

Department of Political Science

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The evolution of China in political-economy after 1949

How the country is reacting to globalization and its future strategy for the African continent

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To my Coach and my team.

Thank you for being my second family during these three years and giving me the possibility to follow both of my dreams: study and swimming at competitive levels.

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INTRODUCTION

China, in the last decades, has been one of the main geopolitical worldwide actors.

What happened to this communist regime after the II World War? How it developed both politically and economically? How it has become the second economic power in the world? What is influence in the global sphere?

This thesis wants to answer these questions and will see its development in three chapters. During the first chapter the economic and political situation of China after 1949 will be analyze in detail. The determinants of the astonishing economic performance that started at the end of the 20th century will therefore be highlighted on one hand; on the other is required to understand how institutions shaped behind this mutation. This will be followed by a second chapter which will analyze the reaction of China to globalization. The country, due to its new role in the international scene, and its new asset in economic policy had to face the effects of its integration in the global system. The country compared with the rest of the world seems to travel at a different speed. In fact, how China is more involved in the process of globalization than we can imagine. The last chapter explains in detail the evolution and the nature of the growing relations between China and Africa focusing on the interests that push the two parties to collaborate. Given these two phenomena - China's development in political economy on the one hand and China's involvement in the process of globalization on the other - the last chapter can be seen as a sort of legitimate consequence between the two arguments. We will try to assess the magnitude of this relationship, trying to understand the effects that Chinese enterprises and their infrastructures' projects can have in the growth of the black continent. Within this last part, there will be also room for considerations concerning the risks that derives from the increasing Chinese involvement in the African territory.

1. CHINA'S POLITICAL ECONOMY: HOW IT SHAPED THROUGH THE YEARS

China with a population of 1.4 billion inhabitants is the world's most populous country.

In the past decades, the country has made a substantial qualitative leap and has become one of the main worldwide character especially in the middle-east, but not only.

China differs from all the other developed countries for many different reasons: its history, its economy and its politics. All these factors have contributed to create what is now the second economic power in the world and the only threat to the hegemony of the United States.

China historically suffered many wars, revolutions and violent riots even under the Qing dynasty who ruled the country from 1644 to 1912. In the nineteenth century, the Chinese government was threatened both from the inside and the outside. The demonstration of what happened is given to us by the Taiping Rebellion: a religious and political clash that hit China from 1850 to 1864 and killed approximately 20 million lives. The event compromised the future of the Qing dynasty, but it was not the only one. (Encyclopaedia Britannica, 2017)

In fact, at the same time the ruling dynasty had to face the Opium Wars where China capitulated in front of Great Britain. The price that the country was forced to pay was the sale of Hong Kong and the remuneration of large indemnities. These wars represented a huge humiliation for China and in fact they remain a tangible scar still nowadays. Child at school learn that the modern road to success and power is a way to take revenge from the Opium Wars and what followed. The impact of the conflict still matters very much in the present. (Humen and Sydenham H., 2017)

Even if the faith of the dynasty was already foreseeable in 19th century the Qing capitulated, in the end, in 1912 due both to conflicts with neighbouring country and internal divisions.

At this point, the Republican government was established, but under this new administration divisions instead of decreasing became more acute and these ruptures led to national and international collisions. For this reasons, as mentioned before, the creation of the People's Republic of China represented a fundamental step in China's modern history both as a liberation from feudalism and from external oppressions. The idea that the communist party liberated China is still alive through the population and this was demonstrated through the speech that Xi Jinping (2015) made for the 70th anniversary from the end of the IIWW that represented a crucial step for what happened next in 1949. "The victory of the Chinese People's War of Resistance Against Japanese Aggression is the first complete victory won by China in its resistance against foreign aggression in modern times. This great triumph crushed the plot of the Japanese militarists to colonize and enslave China and put an end to China's national humiliation of suffering successive defeats at the hands of foreign aggressors

in modern times. This great triumph re-established China as a major country in the world and won the Chinese people respect of all peace-loving people around the world. This great triumph opened up bright prospects for the great renewal of the Chinese nation and set our ancient country on a new journey after gaining rebirth."

All the communist leaders that came in succession after the creation of the People's Republic of China tried to reshape and transform society, always keeping the Communist Party in a pivotal position for the construction of a superlative country.

De Facto, Mao Zedong repressed CPC (Communist Party of China) oppositions' and made it the only allowed party in the country. He was the first ruler after the creation of the republic and it would never be forgotten. Under his government most industries became property of the state and farmers were divided into collectives. Concerning the international scene in the early days, the country received a significant help from the Soviet Union that was its only allied; but, unfortunately, relations soon began to cool. (BBC, 2014)

Mao's ruled for a long time and even though he remodelled society both from the inside and the outside the real revolution arrived with Deng Xiaoping, who took the power after the death of Mao in 1977. Deng represented the innovation because he understood that Chinese economy had to change substantially: he started a transition from a Communist economy to a more market-driven one. He understood that if the economy was florescent the CPC would have maintained its predominant and unique position easily in the country.

Until 1970s China was evaluated as a poor developing country, but in about four decades it has become one of the major global economic power and his history has been astonishing.

Do people usually know China's history of its spectacular rise? Do people know if China's politicaleconomy changed through the years and how?

1.1 China's political transformation

China is not a democracy, like the USA and most European countries, but this does not mean that it is a dictatorship. China is a *bureaucratic-authoritarian* state and this signify that its system differs from all the other ones: the authority does not reside in the hands of an individual leader but of the Communist Party, which is the supreme force of the country. The CPC directs all the economic and military issues, selects leaders and controls politics; everything that happen in the country needs to be approved and supervised by the party. (Arthur R. Kroeber, 2016)

The country has different layers of bureaucracy that are crucial and need to be respected. More precisely three major institutions characterized the division of the political system: the Communist

Party of China, the government and the military. Of course, the last two are subordinated to the CPC, that take decisions and determines the national policy agenda. (US - China Business Council, 2017). At the top of the Party's pyramid there is the Party Chairman, currently Xi Jinping, who is both the President and the General Secretary of the nation. Beneath this figure there is the Politburo Standing Committee (PSC), the Politburo and the Central Committee.

