

A Gramscian Analysis on the Increase of Chinese Soft Power: Organic Intellectuals Perspective

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Abstract: China's increasing soft power is reshaping the world intensively and profoundly. From the Gramscian analysis, the world largest organic intellectuals was formatted with Chinese characteristics which benefited the growth of China, since, the reform and opening up to the outside by "seeking truth from facts" and "crossing river by touching stepping stones". Reviewed a range of policies and actions from China, this study focuses on the making mode of organic intellectuals both inbound and outbound by "Philosophy of Praxis" with "War of position" and "War of Manoeuvre" respectively and Great Mekong Subregion (GMS) is the obvious area influenced by the dynamical deployment with "War of position" and "War of Manoeuvre". Under the ideologies like "One Belt and one Road Initiative"(BRI), Communist Party of China (CPC) bounds the common sense with worldwide infrastructure construction and improves the living of local people, to establish the community of shared future for human being in the world and counter the hegemony from the outside in order to reshape the world with new order in intangible revolution; Which demonstrates soft power shifting between two powers and ideologies (Socialism and capitalism) from one historical bloc to a new one in the large scale. Thus, China firmly took the advantage on superstructure which could comprehensively deploy all the resources inbound and outbound to eliminate obstacles and counter the hegemony from the outside by the interests bounded community of shared future. Otherwise, this kind of revolution with Chinese characteristics could stir contemporary historical bloc in the world and deployed the world political society and civil society in to a new order.

Key words: China's soft power, Gramscian analysis, organic intellectuals, philosophy of praxis, war of position, War of Manoeuvre, Great Mekong Subregion (GMS)

INTRODUCTION

Antonio Gramsci an Italian Marxist could never imagine that his thoughts from the prison in Turi (a town in the province of Bari and Region of Apulia, Southern Italy) was emerging in the largest socialist power of the world within 100 years after his termination on socialism thinking (Gramsci, 2000). These conception of political superstructure has been penetrated into the 19th National Congress of the Communist Party of China (NCCPC) as ambitious blueprint to secure a decisive victory in building a moderately prosperous society in all respects and strive for the great success of socialism with Chinese characteristics for a new era before 2035 (Jinping, 2017).

From 19 July 1928 to 19 November 1933, Antonio Gramsci wrote more than 30 notebooks and 3,000 pages of history and analysis during his imprisonment. These compiled masterpieces named Prison Notebooks (Gramsci, 1971), along with his Pre-Prison writings (Dated back

to 31 October 1914, Gramsci, 1994) have considered as Gramscism to develop the socialism based on the Marxism theory and enriched socialism in 20th century. These historical and critical insights emphasis the relationship between political superstructure and economic foundation with new terminologies as the followings: Civil society and political society, Hegemony (Counter-hegemony), philosophy of praxis, War of Manoeuvre/War of position, historic bloc as well as organic intellectuals and so forth.

In the 1980's, most works of Gramsci's ideological leadership and its enlightenment which had been introduced and translated from Italian into English, emerged the mainstream International Relations (IR) and the Global Political Economy (GPE) approaches by Robert Cox. Neo-Gramscianism applies a critical theory approach to the study of International Relations (IR) that Neo-Gramscianism analyzes how the particular constellation of social forces, the state as well as the

dominant configuration define and sustain world orders, and explores the interface of ideas, institutions and material capabilities as they shape the specific contours of the state formation (Cox, 1981, 1983). The core ideology of hegemony used as Neo-Gramscism to analyze historical materialist problems of social transformation. Rather than a problem-solving preoccupation with the maintenance of social power relationships, this critical theory of hegemony directs attention to questioning the prevailing order of the world by the process of changing (Cox, 1981). Meanwhile, it was helpful to understand how existing social or world orders have come into being how norms, institutions or practices therefore emerge and what forces may have the emancipatory potential to change or transform the prevailing order with a continual process of historical change and with exploring the potential for alternative forms of development (Cox, 1981).

On the influence of organic intellectuals and philosophy of praxis from Gramscism, China defines and emphasizes intellectuals both in the Constitution of the Communist Party of China (2017) and the Constitution of the People's Republic of China (2018) which was revised during the second session of President Xi Jinping's governance from 2017. Consecutively, China's increasing soft power shocked the Western world and resisted the hegemony from America by the reform and open door policy, since, 1978. China not only enhanced its economic foundations but also emerged the largest scale organic intellectuals in the world to affect the political superstructure by the Philosophy of Praxis which vividly demonstrated China's social process of formation and development in this complicated dynamic world, especially, the anti-hegemony of the capitalism by the socialism practice with Chinese characteristics.

Literature review

Intellectuals defined and Chinese traditional intellectuals: Historically and socially, intellectual has different understandings from different viewpoints. Intellectuals constitute the intelligentsia, a status class organized either by ideology (conservative, fascist, socialist, liberal, reactionary, revolutionary, democratic, communist intellectuals) or by nationality (American intellectuals, French intellectuals, Ibero-American intellectuals). The contemporary conception of intellectual originated from the intelligentsiya of Tsarist Russia (1860's-1870's), the social stratum of those possessing intellectual formation (schooling, education, Enlightenment) and who were Russian society's counterpart to the German Bildungsbürgertum and to the French Bourgeoisie Eclairée, the enlightened middle classes of those realms (Williams, 1983).

