

Research on Xi Jinping's Thoughts on Major Power Diplomacy in the New Era

The construction of a community with a shared future between China and Latin America in the context of competition between China and the

United States—from the perspective of international political economics

Huang Leping

Abstract: In the context of intensified competition between China and the United States, China should strengthen cooperation with countries around the world, especially developing countries, and expand its partnership network. In recent years, China's economic and trade relations with Latin American countries have developed by leaps and bounds. China and Latin America have a community of a shared future. However, the essence of the current China-Latin America relationship is still a compound interdependence dominated by rationalism. Both parties are still in the Lockean culture driven by interests. The win-win brought about by the absolute benefits of cooperation cannot cover up the imbalance in the distribution of relative benefits. In addition, the United States has always regarded Latin America as its "backyard" and is very sensitive to China's every move in Latin America. To overcome its internal contradictions and external adverse conditions and achieve quality improvement and upgrading, China-Latin America relations must transcend pure rationalism. The utilitarian relationship spans from Lockeian culture to Kantian culture. Constructivist theory believes that anarchic culture is created by the state and is the result of actor interaction and social construction. As an influential big country, China must take active actions and use international mechanisms to cooperate with Latin American countries are engaging in broader and deeper interactions, forming more shared concepts and group identities based on existing consensus, and shaping and constructing new collective identities and collective interests through global governance cooperation, production capacity cooperation and people-to-people

exchanges, and building A truly win-win community with a shared future. **Keywords:** China-US competition, China-Latin America

community with a shared future, composite interdependence, constructivism, Kantian culture.

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The world is facing major changes unseen in a century, and the current intensified competition between China and the United States has become the focus of the world's attention. Since the global financial crisis, as the relative strength of China and the United States has changed, the United States has begun to suppress China through the Asia-Pacific rebalancing strategy. And then actively provoked competition between China and the United States through trade wars, technology wars, and the Indo-Pacific strategy. After taking office, the Biden administration used issues related to Hong Kong, Xinjiang, and Taiwan to win over its allies and frequently launch attacks on China in the ideological field. The Taiwan Strait and the South China Sea create military threats. All of these have made the international economic and security environment facing China's development continue to deteriorate. Faced with such a situation, China must confront the United States tit for tat on the one hand, and on the other hand must maintain strategic focus and fight the United States without breaking through. It is important to further expand opening up to the outside world, promote the construction of a new type of international relations and a community with a shared future for mankind, strengthen cooperation with other countries around the world, especially with developing countries, unite all forces that can be united in the world, and strive for broader international support, so as to Winning the initiative in the protracted battle between China and the United States.

Latin America and the Caribbean (hereinafter referred to as "Latin America"), as one of the regions with the highest concentration of developing countries, has always been an important target of China's diplomacy and foreign cooperation. It is a symbol of the important development of China's diplomacy and is also a sign of China's diversified opening up to the outside world. An important fulcrum. Since the 21st century, China-Latin America economic and trade relations have developed rapidly, and all-round cooperation is in the ascendant. In 2014, General Secretary Xi Jinping formally proposed at the China-Latin America leaders' meeting to build a community with a shared future for China and Latin America. However, the United States has always regarded Latin America as its "backyard." , has always been wary of the entry of external forces into Latin America. The continuously strengthened strategic cooperation between China and Latin America in the past 20 years has been regarded to some extent as a threat to its security. In the context of the current intensifying competition between China and the United States, "Monroe ism" is on the rise again, and the "China threatens the United States' backyard theory" is once again rampant. Compared with China's cooperation with Asian and African countries, China-Latin America cooperation and the construction of a community with a shared future face more direct challenges and interference from the United States. This article attempts to draw from the theory of international political economy We will explore issues at two levels from the perspective of Contribution? From the practical perspective of China-Latin America relations, how can China-Latin America cooperation overcome internal and external challenges and achieve steady and healthy development? And how can we lay a solid foundation for cooperation and stride forward to a new stage?

A review of existing research

Domestic and foreign research related to the topic of this article mainly focuses on two aspects. The first is the study of China-Latin America relations and China-Latin America community of a shared future. Regarding the development stage, strategic positioning and significance of China-Latin America relations, domestic research points out that China-Latin America relations have surpassed the previous "natural "Growth" mode has entered a new stage of development characterized by active construction by both parties. In terms of strategic positioning, China has transformed Latin America from a relatively marginal option in the foreign relations pattern into a dominant "increment", while Latin America has regarded China as its

Latin American relations uphold the Five Principles of Peaceful Coexistence, and China-Latin America relations have a short history, a low starting point, and a weak foundation. At the same time, the United States has unrivaled influence in Latin America. Most Latin American countries will also develop out of considerations of their own security and political and economic interests. And consolidating relations with the United States is at the top of its foreign strategy. Therefore, China has no intention and cannot threaten the "backyard" of the United States. Some American scholars also believe that it is unlikely that China and Latin America will establish an alliance to limit the United States' influence on Latin America, but the United States should be alert and pay attention to relations with Latin America. However, more than ten years later, the contradiction between the existing and incremental advantages of the United States and China in Latin America, and the contradiction between the "Monroe Doctrine" thinking between the United States and Latin America and the joint self-strength of Latin America have become increasingly prominent. The dynamic pattern of the triangular relationship between China, the United States and Latin America is showing an increasingly complex trend of change. In this regard, "hawks" in American academic circles believe that China is experiencing a "destructive rise" in Latin America because of its support for left-wing "populist" regimes and the support of "agents" It has reversed the democratization process in Latin America and is a challenger and destroyer of the US-led Western Hemisphere order. However, some Latin American and American scholars believe that the focus of China-Latin America relations is still the economic and trade field. China has not sought to confront US hegemony in Latin America. "New The terms "bipolar structure" and the "new cold war" in the Western Hemisphere are not accurate. However, the indirect consequence of the warming of China-Latin America relations is that Latin America gradually becomes alienated from the United States, and the United States' influence in Latin America gradually weakens. As Sino-US relations continue to become tense, Latin America may become a new "arena" for the two countries.

