



# Continental and Maritime Silk Routes: Prospects for India-China Cooperation

Proceedings of the  
1st ORF-RIIO Symposium  
9-10 January 2015  
Kunming, China



OBSERVER RESEARCH FOUNDATION, NEW DELHI

RESEARCH INSTITUTE FOR INDIAN OCEAN ECONOMIES, KUNMING

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## Symposium Partners

### OBSERVER RESEARCH FOUNDATION (ORF)

**T**he ORF was established as a private, not-for-profit, think tank that seeks to influence public policy formulation. The Foundation brings together leading Indian economists and policy-makers to present an agenda for economic reforms in India. Since the Foundation's inception, ORF scholars have made significant contributions toward improving government policies.

ORF research projects have resulted in immediate and tangible impact on economic and strategic policies of the country. Today, ORF is known among policy-makers both in India and overseas as a place pulsating with fresh ideas that help shape public policy. At ORF, ideas are reflected in the projects and programmes that are undertaken by various institutes and programmes.

The Foundation's activities are divided into two categories: Projects and Events. Both are an intrinsic part of the Foundation's objective to shape and influence public opinion and create viable, alternative policy options in areas as divergent as employment generation in backward districts, and real-time strategies to counter nuclear, biological and chemical threats.

# RESEARCH INSTITUTE FOR INDIAN OCEAN ECONOMIES (RIIO)

**T**he Research Institute for Indian Ocean Economies (RIIO) is an independent academic institution of Yunnan University of Finance and Economics based in Kunming, the capital city of Chinese Yunnan Province. It upholds the basic principles of seeking the truth, and being scientific and rigorous in its research endeavours.

The Institute is dedicated to all-round research on the development of China and the Indian Ocean region, and to provide intellectual policy inputs for the governments and enterprises. It puts forward theories and practical research results through normative economic analyses and public academic discussions.

The Institute integrates academic research with consulting services. It attaches great importance to academic exchanges and cooperation with domestic and foreign research institutions, organises regular international academic seminars, and provides its research results to governments, enterprises and the public through academic papers, research reports, quarterly journals, and blue books.

# Programme Agenda

9 January 2015

**Session I: Southern Silk Route: Historical Significance and Prospects of its Reconstruction**

Chair: Huang Renwei  
Speaker 1: Zhu Cuiping  
Speaker 2: Debasish Chaudhuri

**Session II: Frontier Region Development: Trans-border Connectivity and the Role of Central and Local Government**

Chair: Patricia Uberoi  
Speaker 1: K. Yhome  
Speaker 2: Zhang Li

**Session III: Between Land and Sea: Reconstructing the Indian Ocean Geopolitics**

Chair: Wang Rong  
Speaker 1: Anasua Basu Ray Chaudhury  
Speaker 2: Huang Renwei

10 January 2015

**Session IV: BCIM Economic Corridor: Progress Made and Future Prospects**

Chair: Ye Hailin  
Speaker 1: Ren Jia  
Speaker 2: Patricia Uberoi

**Session V: Maritime Silk Road: What Beijing and Delhi Can Do Together**

Chair: Nilanjan Ghosh  
Speaker 1: Gurpreet Khurana  
Speaker 2: Ye Hailin

**Concluding Remarks**

Speaker 1: Nilanjan Ghosh  
Speaker 2: Ye Hailin

# Introduction

The symposium opened with remarks from Prof. Wang Rong, Professor and Director, RIIO, Kunming and Dr. Nilanjan Ghosh, Senior Fellow, ORF. Both of them emphasised the relevance of the symposium in the context of emerging ideas for India-China collaboration in promoting trans-frontier cooperation in inner Asia as well as the Indo-Pacific maritime domain. The re-emergence of the Silk Road concept on the land and maritime domains has raised great interest in China as well as in the region including India. President Xi Jinping's proposal of “the 21st Century Maritime Silk Road” (or the MSR) aims to bring together the littoral nations of the Indo-Pacific for maritime cooperation. The potential of the Bangladesh-China-India-Myanmar Economic Corridor (or the BCIM-EC) which involves the four nations is seen not only for the advantage of a direct overland route from India to China but also for its potential to transform the continental economies of China and India into maritime economies. The BCIM-EC also offers as a model for China and India in development cooperation of their peripheries. If these ambitious proposals become a reality, they have the potential to restructure the power equations in the entire Indo-Pacific region.