The Politburo Standing Committee is formed by seven people (only men) even though the number is not fixed (previously it was constituted by nine components). Members to be elected are selected by the Central Committee usually among the most senior officials in the Politburo. The PSC is the most important decisional entity of the country and, in fact, all the urgent and meaningful decisions are taken inside it. Clearly, everything that needs to be approved must have the blessing not only of the Standing Committee but also of the Party Chairman. Xi Jinping has lot of weight in taking decision and due to its position in the system he must have the last word concerning every issue.

The Politburo, instead, is currently composed by 25 members and likewise the PSC its number is not fixed. It is recognized as the chief political decision-making body of the country even if it has less power comparing it with the Standing Committee.

The central committee is comprised of 376 members. It includes provincial governments, military, state owned enterprises (SOEs), and party interests.

"Members are elected during the party congress among 2,000 delegates that embody 40 'electoral units', including 31 provinces Taiwan, Hong Kong, and Macao, along with other institutions like SOEs, the public service sector, and the People's Liberation Army. The Party Constitution authorizes the Central Committee to elect the General Secretary and members of the Politburo, the PSC, and the Central Military Commission, as well as endorse the composition of the Secretariat and the Central Commission for Discipline Inspection, although in practice appointments are guided by a top-down process involving the outgoing Politburo Standing Committee and other influential retired leaders." Members of all these three bodies are elected and chosen every five years and made public at the party congress. (US - China Business Council, 2017).

Leading small groups are organized by the party to coordinate policy on major issues are part of the Central Committee. Below this body and concerning the CCP structure there is only the National Party Congress that takes place every five years and "reviews reports on party activities since the last session, revises the party constitution, ratifies the party program for a specific period, and elects the Central Committee, which serves as the highest organ of the CCP when the National Party Congress is not in session. Although limited in its role the National Party Congress performs a useful function as a forum for rising party cadres who represent all regions, ethnic groups, and functional groups." (U.S. Library of Congress)

Even if during the years we can say that China has become politically decentralized, examining its structure makes us understand how even if governments' functions has been more distributed real power has remained in the Communist Party. "Democracy is seen in Mao's term: the masses keeping watch over the bureaucracy under the autocratic guidance of a national leader. It is also seen as a good government 'serving the people'." (Zhou S., 2012)

a. Foreign policy

China has always made its own interests and not worried too much about what was happening outside the country. Although, considering that it has become the second worldwide economy, foreign policies¹ have conquered more and more space through the years. Since the country has constantly had an individualistic identity it has been difficult for other states to forge a frame about China speaking of their relationships with the rest of the world. In 2005, Zheng Bijian, an important Chinese thinker whose theories about globalism focus on protecting peace and soft power, wrote an article for the prestigious US newspaper *Foreign Affairs* in which affirmed:

"China is not the only power that seeks a peaceful rise. China's economic integration into East Asia has contributed to the shaping of an East Asian community that may rise in peace as a whole. And it would not be in China's interest to exclude the United States from the process. In fact, Beijing wants Washington to play a positive role in the region's security as well as economic affairs. The beginning of the twenty-first century is seeing a number of countries rising through different means, while following different models, and at different paces. At the same time, the developed countries are further developing themselves. This is a trend to be welcomed. China does not seek hegemony or predominance in world affairs. It advocates a new international political and economic order, one that can be achieved through incremental reforms and the democratization of international relations. China's development depends on world peace, a peace that its development will in turn reinforce". According to Z. Bijian China would pursue a peaceful path to create a new international order and fortify its development. It is true that since 1979 the country has never been involved in any international conflict, except for few reprisals, and it has also cooperated in many peace missions organized by ONU. Why is it so? Does China have any ambition to conquer a significant position also in the international sphere? We always need to remember that the country has already covered a dominant position in history and maybe is just trying to find the right time to be back. Here, Sun Tzu's words comes back insolently: "The supreme art of war is to subdue the enemy without

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¹ Plans of action adopted by one nation in regards to its diplomatic dealings with other countries. Foreign policies are established as a systematic way to deal with issues that may arise with other countries.

fighting". Sun Tzu was the most significant Chinese war leader and strategist in the decades before Christ but it has remained one of the pillars of the Chinese culture.

So, what are the real plans of China and its relationship with the rest of the world, especially the US?

1.2 China's economic revolution

"When you multiply any problem by China's population, it is a very big problem. But when you divide it by China's population it becomes very small."

These words are often used by one of China's leading economists Justin Lin who attributes them to premier Wen Jibao. This motto express the idea of the power of this country and how its forces worked in the last decades to make its astonish transformation possible. (Arthur R. Kroeber, 2016) Chinese economy has played a leading role in the international scene for many years, nonetheless continues to be the subject of conflicting judgments. Despite its rapid and indisputable growth that assign the country the role of second world economic power behind the United States, on one side some thesis still see China on the verge of a possible crisis if it will maintain such a strong Communist regime (similar to what happened to the Soviet Union); on the other side, some alternative opinions affirm that in 2030 it will become the first worldwide economy.

The country's situation is still difficult to decode. Even though data from the Chinese government have become more accessible through the years the CPC filtrate all the information and decides what, not only their people, but also the world needs to know about them. The reasons why this tactic of "cheating" can be implemented are mainly political.

Government officials, especially in the past, tended to amplify data such as production levels or infrastructural growth to foster the economy especially Chinese firms. For instance, the regime's statistics stated that the country's real GDP² grew at an annual rate of 6.7% in the period from 1953 to 1978. The Economist Angus Maddison instead affirmed that the correct percentage was around 4.4%. It's important to remember that during those years, the economy under Mao Zedong's administration was subjected to many downturns caused by social and political complex situations. (Morrison W.M., 2018)

Figure 1 illustrates Chinese per capita GDP from 1950 to 1978 on PPP (purchasing power parity)³. These years were marked by two main events: the Great Leap Forward (1958-1962) and the Cultural Revolution (1966-1976). The former was the second 'Five Years Plan' and was aimed implement agriculture and industries. It mobilised many people and forces: China was reformed into the so-called communes, in which people gave up their own properties in favour of the community. This

³ Purchasing power parities are a method used to measure and compare the economic data of other countries expressed in U.S. dollars. That method adjusts the data to reflect differences in prices across countries.

