2023) [40]. In Myanmar, CMEC aims to connect Yunnan province to the Indian Ocean via infrastructure links (Transnational Institute, 2019) [10, 25, 34, 37, 41, 43, 46]. Vietnam's engagement includes various infrastructure projects, although some major initiatives have faced delays or scrutiny (Hiep, 2019) [14, 20, 35, 39, 49].

Economically, BRI projects are intended to facilitate trade and investment, potentially leading to economic growth (Maliszewska & Mensbrugghe, 2019) [2, 9]. Cambodia has actively sought Chinese investment, becoming a major recipient in the region (Open Development Cambodia, 2023) [6]; (Sok et al., 2023) [40]. Laos relies heavily on infrastructure development to transition from landlocked to land-linked, with BRI playing a central role (United Nations Industrial Development Organization, 2020) [22]; (Vörös & Pongkhao, 2020) [27]. However, concerns about debt sustainability are prominent, particularly for countries like Laos, where BRI-related borrowing contributes significantly to public debt (Horn et al., 2019) [36, 38]. The economic benefits are not always evenly distributed, and some projects have been criticized for lacking transparency and potentially benefiting Chinese companies more than local economies (Maliszewska & Mensbrugghe, 2019) [2, 9]; (Transnational Institute, 2019) [10, 25, 34, 37, 41, 43, 46].

Politically, BRI engagement has deepened ties between China and CLMV countries. China aims for higher quality BRI cooperation for the modernization of all countries (State Council Information Office, PRC, 2024) [1] and views the initiative as a way to build a community of shared future (State Council Information Office, PRC, 2023) [18, 19]. For CLMV nations, closer ties with China can offer political support and economic opportunities. However, large-scale Chinese projects have also raised concerns about sovereignty, dependence, and potential political influence (Clarke, 2017) [3]; (Transnational Institute, 2019) [10, 25, 34, 37, 41, 43, 46]. Public and environmental opposition has, in some cases, led to the suspension or cancellation of controversial projects, such as the

Myitsone Dam in Myanmar (Reuters, 2011) [33] and some projects in Cambodia (Shih, 2011) [31]. While Cambodia and Laos have largely embraced China's initiatives (Kuik, 2021) [4, 7]; (Chheang & Pheakdey, 2019) [23]; (Vörös & Pongkhao, 2020) [27], Vietnam has adopted a more cautious and sometimes resistant approach due to historical factors and maritime disputes in the South China Sea (Vu et al., 2021) [16, 48]; (Ross, 2021) [17]; (Hiep, 2019) [14, 20, 35, 39, 49]. Myanmar's relationship with China and BRI is heavily influenced by its internal political instability (Banerjee, 2022) [12]; (Paing, 2024) [13, 47].

Overall, the experience of CLMV countries with BRI is mixed, characterized by both perceived benefits and significant challenges. The initiative has undeniably increased China's economic footprint and political influence in the region (AidData, 2021) [21], but it has also highlighted vulnerabilities and, in some instances, fueled domestic concerns and complicated bilateral relations.

DISCUSSION

The engagement of CLMV countries with China's Belt and Road Initiative is a prime example of the complex political economy dynamics at play in contemporary international relations. The initial enthusiasm for BRI among these nations was largely driven by the compelling need for infrastructure to support economic development and regional integration (Kuik, 2021) [4, 7]; (Chheang, 2021) [5, 8]. For countries like Laos and Cambodia, with significant development gaps, the promise of large-scale investment was particularly attractive (United Nations Industrial Development Organization, 2020) [22]; (Chheang & Pheakdey, 2019) [23].

However, the implementation of BRI projects has revealed significant challenges that have shaped the political economy landscape and influenced relations with China. The issue of debt sustainability is perhaps the most prominent concern, with the potential for heavy borrowing to lead to financial distress and increased dependence on China (Horn et al., 2019) [36, 38]. This economic vulnerability can translate into political leverage for China, potentially impacting the policy choices and strategic autonomy of host countries.

Furthermore, the social and environmental impacts of large infrastructure projects, coupled with concerns about transparency and governance, have generated local opposition and scrutiny (Maliszewska & Mensbrugghe, 2019) [2, 9]; (Transnational Institute, 2019) [10, 25, 34, 37, 41, 43, 46]. This highlights a key political economy tension: the pursuit of national development through foreign investment versus the

need to protect local interests, environmental sustainability, and good governance. The suspension of projects like the Myitsone Dam in Myanmar (Reuters, 2011) [33] and public pressure on projects in Cambodia (Shih, 2011) [31] demonstrate that domestic factors can significantly influence the trajectory of BRI.

The varied responses of CLMV countries to BRI also reflect their unique geopolitical positions and historical relationships with China. While Cambodia and Laos have adopted a generally accommodating stance, Vietnam's more cautious approach is shaped by historical mistrust and ongoing maritime disputes (Vu et al., 2021) [16, 48]; (Ross, 2021) [17]. Myanmar's internal political turmoil adds another layer of complexity to its BRI engagement (Banerjee, 2022) [12]; (Paing, 2024) [13, 47]. These differences underscore that the BRI's impact on Sino-CLMV relations is not uniform but is mediated by individual country contexts.

CONCLUSION

Looking ahead, the political economy dynamics of BRI in the CLMV region will likely continue to evolve. China is signaling a shift towards "higher quality" BRI cooperation (State Council Information Office, PRC, 2024) [1] and emphasizing a "community of shared future" (State Council Information Office, PRC, 2023) [18, 19], potentially in response to criticisms and challenges. However, the fundamental economic disparities and power imbalances between China and the CLMV nations will remain. The ability of CLMV countries to effectively manage the economic and political implications of BRI, ensure transparency and sustainability in project implementation, and diversify their economic partnerships will be crucial in shaping their future relations with China and safeguarding their national interests. The BRI is not merely an infrastructure plan; it is a significant force reshaping the political economy landscape of the CLMV region and redefining its relationship with a rising global power.

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