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The New Silk Road as a crisis of the value of globalization

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The purpose of the text is to check whether the New Silk Road idea is a symptom or the result of the globalization crisis. The New Silk Road is a new international initiative designed and implemented in various parts of the world. I point to the main ideas and values accompanying these initiatives. I also compare them with the ideas and values of current globalization. I come to the conclusion that the Idea of the New Silk Road is a symptom and the effect of the globalization crisis in its present shape, in which the USA plays a central role. It does not indicate the crisis of the value of the idea of globality. It is a manifestation of her different understanding. It is an affirmation of such values and postulates as diversity, contact with alterity, peaceful coexistence and even action for the mutual benefit of people of different cultures, countries, sides of the world, even those far away from each other.

Keywords: New Silk Road, globalization, values

Introduction

In this paper, I want to address the idea of the New Silk Road and to explore in what sense this idea can be viewed as a symptom or an effect of a crisis of globalisation values. One of my concerns is also whether the values of the New

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Silk Road can serve as an alternative to globalisation values and, if so, what kind of an alternative they offer. In examining this, I will attend only to a few selected values – new, old and re-interpreted old ones.

The New Silk Road designates an array of international initiatives launched over a dozen or so years now by countries, companies, private individuals and various organisations in spheres as wide apart as communications, trade, banking, diplomacy, tourism, museum enterprises, culture and many others[1]. As these projects involve various regions of Asia, Europe, Africa, both Americas and Australia, some authors proclaim that a new "silk" world order – or a new "silk" globalisation – is in the making. This order – or globalisation – is to be, or simply already is, an alternative to the globalisation pattern now in place and its concomitant global order[2].

Yuriy Tavrovskiy discusses the "financial and political hierarchy of 'globalisation' with the US at the very top" and contrasts it with the emerging "world model of development which is horizontal rather than vertical"[3]. Peimin Ni refers to his words and repeats emphatically that the "new order is 'not vertical, but horizontal.' Unlike the old model which is structured on the basis of economic and military power with the ones who have the strongest muscle at the top of the pyramid, the new world order is multilateral"[4]. Let us explain this difference. Globalisation as we have known it so far with and the global order associated with it are viewed as monocentric, with the United States as the world's major superpower. The emergent globalisation and its "silk" order are supposed to be multicentric. This difference is connected with another one. Monocentricity entails unilateralism, in which one country plays the key role in shaping the world.

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[1] Cf. A. Nobis, *A Short Guide to the New Silk Road. International Relations in Asia, Africa and Americas: Politics, Economy, Society – Transdisciplinary Perspectives*, vol. 2, Peter Lang, Berlin 2018.

[2] P. Ni, *The Underlying Philosophy and Impact of the New Silk Road World Order*, WPF Dialogue of Civilizations, http://wpfdc.org/blog/politics/19534-the-underlying-philosophyand-impact-of-the-new-silk-road-world-order [accessed 18 Feb. 2016]; M. Kaczmarski, *Silk Globalisation: China's Vision of International Order*, OSW,
https://www.osw.waw.pl/en/publikacje/point-view/2016-10-10/silk-globalisation-chinas-vision-international-order [accessed18 Sept.2017]; A. Nobis, *Nowy Jedwabny Szlak: nowa globalizacja?*, "The Polish Journal of the Arts and Culture. New Series" 2016, no. 4.

[3] Y. Tavrovskiy, *Novyye melodii »Shelkovogo puti«* ,http://russian.people.com.cn /n/2015/0716/c95181-8921285.html [accessed 18 Sept. 2017].

[4] P. Ni, *Underlying Philosophy…*,*op. cit.*, p. 3.

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Multicentricity involves multilateralism, where key decisions are made by many countries rather by one country only. Monocentricity and unilateralism combined produce a hierarchical, vertical, top-down world order with the US at the pinnacle of the global power ladder, its major allies occupying the lower rungs, the allies' allies placed lower still, etc. Multicentricity and multilateralism generate a horizontal, level global order, resulting from agreements and negotiations of several countries from various parts of the world.