² The Gross Domestic Product (GDP) measures the value of economic activity within a country.

way of living didn't survive for a long time and the Chinese government needed to admit its failure ending this experiment in 1962. (Trueman C.N., 2018)

The latter represent the episode that marked Mao's era and was launched by the Chairman himself to renew the spirit of communism.

Both circumstances had disastrous implication not only on the society but also on the economy and this is clearly visible from the graph. From 1958 to 1962 GDP was subject to a tangible decline that improved after the end of the Great Leap Forward. The same happened during the Cultural Revolution, which shows us a solid improvement not only at its end but even after Mao's death.

(\$ billions, PPP basis)

1,200
1,000
800
600
400
200
1950 1952 1954 1956 1958 1960 1962 1964 1966 1968 1970 1972 1974 1976 1978

Figure 1.1 - Chinese per capita GDP: 1950-1978

Source: Angus Maddison, Historical, Statistics of the World Economy: 1-2008 AD.

During Mao's regime, the country had many issues to deal with due to the so-called central plan model. This means that a large part of the country's economy was in the hands of the state which supervised everything: production goals, controlled prices... In fact, industries were mainly in the hands of state owned enterprises (SOEs) which had little reason to improve skills. Capital relied mostly on heavy industries instead of light manufacturing, while the country had at its disposable plenty of cheap labour that could be used for light manufacturing. The first five-year plan, with more than half of the investments allocated for industry, had not achieved its objectives. The conditions of agriculture were binding on industrial growth, which in turn was able to absorb only a small part of the farm labour that was progressively becoming available. The construction of large industrial complexes allowed by Soviet aid clashed unequivocally with the inadequacy of the country's infrastructures and media.

China needed to adopt a new economic strategy that was not inspired anymore by the Stalinist model of industrialization. The fact that the CPC had control on more or less the whole economy means that

there was no market mechanism to allocate resources. China's economy was self-sufficient and foreign trade was limited. If the country had the desire to step out and become one of the leading economy at least in the middle east something needed to change and it did with the arrival of Deng Xiaoping in 1978.

a. From a Communist planned economy to a market strategy

China's expansion to become one of the first worldwide economies started in 1978 with the new Chairman Deng Xiaoping. The progresses experienced by the country has been indisputable and not comparable with all the other socialist countries that tried to reform the economy and maintain the same political structure. Maybe this happened because the goal for Eastern Europe governments was to reproduce the economic institutions of Western Europe while China's objective was to make its economic system more efficient. In fact, specific economic measures were applied step by step to solve every obstacle on the way; Deng Xiaoping was used to say "No matter it a white cate or a black cat, as long as it can catch a mouse it is a good cat". So, China's focus has always been to reach their own economic targets and avoid political openness to prevent the collapse of the CCP.

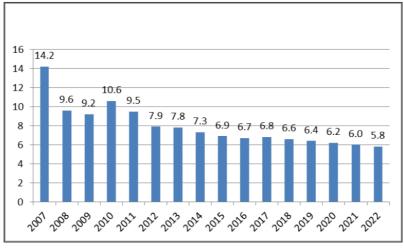
China transition to a market strategy has been a unique journey for many different reasons and has created many challenges to conventional wisdom in economic theory. Its evolution had been gradual and the country has become the fastest growing economy in the world ever since the conversion started. At first, economic reconstruction was needed to stimulate dynamism and in fact many reforms were rapidly adopted. An example is the decollectivizing of agriculture: collective farms were replaced with a so-called household-based system; this represented a huge improvement for farmers and by 1983, in only five years, 98% of collectives adapted to this new system. There were also improvements on state owned enterprises (SOEs) that enlarged their autonomy and non-state enterprises gained more support by the state even though SOEs maintained a dominant role in the industrial sector.

So, China was able to more than double the size of its economy every eight year and this is demonstrated by its real GDP that from 1978 to 2016 averaged 9.6%. *Figure 2* shows us Real GDP growth from 1979 to 2017 proving us the power of China. Although in the last year's average GDP have drastically dropped around 6.5%. The IMF's October World Economic Outlook made a prevision about China's rate for the next years and it turned out that Real GDP will slow further and go around 5.7% in 2022 (Figure 3). (Morrison W.M., 2018)

Figure 1.2 - Chinese Real GDP growth: 1979-2017

Source: IMF, and Chinese National Bureau of Statistics.

Figure 1.3 - China's Real GDP growth 2007-2017 and projections through 2022



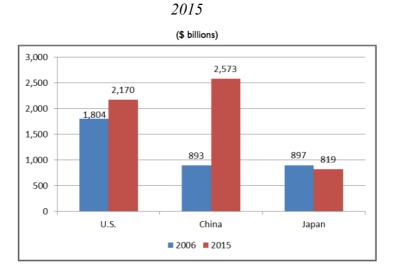
Source: IMF, WEO.

The World bank recognize as developing a country with a per capita income of less than about \$12,400 and China's GNI per capita in 2017 was \$8,690. So, the country is still classified as developing because its per capita income is much lower compared to developed countries. This analysis must be controversial since China is the second largest economic power and it has been contributing to world growth more than any other country since the global financial of 2008 (World Bank, 2018).

On the wave of globalization, it attracts the industries of the countries in search of cheap labour on its territory, in particular Asian companies. De facto, Chinese contribution to world export has strongly increased during the years since it has become the world's largest manufacturer according to the United Nations. *Figure 4* demonstrates us, thanks to gross value expressed in US dollars, how China became the second world manufacturer in 2006 beating Japan, and took the first worldwide place in 2010 defeating also the United States. "In 2014, the value of China's manufacturing on a

gross value added basis was 39.6% higher than the U.S. level. Manufacturing plays a considerably more important role in the Chinese economy than it does for the United States. In 2014, China's gross valued added manufacturing was equal to 27.7% of its GDP, compared to 12.1% for the United States." (Morrison W.M., 2018)

Figure 1.4: Gross Value Added Manufacturing in China, the United States, and Japan: 2006 and



Source: United Nations, UNdata.