The symposium consisted of five sessions and explored the various problems and prospects for cooperation in reviving old silk routes and developing new ones. It focused on key questions, including: How should the BCIM-EC project be pushed and what are the challenges and difficulties in doing so? What are the key features of the emerging geopolitics of the Indian Ocean Region (IOR)? What is the rationale and intent behind the MSR proposal? What are the implications and options for India in the MRS initiatives? What influence will the new connectivity mechanisms have on the geopolitics and geo-economics of the IOR? The following sections discuss the most relevant insights that were shared during the symposium.



# Summary of Proceedings

## SESSION I

**T**he first session, chaired by Prof. Huang Renwei, examined the historical significance of the Southern Silk Route and prospects of its reconstruction.

*The historical Silk Road was the bridge of enhancing mutual interaction between various civilisations, creating the base for strengthening closer economic ties and cooperative space for mutual benefit.* Prof. Zhu Cuiping of the RIIO noted that even as trade was an important component of the ancient Silk Road that linked Asia, Europe and Africa, the cultural exchanges between different civilisations was far more important with resultant gain for regional security and common development. The opening up of border regions for trade has great economic benefits particularly in accelerating the development of inland economy of China along the Silk Road and emerging as “the new economic growth pole”. Rebuilding the Southern Silk Road would help create “a new cooperative platform” for China and neighbouring countries and develop “a new collaborative pattern”.

*The reconstruction of the Southern Silk Road would promote peripheral security and stability through strengthening regional collaboration and increasing interdependence among countries.* Prof. Zhu further noted that in the 21st Century, as the regional security environment becomes more complex, the reconstruction of the Southern Silk Road would improve political relations among the neighbouring countries through cultural exchanges and economic cooperation. There is need to speed up regional cooperation and contribute to the rise of Asia. As Asian nations competed in the field of politics, economy, and military, outside powers have tried to expand their influence in the region. Neighbouring countries have maintained a cautious and wary attitude towards a rising China and have adopted a “balancing strategy” which further aggravates the instability and complexity of the strategic environment of the region. The Southern Silk Road has great potential to play the role of regional economic integration. The general trend of the countries among the Silk Road has been to strengthen cooperation with China and this cooperation would bring greater benefits to all stakeholders. The BCIM needs to be based on consensus of the member-states and focus on practical actions.

*By invoking the “China dream” and announcing the New Silk Road vision, Xi Jinping is weaving a web between China's modern dreams and the ancient Silk Road.* Dr. Debasish Chaudhuri of the Institute of Chinese Studies, New Delhi, noted that the ancient Silk Road was important historically because the routes became “the planet's most famous cultural artery” for the exchange of religions, art, languages, and new technologies between the East and the West. An important feature of the ancient Silk Roads is that they are tucked inside the landlocked areas of Inner Asia and Trans-Himalayan regions. The

Southern Silk Route is the “least studied overland route” and one of the oldest and most arduous passages connecting the eastern region of India to southern China. The strategic importance of the route increased manifold during World War II as it was used as the main supply line to China through upper Myanmar. There is a need to see as to why it is not possible to open all channels of cooperation in peacetime which could so easily be done during wartime. Notwithstanding the economic rationale behind the new Silk Road initiative, it also appeals to the Chinese people who emotionally attach themselves with the glorious age of their civilisation that had exemplary reputation throughout the length and breadth of the ancient Silk Road. The most valuable lesson that can be learned from history is that the old imperial centres and political forces practised no intervention in the human interactions across space and time of the ancient Silk Roads.