Importantly, there are two related, but different issues at stake here. The status quo as we know it is one thing. In analysing it, we ask what the existing order is like, whether a new one has already emerged, or is perhaps emerging, and what its nature is. Another thing is what values and ideal principles are, or should be, embodied in these order. This is not only the matter of prescripts which sometimes differ from reality. It is also the matter of enactment: even if one or another value is enacted in this or that behaviour, the behaviour and the value remain two different things. In this context, we can distinguish the real from the ideal. Yet, we cannot separate the two, either, in our analyses or in reality. Behaviours exist as enactments of values, and values exist as that which is enacted.

The main purpose of this text is to analyse the meanings and values attributed to the New Silk Road and to determine whether these new values and meanings can be treated as heralding a crisis of meanings and values associated with the current globalisation. Establishing whether the New Silk Roads and the current globalisation realise the meanings and values assigned to them is beyond the scope of this text. Such studies can be found in other publications. The New Silk Roads are mostly activities at the initial stage of implementation or even only the projects. Perhaps that is why they are very challenging to analyse[5]. The previous globalisation invited many more critical analyses from different theoretical and ideological perspectives[6]. Inceptive

[5] M. Kaczmarski, *Silk Globalisation: China's Vision of International Order*, OSW, https://www.osw.waw.pl/en/publikacje/point-view/2016-10-10/silk-globalisation-chinas-vision-international-order [accessed 18 Sept. 2017]. A. Nobis, *A Short Guide to the New Silk Road*, *op. cit.*; J. Szczudlik-Tatar, *China's New Silk Road diplomacy*, "Policy Paper" 2013, no. 32.

[6] R. Duncan, *The New Depression: The Breakdown of the Paper Money Economy*, John Wiley & Sons, Singapore 2012; B. Eichengreen, *Exorbitant Privilege: The Rise and Fall of the Dollar and the Future of the International Monetary System*, Oxford University Press, Oxford 2011; D. Graeber, *Debt*, Melville House, London 2012; T. Sedláček, *Economics of Good and Evil: The Quest for Economic Meaning from Gilgamesh to Wall Street*, Oxford University Press, Oxford 2013; J. E. Stiglitz, *The*

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comparative studies of the New Silk Road projects and the current globalisation are also available[7].

Harmony and imbalance

Analysing China's projects and undertakings of the New Silk Road, Peimin Ni foregrounds two formulations often reiterated by President of the People's Republic of China Jinping Xi: "*mingyun gongtongti* 命运共同体– community of shared destiny" and "*hezuogongyin* 合作共赢– cooperation and co-prosperity"[8]. *Vision and Actions on Jointly Building Silk Road Economic Belt and 21st-Century Maritime Silk Road*(V&A),[9] the chief Chinese document pertaining to the New Silk Road, features "cooperation" on 130 occasions. In his study, Peimin Ni explains: "If we are a community of shared destiny, then we have no option but to cooperate with each other. […] This philosophical insight is deeply rooted in the traditional Chinese culture"[10]. Specifically, the author points to the Confucian ideal of Grand Harmony in this context.

According to some Chinese scholars, harmony and other values included in the Chinese document are universal and can complement, rather than replace, the American values currently prevailing in international politics. Others insist that "the concepts of harmonious society and harmonious world could provide an alternative to Western values"[11]. Angang Hu believes that the Chinese idea of harmonious society is "more influential and alluring than American democracy and human rights"[12]. The Silk Road International Arts Festival held in Xi'an aims, symptomatically, to disseminate harmony in the world as a "valuable idea of

Roaring Nineties: A New History of the World's Most Prosperous Decade, W. W. Norton & Company, New York 2004; R. Wade, *Financial regime change?*, "New Left Review" 2008, no. 54.

[7] A. Nobis, *The New Silk Road, old concepts of globalization, and new questions*, "Open Cultural Studies" 2017, no. 1, https://www.degruyter.com/downloadpdf/j/culture.2017.1.issue-1/culture-2017-0019/culture-2017-0019.pdf [accessed 23 Jul. 2018].

[8] P. Ni, *Underlying…*, *op. cit.*, p. 4.