To sum up, the existing literature has extensively studied the path of China-Latin America economic and trade cooperation, the significance of the "One Belt and One Road" to building a community with a shared future for China and Latin America, the development stages and strategic positioning of China-Latin America relations, and also studied the historical development of the trilateral relations between China, the United States and Latin America. process, the characterization and reaction of American academic and political circles on Sino-Latin America relations, and the response strategies that China should adopt. However, there is still room for further exploration and breakthroughs in this type of research, mainly focusing on two aspects. First, the existing philological rationality There are few studies on how to use the theory of international political economics to analyze and grasp the essence of the trilateral relationship between China, the United States and Latin America and the connotation and construction path of the future China-Latin America community with a shared future. How can China and Latin America transcend the utilitarian relationship of pure rationalism, conceptually and culturally? Establishing close spiritual ties and partnerships is worthy of further research. Second, the existing literature pays less attention to the new situation. In the current COVID-19 epidemic that is raging around the world, the global industrial chain has been damaged and needs to be reconstructed, and China and the United States have

Wu Hongying: "An analysis of "Latin America has become China's backyard theory"" published in "Modern International Relations", Issue 3, 2009, Pages 36-42, R Roett and G Paz, China's Expansion into the Western Hemisphere: Implications for Latin America and the United States Washington D C : Brookings Institute Press 2008, pp 239 - 259 Zhou Zhiwei: «How to treat the two sets of structural contradictions in the triangular relationship between China, the United States and Latin America», ed. «Contemporary World», Issue 4, 2018, No. 31 - 34

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Under the new situation of comprehensive escalation of competition and the possibility that the United States may force Latin American countries to "choose sides" between China and the United States through issues such as industrial chain regionalization and 5G construction, how can China-Latin America relations overcome the interference of the United States under the guidance of the goal of building a community with a shared future? Next, it is worthy of our study to make good use of the important starting point of the "One Belt and One Road" to strengthen cooperation between China and Latin America in areas such as production capacity.

2. Overview of mainstream theories of international political economics

As a branch of international relations, international political economics (IPE) originated from the debate between liberalism and realism in the 1970s. During World War II and the first half of the Cold War, classical realism, which emphasized power and conflict, dominated the theoretical research on international relations. Its representative, Morgenthau, summarized three core views of realism in 1948: States are the main actors in international relations, the essence of international politics is power politics, security is the primary issue of world politics, and military is the core of power politics. In the 1970s, with the disintegration of the Bretton Woods system, the outbreak of the first oil crisis, and the end of the Vietnam War, Western countries fell into stagflation. At the same time, the advancement of European integration elevated the international economy to "high-level politics," and countries The trend of economic interdependence among countries has attracted attention. In this context, liberal theory has been revived and international political economics has emerged. Liberal scholars Keohane and Nye proposed the theory of "composite interdependence" and put forward the above three views of realism. Questioning, it is believed that non-state actors (such as multinational corporations) can also directly participate in international politics, there is no clear hierarchical distinction between various issues, and military power is not the main policy tool. However, it also points out that interdependence does not mean mutual benefit, and it includes costs (dependence limits autonomy) and is accompanied by conflicts (relative benefits and relative losses among dependent parties). Interdependence also includes competition, which is not necessarily "non-zero sum". Asymmetry is the political basis of interdependence. At the core, low dependence can be a kind of power resource. So, what conditions and prerequisites are needed to maintain and manage such an interdependent international system? The theory of hegemonic stability that emerged in the 1970s believes that the rise and fall of hegemonic countries and international political relations It is of great significance in the international system composed of nation-states. International mechanisms are nothing but public goods provided by the hegemonic country to maintain the stability of the international system. If the obligations and costs borne by the hegemonic country exceed its benefits, it will decline and may A hegemonic war breaks out with emerging

• [US] Written by Hans J. Morgenthau, translated by Xu Xin and others: «Interstate Politics: Power Struggle and Peace», Beijing: Peking University Press, 2012, pp. 159-343. [US] Robert Keohane, Written by Joseph Nye, translated by Men Honghua:

• «Power and Interdependence» (Fourth Edition), Beijing: Peking University Press, 2012, pp. 22-33. [US] Written by Robert Keohane and Joseph Nye, Men Translated by Hong Hua: «Power and Interdependence» (Fourth Edition), Beijing: Peking University Press, 2012.

• pp. 10-15, [US] Joseph Nye Jr., [Canada] David Welch, Zhang Xiaoming Translation: «Understanding Global Conflict and Cooperation: Theory and History» Shanghai: Shanghai People's Publishing House, 2018, Page 337

This will bring about changes in the international system, new hegemonic conflicts and hegemonic replacement. Liberal scholars believe that international mechanisms arise from the need for countries to reduce transaction costs and escape the "prisoner's dilemma". The decline of a hegemonic country is not inevitable. Bringing instability and conflict, because countries have common interests, they will achieve cooperation by maintaining existing international mechanisms

and creating new cooperation mechanisms. Although realism and liberalism theories argue with each other, they basically belong to the category of rationalism. Because they either pay attention to the direct impact of material factors on actors, or emphasize the rational choices made by actors to maximize their interests. However, the constructivist international relations theory formed in the late 1980s emphasizes the socialization of material factors. and conceptualization. It not only adheres to the epistemology of scientific realism, but also adheres to the ontology that ideas are more important than matter, ideas determine interests, and interests determine behavior. It hopes to build a bridge of communication between rationalism and various reflections, and through the 20th century The debate with liberalism in the 1990s caused the study of international politics to shift from rationalism to constructivism. This debate centered on the topic of why international institutions can promote cooperation. Liberalism believes that the anarchy of international society, the identity of actors, and interests / Preferences are all a priori. In the face of international systems, actors will use rules to make rational choices and maximize interests in cooperation. Constructivism first believes that anarchy is not an a priori objective fact, but a state creation. It is the result of actor interaction and social construction. It can form Hobbesian culture (everyone against everyone), Lockean culture (recognize mutual survival rights and compete) and Kantian culture (build a friendly community). In addition, identity and interests are also the result of a posteriori and interaction. The basic logic is: the interaction (or mutual learning) between actors forms certain cultural and international norms and concepts, which are then recognized in existing or first-of-its-kind systems. (Form shared knowledge and culture) and obtain legitimacy, be recognized by all members, and then construct the identity and interests of actors through institutions, and finally determine their behavior. Winter, a representative representative of constructivism, believes that although countries exist in anarchy There are differences in strength and competition, but countries also pursue equality and need to be recognized. World countries will emerge after their identities are highly recognized. Only then will real world governance be realized. It can be seen that constructivism is an optimistic evolutionar