*Building communication networks across Eurasia and connecting major ports and industrial centres is not only the desire of big ports and coastal cities, but also of the hinterland provinces of China.* Dr. Chaudhuri further pointed out that in the development of the Southern Silk Road project, local voices should be given priority and the State's role should be limited to facilitating the interactions. The future prospects and success of the BCIM-EC should be judged on the basis of the benefits acquired by the local people. The main thrust of the BCIM-EC is to develop cross-border exchanges and economic cooperation in the region covering China's South-western province of Yunnan, South Asia, and Southeast Asia. Without developing roads in India's Northeast region, the utility of opening up the Stilwell Road or building the BCIM-EC is insignificant for South Asia.



## SESSION II

The second session, chaired by Prof. Patricia Uberoi, explored the factors driving frontier region development and examined the role of central and local government in trans-border connectivity initiatives.

*An important aspect of frontier region development of both Beijing and New Delhi is leveraging the geostrategic and geoeconomic advantages of frontier regions to advance their own regional diplomacy.* Dr. K. Yhome of ORF made the observation that Asia's frontier regions have been increasingly attracting the attention of national governments in recent years. Unlike the past when frontiers were primarily seen from the defence and security prism, the focus is shifting to development and economic linkages. The policy objectives of frontier region development of the central government of China and India are similar. Today there are alternative ways of reimagining frontiers and this is opening up new approaches to framing frontier policies. With new emerging political and economic centres, frontiers are important to the central governments as gateways. The role and perspectives of local/provincial stakeholders have emerged as a critical factor in regional diplomacy.

*There is growing recognition among governments that national development programmes are not enough in frontier regions and trans-boundary development cooperation is also important.* Dr. Yhome also noted that the rapid economic development of several nations in Asia has transformed the geostrategic importance of frontiers as remote regions have found themselves closer to new political and economic centres. Because a nation's frontier is also where another nation's frontier begins, this makes trans-frontiers development most favourable in frontier regions. This has led to several initiatives in Asia's frontiers with the aim to seek greater trans-boundary cooperation for economic development and connectivity. In the past few decades, several regional and sub-regional groupings have mushroomed, primarily with the aim of establishing regional economic integration. These developments have also transformed frontiers as new centres for trans-border regional development cooperation. Frontier regions have the advantage of using infrastructure services of bordering countries such as electricity, transportation and logistics. This alternative view of frontiers has been shaping the policies of India and China and this in turn is driving frontier region development.

*An issue in implementing the BCIM-EC is how to balance the interests of the central and local governments and the resultant effect of centralisation and decentralisation of power in the BCIM activities.* Prof. Zhang Li of the Institute of South Asian Studies, Sichuan University, observed that in the case of China, Yunnan Province has been in the forefront of the BCIM initiative, while in case of India and Myanmar there are issues not only at the structural level in conducting regional diplomacy, but also because there are still political and security issues in the provinces/states involved in the BCIM project. Ethnic insurgencies in upper Myanmar and India's Northeast, for example, continue to pose a major challenge for the central governments. How to coordinate the interests of the central and local

government needs attention. Another related issue is the rise in non-traditional security issues in the border regions that often is a factor that affects bilateral relations. There is thus a need to address NTS issues at the highest level.

*Progress in the BCIM plan could be a good way to give confidence to the political leadership to find resolution to the border issue.* Prof. Zhang also observed that the scope of the BCIM cooperation should not be limited to investment, energy, and sustainable development but rather include people-to-people exchange. The BCIM plan is being perceived by the media in India and China differently. The Chinese media covers on the potential and prospects of the BCIM-EC and portray the brighter prospects of the project. On the other hand, the Indian media pays more attention to political and security implications of the project. Clearly, there is a lack of coordination of the multiple views and perceptions of the BCIM project both within and between the two countries. The commercial and economic agenda of the BCIM project cannot be discussed in isolation and there is a need to understand that there is mistrust owing to the border dispute. Hence, confidence-building needs to be the first step between China and India in the BCIM dialogue to find common ground. In fact, this may also bring in new approach to deal with the border question. The two countries could look out for opportunities for cooperation in the third country in the region.

## SESSION III

**T**he third session, chaired by Prof. Ye Hailin, examined the emerging dynamics and the need to re-imagine the geopolitical construct of the Indian Ocean.