The transition to a market economy has terminated its process in China; this has not changed the political system which place the CPC at the head of the country. Despite everything, it had completely insert the country in the mechanism of globalization. *How China is reacting to it both economically and politically? Is globalization a threat for the second worldwide economy?*

2. CHINA'S ANSWER TO GLOBALIZATION

The previous chapter ended asking how China is reacting to globalization and if this phenomenon represents a threat for the nation. Today, the world is just one and unique and for this reason it is inevitable that countries influence each other both on the economic and political level. One of the event that signed the entrance of China into the globalized world is its adhesion to the World Trade Organization (WTO)⁴ in 2001.

Political economy policies adopted by Beijing at the end of the seventies had always kept away foreign trade competition in different industrial sectors: liberalization of external business and foreign investments were chosen only in function of internal development.

In 2001 the situation changed; the adherence of China to the WTO had a strategic logic and a long-term view of development: the benefits brought by this important step would have allowed the country to further strengthen its position in international trade without thinking of the social consequences. Underestimated or underpaid jobs and unemployment are phenomena always at risk of increase in a country where political attitudes, unlike economic ones, aren't globalized since they are not liberal enough. China remains a communist regime, that follows communist rules and in which the Communist Party represent the main strength of the nation.

Different analysis, that have been done in different periods of time, speak about the relationship between the country and the WTO that have always showed criticism about the policies that Beijing adopted in the last decades since they do not conform totally with its principles.

An article that was entitled "Shades of grey" appeared on "The Economist" in 2011 to celebrate 10 years from China's entrance in the organization. This last explains even if how on one side the situation has succeeded beyond anyone's predictions, since China's GDP growth has been magnificent especially compared to other worlds' countries, on the other side there are many complaints, such as: China exports to much; it has an undervalued currency that sustain the sale of various cheap manufactured good; it continues to undermined the growth of foreign industries and support SOEs and private factories in creating new rules which are unfavourable to outsiders. The fact is that "much of this criticism is right. China made heroic reforms in the years around its WTO entry. That raised expectations that it has conspicuously failed to meet. It signed up for multilateral rules, but neglected the rule of law at home. Free trade did not bring wider freedoms, and even the trade was not exactly free. It is in China's interest to liberalise its exchange rate further, to prevent local officials from discriminating against foreigners and above all to do far more to support the

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⁴ The World Trade Organization (WTO) is the only global international organization dealing with the rules of trade between nations. At its heart are the WTO agreements, negotiated and signed by the bulk of the world's trading nations and ratified in their parliaments. The goal is to help producers of goods and services, exporters, and importers conduct their business.

global trading system. The WTO is undermined when any member flouts the rules, never mind one as big as China."

This tense situation is also aggravated by the fact that Trump has made it clear: if China do not want to conform with liberal and democratic norms it must pay tariffs to compensate its incorrect behaviour. What's happening today can be considered absurd since in 2001 America, and more precisely Bill Clinton, made China's entrance in the WTO possible; today the U.S. Trade Representative argued that it was all an error since the country has demonstrated to be ineffective in embracing an open market-oriented trade regime. (Levy P., 2018)

So, the instinctive question is: is China not able follow WTO rules to the letter? Is (Trump's) America right about it? What is the relationship between these two superpowers?

2.1 China's relationship with USA

There have always been incompatibilities between China and United States, but because nowadays they are the most influential worldwide economic powers, their relations need to tighten.

In 1946 a civil war broke out in China between the Republic and the Communist Party. As we can easily imagine the US sustained the nationalists' faction that lost and retired to Taiwan in 1949. The Communist gained control of China while Taiwan remained protected by the western forces. Suddenly, because of its political attitudes, China belonged to the wrong side of the Cold War and its links with America weakened. In the fifties, the two nations shared the same ideas during the Korean War, but this couldn't change the situation: China was still a communist country and tension between Russia and USA were through the roof.

The two countries run into each other after some years during the Geneva peace conference (1954). The meeting precisely happened between Forster Dulles and Chou En-lai that were the heads of the delegations. Rumours sustain that there was a misunderstanding: Chou offered his hand to show politeness, but Dulles refused and leaved as if nothing had happened. (Guanming Online, 2013)

For many years, nothing that could link the two states happened; but, in 1969 the Sino-Soviet war broke out. China and the US finally had something in common: an enemy. As the military strategist and philosopher Sun Tzu affirmed "*The enemy of the enemy is my friend*".

China tried to give USA signs of reconcilement: Edgar Snow was invited to participate to the Republic of China's celebrations. Snow was an "American journalist and author who produced the most important Western reports on the Communist movement in China in the years before it achieved power." (Encyclopaedia Britannica, 2017) This gesture, however, was not contemplated because Snow was considered as a sympathizer of the left.

Finally, ONU recognized the Popular Republic of China in 1971. On October 25, the UN voted to admit in the organization the mainland and expel Taiwan that has been recognised as China since nationalists found shelter in the island in 1949. The country returned to its original position since it has always been one of the five permanent members of the UN. Despite of this, the communist regime wasn't interested to participate in the international scene. (The Learning Network, 2011)

How was it possible that a country, which at that time had 800 million inhabitants, did not play an active role in the UN, removing one fifth of humanity to have the possibility to express their opinion about fundamental questions?

In 1989 a student revolt broke out in China and the episode was brutally suppressed by the army.

Deng Xiaoping the following year affirmed in one of his speeches: "Last year there was some unrest in China. As was necessary, we brought the situation under control. I asked others to tell President Bush that if the political situation in China became unstable, the trouble would spread to the rest of the world, with consequences that would be hard to imagine. Stability is essential to economic development, and only under the leadership of the Communist Party can there be a stable socialist China." Although the decision to use force against the insurrection compromised the image that the United States had of Deng Xiaoping: a man who wanted to bring China towards democracy.

USSR collapse in 1991 and all the communist regimes around the world trembled. For many scholars, this episode could represent the end of a political era but China is the demonstration of how the rule of the proletariat survived.

All the events that we have just mentioned are just some circumstances that have shaken these two countries and contributed to affect the relationship of these two superpowers. *But what's happening in the twenty-first century?*

Many are the events that characterized these most recent decades. The first, and one of the most important dates back to 2001: the entrance of China into the World Trade Organization, thanks to the help of President Clinton. The idea was that in doing so the Communist regime would have moved closer to a democratic government but after 17 years this have not happened yet.