During the Spring and Autumn period of Chinese history, the extremely sage departed teacher Confucius or named Sage Kong emphasized the importance of education and cultivation of intellectuals. In the Confucian Analects (Confucian, 1933) which was one of the four Confucius Classics, discussed that "When the man in office has an abundance (of energy) he studies when the studious man has an abundance he goes into office" (Confucius, 1933). Moreover, these kinds of spirits emerged the devotion tradition of serving themselves to the country as Chinese intellectuals. That is the reason why Chinese always pays great attentions to foster Chinese style intellectuals in a long history. Even to now, all families would wish to transfer their children into intellectuals through the best education and all levels of government prefer to choose the suitable intellectuals to serve the country. Pursue a civil servant post through the most fierce national examination is always the primary choice to many Chinese intellectuals.

For more than 2000 years, Confucianism dominated Chinese culture and society consequently, meanwhile, Chinese intellectuals was the obvious transmitter of Confucianism which bear the ideology of diverse Confucian ideas in their values and social life to constitute the organizational norms to devote themselves for the state. Without the co-operation of the intellectuals, the PRC as a modern nation-state and socialism with Chinese characteristics as the of social ideology could not have held legitimacy (Ko, 2001).

In the most dangerous or crucial moment, it was Chinese intellectual who embed their patriotism, intelligence and even life to initiate the salvation for the whole country which consecutively lasts for more than 5000 years in the human history. Chinese intellectuals bundled themselves with the historical revolutions and reforms (Spence, 1981). During the WWII, Peking University, Tsinghua University and Nankai University moved South and integrated as National Southwest Associated University in Kunming from 1937-1945. It absorbed Chinese intellectuals to foster all kinds of elites and talents who devoted themselves to the revolution and construction of the nation and the achievement is the miracle in the world education history.

Gramsci emphasized that one of the most important characteristics of any group that is developing toward dominance is its struggle to assimilate and to conquer "ideologically" the traditional intellectuals (Gottlieb, 1989). In this regard, Chinese traditional intellect's mission which shared and overlapped with Communist Party of China (CPC) is to make China prosperous and succeed in socialism with Chinese characteristics for a new era.

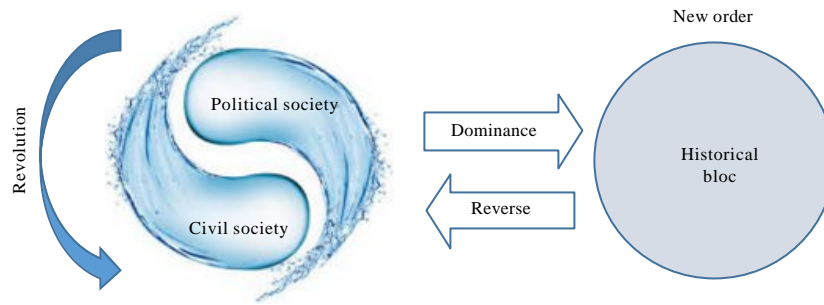


Fig. 1: Yingyang transformation model between political society and civil society

Organic intellectuals and philosophy of praxis in China:

From the perspective of marxism, Gramsci discovered the close relationship between intellectuals and political society or so called the state. Gramsci believe that everyone could be intellectual. However, organicism is the feature to distinguish the organic intellectuals and various intellectual strata measured by the degree of organicism. Therefore, two major super-structural “levels” came into being: “civil society” from the private part and the other “political society” for the state part. These two superstructures could transferred by the function of “hegemony” which part took the “direct domination” or command exercised through the state and “Juridical” government (Gramsci, 2000) which vividly in line with the dynamic transformation of Chinese Yingyang thoughts. CPC was the successful example and practitioner of this historical transformer from 1949, since, the People’s Republic of China (PRC) founded (Fig. 1).

Gramsci is the first Marxism theorist who emphasized the positive effect from criticism of “Praxis”, a philosophy of praxis cannot but present itself at the outset in a polemical and critical guise as superseding the existing mode of thinking and existing concrete thought (the existing cultural world). Gramsci (2000) “Praxis” is a kind of action to apply the socialism into real world, meanwhile, the critical thoughts from this action could give feedback to the theory itself and modify it specifically.