*Recent developments suggest that New Delhi has recognised the urgency of strengthening ties with its maritime neighbourhood.* Dr. Anasua Basu Ray Chaudhury of ORF noted that the Indian strategic establishment has long been uncomfortable with the construction by China of port infrastructure in India's neighbourhood such as in Pakistan (Gwadar) and Sri Lanka (Hambantota). Although China has claimed that its interests in the IOR are purely economic, it is increasingly clear that the MSR plan could have a major impact on the strategic balance in the IOR. The deepening of maritime security relationship with Sri Lanka, the Maldives, Seychelles and Mauritius signals a significant consolidation of India's ties with the island-nations of the Indian Ocean littorals. This is not, however, just about India and China. Under its “Asia pivot” strategy, the US is also playing a delicate balancing act in the IOR. On the one hand, the US has been strengthening its alliances with Japan, South Korea and Thailand along with emerging powers such as Indonesia and Vietnam, while tightening its partnership with New Zealand and Singapore. On the other hand, the US has also embarked on improving relations with India as a counterbalance to China's MSR and increasing military presence in the region.

*Although India and China vie for influence in the Indian Ocean, their strategies and objectives are similar.* Dr. Chaudhury observed that the Indian Ocean is a lifeline to both countries for uninterrupted flow of energy supply. Moreover, both countries are heavily dependent on trade through the India Ocean. Thus a strategy of protecting trading lanes would be beneficial to both countries, and such shared objective should underpin greater cooperation rather than competition. China has expressed its readiness to work with India to link its ambitious MSR plan with India's “Mausam project”, highlighting common benefits. Is India ready?

*The geopolitics of the IOR is undergoing dramatic changes. The new geopolitics of the IOR is defined by America's decline and the growing interests of rising powers such as China and India.* Prof. Huang Renwei of the Shanghai Academy of Social Sciences, Shanghai, expressed his observation that the old geopolitics of the IOR—characterised by US hegemony as the leading force from the Middle East to the Pacific Region—is giving way to a new geopolitics as America's focus shifts gradually from the Indian Ocean to the West Pacific region. From within the region, India, the only great maritime power of the IOR for a long time, is getting stronger in recent years. Australia is also an Indian Ocean maritime power, but until recently its main focus has been on the South Pacific region. Along with other middle littoral powers such as Iran, Saudi Arabia and Pakistan, Australia is reinforcing its maritime orientation and forces. Despite a few positive developments—including the Iran nuclear deal and the multi-nation participation in Afghanistan's reconstruction—the geopolitical competition is



shifting from land to sea, as maritime rivalry among major powers intensify. If the US continues to diminish its influence in the Indian Ocean, which country can replace it? The power vacuum left by America's retreat cannot be compensated by any other single country as of today. Rather, it calls for the concerted efforts of various countries who will have to engage in specific systematic arrangements to realise this goal.

*India's economy is the biggest in the IOR and China is the biggest user of its sea lanes. These two factors are driving the new geoeconomics of the IOR.* Prof. Huang noted that three sub-regions involving the Middle East, South Asia and Southeast Asia are increasingly merging as a new single geoeconomic concept that could be called the North Indian Ocean region. The West Pacific region is also a geoeconomic concept and together with the north Indian Ocean region, the two are expected to become the most important regions in the global economy. Thus as the geopolitical and geoeconomic dynamics further evolve, the situation only promises to be more complicated. The BCIM-EC and the MSR are two new mechanisms that will shape the evolving geopolitical and geoeconomic dynamics of the IOR. Both are channels of connection. The BCIM-EC is a channel to connect land and sea while the MSR is a channel to bridge the North Indian Ocean and the West Pacific Ocean, thus connecting the geopolitics with the geo-economics. China may have proposed the two plans, but it is not only about China, as connecting the North Indian Ocean region to the West Pacific region will cater to the development needs of the two regions. The BCIM-EC and the MSR are in conformity with the interests of countries both within and outside the region. China, the US, India, Australia, Iran, Saudi Arabia and other countries along the routes need to cooperate and seek converging points in both the plans. With these elements, the old geopolitics will be weakened, while the geoeconomics will be intensified. China and India should strengthen cooperation and jointly build the BCIM-EC and the MSR plans. If the BCIM (the land channel) and the MSR (the sea channel) could be combined, it will form a powerful network. China and India share the responsibilities in this regard.