[9] *Vision and Actions on Jointly Building Silk Road Economic Belt and 21st-Century Maritime Silk Road*, http://en.ndrc.gov.cn/newsrelease/201503/t20150330_669367.html[Accessed 19 Sept.2017].

[10] P. Ni, *Underlying the Philosophy…*, *op. cit.*, p. 4.

[11] B. S. Glaser and M. E. Murphy, *Soft power with Chinese characteristics*, CSIS, 10 March 2009, https://www.csis.org/analysis/soft-power-chinese-characteristics [accessed: 20Sept. 2017].

[12] *Ibidem*.

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Chinese culture"[13]. What is this harmony and what does its attractiveness reside in?

In this context, harmony means balance in a few senses of the term. When V&A states that the initiative aims at a "balanced and sustainable development" of the countries involved in it, what is meant is the long-lasting development of the economy coupled with corresponding changes in society, culture and the environment. Balance means also grounding international undertakings on the "win-win" principle, with all the involved parties benefiting from joint actions. When Alice Ekman writes that the project aims to build "a balanced […] cooperation architecture"[14], she refers not only to sharing the profits but also to shared decision-making, which amounts to the community of prosperity and power. David Cohen quotes Chinese Minister of Foreign Affairs Yi Wang, who claims that "Western economies, and mainly the US, were responsible for the global economic and political imbalances that led to the global financial crisis. China should work to 'rebalance' (再平衡, *zaipingheng*) these imbalances through the OBOR"[15]. Here balance designates the opposite of global differences which caused global crises. These differences include an economic imbalance, where some countries have a huge debt while the capital is amassed by other ones. The wealth of some countries goes hand in hand with the poverty of other ones. Some regions develop robustly whereas other ones remain disadvantaged. There is also a political imbalance, where decisions affecting the entire world are made by one country alone or with its few closest allies.

The balance and harmony of the New Silk World tends to be juxtaposed with inequalities and irregularities that plague in the existing order. Peimin Ni citing the example of a new international bank founded on China's initiative observes that although "China is taking a leading role in the establishment of the AIIB and it holds an overwhelming 30% of voting share, it offered to forgo veto power at the AIIB to ensure that no single country can dictate decision-making at the new bank. This is in stark contrast to the long-standing practice at the World Bank and

[13] *The Silk Road International Arts Festival*; http://www.silkroadart.net/en/index.aspx [accessed 20 Sept. 2017].

[14] A. Ekman, *China: Reshaping the global order?,* "Alert. ISS EU" 2015, no. 39, http://www.iss.europa.eu/publications/detail/article/china-reshaping-the-global-order [accessed20 Sept. 2017].

[15] D. Cohen, *China's 'second opening': Grand ambitions but a long road ahead*, "China Analysis", June 2005.

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IMF (International Monetary Fund), in which the US retains the only veto power despite holding less than 20% of voting shares […]. It is interesting that a country tainted with the reputation of lacking democracy is advocating a trend of global democracy, while the country proud of its democracy is now haunted by the image of being hegemonic in the world"[16]. The author contrasts the rules in place with the new principles. On the one hand, there is hegemony, leadership and US alliances based on it. On the other hand, there is "dialogue, partnership and cooperation" of many countries with decisions based on international negotiations and agreements. When describing China's project of building the New Silk World, Yuriy Kulintsev uses a music metaphor to explain that "it is not China's solo, but a symphony performed by the interested countries"[17]. Founding international cooperation on the "win-win" principle, which means that all the engaged parties will benefit from it, is supposed to foster a new global order in which prosperity and development will also be global goods and, consequently, no participating country will be marginalised or excluded. In this spirit, Nake Kamrany discusses "Sharing Global Prosperity Through Connectivity of the Silk Route Countries"[18], and President of the PRC Jinping Xi declared in his speech at Astana's Nursultan Nazarbayev University: "This will be a great undertaking benefitting the people of all countries along the route"[19]. When Michael Billington states: "Today it is the concept of Harmony introduced by Confucius (551–479 BC) which is inspiring China to offer 'win-win' cooperation among all nations in great infrastructure projects of benefit to all mankind, "he may be referring to the harmonious balance of global prosperity and balanced harmony in international relations, which Yuryi Kulintsew calls a symphony.