Another important and global event was the Olympic Games that took place in Beijing in 2008.

"In his speech at the Olympic closing ceremony, the President of the International Olympic Committee, Jacques Rogge, argued that the event had advanced international understanding between the hosts and other societies: 'Through these Games, the world learned more about China, and China learned more about the world'." (Richard Giulianotti

China for the first time seemed to be more liberalized; social media like Facebook, WhatsApp or Instagram could be used by the community and the people felt that something was changing: ""The whole city; the whole country was not only about fun but that a lot of things were now possible.

Everything was more tolerant and more liberal." These are the words of Deng Hao, an architect that was born in Beijing but lived in New York for many years. When he discovered that the Olympic Games would have taken place in his own country he returned home for the potential works he could have done for the event (McDonnel S., 2018).

Another crucial moment between China and the US was represented by the encounter between Xi Jinping and Obama in 2013. "The two leaders appear to have genuinely connected in a positive way during their eight hours together. Tom Donilon, President Obama's National Security Adviser, called the conversations 'positive and constructive, wide-ranging and quite successful in achieving the goals that we set forth for this meeting'." (Bush R.C., 2013)

As we will see afterword this new naval station facilitates the connections especially with Africa that is becoming everyday more and more a fundamental reality for the Asian global force.

The "Chinese miracle", after the economic reforms of 1978, wouldn't have happened without the capitals, technologies, exportations and investments of the Americans. For this reason, we can affirm that these two countries have a common thread: they depend on each other. China owns most of the American wealth shares: a slowdown, or worse a recession in the economy of the "enemy" would be a disaster for Beijing. It is impossible to think that these two colossal powers might separate for any reason since they share so much. Neither of the two seem happy with this subordination and both nations are already making plans thinking about the moment where they will be free. For China, freedom will be represented by the possibility of acting undisturbed in the Asian region by controlling the trade routes and exercising its predominance (at least economically); the United States' dream would be to remain the world's first power and see China evolve peacefully and become a multi-party democracy. China, however, in maintaining the value of its currency low facilitates exports and destroys the labour force in all the countries in which it sends its low-price goods. Above all, the US has benefited from the China's economy for more than ten years and has become richer even thanks to its unfair policies; if the one-party state becomes a multi-party democracy and changes many rules within it, Americans would continue to benefit from it in the same way?

2.2 China's globalized economy

Chinese economy in the recent years have globalized in many different aspects. We have already spoken about one of the most significant event for the communist regime: its entrance in the WTO (2001). Although, what are the other ways in which China's economy has become globalized?

a. The Asian Infrastructure Investment Bank (AIIB)

In 2015 China created the Asian Infrastructure Investment Bank (AIIB). Its purpose was to improve social and economic outcomes in Asia through the creation of infrastructures, the establishment of better services, markets and new investments in the productive sector.

In a moment where globalization is experiencing a lull, emerging markets and developing economies still support free trade, because they believe in its benefits. In fact, creating a new organization such as the AIIB is an important breath of fresh air. The AIIB is a re-ordering of the global balance of power since western developed economies have always dominated worldwide financial institutions like the IMF or the World Bank. For the first time developing, emerging markets such as China, India and Brazil would have a central role in decision making. The AIIB headquarters are placed in Beijing and regarding Chinese leadership there have been some doubts. As we know China nowadays is a major and a prominent global power; any initiative led by the communist regime, neither for economic development or not, can have a strategic interest. (Amitendu Palit, 2017)

This new business association was initially seen as something belonging to Asia; but, during the years, it has become a global phenomenon and nowadays can count on the support of eighty-seven members including Canada, France, Germany, Australia and the UK.

The United States had not applied to the AIIB yet and probably would never apply. This is because "for decades, the US has used its authority in the World Bank and IMF to strengthen relations with European partners and to guide developing countries toward Western values. In Asia, Washington has used its power within the Asian Development Bank toward the same end. These institutions can issue loans with a quid pro quo: to implement reforms in line with the lenders' preferences. Washington worries that China can do precisely the same thing. With a stake of up to 50%, China may dictate the AIIB's values." (Bremmer I., 2015)

b. Foreign Direct Investments (FDI)

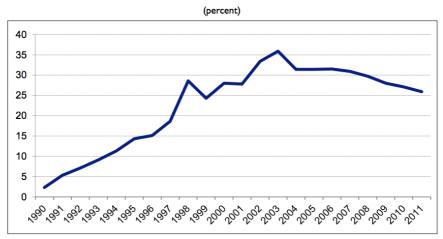
China was subject to globalization from the outside to the inside through the so called Foreign Direct Investments (FDI)⁵. Transactions' reforms and incentives in trade led to an increase in FDI starting from the 90s. This new flow has been one of the major sources of China's productivity growth.

"There were reportedly 445,244 Foreign-Invested Enterprises (FIEs) registered in China in 2010, employing 55.2 million workers or 15.9% of the urban workforce. As indicated in Figure 2.1, FIEs account for a significant share of China's industrial output. That level rose from 2.3% in 1990 to a

⁵ Foreign direct investment (FDI) is an investment made by a firm or individual in one country into business interests located in another country.

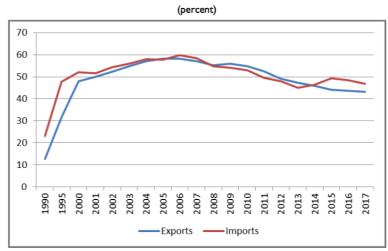
high of 35.9% in 2003, but fell to 25.9% in 2011. In addition, FIEs are responsible for a significant level of China's foreign trade. At their peak, FIEs accounted for 58.3% of Chinese exports in 2005 and 59.7% of imports, but these levels have subsequently fallen, reaching 43.2% and 46.8%, respectively, in 2017 (Figure 2.2)." (Morrison W.M., 2018)

Figure 2.1 Industrial Output by Foreign-Invested Firms in China as a Share of National Output Total: 1990-2011



Source: Invest in China (http://www.fdi.gov.cn) and China's 2012 Statistical Yearbook.

Figure 2.2 Share of Chinese Merchandise Exports and Imports by Foreign-Invested Enterprises in China: 1990-2017



Source: Invest in China (http://www.fdi.gov.cn).