[US] Written by Robert Gilpin, translated by Song Xinning: "War and Change in World Politics", Shanghai: Shanghai People's Publishing House, 2019, pages 185-207

Written by Robert Gilpin, translated by Song Xinning: "War and Change in World Politics", Shanghai: Shanghai People's Publishing House, 2019, pages 185-207

[S] Written by Alexander Winter, translated by Qin Yaqing: "Social Theory of International Politics", Shanghai: Shanghai People's Publishing 2014, Translator's Foreword – Pages 244 – 296

Written by Alexander Winter, translated by Qin Yaqing: "Social Theory of International Politics", Shanghai: Shanghai People's Publishing 2014, Translator's Foreword – Pages 244 – 296

Written by Alexander Winter, translated by Qin Yaqing: "Social Theory of International Politics", Shanghai: Shanghai People's Publishing 2014, Translator's Foreword – Pages 244 – 296

The international society will develop in the direction of Kantian culture, towards world government and world unity. However, it is precisely because the three political cultures of Hobbesian structure, Lockean structure and Kantian structure are all constructed by the interaction of actors. Therefore, in the process of actual social construction, different shared concepts and political cultures will be formed under the influence of different levels of norm internalization. Wendt believes that the three reasons for actors to follow the above three cultural norms, or norms, are internalized. There are three levels of legalization, namely forced compliance (force), profit-driven (cost) and recognition of the legitimacy of norms. These three reasons are basically the same as realism, liberalism and constructivism (idealism) regarding the role of norms in international affairs. Corresponding to the theory of role in life. Only at the third level of internalization, that is, legitimacy, are actors truly "constructed" by culture. The same countries (actors) have different ways of interaction and social construction, will construct different concepts, identities and interests, thereby creating different anarchic cultures. For example, European countries have historically been in Hobbesian culture and Lockean culture, and after World War II, among North Atlantic countries and in the European Union. Between countries, the interaction of their actors and the construction of shared concepts, identities and interests are at the third level of norm internalization. Therefore, a more obvious Kantian cultural structure has formed beyond Lockean culture. In contrast, after the collapse of the Soviet Union, the interaction between Russia and the United States and Western countries and the construction process of shared concepts, identities and interests have not developed into a third level of internalized norms due to the influence of realism and cultural factors such as great power competition and lack of political and security mutual trust. Therefore, Kantian culture has not been formed and is still in a structure between Hobbesian culture and Lockean culture.

The current situation and challenges of trilateral relations between China, the United States and Latin America: the perspective of international political economy

The above has sorted out the main views of the mainstream theories of international political economics, especially the constructivist theory, and summarized the characteristics of the three anarchic cultures of the international system proposed by constructivism - Hobbesian culture, Lockean culture and Kantian culture. The following is This theoretical perspective will be used to analyze the current situation and challenges of the trilateral relations between China, the United States and Latin America.

(1) The current situation of the trilateral relations between China,

the United States and Latin America. The current China-Latin America relations, China-US relations, and US-Latin America relations are still in the Locke culture.

The Locke culture The characteristic is that the main relationship between countries is not security conflict but economic interdependence and rationalistic competition.

However, interdependence has asymmetry and varying degrees of dependence on each other, and there are conflicts arising from uneven relative benefits. First of all,

Looking at the economic and trade relations between China and Latin America. The degree of economic interdependence between China and Latin America since the 21st century

Wendt, ALEXANDER WENDT "WHY A World State IS EVIDENT" IN EUROPEAN JOURNAL OF INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS PP 491 -542 [Mei] Alexander Da Wente y Qin Yaqing

translation: «International politics Social Theory» y Shanghai:

Shanghai People's Publishing Society, 2014, page 247.

Continue to strengthen. In 2020, the total trade in goods between China and Latin America was 18 times the amount in 2002, reaching US\$320.12 billion, accounting for 69% of the total trade in goods between China and the world that year. China's net direct investment in Latin America in 2020 was 16.66 billion. The U.S. dollar accounted for 108% of China's net direct investment in the world that year, which was 39 times that of investment in Africa and 28 times that of investment in the United States. In January 2018, China formally invited Latin American countries to voluntarily join the "One Belt, One Road" initiative. As of March 2022, 21 Latin American countries have signed the "Belt and Road" co-construction agreement with China. The rapid development of China-Latin America economic and trade relations has benefited from the rapid growth of China's economy in the first decade of the 21st century, the boom cycle of the world economy, and the Sino-US relations are relatively stable.

Let's look at Sino-US economic and trade relations. Since the establishment of diplomatic relations between China and the United States in 1979, China and the United States have gone through a tortuous development process for more than 40 years. The United States has always hoped that "liberal" China will move closer to the "free" United States and include China in the international system led by the United States. China therefore regards China as a "defective partner". In 2020, the total trade in goods between China and the United States was 586.98 billion U.S. dollars, China's net direct investment in the United States was 6.02 billion U.S. dollars, and the actual use of U.S. direct investment was 2.3 billion U.S. dollars. Finally, let's look at the economic and trade relations between the United States and Latin America. The United States has always been the most important economic and trade partner of Latin American countries. In 2021, the total trade volume of goods between the United States and Latin America was US\$964.03 billion, which was three times the volume of goods trade between China and Latin America (see Figure 1). In 2019, the total trade volume of goods between the United States and Latin America was US\$964.03 billion. The stock of direct investment in Latin America is US\$931.02 billion. In recent years, it has been overtaken by China (see Figure 2). 4. From the perspective of investment types in Latin America, the United States has an absolute advantage in both cross-border mergers and acquisitions and new construction projects. However, in 2020 In 2016, it was surpassed by China, Spain and other countries in terms of cross-border mergers and acquisitions (see Figures 3 and 4).