Deng Xiaoping, regarded as the architect of China’s reform program, fully acted the philosophy of praxis as “seeking truth from facts” and believed that facts-whether emanating from the East or West-should serve as the ultimate criterion for establishing truth (Zhou and Zhang, 2018). It was he as the leader of CPC realized the value of intellectuals, especially, the organic intellectuals and determined to change China with the power of Chinese organic intellectuals. Reflecting on the critical thoughts of turbulent “Cultural Revolution” (1966-76), he had found the importance of transfer the traditional intellectuals into organic intellectuals and believed that they are the reliable

allies and effective powers to combat the hegemony from the West World and help China find the independent and effective development path with Chinese characteristics. Taking the power of CPC and PRC, the National College Entrance Examination (Gaokao) rearranged in 1977, even commandeered the papers ready for publishing Quotations of Chairman Mao into the testing booklets for Gaokao. During the deepening process of reform and open up, Deng had investigated many frontier industries both domestic and overseas for himself. Through examining contemporary facts under Deng’s leadership, China concluded that neither the Soviet Model of communism, nor the Western system of liberal democracy could really empower a developing country in achieving modernization, exploring its own path of Chinese characteristic development by “crossing river by feeling for stepping stones” vividly demonstrated the function of “Praxis”. Under the guidance of Deng’s thoughts which furthered the Marxism into the contemporary China, combination strength of the market’s invisible hand and the visible hand of state intervention effectively corrected market failures in the name as the socialist market economy and rose steady and swiftly as the world’s second largest economy in 2010.

MATERIALS AND METHODS

The method used was descriptive method to unveil the correlation between the increased soft power and organic intellectuals formation of China. Descriptive study starting from a literature review of traditional, organic intellectuals and the relative Gramsci analysis terms. Then aggregate the organic intellectuals both from inbound and outbound by different means to make its formation trend to discover the Counter-Hegemony Model from the organic intellectual perspective. Otherwise, the GMS area was an case study to observe the dynamic deployment of “War of position” and “War of Manoeuvre”. Finally, the phenomena of the largest organic intellectuals in the world was emerging.

This study used a qualitative approach. Data obtained from documents, books, journals and other mass media and relative online data have no exception. All the data described and analyzed to responded to the research questions systematically and purposefully.

The research design was analyzing existing data (both text data and numeric data) by discourse analysis, content analysis, textual criticism, historical studies and secondary data analysis.

RESULTS AND DISCUSSION

China provides the largest intellectuals and international students mobility in the world: The 40 year's development not only enhanced the economical foundation but also changed the common sense of the civil society, especially, the intellectuals. The concepts knowledge is power and time is life is rooted into the mind of Chinese people. In results, the demands of education, especially, tertiary-level (higher education) increased. Even the enlarged acceptance policy from China's Ministry of Education could not meet the increasing needs. Although, nearly 7 million Chinese students could obtain the opportunity provided by domestic Higher Education Institution (HEI) they desired, there are more than 2 million who complete their secondary education career successfully but who for the limited university acceptance through Gaokao and unbalanced regional policies are unable to enter the type of domestic university they would prefer. Based on the largest population scale with more than 1.3 billion, China could provide more than 9 million new intellectuals every single year.

Younger Chinese tend to be more open-minded and adventurous than many of the people of older generations and, for some of them, studying overseas offers various attractive options. Therefore, China became the largest international student's mobility provider in the world. According to the report of Anonymous (2017), the rise in international mobile students reflects growing university enrollment around the world. In 2013, under the promotion of "One Belt and One Road Initiative"(BRI) proposed by Chinese President Xi Jinping, more than 4.1 million students left China to study abroad, up from 2 million in 2000, representing 1.8% of all tertiary enrollment or 2 in 100 students globally. Most Chinese international students choose traditional destination represent the advanced science and technology, such as the United States, United Kingdom, Canada and Australia in the West world.

However, the global political and economic factors, such as Brexit and Professor strikes in UK, Trumponomics

and visa limits in US, rising tuition and discrimination on Chinese in Australia, obviously and intensively affected the global international students mobility, especially, the international Chinese students which occupied the lion share of this market. The latest global flow of tertiary-level students from UNESCO states that China contributes the number of 712,517 mobile students abroad in 2014 and 4,202 students of them choose Thailand as the destination country while American new international students declined for the first time as emerging trend (Anonymous, 2017). The data not only demonstrated the changed global international students markets by Chinese intellectuals but also the potential of emerging BRI countries and areas as well. Those Chinese intellectuals to be are willing to explore more under the state strategies such as BRI and involve themselves to the integration of the destination countries and areas with China's go abroad guideline. Consequently, this trend are more obvious with the increasing soft power of China.

Inbound intellectuals

Organism infiltration by the "War of position": Since, the intensive emphasis of Deng Xiaoping and the great role of Chinese intellectuals played in the course of communist construction, intellectuals defined, described legally and considered as the important constituent part of worker class while worker class leads the dictatorship in China as a socialist country.

Marxism has being spread through all kinds of and all level education institutions. Every student should take compulsory subjects in the name of ideological and political education system during all the schooling ranged from kindergarten to post-doctoral research station.

This tradition dates back to the 1950's, all HEIs rearranged and adjusted when newly founded China learned from the Soviet Union of Russia as big brother. Take the tertiary-level education for example, Section of Marxism or School of Marxism (SMARX) exists in every HEI to conduct the research and teaching affairs on Marxism, Leninism, Mao Zedong thoughts, Deng Xiaoping theory, Three represents thoughts and now Xi Jinping's Governance (Table 1).