[16] P. Ni, *Underlying the Philosophy…*, *op. cit.*, p. 3.

[17] Yu. Kulintsev, *"Odinpoyas– odinput": initsiativa s kitayskoy spetsifikoy*, Rossiyskiy sovet po mezhdunarodnym delam, http://russiancouncil.ru/blogs/riacexperts/31461/ [accessed 20 Sept.2017].

[18] N. M. Kamrany, *China's new world order: Sharing global prosperity through connectivity of the Silk Route countries*, "The World Post", 3 June 2015, www.huffingtonpost.com/nake-m-kamrany [accessed 20 Sept.2017].

[19] J. Xi, *Promote Friendship Between Our People and Work Together to Build a Bright Future*, http://www.fmprc.gov.cn/mfa_eng/wjdt_665385/zyjh_665391/t1078088.shtml [accessed 22 June 2017].

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Diversity and universalism

The issues discussed above are associated with the notion of diversity. V&A announces that the project of the New Silk World is inscribed in "the trend towards a multipolar world" and "cultural diversity". Additionally, "it advocates tolerance among civilizations, respects the paths and modes of development chosen by different countries, and supports dialogues among different civilizations on the principles of seeking common ground while shelving differences and drawing on each other's strengths, so that all countries can coexist in peace for common prosperity". Irene Cheng explains that Eduard Shevardnadze viewed the "Great Silk Road" not only as an economic expediency but also as the "route of tolerance"[20]. Helga Zepp LaRouche considers the Chinese project to offer a "new model of cooperation among the nations of the world". The countries involved in it "must nonetheless respect the different levels of development, history, culture, and social systems, and above all, respect national sovereignty. That is Cusa's idea of unity in multiplicity, and it must be inspired by a tender love for the idea of the community of nations"[21]. In his address to the UN General Assembly in New York, Jinping Xi said: "We should, increase inter-civilization exchanges to promote harmony, inclusiveness and respect for differences. The world is simply more colorful as a result of its cultural diversity. Diversity breeds exchanges, exchanges create integration, and integration makes progress possible. In their interactions, civilizations must accept their differences. Only through mutual respect, mutual learning and harmonious coexistence can the world maintain its diversity and thrive"[22]. Tolerance, respect and acceptance of differences promote exchange, and exchange teaches, integrates, fosters progress and helps to live in sustained peace despite dissimilarities.

To understand what the discourse of diversity, respect for differences and multiple colours of the world criticises and offers an alternative to, let us draw on the explanations offered by Kishore Mahbubaniin an interview titled "Wy na

[20] I. Cheng, *The New Silk Road*, "32 Beijing/New York" 2003, nos. 5–6, p. 32.

[21] H. Zepp LaRouche, *The New Silk Road Becomes the World Land-Bridge*, EIR Special Report, 2014, p. 10.

[22] J. Xi, *Working Together to Forge a New Partnership of Win-win Cooperation and Create a Community of Shared Future for Mankind*, "Quartz", 29 Sept. 2015, https://qz.com/512886/read-the-full-text-of-xi-jinpings-first-un-address/ [accessed 20 Sept.2017].

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Zachodzie nie widzicie kolorów świata" [In the West, you do not see the colours of the world]: "The West chooses to describe the world based on only one, black-and-white criterion, that is, on political liberties, in order to feel morally superior to the rest of the world. To feel that the western world is better while the others are worse"[23]. And he adds: "In most Asian societies, attachment to the community is at least as important as individual rights, if not even more important." If we endorse solely the values of the West, whenever we look elsewhere the only thing we see is that they are missing. But we should perceive social values upheld in other parts of the world, their otherness from the western ones and, also, differences among them. The multicoloured character – or multiculturality – of the world is what the new multicentric and multilateral world calls for. The monocentric and unilateral order that we know distinctly insists on universalising the claim of Western values, which are expected to be adopted and cherished by the entire world: "USA, which has the world's biggest economy and strongest army, has taken gigantic steps in persuading the rest of the world to think and act like them"[24]. Under the current order, the West's economic and political power goes hand in hand with cultural power exerted over the rest of the world in an attempt to make this world culturally homogeneous.