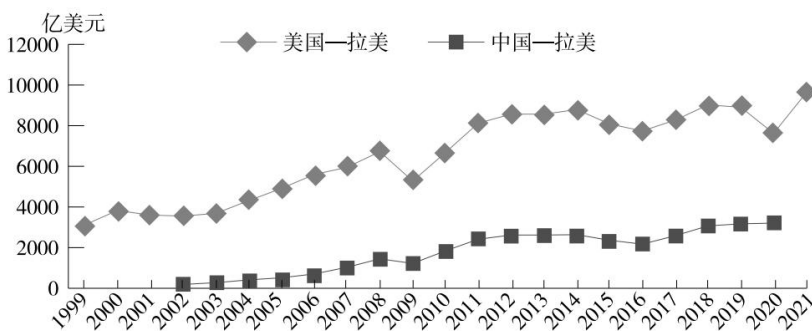


Figure 1 Goods trade volume between the United States and Latin America and China

Source: According to the Bureau of Economic Analysis of the U.S. Department of Commerce (<https://www.bea.gov>) and the National Bureau of Statistics of China (<http://www.stats.gov.cn/>) Data drawing

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 Graaff and B Van Apeldoorn "US-China Relations and the Liberal World Order: Concluding
 National Bureau of Statistics of China website http:// / / C01 [2022-05-20] It should be pointed out that China's investment in
 Latin America is mainly financial investment. For example, China's direct investment in Latin America in 2020 Investment stock 6298 1
 97% of the US\$1 billion is located in the Cayman Islands and the British Virgin Islands.

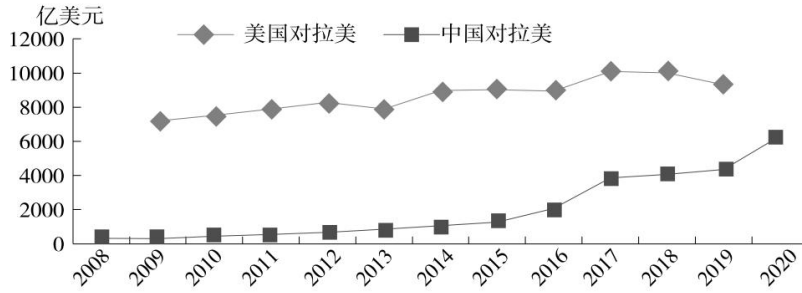


Figure 2 The direct investment stock of the United States and China in Latin America

Source: According to the Bureau of Economic Analysis of the U.S. Department of Commerce (<https://www.bea.gov>) and the National Bureau of Statistics of China (<http://www.stats.gov.cn/>) Data drawing

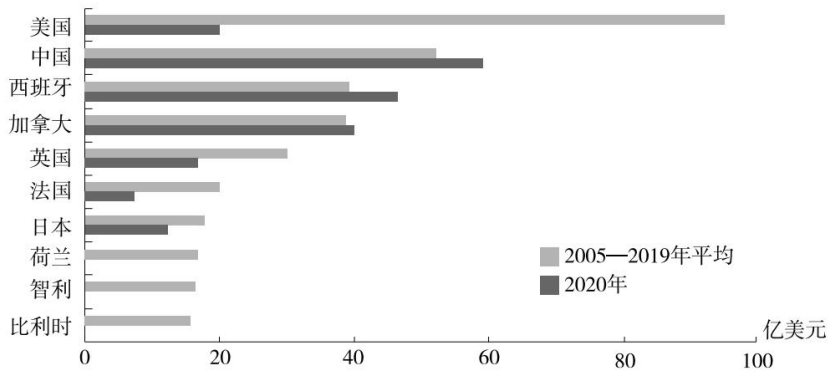


Figure 3 Cross-border M&A investments in Latin America by some countries around the world

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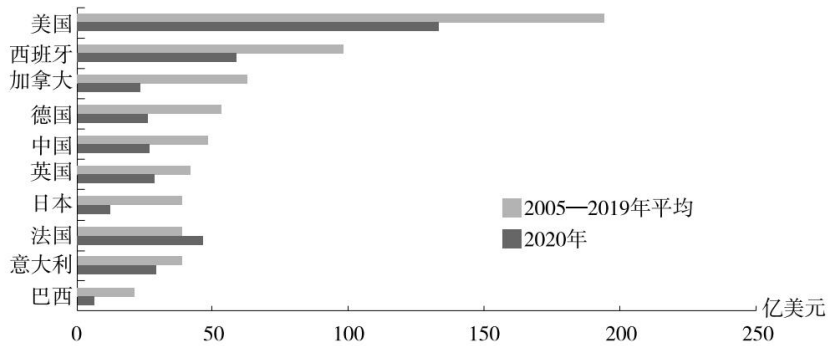


Figure 4 Investment in newly started projects in Latin America by some countries around the world

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Liberal scholar Milner used four elements of neoliberal institutionalism to explain the characteristics of the interdependent international system: Non-state actors such as transnational corporations and non-governmental organizations have become important actors in world politics; economic power and other factors have become important actors in addition to military power. As a new world political power outside of China, interdependence has become the defining feature of the international system. Cooperation in world politics is possible. The United States and China, as the world's two largest economies, are interdependent. Both will benefit from harmony and suffer from confrontation. Cooperation has been the basic consensus in Sino-US relations since the establishment of diplomatic relations 40 years ago. Driven by the goal of win-win economic cooperation, China, Latin America and the United States have become increasingly interdependent. According to the view of constructivist scholar Winter, today's interdependence In fact, most of the world is in the so-called Lockean culture, that is, there is a competitive relationship between countries. They recognize each other's rights to survival and freedom. They try to avoid wars and control them within a limited scope. They pay more attention to the absolute benefits generated by cooperation. Countries recognize each other. Sovereignty actually means sharing a system, sharing an expectation, and jointly safeguarding a set of international laws. Therefore, international law is not only a material force, but also a shared concept. Its connotation is mutual respect and recognition. Compared with being forced The current Lockean culture formed by all parties in China, the United States and Latin America is more out of rationalistic self-interest motives, that is to say, it is in their own interests to abide by common norms and systems.