These ideological and political compulsory courses with total 16 credits intensively distributed in the first half of undergraduates and graduate's curricula of all kinds of programs usually occupied 10% of all the total courses.

SMARXs confirm that all the tertiary-level students could obtain the general philosophy of Marxism and its application in contemporary China, meanwhile, these compulsory marxism courses transmit the organic infiltration of socialism into the organic intellectuals to be

Table 1: Ideological and political education compulsory course system in hei of China: a summary

Course name	Duration (Semesters)	Credits
Introduction to Mao Zedong thought and theoretical system of socialism with Chinese characteristics	2	3+3
Ideological and moral cultivation and legal basis	1	3
Introduction to basic principles of marxism	1	3
Outline of modern history in China	1	2
Current trends and policy	4	0.5+0.5+0.5+0.5

by improving in ideological quality and political awareness. According to the survey of MOE, more than 91% college students inspired by this kind of course and 91.8% college students regarded these lecturers as their favorite teachers (Shaoyang, 2018).

On the other hand, Fundamental Communist Branches (Branches for Short) play the role of inbound transformation on organic intellectuals. They organized different kinds of lectures, exhibitions, field trips to interpret and propagandize marxism in Chinese styles. The secretary, the head of different levels branches is in charge of the organizational management and looking for the suitable CPC member candidates. It was reported by the CPC official newspaper people’s daily on 4 May 2017 that, there are more than 2.11 million “fresh blood” college students CPC members (which occupied 7.7% of the whole college students in China) and 79,600 college students CPC branches in all the HEIs until June 2016 (Shuo, 2017). Among all of them, Top HEI such as Chinese Academy of Sciences University (CASU) ranked number 1 for its CPC members achieved 22,914 which means more than half of the intellectuals in this top university are keeping the oath of CPC and faithful to socialism. As president Xi Jinping has carrying on the open policy both domestic and abroad more and more intellectuals are willing to join in the party. The CPC members play a pioneering role on spread socialism and branch construction.

Meanwhile, China amplified the soft power effect on attracts foreign tertiary-level students, such as Chinese Government scholarship which attracts 49,022 Foreign students (occupied 11% of all the Foreign students in China) from 183 countries in 2016, Youth of Excellence Scheme of China (YES China) recruit outstanding Youth with whole scholarship even including the free accommodation and two way flight tickets. These kinds of leveraged policies effectively made China as No. 1 international student’s destination country in Asia with 440,000 Foreign students from 205 countries in 2016. Top 10 providers are Korea, America, Thailand, Pakistan, India, Russia, Indonesia, Kazakhstan, Japan and Vietnam, Students from 64 BRI countries achieved 207,746 which merely occupied half of the total foreign students in China (Cheng, 2018).

Specialized to the 14 bordering countries, China running the borderland based International University Plan (Country Gate University) to absorb the tertiary-level education seekers from neighboring countries and integrate the cultural and social exchanges in borderland.

The study experience in China provides the Foreign students an opportunity to observe and feel the real development of contemporary China. Most of the Foreign students impressed by the new four inventions in China: High-speed trains, shared bike, online shopping, mobile payments. That helps Foreigners better understand China by themselves to decline the journalism hegemony from the outsiders.

Chinese-Foreign Cooperative Run Educational Projects are increasing to 2413 in the tertiary-level education until June 2016 and hold more than 1,600,000 college students to experience the foreign teaching style without going abroad (Jinhui, 2016). Many leading universities, such as Nottingham University Ningbo, New York University Shanghai, Xi’an Jiaotong-Liverpool University (Suzhou) are providing international programs on these satellite campuses with their Chinese shareholders. These kinds of cooperative programs attract many advanced Foreign experts to join in and their real experiences are the strong reflection of contemporary society and culture in China. The State Administration of Foreign Experts Affairs and The State Immigration Administration was officially set up to manage and oversee the Foreign experts and the officials do condolence regularly to their responded foreign experts. In addition, the “high-end foreign talents” would be award the long-term visa schemes in line with their contribution. Nobel Prize laureate Kurt Wuethrich of Switzerland receives a permanent residence card along with five other Foreign experts in Shanghai on April 2 of 2018 (Wenting, 2018).

Apart from the huge tertiary-level system with more than 3000 Chinese HEIs, new pattern of various universities with private capitals and regional resources to support high-end technological and scientific research are growing fast. Located in Cloud Valley (Hangzhou, China’s Southeast Zhejiang Province which could expected to the East Silicon Valley) and based on

Westlake Institute for Advanced Study (WIAS which was initiated by commercial giant Jack Ma and scientist Shi Yigong), China's first private research university Westlake University (<http://www.wias.org.cn/english-xh.html>) was officially approved by Chinese Government on April 3 of 2018. It aims to establish itself as an elite private world-class research university to absorb the elites and experts from the whole world (Normile, 2018). By training and nurturing top-level innovative talents, Westlake University intends to provide regional entrepreneurial opportunities to strengthen China's scientific capacity. During the national two sessions (the National People's Congress, NPC and the Chinese People's Political Consultative Conference, CPPCC) of March 2018, new excellent central university system proposed to set up in Xiongan New Area. President Xi Jinping remarked this new district near to Beijing in April 1 of 2017 as the site for his "thousand-year" plan to transform the capital and high technology hub and showcase of the country's latest innovations.