As the values of and calls for the new order are being voiced, the old values and injunctions are being re-interpreted. President Jinping Xi insisted at the UN General Assembly that "the principle of sovereign equality underpins the UN Charter […] The principle of sovereignty not only means that the sovereignty and territorial integrity of all countries are inviolable and their internal affairs are not subjected to interference. It also means that all countries' right to independently choose social systems and development paths should be upheld"[25]. These words articulate a diplomatic critique of the policies of western countries and West-dominated international institutions, such as the UN, the World Bank, the International Monetary Fund and their likes. These policies involve persuading and coercing other countries to adopt western values or values as interpreted in the West. In this reading, the principle of sovereignty means also various countries' equal right to implement their own decision while the global

[23] K. Mahbubani, *Wy na Zachodzie nie widzicie kolorów świata. Rozmawiał w Singapurze Marcin Bosacki*, "Gazeta Wyborcza", 20 Dec. 2006.

[24] A. B. Ssenyonga, *Americanization or Globalization?*, "Global Envision", 2 Oct. 2016.

[25] J. Xi, *Working Together to Forge a New Partnership…*, *op. cit.*

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order is only viable as an outcome of agreements and accords in which no country or place is elevated above others. For this reason, Yuriy Tavrovskyi of the Peoples' Friendship University of Russia in Moscow observes: "At the meetings in Ufa, Beijing, Durban and New Delhi, the foundations of the new world order are being laid down brick by brick, in which no leadership of a country or a group of countries is envisaged".

The past and the present

In various New Silk Road-related projects and expectations, the Road as such is an essential value in itself. The opening lines of V&A are symptomatic: More than two millennia ago the diligent and courageous people of Eurasia explored and opened up several routes of trade and cultural exchanges that linked the major civilizations of Asia, Europe and Africa, collectively called the Silk Road by later generations. For thousands of years, the Silk Road Spirit – "peace and cooperation, openness and inclusiveness, mutual learning and mutual benefit" – has been passed from generation to generation, promoted the progress of human civilization, and contributed greatly to the prosperity and development of the countries along the Silk Road[26].

The Old Silk Road is here enmeshed in so many values that it becomes a value in and by itself. Eduard Shevardnadze viewed the "Great Silk Road" as a "route of tolerance" and a value that also referred to the past. In his "Foreword" to the New Silk Road Project of the Asian Development Bank (ADB), the Bank's President Haruhiko Kuroda writes: "The spirit of trust and confidence that has evolved through the years among good neighbours and good partners has led to better prospects for all"[27]. Kuroda explicitly evokes values and the past as well. At the International Silk Road Conference on *Transportation, Maritime Affairs and Communications* in Istanbul, Turkish Minister Binali Yildirim called the new tunnel under the Bosphorus Strait "part of the Silk Road, which has served

[26] *Vision and Actions…*, *op. cit.*

[27] H. Kuroda, *"Foreword," in Asian Development Bank*, *The New Silk Road. Ten Years of the Central Asia Regional Cooperation Program*, Manila 2011.

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humanity for centuries, connecting Asia and Europe"[28]. Again, speaking about the Silk Road, he emphatically referenced the past.

Marie Thorsten concludes: "The 'Silk Road' has become globalization's fashionable nostalgia, expressing a 'longing' (*algia*) for a cosmopolitan 'home'. The longing is not just for a territorial place, a route linking East and West, but also for a perceived time when a vast global flow of ideas and things permitted adventure, romance and knowledge"[29]. As a result of this nostalgia and pining for the idealised past, the old Silk Road is itself becoming a value of which the New Road partakes when evoking the old Road. This romantic and wistful yearning for the exalted past has perhaps been inscribed in the name and notion of the Silk Road ever since they were formulated by Ferdinand von Richthofen (1833–1905). The German geographer is credited with having coined the term *die Seidenstrasse*, which, dated 1876, appeared in the caption of his Karte von Central-Asien[30]. Besides coming up with the name, Richthofen was also instrumental in developing the concept it denoted. Daniel Waugh explains that "Richthofen analyses the evidence in Greek and Roman sources which first speak of the Serer, those connected with the trade in silk, or Serica, the land of silk"[31]. Clearly, the very moment it was forged, the term *die Seidenstrasse* already referred to ancient Greece, Rome, China of the Han dynasty and contacts among them, which were encapsulated in the name of silk – a particularly valued, prestigious and symbolic commodity both in China and in Rome. In this way, the notion of the Silk Road has since its onset connoted the might of two empires and a precious good passing between them. These conceptual and semiotic entanglements made the name and the concept of the Silk Road part of a romantic vision of the "grand" past, picked up later by other authors: researchers, writers and travellers, and evoked today in the projects of the New Silk Road and its related new "silk" world order.