From 1985 to 2005, annual FDI inflows averaged a very large share of the total GDP (nearly 3%). If we compare this data with the one of the other Asian nations that experienced rapid economic growth before China we can realize its greatness. From the 70s to the 90s in South Korea and Taiwan FDI inflows were only about 0,5% of the GDP and even more in Japan was nearly non-existent since

stood at around 0,1%. FIEs play a crucial role especially in the export of everything that is classified as high technology: from 2000s to 2012 over 80% of these kinds of exports were produced by foreign firms. The fact is that, when China decided to open up its economy it was difficult to reproduce what Taiwan, Japan and South Korea have already done: build export-champion companies behind high protectionist walls. The reason of why this couldn't happen was mainly political: Chinese products would have never been allowed to access easily the US market so China followed an alternative path and benefited from FDI. (Arthur R. Kroeber, 2016)

Foreign enterprises that invested in the Chinese soil belonged to different nations. *Table 2.1* helps us to specify which are the ten countries that invested the most in China from 1979 to 2016. The amount is expressed in billion while the total in percentage. The most consistent flows of transactions came from Hong Kong and Macau that accounted 52.6% of the total.

Table 2.1 Chinese Data on Top Ten Sources of FDI Flows to China: 1979-2016

	Estimated Cumulative Utilized FDI: 1979-2016		Utilized FDI in 2016	
Country	Amount	% of Total	Amount	% of Total
Total	1,765.5	100	126.0	100
Hong Kong and Macau	928.2	52.6	82.3	65.3
British Virgin Islands	155.9	8.8	6.7	5.3
Japan	104.9	5.9	3.1	2.5
Singapore	85.3	4.8	6.1	4.8
United States	80.0	4.5	2.4	1.9
S. Korea	68.7	3.9	4.8	3.8
Taiwan	64.7	3.7	2.0	1.6
Cayman Islands	35.3	2.0	5.2	4.1
Germany	28.2	1.6	2.7	2.1
United Kingdom	15.7	0.9	1.4	1.1

Source: Cumulative data are from the IMF Coordinated Direct Investment Survey. Annual data are from the Chinese Ministry of Commerce.

c. Chinese investments around the world

China operated in globalization also from the inside to the outside through all the investments that has been done around the world. FDI inflows brought huge improvements also for domestic industries and SOEs. At the beginning of the new century a new strategy called 'Go Global' was promoted by Beijing. This consisted in encouraging Chinese firms to invest in global market. The most important project launched inside the 'Go Global' strategy was the China's Belt and Road Initiative (BRI). The project wants to connect Asia, Africa and Europe, including seventy-one countries that account for half the world's population. There are in fact many concerns about the Chinese initiative. On one hand, some scholars are worried that these circumstances would lead to a new form of economic imperialism guided by the Communist regime; some other are worried that this is just an attempt to

win friends and influence people. Although, the project keeps evolving while China plans to set up international courts, in Shenzhen and Xi'an to resolve commercial disputes related to Belt and Road. (Kuo L. & Kommenda N., 2018)

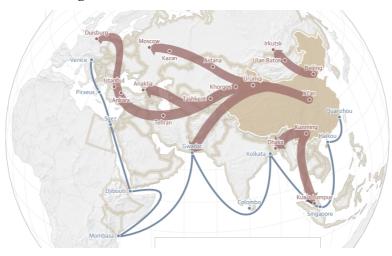


Figure 2.3 China's Belt and Road Initiative

China in the last years also wanted to reinforce the military sector. In 2016 the first naval base has been created in Djibouti. This new base serve as a launch pad for China's navy to play a larger role in the international action and the country can also learn from the experience and decide where to build the next base. Using foreign military facilities could serve to protect not also commercial interests, but also Chinese citizens overseas. (Becker J. & Downs E., 2018)

The nation, in fact, has interests especially in the African territory where not only China as a country but also private enterprises and citizens are making investments and plans for the future. Sino-African networks are an undiscovered issue yet; so, what's happening in Africa? Is China building an unnoticed second continent?

3. SINO-AFRICAN RELATIONS: THE CASE OF MOZAMBIQUE

In order to understand the nature of the existing relations between China and Africa and the importance that this continent has for Beijing, it is opportune to analyze how their alliance have evolved over time; this affair was mainly dictated by the role that the communist regime has assumed within worlds' economic and political balances after the II World War: China went from being a poor developing country to be the second worldwide economy in little more than a decade.

Relations of the black continent with western countries date back to the fifteenth century and were substantially dictated by the need to secure slaves for the United States. So, if on one hand connections with the developed world are a centuries-old phenomenon on the other hand contacts with the fareast emerging economies are to be considered a recent phenomenon. In fact, the first Sino-African contacts existed since the middle of the fifties. China has always had both political and economic interests in this continent but, why is it so? How much Sino-African relations have intensified and what's Beijing final plan?

3.1 Political and economic interests: why China have decided to invest in Africa?

China and Africa links intensified during the years. If we analyze this dualistic relationship, we can affirm that, in the modern era, these two actors have gone through three different phases. The first stage is represented by the Bandung Conference of 1955, that gave birth to a block of twenty-nine African and Asian states, eager to affirm their neutrality with respect to the conflict between the Soviet Union and the United States. The result of the conference was the signing of a declaration within which the principle of self-determination was reaffirmed; the rule of non-interference in internal affairs was resumed as well as the ethic of equality between states. Another element of cohesion among the states was the desire to free themselves from the past colonialism which had always characterized the relations between Africa and the West. China, led by an ideological rivalry with the then Soviet Union, assumed the leadership role of the bloc, offering to decolonized countries a support both in economic and military terms. Although, Chinese presence in Africa has changed its connotations. The second phase started in the nineties when many Chinese SOEs companies have 'invaded' the African territory, entering the economic fabric of the continent not only as investors in the natural resources sector but also as contractors of important building projects. In conclusion, the last and more recent stage has seen an increase in the presence of Chinese private enterprises. These firms distinguished between those directly founded in Africa and those for which Africa represents a thriving market. (Kaplinsky & Morris, 2009)

The intensification of the presence of large, medium and small Chinese companies in Africa is to be linked with the introduction, by Beijing's government, of the so-called 'going out strategy' (already mentioned in Chapter II). This approach was introduced in 2000 and encouraged national companies to enter and compete in the world market. From that moment, as expected, there was an increase in Foreign Direct Investment (FDI), directed everywhere in the world.