All the policies and measures are intensively tally with the "War of position" philosophy which was a revolutionary term to demonstrate the dynamic integration from economy to politic and technology (Gramsci, 2000).

Outbound intellectuals

"War of Manoeuvre" with Chinese characteristics:

Under Deng Xiaoping's initiative on exchange scholars abroad, Ministry of Education (MOE) of PRC founded Chinese Service Center for Scholarly Exchange (CSCSE) as a public organization to engage in international education services on support, oversee and authenticate the study of overseas Chinese Students. Since the opening up year of 1978 to the end of 2016, there are 4,586,600 Chinese students in total study abroad and 2,651,100 come back to China. During 2013 to 2016, there are 1,942,100 Chinese students in total study abroad and 1,559,900 come back to China (Cheng, 2018). The figure of last 4 years is nearly half-equal to the total. Chinese students obviously influenced by BRI in recent years. In addition, the guideline of higher education 2035 is still encourage Chinese students go abroad to learn not only advanced science and technology but also the culture and custom.

Under the close connection of Chinese digital giants BATJ (Baidu with AI and cloud services, Alibaba with mobile payment, Tencent with QQ and Wechat and Jingdong with global logistic networks), overseas Chinese students could easily communicate with their relatives and friends and do the business by themselves, such as startup online shop to sell the overseas commodities.

Compared to elder overseas Chinese, the new generations are more open mind and adventurous instead of only strive for life or struggle and most of them are educated in tertiary-level HEIs and active to explore the destination country and region. These outbound Chinese intellectuals are the treasures to contribute their talents for the development of China.

China carries on strict and systematic regulations on overseas tertiary-level Chinese students in different process. Recommended Universities from overseas countries (Must be MOU partners of China) are announced on the official website of MOE of PRC, the overseas schooling period should surpass 70% of the total program duration, otherwise, the diploma could not be recognized and accepted by Chinese government. During the schooling, education office of Chinese Embassy will oversee the whole process and react at the very time if the program goes wrong, only the owner of overseas diploma with education visa meets the requirement of at least 9 months stay in the destination country could apply certification for returned overseas students to the embassy. This certificate could provide the owner convenience on household registration in big cities and developed areas, better salary and benefits, even discount on purchase auto cars. These thrifty measures supervise the overseas studies of Chinese students and encourage these overseas intellectuals to return.

On the other hand, under the strategy of "China goes abroad" and BRI, profound changes have taking place around the world. China have integrated to the world by policy coordination, facilities connectivity, unimpeded trade, financial integration and people-to-people bond, so, as to establish the mutual understanding and flourish together community of shared interests, destiny and responsibility.

During November 30 to December 3 of 2017, Chinese President Xi Jinping initiated the first ever CPC in Dialogue with World Political Parties High-level Meeting in Beijing. It is the first major multilateral diplomacy event after the 19th CPC National Congress and the first time for CPC dialogues directly with more than 200 various kinds of parties from more than 120 countries (Jinping, 2017). Meanwhile, it is the first political party leader conference with most attendees in the world to discuss on building the community of shared future on all around for human beings that was the outcome as Beijing Initiative (BJI). This milestone event proposed the solution to the world and future with Chinese characteristics and wisdom.

Confucius Institute (CI) is the successful example of counter the hegemony of English globalization. There are many similar language promotion programs in the world, such as France's L'Alliance Francaise (1883), Italy's

Societa Dante Alighieri (1889), Britain's British Council (1934), Germany's Goethe Institut (1951) and Spain's Instituto Cervantes (1991), Portugal's Instituto Camoes (1992). Unlike these pioneers, CI (2004) cooperates with local affiliate tertiary-level HEI around the world under the sponsorship and monitoring from Hanban (officially the Office of Chinese Language Council International) and one partner HEI from China. These three-party shared and on campus operated CIs not only provide various Chinese courses and hold the HSK Examination (Chinese proficiency test) but also conduct the research on China and train the local Chinese language teachers. Furthermore, this tringle-benefited collaboration makes full use of three parties and effectively demonstrates the rise of China soft power compared to the single teaching model of the same kind from other countries.

CI with only 14 years history has making important roles on diploma, culture, education as well as soft power (Hartig, 2016). Until the end of 2017, altogether 525 CIs and 1,113 Confucius Classrooms established over 146 countries in the world. With the strategy of BRI, CIs undoubtedly take increasing part in mutual understandings between China and the rest of the world.

Another trend emerging in tertiary-level education was the top Chinese universities run independent oversea campus or branch by themselves which aims to enroll oversea students, especially, the traditional developed countries.

Xiamen University Malaysia (XMUM) is the first overseas campus set up in July 2014 by a renowned Chinese university and the first Chinese university branch campus in Malaysia which is 45 km Southwest of Kuala Lumpur (<http://www.xmu.edu.my/>). Xiamen University (XMU) had a long history and connection with Southeast Asia by its founder Mr. Tan Kah Kee the esteemed "Henry Ford of Asia".