## SESSION IV

**T**he fourth session, chaired by Prof. Wang Rong, examined the prospects and challenges of the BCIM Economic Corridor.

*The BCIM Economic Corridor is the first and only regional cooperation mechanism which involved China and India, the task of pushing the initiative forward heavily rest on the two countries.* Prof. Ren Jia of the Yunnan Academy of Social Sciences noted that India could play an important role in the construction of the BCIM-EC as it further implements the consensus reached with China and carry out joint research on regional connectivity to promote trade and economic development in the sub-region. Facilitating communication between the two countries—by promoting cultural exchanges, easing visa regimes, and promoting educational cooperation—needs to be the priority of the two governments. Other priorities should be establishing high-level communication mechanism for educational dialogues and exchanges, expanding the scope of exchange through scholarships, and enhancing the mutual learning of languages and cultures. Projects such as translation of classic literature of the BCIM nations and compilation of BCIM encyclopaedia need to be launched.

*In the implementation of the BCIM project, the less controversial, but more practical projects could be identified with the aim to obtain the most substantial benefits to all stakeholders.* Prof. Ren pointed out that there is need for greater cooperation of the media between the two countries. Exchange and cooperation of the BCIM media should be strengthened to promote the important vision and mutual benefits and win-win concept of the BCIM-EC. This can also improve the international influence of the BCIM sub-regional forum. Identifying projects such as poverty alleviation, agriculture, tourism, and healthcare, could be the most practical and most beneficial for the border regions.

*The uniquely valuable feature of the BCIM Forum is the complementarity of the goals of developing and opening up economically backward and landlocked regions of both India and China.* Prof. Patricia Uberoi of the Institute of Chinese Studies, New Delhi, observed that India views the BCIM Forum as a mechanism to constructively engage China in a sub-regional context as both countries push for similar effort to unlock the potential of their relatively backward regions. Shutting the doors and looking the other way will not change the reality of China as the largest presence in the neighbourhood. The BCIM cooperation should go beyond the installation of trade corridors across the region, but extend to trans-border projects of human and social development that would be a true marker of the potentiality of processes of sub-regional integration to create prosperity and stability on the margins. India-China cooperation is essential for this, and for peace and stability in the neighbourhood. The issue at hand is how to make the BCIM a more effective and sustainable instrument of regional integration, geared to the complementary objective of improving livelihoods of local population in the border regions.

## SESSION V

The fifth session, chaired by Dr. Nilanjan Ghosh, explored the concept of Maritime Silk Road from both geo-economic and geo-strategic perspectives and assessed India's reactions to the proposal.

*The MSR initiative is an indication of Beijing's increasing realisation of the growing salience of the Indian Ocean.* Capt. Gurpreet Khurana of the National Maritime Foundation, New Delhi observed that China increasingly realises its geographic constraints to optimise its economic linkages beyond Eastern Asia on the one hand, and on the other, its growing dependence on the Indian Ocean for its trade. The MSR could also allow China's maritime-military power to break free from the geographical constraints of the Western Pacific island chains. The MSR is a response to this economic imperative to enhance trade connectivity across the Indian Ocean. As its dependence grows, another concern for Beijing has been ensuring the security and safety of its shipping vessels and seafarers. A related intent of China is to ensure its sea-borne access to energy resources with over 60 percent of China's oil imports transiting via the Indian Ocean. Even as China builds pipelines—such as the China-Myanmar or the proposed China-Pakistan pipelines—these would be grossly inadequate to mitigate China's energy insecurity and thus its strategic vulnerability. The third reason for China to launch the MSR could be because of the recent moves by China's regional rivals in Asia – the US and Japan. In the context of the maritime-territorial disputes in the China Seas—which are severely constraining Beijing's moves towards propagating its influence in Asia—the MSR is not merely an isolated response, but rather a crucial element of Beijing's grand strategy to carve out a Chinese sphere of influence in the Indo-Pacific. The pretext of the economic rationale would enable Beijing to project its maritime-military power in the Indian Ocean where the US military power may be perceived by Beijing to be on the ebb. Many countries in the Indian Ocean region endorsed the MSR idea because: a) it has come with specific incentives such as, in the case of Southeast Asian nations, an offer for the upgradation of China-ASEAN FTA and the setting up of China-ASEAN Maritime Cooperation Fund; and b) several nations saw the MSR as an opportunity to spur development in their own countries. If Sri Lanka viewed it as fitting in its vision of turning its ports into regional trading hubs, for Kenya, it is an opportunity to open new frontiers of growth for itself. The MSR initiative could also be intended to soften China's maritime rise. The rapid expansion of PLA Navy has caused severe anxiety among regional countries. The MSR could be used to negate the 'String of Pearls' theory.