(2) Challenges faced by China-U.S.-Latin America trilateral

relations. China-Latin America relations have gone through two stages of spontaneous development and independent development, which are reactive and follow the trend. By the second decade of the 21st century, they have entered a new era of regional, holistic and comprehensive cooperation. stage, driven by interest needs, the cooperation between the two parties pays more attention to top-level design, policy communication, establishment of dialogue and cooperation mechanisms, and people-to-people and cultural exchanges. However, it is precisely at this stage that some deep-seated contradictions in China-Latin America relations have begun to gradually emerge. It has entered a "bottleneck" period in many fields. The main problem is that the imbalance of trade structure has caused Latin American countries to have doubts about China-Latin America relations. According to statistics from the United Nations Economic Commission for Latin America (CEPAL), 73% of Latin America's exports to China in 2013 were primary products. Only 6% are manufactured products, while the two figures of exports to other parts of the world are 41% and 42% respectively. At the same time, 91% of China's exports to Latin America are manufactured products. In this regard, some commentators believe that the trade structure between China and Latin America is simply One is the exchange of raw materials for finished products. In 2017, Latin America's trade deficit with China reached US\$67 billion. According to statistics from the United Nations Conference on Trade and Development (UNCTAD), from 1995 to 2013, China's trade complementarity index with South American countries

Helen V Milner and Andrew Moravcsik (eds) *Pow erly Interdependence and Nonstate Actors in W* pp 5 - 21 [US] Written by Alexander Winter, translated by

Qin Yaqing: "Social Theory of International Politics", Shanghai: Shanghai People's Publishing House Society 2014, pages 272-281.

Editor-in-Chief Wu Baiyi: «China-Latin America Relations Facing the New Era», Beijing: China Social Sciences Press, 2020, pp. 1-5. United

Nations Economic Commission for Latin America and the Caribbean: «The First Community of Latin American and Caribbean States (Celac)»: and China Exploring Space Forum for Economic, Trade and Investment Cooperation» Santiago, Chile: Published by the United Nations, 2015, Page 23.

The average index of South American countries towards China is 0.291, which means that China's exports can meet 44.9% of the market demand of South American countries, while the exports of South American countries can only meet 29.1% of China's market demand. Demand. This shows that Latin America's trade dependence on China is much higher than China's trade dependence on Latin America. Although this kind of trade structure and international balance of payments is a natural result of the comparative advantages and market behavior of China and Latin America, it seems to be inconsistent with The "center-periphery" structure described by Latin American structuralism and dependency theory is consistent with the deterioration of trade parity. Therefore, it is easy to cause dissatisfaction in some Latin American countries. They believe that such a trade structure is not only detrimental to the reduction of their debts, but more importantly, it is harmful to Latin America. The country's manufacturing industry has had a strong impact, leading to an increase in its economic vulnerability and an intensified risk of suffering from "Dutch disease", which is not conducive to upgrading its industrial structure and reversing the trend of "deindustrialization" and "bulk commodification".

Therefore, some people will China's economic presence in Latin America is called "neocolonialism." In addition, Latin American countries with relatively developed manufacturing industries such as Mexico often initiate anti-dumping lawsuits against China, have frequent trade disputes, and compete fiercely with China in third-party markets such as the United States. As stated above in the composite interdependence theory Interdependence is not necessarily "non-zero-sum", it also includes competition and is accompanied by conflicts. Although cooperation brings absolute benefits to all parties and creates a win-win situation, the unbalanced distribution of relative benefits will cause certain political conflicts.

The interdependence between China and Latin America continues to deepen, but this interdependence is asymmetric. In this relationship, China's dependence is low and its vulnerability is low. Therefore, changing the interdependence system structure (escaping the system or changing the rules of the game) The relative cost of adjustment and policy adjustment is low, but China's sensitivity is not low, because primary products from Latin America are of great significance to China's economic security. China attaches great importance to economic and trade cooperation with Latin America. And Latin America has a strong relationship with China and Latin America. The sensitivity and vulnerability of dependence are high. Latin America has long had economic dependence on the "center countries" of Europe and the United States in its history. Although many Latin American countries continue to implement the export-oriented development model of primary products, they still hope to upgrade their industrial structure and To improve the degree of industrialization to achieve modernization and national rejuvenation, we are therefore very sensitive to the positive and negative effects of Sino-Latin American trade on its economic structure and the relative benefits derived from it. China is the largest trading partner of many Latin American countries. Since the 21st century, China's economic growth rate Changes in the economy even affect the economic trends of Latin American countries through China-Latin America trade. Therefore, in the interdependence between China and Latin America, Latin America is more dependent and vulnerable. It can be seen that the current China-Latin America relations are still rationalistic, interest-driven, and driven by factors. Relative income imbalance will cause conflicts

J D Lima y A Pellandra Mercaderes. *Comercio en América Latina y el Caribe*. Santiago: Cepal/Na ciones Unidas, 2017. p. 7 [US] Joseph Nye Jr., [Canada] By David Welch, translated by Zhang Xiaoming: «Understanding Global Conflict and Cooperation: Theory and History» Shanghai: Shanghai People's Publishing House, 2018, pp. 333-337

Although Latin America is often the initiator of conflicts due to its high sensitivity, both China and Latin America have the desire and motivation to transcend the current stage and move towards a higher level of cooperation.

Although the two important external variables that affect China-Latin America cooperation - China-US relations and US-Latin America relations have basically maintained the tone of interdependence, many uncertainties have emerged in recent years, which have brought geopolitical challenges to China-Latin America cooperation. First of all, the current Sino-US relations are at risk of slipping from compound interdependence to realism. Hegemonic stability theorists believe that there is a "hegemonic dilemma" between hegemonic countries and the liberal international economic order: in the early stages of the hegemonic cycle, hegemonic countries pursue more absolute gains and are willing to Maintaining a liberal international economic order that shortens the gap with competitors. In the later stage of the hegemonic cycle, the hegemonic country places more emphasis on relative gains and is more inclined to implement mercantilist policies, which will eventually lead to the decline or even collapse of the liberal international economic order. In the context of the rise of China and the decline of U.S. hegemony, the United States began to pay attention to the relative changes in the strategic positions of China and the United States and the changes in their relative benefits. It did not hesitate to abandon the free trade principles it had maintained for many years and launched a large-scale trade war and technological war against China, even at the expense of Issue a new Cold War threat to suppress China's development. In addition, hegemonic stability theorists believe that hegemonic replacement will occur between the United States and China. American scholar Nye believes that as long as strategic misjudgments do not occur, a war between China and the United States is not inevitable. But then the "Kindelberg Trap" theory was proposed, fearing that China would not be able to provide sufficient global public goods while rising, which would trigger the collapse of the global governance system. Secondly, the hegemonic intention of the United States' Latin American policy gradually returned. Reversing the trend of relative alienation from Latin America during the Bush and Obama administrations due to the war on terrorism and the "pivot to the Asia-Pacific", in order to regain control of Latin America and prevent countries such as China and Russia from "taking advantage of the opportunity", the Trump administration adjusted its relations after taking office Latin American policies, specifically: using values as standards to win over the Latin American right, attack the left, and contain the anti-American alliance, so as to deconstruct the internal cohesion and unity of the region, achieve the purpose of divide and rule, and weaken the dominance of Latin American countries by re-dominating institutions such as the Organization of American States. regional integration process in order to strengthen control and influence in the region, re-emphasize the value of the Monroe Doctrine, promote the "China Threat Theory", launch the investment and financing bill and the "America Growth" initiative and attack the Community of Latin American and Caribbean States (CELAC), the most important platform for overall cooperation between China and Latin America, in order to obstruct China-Latin America cooperation and