Tsinghua University chose Seattle area to establish its Global Innovation Exchange (GIX) in 2016 with \$40 million foundational support from Microsoft and collaboration from University of Washington (<http://gix.tsinghua.edu.cn/>). GIX was the first physical presence of Chinese Research University which established in the United States and dedicate to educating the next worldwide generation of innovators.

Marked its 120th anniversary in 2018, Peking University (Times Higher Education ranked 27th in 2018) opened its UK Campus on March 25 (PHBS Oxford, http://english.phbs.pku.edu.cn/2018/news_0326/1656.html) which next to the University of Oxford (No.1 on the same ranking). By beating off competition from three rivals (including an unnamed Oxford college) and offering a "very tempting price" that left the sellers "little room to

say 'no' in 2017, Peking University bought Foxcombe Hall (a 19th century manor that was home to the eighth earl of Berkeley) for nearly £9m. The first phrase of Peking University UK campus was oriented to students from both Europe and China with professional knowledge of China's economy, financial market and corporate management (Phillips, 2017). China Ambassador to the UK Mr. Xiaoming Liu's speech on the ceremony remarked that the founding of the PKU first offshore campus is a far-sighted move of a world-renowned university as well as a timely and significant initiative of ambitious Chinese Higher Education.

With the ideology of establish the community of shared future for human being, the expansion of Chinese tertiary-level education to the world demonstrates Gramsci's philosophy of "War of Manoeuvre" with Chinese Characteristic. The intellectuals from both inbound and outbound could profoundly influenced by the systematic policies and measures with the increasing soft power of China.

RESULTS AND DISCUSSION

GMS; Pivot under the "War of position and Manoeuvre":

In 1992, The Asia Development Bank collaborated the countries bound together by the Mekong River, CLMVT (Cambodia, Laos, Myanmar, Vietnam and Thailand) and the People's Republic of China (PRC, specifically Yunnan Province and Guangxi Zhuang Autonomous Region) as the role of the Greater Mekong Sub-Region (GMS). GMS covers 2.6 million km², a combined population of around 340 million and GDP with US\$1.3 trillion. GMS is a natural economic area with historical and cultural connection in a long time (Walsh, 2013). Different from the previous Chinese who came to this region in suffering at early period from geography, politic culture and without the support from the formal Chinese government, the Chinese newcomers are more confident and beneficial a lot from the opening up policy, especially, BRI (Fig. 2).

GMS with the flow of Mekong River which connects the two largest Countries (China and India) in Asia and divides the Pacific and India Ocean was the most dynamic area both rich in culture and economy and easily tracked the clout from China. In ancient dynasties, Chinese entered this area by land from North and sea from South (Partly overlapping with the ancient silk road) and played active roles in the political, economic and social domains (Coughlin, 2012). However, with the convenient air links, Asian Highway Network (AHN) and on construction High Speed Railway Network which starts from Yunnan's Kunming to Bangkok in three directions linking with all



Fig. 2: Integrated GMS+CLMVT+YZ under BRI

Table 2: Some GMS policies from China: A summary

Policy	Years	Description about GMS
Kunming Initiative	1999	Develop cross-border infrastructure with \$2.5 billion (2001-2005)
GMS Summit of Leaders	2002	Hold every 3 years in high level
ASEAN Expo (Guangxi)	2004	Hold every year in nanning
Bridgehead Strategy (Yunnan)	2010	Drive the outreach of Yunnan Province to its neighbors into trade and cross-border cooperation with long term and focused vision
South Asia Expo (Yunnan)	2013	Hold every year in Kunming
“One Belt and One Road” Initiative	2013	Pan Asia high speed railway networks plan
Radiation Center Construction Project (Yunnan)	2015	Construct Yunnan as the South Asia and Southeast Asia-Orientated Radiation Center
Lancang-Mekong Cooperation	2015	Set up and implement 5 years plans in GMS

the capitals and important cities in GMS, eventually Kuala Lumpur and Singapore. Many Chinese flock to GMS for tourism, corporations from China open factories in Thailand’s Eastern economic corridor and conduct Thai-Chinese Rayong Industrial Zone which regarded as “Industrial China Town”.

Under the aids from China, specifically Yunnan and Guangxi, the interconnectivity inside of GMS was greatly improved and enhanced such as the high-speed railway network and projects along Mekong River. These kinds of proposals and solutions benefit the people in GMS a lot (Table 2) meanwhile, they demonstrated the shared future of the whole community for human being. With series of mechanism on dialogue and cooperation, regional issues

have being discussed and solved by collaborative governance such as the GMS Summit of Leaders for every 3 years. Meanwhile, China initiated Lancang-Mekong Cooperation (LMC) in 2015 to set up and implement 5 year plans in GMS so forth. All the opportunities and activities in line with the active policies from Chinese government.