"According to UNCTAD (United Nations Conference on Trade and Development) statistics, Chinese outward FDI stock was about 33 billion USD in 2003, reaching almost 614 billion in 2013, which translates into a 30 percent annual growth rate." (L. Abeliansky & I. Martínez-Zarzoso, 2018)

This increase is particularly interesting if we consider that the amount of FDI reflects the degree of industrial development achieved by a certain state; this happens because the major or minor investments abroad highlight the level of competitiveness achieved by local companies forced to deal with wider and more competitive markets. It can therefore be said that China had every interest in implementing such a strategy to demonstrate the entire world, its role of primary importance in global economy. The subsequent access to the WTO (World Trade Organization), dated December 2001, was a further step in the direction of world market, opening at that point also complete at the level of trade (WTO's website).

Sino-African relations saw an evolution starting in 2000, both due to all the factors previously mentioned and both thanks to the opening of the Forum on China-Africa Cooperation (FOCAC).

The Forum was initiated thanks to the first Ministerial Conference held in Beijing (2000). The outcome of the encounter was establishment of two policy documents: the Beijing Declaration and the Programme of Cooperation on Economic and Social Development, which helped contextualize the future, the challenges and the opportunities of the brand-new convention. Historically the FOCAC seemed to be a continuum of the Bandung Conference (1955), but, in reality, it was something more. In fact this cooperation aimed to promote three major goals: first, mutual economic development through the elimination of poverty; second, the elevation of their status in international affairs due to an increase in international competitiveness and capability in economic globalization; third, create a new political and economic international order. The meetings were held every three years alternatively in China and Africa. In the end, the core principle that emerged during every confrontation was: build a stable and long term relationship through solidarity, cooperation, mutual benefit and common interests. Africa's benefited a lot from the FOCAC and thanks to China's help the continent has begun its journey towards globalization. (C. Enuka, 2010)

At this point need to take into consideration that business do not comprehend only trade and enterprises but also building projects such as infrastructures. This means that China is not just investing in Africa but is also improving the country's environment and people's quality of life in creating new social, cultural and political structures.

a. Infrastructures and public works

'Most European companies abandoned Sierra Leone long ago, but where Africa's traditional business partners see only difficulties, the Chinese see opportunities. They are the new pioneers in Africa and –seemingly unnoticed by aid planners and foreign ministries in Europe- they are changing the face of the continent'

(Hilsum, 2005)

The black continent has attracted on its territory several Chinese companies due to both political and economic reasons: Africa is a field full of opportunities for the communist regime. Indeed, we have also to think about the benefits that Africa can obtain extending relations with Chinese companies and government, especially in terms of infrastructures.

When we speak of infrastructures we refer to roads, railways, bridges and various types of projects that enhance the urban and social life of communities.

Often the lack of means of communication, which allowed the transit of goods and resources, has slowed down the growth of the states itself. To allow faster trade, roads and railways must be well developed. The works offered by China to improve African development are various; among them undoubtedly one that stands out is the *Freedom railway* (Figure 3.1). This project changed people's lives since it connected the port of Dar Es Saalam in Tanzania with Zambia. The TAZARA (Tanzania Zambia Railway Authority) railway stretches out for 1860 kilometers with 975 km in Tanzania and 885 km in Zambia and it represents a lifeline to hundreds of communities allowing the exchange of goods, services and people. Built by Chinese workers and technicians it permits transit without having to go through ports of South Africa and Rhodesia (countries then governed by regimes that practiced apartheid). The construction of the railway began in 1970 and lasted until 1975: it is the most important Chinese project in terms of assistance outside the national borders.

However, many years have passed since its construction and due to the absence of proper maintenance the infrastructure has already been in terrible conditions. At the same time, there has been an improvement of road infrastructure along the regional corridors.

As a result, the service got worse and traffic on TAZARA is only about 15% of its peak demand during the early 1990s. (Figure 3.2) Thus, some businesses and shippers are still using rail transport, mainly because of low relative costs compared with road transport.

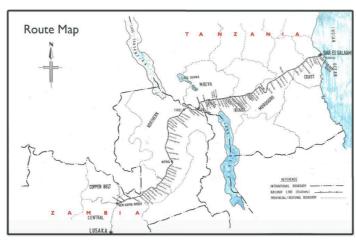
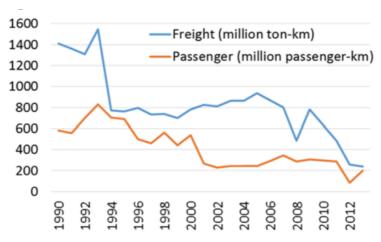


Figure 3.1 TAZARA railway map

Figure 3.2 TAZARA rail traffic



Source: TAZARA

Tanzania has recently tried to talk to China asking for financial support to revitalize the TAZARA railway. The country seems to be ready and willing to renovate the service. The communist regime approved the project and Ms. Wang Ke, the Chinese Ambassador to Tanzania, regarding the issue affirmed "It is a long process; I can't exactly say when the funds will be disbursed... we are still negotiating with the government on how the matter will be handled". Tanzania together with Zambia initially wanted to modernize the railroad with their own funds but it would have been impossible since costs are too high. (A. Malanga, 2017)

This demonstrates us how, despite their willingness, African states still have to rely on foreign aids.

TAZARA has not been the only plan where China has intervened in building roads and create new ways to communicate and facilitate not only trade but also people's travels.

There are many Chinese companies active in the reconstruction of Mozambique, a country in which the Chinese work has allowed the repair of 600 km of roads. In the same state, the advantages deriving from new infrastructures are equally evident in the sector of electricity generating plants, a sector which, thanks to the influx of Chinese technologies and capital, has seen an increase of 35% in electricity supply. (Kaplinsky et al, 2007)

In the next paragraph, we will focus exactly on Mozambique and its particular history: how its connections with China has changed and how.