*Maritime economics cannot be divorced from maritime security and the MSR concept needs to address this crucial aspect.* Capt. Khurana also noted that nearly all of India's merchandise trade transits via the sea, and with land-based trade routes unlikely to come up in the near future, India would necessarily rely on international shipping lanes. Security and safety of the shipping would remain of paramount concern for many years to come. The question is: Could the MSR contribute to it? In what ways could India benefit from the MSR in terms of enhancing security with regard to freedom of navigation in the region, as India's vulnerability in accessing energy resources are similar to that of China? China is keen to push for the proposed BCIM-EC and the CPEC (China-Pakistan Economic Corridor) because these have the potential to augment economic connectivity across the IOR.





*The ultimate goal of China in the Indian Ocean is neither hegemony nor the security of SLOCs, but to seek greater market access.* Dr. Ye Hailin of the National Institute of International Strategy, Chinese Academy of Social Sciences, Beijing, observed that China's objectives in the Indian Ocean are not to seek maritime hegemony like the US. China's maritime force in the Indian Ocean is today weak to pose a threat to any country in the region. China need not send its navy to do the job since it can rely on the international public good offered by the US and India. It is also not about projecting its power in the Indian Ocean to raise its global image. While international image is important for China, this will not be at the cost of its long-term interests. Even as ensuring energy security is critical, by simply dispatching warships into the Indian Ocean China cannot ensure free energy supply. China's strategy is to transfer the capital out of American financial market and invest it into another developing market with greater potential such as the IOR with the hope to gain more profits. This is the fundamental reason why China is pushing the One Belt, One Road plan. Chinese enterprises can invest and import goods produced in this region. Chinese enterprises have learned from experience that profits earned from investing in industries are far greater than those earned from investing in American security market. China is also aware of the risks involved in putting all its eggs in one basket—a lesson it has learned from recent global financial crises.

*The MSR belongs not only to China but to the entire region. China will not claim that it possesses the MSR, as it is shared by all the countries of the region.* Dr. Ye also pointed out that the MSR is not a new route as it has never discontinued for centuries, the only thing that has changed is the goods transported over time. The MSR is not only a sea channel, but commercial trade happens more between harbours and inland markets. Therefore, it is more an economic zone. The MSR will not become a battlefield for maritime hegemony as neither China nor India possesses the power to claim maritime hegemony today. The MSR should be a platform for the future development of the eastern world. Expediting the industrialisation process in the IOR is what both India and China want and are able to do. China and India can help each other to build stronger industrial capacity in this region. This is what they need to focus together in the IOR: China and India need to focus on cooperation, not competition. The direction of the government policies should be to encourage further cooperation between the enterprises of the two countries.

# Closing Remarks

The symposium ended with closing remarks by Prof. Wang Rong and Dr. Nilanjan Ghosh. Dr. Ghosh talked of the markets and trade as an important force for regional integration, though the political structures and governance are different across nations. He also emphasised the futuristic possibilities of BCIM commodity and stock exchanges, but felt that the important concerns of capital account convertibility of the respective nations, and fiscal and monetary convergence criteria need to be met. He also raised the issue on the bidirectional causality between political and economic drivers of regional integration. Prof. Wang Rong talked about how to take forward ORF-RIIO collaboration.







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