Y Yang Zengdao, Du Chengmin: "A substantial analysis of the "Kindelberg Trap", published in «Research on Ideological Education», Issue 7, 2018, page 75.

Y Rigorous: «Adjustments and changes in U.S. policy toward Latin America since Trump came to power. Its impact», Published in "Latin American Studies", 2020 Issue 2, pages 22-39.

Although the Trump administration changed its tough stance on Latin America after taking office, the overall policy of controlling Latin America through "supporting the right and fighting the left" remains unchanged. In 2021, the Biden administration launched the "Build Back a Better World" plan (B3W) and Excluding Latin American countries governed by left-wing governments such as Venezuela, in an attempt to further consolidate the United States' dominant position in Latin America.

To sum up, from the perspective of international political economics, the current main relationship between China and Latin America is interdependence and rationalistic competition. Their interdependence is asymmetric and depends on each other to varying degrees. There are differences due to unequal relative benefits. Therefore, China-Latin America relations are still in the Lockean culture. At this stage, the main path to realize this culture and the way of internalization of norms are still self-interest, and the main driving force of interdependence is still interests. The two factors affecting China-Latin America cooperation An important external variable—China-U.S. relations and U.S.-Latin America relations are also in the Lockean culture of interdependence, and their realist risks are intensifying. In order to enhance the ability of China-Latin America relations to resist internal and external risks, break through bottlenecks and improve quality, it is necessary to We must transcend the profit-driven Lockean culture and build a higher cultural level China-Latin America community with a shared future.

The construction of a community with a shared future between China and Latin America in the four futures: a constructivist perspective

The above article analyzes the current status and challenges of China-U.S.-Latin America trilateral relations from the perspective of international political economics theory. Next, we will use the constructivism theory of international political economics to analyze the path to build a community with a shared future for China and Latin America.

(1) Kantian culture: a construction logic of a China-Latin America community with a shared future.

Constructivist scholar Winter believes that the anarchy (culture) of international society is created by countries, and active choices can be made through actor interaction and social construction, that is, culture It is a self-fulfilling prophecy. Actors form shared concepts during the interaction process, reconstruct the identity and interests of actors, and promote structural changes in practice, realizing the leap from Locke culture to Kant culture. Kant culture uses the role structure of friendship (but the concept of friendship only involves national security, that is, not waging war against each other, and there will be conflicts between friends in other fields), friendship has no time limit, and the way to internalize norms that is more suitable for Kantian culture is not self-interest. Rather, it is legitimacy, that is, the actor sincerely believes that the constraints are reasonable, and thus willingly abides by relevant norms and systems. Although the above theory limits the concept of friendship in Kantian culture to the field of collective security, its construction of national identity and interests Logic provides us with inspiration for the approach to creating a new type of international relations. We can set the future construction of a community with a shared future between China and Latin America as a healthy

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The construction process of the German Cultural Friendship Community: On the existing basis, China and Latin America continue to have extensive and in-depth interactions through bilateral, multilateral exchanges and overall cooperation, seeking consensus in China's concept of a community of shared future and Latin American countries' global governance concepts. Form more shared concepts, obtain recognition from all parties through existing or new systems, and then construct new actor identities and interests, reduce the component of self-interested identity, establish more collective identities, and establish close ties in concepts and culture. Spiritual ties and partnerships form a friendly community based on the role structure of friendship.

There is a certain foundation for the formation of such a friendly community between China and Latin America. First, China-Latin America relations have laid a solid foundation at the material level. After decades of spontaneous and independent development, China-Latin America economic and trade relations have already developed in the second decade of the 21st century. The trade volume of goods and services between China and Latin America has been increasing day by day. China has become the second largest trading partner in Latin America, second only to the United States, and has even become the largest trading partner of some Latin American countries. China has cooperated with Chile and Peru. It has signed a free trade agreement with Costa Rica and is negotiating free trade agreements with more Latin American countries. Latin America has become the second largest destination for China's overseas investment. The investment increment and stock are increasing, and the investment entities, objects and regions are becoming increasingly diversified. On this basis, Latin America has become a natural extension of the "21st Century Maritime Silk Road". More and more Latin American countries have signed "Belt and Road" co-construction agreements with China. In addition, China and Brazil, two major countries, have taken advantage of the "BRICS" "National" cooperation mechanism leads China-Latin America cooperation. Many Latin American countries have joined the Asian Infrastructure Investment Bank, the People's Bank of China has joined the Inter-American Development Bank, and China has established the China-Latin America Industrial Capacity Cooperation Investment Fund. A series of measures have helped China-Latin America economic, trade and financial cooperation reach a new level. Second, China and Latin America have formed more and more consensus at the conceptual level. Xi Jinping has visited Latin America four times since he took office as president. China has issued two policy documents on Latin America. China and Latin America have held two ministerial-level forums on China and Latin America. At the meeting, both parties had broad consensus on international political affairs, global economic governance, globalization, free trade, implementation of the 2030 Agenda for Sustainable Development, response to climate change, network security and other issues. Both sides agreed with the United Nations, the World Trade Organization and other international organizations. mechanism and the basic principles of the global governance system, and has extensive cooperation on some international multilateral stages such as APEC and the Group of Twenty (G20). Third, China and Latin America already have a certain collective identity and common interests. In the second half of the 20th century, China and Latin America share the collective identity of a third world country and a developing country, share weal and woe in international affairs, cooperate sincerely at the United Nations and other multilateral occasions, jointly oppose imperialism and hegemonism, and jointly safeguard the rights and interests of world peace and their own development. Currently, As representatives of developing countries and emerging economies, China and Latin America both oppose unilateralism, bullying and trade protectionism. They hope to promote world multipolarity and democratization of international relations, and enhance the voice of developing countries in international affairs. rights and safeguard the common interests of both parties and developing countries. In short, although there are certain differences in culture and values between China and Latin America, they do not have the same shared concepts and values that are naturally shared between North Atlantic countries or EU countries. collective identity, but between China and La

