The Political Economy of China's Aid, Trade and Investment Policies to the South

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Brief History of China's relationship with the South

Before the Eighties

- Mao's three worlds and third worldism
- Ideological division during the cold war
 - 1955, the Bandung Conference, non-alignment movement
 - International solidarity with African states
 - against colonialism and support national liberation
 - China gave political and economic support for African countries struggle
 - for national independence and construction, i.e. Tan-Zam Railway
 - African countries gave their full support in the UN to restore the seat of the PRC in the UN.

- Ambivalent relationship with South and South-East Asia
 - Border and political conflict with India
 - Export of revolutions to South-East Asia
 - Conflict with Vietnam and patronage in Indo-China in 70's

Deng's reform and open door policy

- Decision to re-join global economy in the Eighties
- Global factory: hub for processing for markets in Northern countries, in the low end of value chain
- labor intensive and resource intensive industrialization
- Crisis of energy and resource shortage, environmental degradation
- Crisis of over-production
- Un-balanced growth between coastal and inland regions

Development of the Western Region

- Exploitation of natural resources in the West, indigenous areas
 - Coal, oil and mineral mining, Hydro-power
 - Serious deforestation

Intensive market penetration in the West

90's: Diplopmacy in the South

- End of three worlds and only one Superpower dominates the world
 - Pursuit for a multi-polar world order, the Shanghai Cooperation Conference
- China-Taiwan Relationship
 - To counteract Taiwan's aid diplomacy to re-gain seat in UN
- Diplomacy in a globalized world
 - To learn the games of multi-lateral negotiations

Economic Diplomacy

- Energy and Raw material Security
 Diversify China's energy imports away from domestic supply
- Development of new markets in the South
- Promote South-South cooperation and South-North dialogue
- Normalization of diplomatic relationship
- Trade with ASEAN states 1978 859 million 1991 7.96 billion

Official Discourses of the Political and Economic Diplomacy with the South in the New Millenium

- China shares the political and status as others in the developing world
- Importance of South-South cooperation
- Equality and mutual benefit (win-win cooperation)
- Mutual trust and peaceful development cooperation
- Sincerity, mutual support and common development in cooperation
- Non-interference in other's internal affairs
 - No conditionality
- China seeks no dominating power
- China has suffered from similar semi-colonial past, and therefore, will not become a colonizer

China and Africa

- The Forum on China-Africa Co-operation-Ministerial Conference 2000
- China issued the first white paper on a political and economic region in 2006
- The Beijing Summit of the Forum on China-Africa Cooperation (2006)
 - Eight measures promote and strengthen China's relationship with Africa, including a package of aid.
- Recent tour of President Hu
- African Development Bank Annual Conference in Shanghai

- Double its 2006 assistance to Africa by 2009,
 - US\$ 3 billion of preferential loans
 - US\$2 billion of preferential buyer's credits
- Set up a China–Africa development fund, which would reach US\$ 5billion, to encourage Chinese companies to invest in Africa
- Cancel debt for HIPC
- Increase from 190 to over 440 the number of export items to China for HIPC
- Establish three to five trade and economic cooperation zones in Africa

Other aid items:

- train 15,000 African professionals
- send 100 senior agricultural experts to Africa
- set up 10 special agricultural technology demonstration centres in Africa;
- build 30 hospitals in Africa
- Fighting malaria: grant of RMB 300 million for providing artemisinin, and build 30 malaria prevention and treatment centres to fight malaria in
- 300 youth volunteers
- 100 rural schools
- Increase Sponsorship of African students to study in China from 2,000 to 4,000 per year by 2009.

ASEAN

- A Sino-ASEAN free trade zone
 - Tariff reduction for approximately 1,700 categories of goods.
 - EHP (Early Harvest Program) in tropical fruit
- China's investment in ASEAN
 - 1991 150 million
 - 2005 1.08 billion (official figure only)
- More than 1000 enterprises (excluding financial ones) have set up their branches in ASEAN countries.
- Economic assistance and concessional credit
 - 3 billion from 2000 to 2005

Issues

- Concerns about China as a 'model' Vs hopes on China as an alternative
 - Model of what? By whom?
 - As a success of economic development?
 - As a success of neo-liberalism?
 - As a success of state developmentalism?
 - Is the Chinese model a myth?
 - High Expectations on China as Alternatives, to:
 - Neo-colonialism
 - Neo-liberalism
 - Globalization?

Concern the negative outcomes of Chinese trade and aid model...

- Regulating China Vs Globalization
 - About China, or about globalization?
 - What's special about China as a global player in the globalization game rules?
 - As bad as the West Vs Not as bad as the West?
 - How about the other regional power/ competitors? South Africa, India, Brazil....and the impact of local economies?
 - Structural imperatives and problems of globalization...

- Regulating Chinese State Vs Chinese Enterprise?
 - The discourse of Responsible global/regional power
 - Collaboration with Northern Powers
 - Neo-liberalism
 - Green/White-washing globalization
 - Regulating TNCs

- Regulating Chinese TNCs or TNCs in general, if all TNCs from the South and North play freely in the global free trade regime
- Is the current capitalism/ globalization with a human face, only a mask?
 - Green, white-washing without effective outcome?

Whom to regulate?

- Multilaterals? UN, WTO, IMF, WB, ADB, dominated by the North
- Regional partnership: AU, China-Africa Cooperation Forum, China-ASEAN, APEC?
- Industry wide social and Environmental standards self discipline
- Chinese government monitoring overseas activities?
- Improvement of local government's ability to regulate any investment activities including China?
- What about the local communities, the vulnerables in the South?

Statism Vs PeopleS' perspective

- Regional interest
 - AU, China factor weakens Regional Body
- National interest

Whom represents the nation?

- Special interest groups
- Local communities?
- The vulnerables?

China as Alternatives?

- Not as a collaborator of the North
- Not to commit the same mistakes as Northern powers
- Not to export the same mistakes of China to the South
 - economic and social polarization
 - serious ecological problems
 - Depletion of natural resources

- To avoid the problems of Northdominated globalization
- To export Chinese current experiences as alternatives to neo-liberalism
 - Hu-Wen New Deal
 - Aggressive social programs
 - Social and economic equality
 - heightened environmental protection
 - Sustainable development
 - EIA, public participation

- To seek a genuine South-South Collaboration
 - reforming trade regimes to avoid commodity crisis, establish fair trade regimes in RTAs, or regional partnerships...
 - Reforming ODAs, not aid-for-trade/ PRSP, not conditionalities....
 - Reforming TNCs
 - Exploring models and practices of more localized economic development
 - More exchanges, joint exploration and collaboration among civil society organizations...

Influencing through whom?

African/ASEAN States

- African Union/ASEAN, unified positions?
- Key governments in African Union with major stakes
- National governments
- Civil societies in Africa/ASEAN states
- Chinese governmental agencies
 - Like-minded officials, foreign relations officials, embassies
- Chinese civil society groups

Influencing on What?

Chinese government

- Export of the development model? Neo-liberal model, Neo-Keynesian model?
- Development, diplomatic, investment or aid policy?
- regulatory framework for enterprise behavior overseas?
- Chinese enterprise
 - CSR or subscription to certain international framework on environmental and social standards
 - Behavior or practices complying to local laws, or enterprise's CSR
 - Concern for Branding strong enough?
- Chinese civil society's capacity to influence these two?

A Typology of possible actions

	The Chinese governme nt	The Chinese enterprises	The Chinese Civil Society
African/ASEA N States			
African/ASEA N Civil Society			
Like-minded Chinese governmental agency			
Chinese civil society			

Questions and comments welcomed !