As the only inland country in Southeast Asia, Lao PDR’s Vientiane constructed as the land port of GMS with its low low-cost supporting logistics facilities. New infrastructures, dams on Mekong River and commercial areas are emerging which provides increasing jobs and opportunities. Special economic zones have also emerged along the border to encourage Chinese businesses to

invest. Near Wattay International Airport, hundreds of Chinese vendors ply their wares at the San Jiang International market which owned by Chinese and known as the Chinese Market (Calvin, 2014). This kind of “construction fever” arouses interest on learning Chinese. Take this advantage, Soochow University in Laos (<http://laowo.suda.edu.cn/>) which established in 2011 and enrolled local Young Laotians next year is mainland China’s first university campus abroad and the first Foreign University to receive approval from the Laotian government to provide degree programs with courses in Laotian law, Chinese literature, economics and trade as well as Chinese. The first 22 bachelor Laotians graduated in June 2016 and all of them seized high wage jobs.

As an international scientific research and education institute, Chinese Academy of Sciences set up its Southeast Asia Biodiversity Research Institute (CAS-SEABRI, <http://www.seabri.cn/>) in Laos on 12 October 2016. This branch affiliated directly to CAS and managed by Xishuangbanna Tropical Botanical Garden of Chinese Academy of Sciences (CAS-XTBG) to serve the Belt and Road Initiative of China and achieve significant contributions to biodiversity conservation in Southeast Asian countries by aggregating all capacity and efforts from CAS institutes, local institutes and international agencies.

Furthermore, CAS founded its global Innovation Cooperation Center (CASICCB, <http://www.casiccb.com/>) in Bangkok, the capital of Thailand on December 8, 2017. This first Chinese oversea technology integration center located in Huai Khwang District which was considered as the New China Town in Bangkok, the central location of GMS and it aims to fasten the technology transformation and cultivate more international talents who know China, understand China, be friendly to China and support China under BRI.

To implement the High-speed railway construction, Central South University (CSU, a national university located in Changsha, Hunan Province, Central South of PRC) collaborates with King Mongkut’s University of Technology North Bangkok (KMUTNB) and jointly organise Faculty of Railway Technology to cultivate the experts to enhance the construction of Sino-Thai High-speed Railway in Thailand. While the leading Chinese company Huawei (specialized in multinational networking, telecommunications equipment and services) initiates university partnerships which collaborated with leading Thai universities such as Chulalongkorn University, Thammasat University, Kasetsart University, and King Mongkut’s Institute of Technology Ladkrabang (KMITL) to foster the talents on big data and future connectivity.

As increasing Chinese students flock to Thailand seeking for tertiary-level opportunities, different specialized Chinese Programs flourished in Thai HEIs, especially the private universities. With the aids of Chinese instruction and partner from China, these programs saved the time and labor on application and flexible curricula without the limits of pre language training or test score. The new Chinese Ambassador Jian (2017) mentioned that the Chinese students with diploma education surpassed 31,000 at the end of 2017 and occupied more than 70% share of international student’s market in Thailand. Besides numerous exchange Chinese students excluded from this figure. Among the Chinese students from all parts of China, Yunnan and Guangxi are steadily providing the majority. On the other hand, Chinese language has become more and more popular in Thailand due to the increase of Chinese tourists and the cooperative projects; 15 CIs and 11 Confucius Class established to meet the increasing demands from millions Thai Youth.

With the ASEAN-China cooperation, most Chinese universities (Mainly from Yunnan and Guangxi) signed MOU with their partner HEIs in GMS to regularly develop the “1+3” or “2+2” programs every year and dedicating to foster compound talents with speciality, capability and knowledge on local languages and rules.

According to the 13th 5 Education plan of both Amaro (2016), China Borderland International University program (Country Gate University) is the highlight to absorb students from GMS. Adjacent to Vietnam by the Hong river, Honghe University of Yunnan’s Hani and Yi Autonomous Prefecture is oriented to attract tertiary-level Vietnam Students and conduct the study of Hong river regions. These kinds of research and studies even expand to the Thai Nguyen University of Vietnam and jointly recruit the international students. The other borderland located international universities of China are taking their own advantages and strategies to attract tertiary-level education seekers from GMS.

Kunming based National Yunnan University (YNU) collaborates all kinds of educational programs range from CI to academic with Myanmar HEIs in 2016, such as University of Mandalay Myanmar (MU), Mandalay Technological University (MTU), University of Foreign Languages Mandalay (MUFL). Institute of Myanmar Studies (IMS, <http://www.ims.ynu.edu.cn/index.php?route=en/index>) was established by YNU at the end of 2015 to serve as the think tank. For instance, their outcome “A Proposal to Construct the Sino-Myanmar Oil Pipeline from Sittwe to Kunming” won a national level award and served as the theoretical basis for lobbying Beijing with increasing beneficial policies and investments in Myanmar.