There is sufficient political mutual trust, and the friendship between the two peoples has been profound since ancient times. There are basically no geopolitical contradictions and conflicts. There is basically no sense of psychological superiority caused by cultural centralism on either side. Both sides agree on "peace, development, fairness, justice, and democracy." ", freedom" and the common desire of all mankind for economic development and prosperity. In addition, China and Latin America have a common desire to strengthen interaction and form a collective identity and collective interests. If one party is passive or resistant, the conditions for building a community with a shared future are met.

(2) How can the construction path of a China-Latin America

community with a shared future develop the limited Lockean cultural identity into a full Kantian cultural identity and expand the category of collective identity? Wendt pointed out that culture is conservative in nature, and changes in the system structure are very difficult. Important things in the system Actors (generally referring to major powers) must change their behavior and persistently carry out "pro-social" activities that create friends, in order to break the internal roots (actors' own expected needs for security and order) and external roots (systems) that maintain the stability of the system. rewards and punishments for behavior), leading to changes in culture and an increase in collective identity. ¶ As a major country with increasing influence in the world, China has taken an active role in Sino-Latin America relations in recent years, creatively proposing many ideas and plans of strategic significance. The two sides have shown more initiative in their interactions. In 2014, President Xi Jinping proposed that China and Latin America should build political sincerity and mutual trust, win-win economic and trade cooperation, mutual learning in humanities, close collaboration in international affairs, overall cooperation and mutual benefit in bilateral relations. The new "five-in-one" pattern of Sino-Latin American relations promoted by China has been widely recognized by Latin American countries. China's positive actions have opened the way for China and Latin America to build a community with a shared future with Kantian cultural characteristics. In the future, China will continue to cooperate with Latin American countries in politics, Strengthen interaction in the economic and cultural fields. First, resolve existing conflicts through higher-level cooperation at the material level, build a more stable community of interests, and create material conditions for the construction of shared concepts. Secondly, strengthen exchanges and mutual learning at the cultural level to build a community of values, thereby Comprehensively construct shared concepts, collective identity and collective interests.

First, strengthen cooperation in global governance. In the context of changing international situations, increasing realist threats, intensified non-traditional risks, and setbacks in globalization, clarify and deepen China-Latin America's shared concept of building a community with a shared future through sincere interaction, consolidate and Strengthen the collective identity and common interests of both parties as existing partners in international politics. In the process of participating in the global economic and trade division of labor and integrating into the world system, China has gradually gained a clearer understanding of its own responsibilities and roles in global governance. In 2008 all Events such as the global financial crisis have led to "global governance failure", and the rising power of emerging economies has led to global power. transfer, the relative decline of Western developed countries and the emergence of anti-globalization trends, and the lagging reform of global governance rules.

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Under the circumstances, China has proposed Chinese plans such as building a community with a shared future for mankind, calling on all countries to properly handle conflicts of interests and ideas, and take into account the legitimate concerns of other countries and the common interests of the world.

There are 33 countries in Latin America, which have important positions and agenda-setting capabilities in international organizations. It has high collective bargaining power in multilateral forums of global governance. It has more say in the existing international system because it has Western cultural traditions and values. At the same time, it actively speaks for developing countries. China should take advantage of Latin America's experience in global governance. position, use it as a breakthrough in building a community with a shared future for mankind, explain China's global governance concepts to Latin America and then the West, use existing international mechanisms to gain more recognition of Chinese concepts and solutions, strive for more consensus, and build a community with a shared future. collective identity

Second, to achieve a higher level of economic cooperation, strengthen China-Latin America production capacity cooperation through the "Belt and Road" platform, build a new collective identity of industry chain reshapers, and resolve the relative income distribution discrepancy on the premise of ensuring win-win results and absolute gains for both parties. Conflicts brought about by all, build new win-win collective interests in the international value chain, show enough sincerity to make friends, and truly breathe the same breath and share a common destiny. In the period when the center-right dominates the political ecology of Latin America, many countries hope to strengthen the Cooperate with the United States to integrate into the global value chain. The Trump administration has proposed "America First", encouraged the return of manufacturing, withdrawn from the Trans-Pacific Partnership Agreement (TPP), renegotiated the North American Free Trade Agreement (NAFTA), etc. These measures have forced Latin American countries to re-adjust their international cooperation orientations and turn more attention to China's "One Belt, One Road" and production capacity cooperation initiatives. Although the Trump administration proposed the "Growth in the Americas" initiative and the The White House government proposed the "Build Back a Better World" (B3W) initiative. However, these two initiatives have not yet had a significant impact or substitution effect on the "One Belt, One Road" initiative in Latin America. Most Latin American countries have little regard for the initiatives and initiatives of China and the United States. Both countries are open to investment. At present, the conflicts between China and Latin America in the economic and trade field mainly come from the negative impact of trade imbalance on the upgrading of Latin America's industrial structure. China proposes to export the entire industry that has competitive advantages in the country and adapts to the input needs of the host country, and then It has developed into a global redistribution of various production links in the enterprise's production value chain, which can help host countries establish a more complete industrial system and manufacturing capabilities. Currently, the global industrial chain structure is facing the possibility of adjustment and reorganization due to the impact of the new coronavirus epidemic. This is a good opportunity for China Latin America's production capacity cooperation provides new opportunities. China and Latin America should take advantage of China's comparative advantages and complementarity in capital factors and Latin America's labor factors, and carry out production capacity cooperation in different industries based on the Chinese market, Latin America's local market, and third-party markets. At the same time, we should do a good job in building external mechanisms such as laws and regulations, thereby promoting the industrial transformation and upgrading of Latin American countries while realizing the development of Chinese industries towards high-end manufacturing, and achieving a common leap and win-win situation between China and Latin America in the global value chain. This new collective identity and collective benefits