The contemporary idealisation and affirmation of the past entail at the same time a censure of the present and a longing, or a desire, for the future which will revive the bygone "glorious" past. What do this affirmation and this longing

[28] *Turkey ready to take first ride on landmark undersea train line*, "Trend. News Agency", 29 Oct. 2013, https://en.trend.az/world/turkey/2205657.html [accessed 20 Sept. 2017].

[29] M. Thorsten, *Silk Road nostalgia and imagined global community*, "Comparative American Studies. An International Journal" 2005, vol. 3, no. 3.

[30] D. C. Waugh, *Richthofen's 'Silk Roads': Toward the archaeology of a concept*, "The Silk Road" 2007, vol. 5, no. 1.

[31] *Ibidem*, p. 3.

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centre on? V&A enumerates peace and cooperation, openness and inclusiveness, mutual learning and mutual benefit, the progress of humanity and prosperity. Eduard Shevardnadze prioritised tolerance. The ADB project lists trust, confidence, good neighbours, good partners and better prospects for all.

These affirmations, desires and nostalgias are, at the same time, an alternative to and a criticism of the present. In conclusion, let us identify selected values, norms, principles and requirements these nostalgias and desires revolve around and pinpoint the object of the critique. Let us rehearse affirmed ideals and discarded ones. The principle of founding the global order on agreements, cooperation and mutual benefits integrating countries from remote corners of the world is an alternative to the hierarchical order of power with the US at the very top of the global military, economic and cultural might. The principle of collaboration and cooperation is, in turn, an alternative to the rule of rivalry, on which the hierarchical order is based. In this order, the privileged positions of domination, power and profit are objects of rivalry and conflict. The harmonious international and domestic order is contrasted with economic and political inequalities within and between countries while sustainable development, in which social, cultural and environmental factors are given equal attention, is contrasted with the economy-focused growth agenda. Let us add, that harmony itself is understood in this framework as co-participation in decision-making and resultant benefits, that is, as co-participation in power and goods. Affirmation of cultural, social, political and economic differences stands in opposition to ideals which, though stemming from the local western heritage, make claims to universal validity. Tolerance, respect and acceptance of otherness are an alternative to value-judgments based on the clear-cut good-evil dichotomy. Grounded on tolerance, cooperation that fosters peaceable co-existence is placed in opposition to similarity-based cooperation that seeks conflict with otherness. Affirmation of diversity promoting mutual learning of all is contrasted with one-directional processes within the power-knowledge hierarchy, where the "ignorant" at the bottom learn from the "wise" on top. Finally, the multicoloured and infinitely diverse world is contrasted with the world resulting from the dissemination of western patterns. Despite its long intellectual tradition of western provenance, contemporary globalisation is pictured as inferior to the past of the old Silk Road. This past, in turn, is framed as a model for the future which is being constructed in opposition to the present.

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Conclusion

This article may provoke charges of idealising the project of the New Silk Road. It can easily be argued that the New Silk Road project serves as a tool to increase the Chinese global power rather than as an expression of harmony and diversity. Yet while the development of the global significance of China is addressed in many press articles[32] and academic studies[33], the aim of this text was to analyse discourses: meanings and values given to global phenomena and initiatives. The remarks made here lead to the conclusion that the idea of the New Silk Road is a symptom and an outcome of a crisis in the values of the current globalisation model, in which the US (in broader terms, the West) plays the central role and shapes the economic, political and cultural world order. This, however, does not entail a crisis of the very idea of globality. On the contrary, it is an expression of another approach to globality – a view in which the old Silk Road itself is portrayed as the first globalisation, which gave rise to subsequent globalisations. The New Silk Road idea is not only a manifestation but also an affirmation of values and postulates such as diversity, openness to otherness, peaceable co-existence and pursuit of the common benefit of people from different cultures and different corners of the world, no matter how remote they are. These new "silk" meanings and values can be further critically investigated. For example, it is interesting to analyse these ideas as romantic idealisations, a kind of orientalism, a nostalgia for the ideal or even an utopia. But there are other texts dedicated to exploring these themes[34].