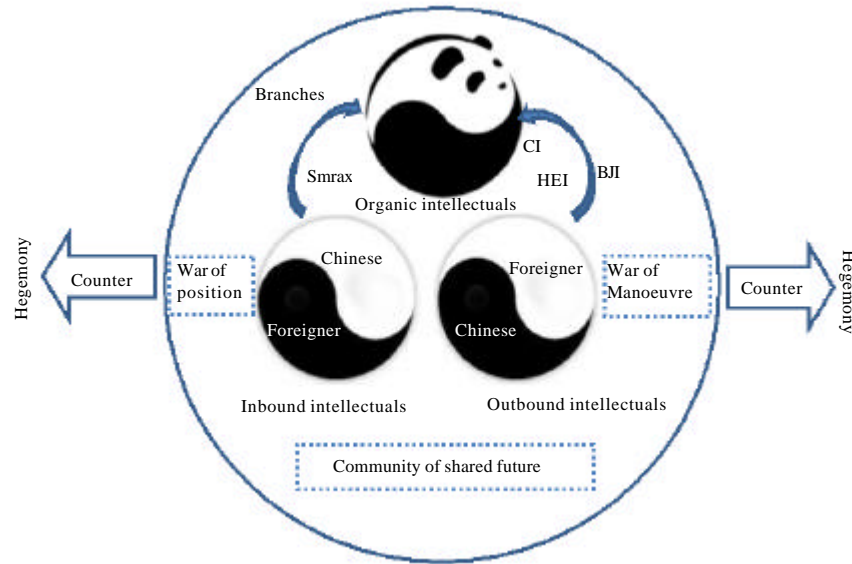


Fig. 3: Counter-hegemony model from the organic intellectual perspective

Taking the same position with China on South China Sea interests, Cambodia witness Japan was overtook by China as the biggest Foreign investor. Between 2011 and 2015, Chinese firms provided almost US\$5 billion worth of loans and investments to the country (Weiwei *et al.*, 2018). Funded with about US\$10 million from the Chinese government and about \$2.2 million from the Kratie Foundation for Higher Education and led by former Cambodia deputy prime minister Keat Chhon, Nanning based Guangxi University signed an agreement in 2016 and established University of Kratie alongside the Mekong River with 6,650 m² on April 19 of 2017. This brand new HEI aims to provide education in modern agriculture, Foreign languages and rural engineering in Northeastern Cambodia.

These “bring in” and “go global” strategies are intensively emerging with the rise of China’s soft power. Furthermore, the GMS with this two-way interaction are accords with the mixed and dynamically application under the light of “war of position and Manoeuvre” (Fig. 3).

CONCLUSION

The contemporary course of China’s global movement profoundly demonstrated the rise of soft power. With the philosophy from Gramsci, the route and road map of counter hegemony from outside by China is obviously established. CPC, especially with President Xi Jinping’ leadership, dedicates to cultivate the world largest organic intellectuals both inbound and outbound. From the tertiary-level perspective, the major organic

intellectuals was formatted mainly though CPC Branches and SMARXs under the light of “war of position” with Marxism and Socialism and their contemporary application in China. Meanwhile, the oversea organic intellectuals, specifically for the foreign experts, expected to know China, understand China do friendly to China and support China with ideologies like BRI through various institutes and opportunities under the light of “war of Manoeuvre”. Based on the largest organic intellectuals in the world, CPC bounds the common sense with worldwide infrastructure construction and improves the living of local people, to establish the community of shared future for human being in the world and counter the hegemony from the outside and reshape the world with new order in intangible revolution.

Compared to the hand-to-hand combat from economic foundation in a short time, the soft power from the superstructure is a long term operating and gambling. Although China is second to American on economy scale, the integration of China’s soft power and its function to the world are obvious in advantage, specifically under the strong leadership of President Xi Jinping. Furthermore, these kinds of changes impressed western intellectuals. The traditional American mainstream news weekly TIME Asian Edition even highlight “China Won” as cover story in both English and Chines languages on the topic “America second” (Bremme, 2017) The official commercial war between China and US was the exact touchstone to reflect and observe this change and integration of new order. This is the exact soft power shifting between two powers and ideologies (Socialism and capitalism) from

one historical bloc to a new order in the large scale. From the Gramsci analysis on superstructure's reverse dominance, especially, depending on the long term cultivated organic intellectuals in the world, China firmly took the advantage on superstructure which could comprehensively deploy all the resources inbound and outbound to solve the problems on the road and counter the hegemony from the outside by the interests bounded community of shared future.

Under the practice of the reform and opening up in the light of "Philosophy of Praxis", China explored its own path steadily moving forward to its goal. In the past 40 years, benefiting from the making of organic intellectuals, this kind of development with Chinese Characteristics brings solid foundation inbound and affects the rest of world by its distinguished soft power. Above all, the organic intellectuals are the crucial components to change the future. GMS was the exact case demonstrated dynamically by using the strategy of "war of position and Manoeuvre" rely on the organic intellectuals formation.

Otherwise, this kind of revolution with Chinese Characteristics could stir contemporary historical bloc in the world and deployed the world political society and civil society. In addition, this is the just preconceived ideology from Gramscian on the balance of turbulent situation between capitalism and socialism while America and China demonstrate in the real world.

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