It can effectively reduce the imbalance of relative income distribution, thereby reducing conflicts and enhancing

friendship. Third, achieve more effective people-to-people and cultural exchanges. Through mutual learning and mutual learning, the gap and misunderstandings can be reduced, so that China and Latin America can transcend the utilitarian relationship of pure rationalism. China and Latin America have established close spiritual ties and partnerships in terms of culture and culture. China and Latin America have similar historical experiences and fates in modern times. The two sides already understand and sympathize with each other. They advocate defending human dignity, pursuing equality and justice, and advocating cultural diversity. There is a consensus on socialism and "decentralization". In recent years, cultural exchanges between China and Latin America have expanded from traditional areas of cooperation such as theatrical performances, exhibitions, and art festivals to new areas of cooperation such as cultural industry, media, study abroad, and academic exchanges. However, according to surveys Although the proportion of people in Latin American countries who have a positive attitude towards China is higher than that of major Western developed countries, it is far lower than the proportion of people in African countries who have a positive attitude towards China. In addition, the people in Latin American countries have a positive perception of the United States and even Japan. Higher than China. This not only shows the doubts and misunderstandings about China caused by Western media's false reports and "neo-colonialism" remarks to Latin Americans, it also exposes problems with China's external communication strategy. For a long time, China will The external communication mechanism is regarded as a "monologue" process between subjects and objects, hoping to rely on unilateral "movement-style" external publicity to improve the international image. Constructivism, on the other hand, emphasizes that subjects should continue to interact and mutually shape their identities to form a Shared understanding and expectations, a shared concept and relationship culture. National image is not an objectively established individual object and a product of self-design, but a national identity and a relationship of mutual recognition between countries. The dissemination of national image must be through the international The practice of social interaction constructs positive identity and shared concepts, and seeks other countries' positive recognition and positive recognition of their own country. It can be seen that in the future, China should concentrate on studying how to truly enter Latin America as a friend, think what Latin America thinks, and talk to each other heart to heart. Only in this way can friendship transcend interests and not be afraid of tests.

Most Latin American countries have responded positively to the interactions initiated by China in various fields, because strengthening cooperation with China is obviously in line with their fundamental interests: economically, taking advantage of the "China opportunity" to integrate into the Asia-Pacific industrial chain, promote their own "re-industrialization" process, and achieve Industrial structure upgrade. Politically, cooperation with the Asia-Pacific region (especially China) is used to strengthen diplomatic diversification, enhance its diplomatic autonomy, and stabilize the hegemony of the United States in the region. Currently, the political landscape of major Latin American countries is undergoing a "left turn " Situation

Editor-in-Chief Wu Baiyi: "China-Latin America Relations Facing the New Era", Beijing: China Social Sciences Press, 2020, Page 245, Page 251, Page 266, Page 268,

Editor-in-Chief Wu Baiyi: "China-Latin America Relations Facing the New Era", Beijing: China Social Sciences Press, 2020, Page 245, Page 251, Page 266, Page 268,

Feng Ruogu: « "Mutual shaping of identities" and "relationship culture" - the view of external communication from the perspective of constructivist international relations theory» Published in "Modern Communication", Issue 5, 2015, pp. 51-54.

Zhong Xin, Zhang Chao: «Four dimensions and two communication paths of China's image as a great power in the new era—an analysis based on Xi Jinping's relevant expositions Analysis» Published in "Journal of Renmin University of China", Issue 3, 2020, Page 40

Editor-in-Chief Wu Baiyi: "China-Latin America Relations Facing the New Era", Beijing: China Social Sciences Press, 2020, p. 32.

Although trade is highly complementary, unreasonable factors in the trade structure and cooperation model are objectively not conducive to the transformation and upgrading of Latin America's industrial structure, thus triggering negative sentiments in Latin American countries towards China-Latin America cooperation. In addition, the United States has always regarded Latin America as its "backyard" "In the context of intensified competition between China and the United States, we are even more sensitive to China's every move in Latin America. Therefore, the internal contradictions and external adverse conditions in China-Latin America relations make the construction of a community with a shared future between China and Latin America face huge challenges. If China and Latin America on the one hand If it can transcend the utilitarian relationship of pure rationalism and realize the leap from Lockean culture to Kantian culture, and on the other hand, it can improve the quality of China-Latin America relations under the conditions of the existence of American hegemony factors, then it will become an important part of major-country diplomacy with Chinese characteristics in the

new era. A model, it will surely make an important contribution to building a community with a shared future for mankind. The anarchy of Kantian culture is created by the state and is the result of the interaction and social construction of actors. As an influential big country, China must act actively and take advantage of international multilateral mechanisms and China-Latin America bilateral and overall cooperation platforms to carry out broader and deeper interactions with Latin American countries, and form more shared concepts and group identities based on the existing political consensus. Through global governance cooperation, production capacity cooperation and people-to-people and cultural exchanges, mutual exchanges Shape a new collective identity and construct new collective interests. The construction of a China-Latin America community with a shared future can draw on the logic of constructivist theory. But at the same time, we should make it clear that constructivism belongs to Western international relations theory. The Kantian cultural friendly community proposed by Winter is based on The West is the center and expands to the East, and limits the concept of friendship to the field of collective security. The community of a shared future for mankind is a concept that embodies Chinese wisdom. It directly takes the world as the unit of analysis, is more inclusive, and extends the concept of collective interests to security. , politics, economy, sustainable development, culture and other fields, it is a true community of destiny.

Currently, we are developing from an interdependent world system to a global symbiosis system with global political and economic integration as the goal of a community with a shared future for mankind, basic harmony of interests among countries, and lasting world peace. ̃ This is a long and difficult process. The United States The differences between factors and cultures between China and Latin America are the main challenges in building a community with a shared future for China and Latin America. The global economic downturn exacerbated by the epidemic may also temporarily make national interests more important than group interests. Therefore, China-Latin America relations will be based on rationalism. The tortuous development between realistic considerations and constructivist ideal expectations.

(Editor-in-charge Wang Shuai)