[32] C. Campbell, Ports, pipelines, and geopolitics: China New Silk Road is a challenge for Washington, "Time", 23 Oct 2017; P. Arrasmith, *The Road to the Middle Kingdom: China's New Silk Road*, "Harvard Political Review", 25 Jan. 2018.

[33] G. Arrighi, *Adam Smith in Beijing: Lineages of the 21st century*, Verso, London 2009; N. Ferguson, *The Ascent of Money: A Financial History of the Word*, Penguin Books, New York 2009; S. Guo and B. Guo (eds.), *Greater China in an Era of Globalization*, Lexington Books, Lanham 2010.

[34] A. Nobis, *The Chinese New Silk Road utopia and its archaeology*, "Globalizations", 5 Jul 2018, https://doi.org/10.1080/1474731.2018.1491687 [accessed 23 Jul. 2018]; E. Saïd, *Orientalism*, Pantheon Books, New York 1978; M. Thorsten, *Silk Road nostalgia and imagined global community*, "Comparative American Studies. An International Journal" 2005, vol. 3, no. 3.

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Streszczenie

Nowy Jedwabny Szlak jako kryzys wartości globalizacji

Celem tekstu jest sprawdzenie, czy idea Nowego Jedwabnego Szlaku jest symptomem lub skutkiem kryzysu wartości globalizacji. Nowy Jedwabny Szlak to nowe inicjatywy międzynarodowe projektowane i realizowane w różnych częściach świata. Wskazuję na główne idee i wartości towarzyszące tym inicjatywom. Porównuję je z ideami i wartościami dotychczasowej globalizacji. Dochodzę do wniosku, że Idea Nowego Jedwabnego Szlaku jest symptomem i efektem kryzysu wartości globalizacji w jej obecnym kształcie, w którym USA odgrywają rolę centralną. Nie oznacza kryzysu wartości idei globalności. Jest manifestacją innego jej rozumienia. Jest afirmacją takich wartości i postulatów jak różnorodność, kontakt z odmiennością, pokojowe współistnienie a nawet działanie dla wspólnej korzyści ludzi różnych kultur, krajów, stron świata, nawet tych najodleglejszych od siebie.

Słowa kluczowe: Nowy Jedwabny Szlak, kryzys, wartości

Zusammenfassung

Neue Seidenstraße als Wertekrise der Globalisierung

Der Artikel verfolgt das Ziel, zu überprüfen, ob die Idee der Neuen Seidenstraße ein Symptom oder eine Folge der Wertekrise der Globalisierung ist. Die Neue Seidenstraße bedeutet neue internationale Initiativen, die in verschiedenen Weltteilen entworfen und verwirklicht werden. Ich weise auf Hauptideen und Werte hin, die diese Initiativen begleiten. Sie werden mit Ideen und Werten der bisherigen Globalisierung verglichen. Ich komme zum Schluss, dass die Idee der Neuen Seidenstraße ein Symptom und eine Folge der Wertekrise der Globalisierung in bisheriger Form ist, in der die USA die Hauptrolle spielen. Sie bedeutet aber nicht die Wertekrise der Globalisierungsidee, sondern eine Ausdrucksform ihres anderen Verständnisses. Sie bejaht solche Werte und Postulate wie Vielfalt, Kontakt mit Andersartigkeit, friedliche Koexistenz, sogar das Mitwirken für gemeinsamen Nutzen vom Menschen aus unterschiedlichen Kulturen, Ländern und entferntesten Weltteilen.

Schlüsselworte: Neue Seidenstraße, Krise, Werte

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