3.2 Mozambique: how the country changed and shaped because of China

In the last decade one of the African country that had a significant involvement in China's affairs was Mozambique. The country has gone through numerous changes after the II World War. First, it struggled against colonial power and managed to achieve independence from Portugal in 1975. The liberation movement, also known as FRELIMO, created a one-party state based on socialist principles. Because of its political line-up it received both the aid of China and the Soviet Union. This decision was made under the leadership of Eduardo Mondlane since Mozambique didn't want to get involved in the Sino-Soviet ideological split. Sooner than we could have expected FRELIMO had to face a counter insurgency movement known as RENAMO. This dualism started a civil war that cracked the country until 1992 when the government decided to open a dialogue with the counterpart. During the years of the civil war Maputo, the capital of Mozambique, after getting closer with the USSR at the end of the 70s declared itself a Marxist-Leninist state. Nevertheless, China always offered assistance to the socialist African nation, for instance offering military support or giving support after the effects of the famine in 1983. At the end of the eighties Mozambique also started to adopt market-oriented economic reforms taking the distance from socialist policies. Despite some improvements, the nation remained dependent on foreign aid. (P.C. Roque, 2009)

Mozambique remains one of the poorest economies in the world. In the 2005 Human Development Index the country occupied the 172nd world position characterised also by low socioeconomic indicators. The 2% of the population loves with just \$2 dollars every day.

Figure 3.3 shows Mozambique GDP from 2008 until 2018 measured in UD billion dollars. Average GDP in Mozambique from 1980 until 2017 always measured around 6,6 USD billion dollars. Its value in 2017 represented the 0.2% of the world economy and was worth 12.33 billion US dollars, namely a lot more than the usual average. (Trading Economics, 2018)

18 16.96 16.02 16 14.8 14.53 13.13 12.33 12 11,49 11.01 10.91 10.15 2018 2008 2016

Figure 3.3 Mozambique GDP

Source: World Bank

So, we can affirm that Sino-Mozambican relations date back to the 1960s when China gave the first military and financial support to the country in helping FRELIMO to obtain independence. In the 1980s than a trade-aid relationship slowly emerged. Connections between the two countries changed in the nineties and during the 21st century when the second economy worldwide started to conclude several economic agreements in the region and cooperate in several areas of society to improve the wellness of the community.

Nowadays, another step forward has been made and the situation has never been so intense since Chinese FDI in Mozambique have never been so consistent: in 2007 they reached \$60 million but they were just \$10 million in 2003. (P.C. Roque, 2009)

As we have seen in other occasions infrastructures play an essential role also within the Sino-Mozambican connection. The civil war that affected the country until the beginning of the nineties brought widespread destruction and weaken the development of the country. All the infrastructures build in the years after the conflict helped Mozambique to reinforce its political, economic and social stability. That's the reason why China's interest in supporting infrastructure projects across the continent have made it a particularly attractive partner. "China has funded several public infrastructure projects in Mozambique since 1999 with the construction of the parliament buildings. From 2001 to 2004 concessional loans amounting to \$15.6 million, to be repaid between 2013 and 2025, were assigned to several public works projects, including the purchase of police equipment and the construction of the Joaquim Chissano Conference Centre, the new Foreign Ministry and low-income housing in Zimpeto on the outskirts of Maputo". (P.C. Roque, 2009)

The projects adopted by China helped Mozambique to get through a difficult moment after the end of the civil war. Nowadays the communist regime still cooperate with the authorities but the road

toward success is still long and complicated especially for a country that in the 90s, after all those terrific events needed to be rebuilt from the roots.

3.3 Sino-African relations' consequences

We have seen how Sino-African relations have grown exponentially. In fact, the intensification of the links between Chinese enterprises and the black continent has represented a great opportunity for Africa and its communities, but there are also many risks associated with this situation. Beijing wants to present these dual affair as something positive: a win-win situation. But, many expert think that more than a partnership this circumstance represent a new form of colonialism.

Lamido Sanusi, who has been Governor of the Central Bank of Nigeria from 2009 to 2014, has expressed his thoughts about the Sino-African affair in different occasions. He highlighted the need to put aside the African idea that associates the characteristics of an equal partner with China. The communist regime is no longer a developing country but the second largest economy in the world and as such is only interested in exploiting the opportunities available on the black continent and not the development of the various African states. Africa should therefore adopt a more pragmatic approach to relations with Beijing: only those projects and agreements which, while allowing the Chinese companies to obtain profits, will certainly be used for the cause of the continent' development. (Financial times, 2013)

In light of what we have said, there is the need for African countries to find development paths that do not make them dependent on exports of raw materials, but rather that produce value-added goods. The Sino-African relationship is more complicated than what other countries in the world might think and they should start to worry about it because Beijing's plans are bigger than we can imagine.

CONCLUSION

The main task of the discussion was to clarify two main topics: China's development in political economy after 1949 and the effects that globalization had on the regime.

From 1949, date of the foundation of the People's Republic by the Chinese Communist Party, the evolution of China has been marked by many progresses - in some cases genuine leaps forward - that a poor developing country, with a mediocre economy, couldn't reach before. Today China is the second world economic power with the goal of being the first by 2050.

The communist party has always been the main actor within the state. It has always managed all the processes with iron decision, even during the economic transition made thanks to Deng Xiaoping's reforms in 1978.

The shift from a centrally planned economy to a more market driven one has not affected the communist regime. With the end of the USSR, communism suffered a crisis and it was assumed that if a state was adopting an open economy it should start, at the same time, an institutional process towards democracy. China was able to completely overturn this assumption and managed to create a state in which the communist party is the main state actor, supported by a fluorescent market economy.

We also tried to establish whether, and to what extent, development in Chinese political economy and the effects of globalization within the country could have resulted in the future. One consequence, as clarified in the third chapter, in fact, is the relationship that has born between Africa and China.

The current connections between these two actors, both in terms of trade and in terms of Chinese investments, are still relatively low when compared to the links that the black continent has with the rest of the world. What is important to note is the speed thanks to which these relationships intensify. We cannot formulate certain predictions about the future, but the current impacts demonstrate that the increased relations between China and the black continent should be taken into consideration. (Kaplinsky, 2007) If this flow persists, we would affirm that part of the future African history will certainly depend on relations with Beijing.

In light of this, to what extent will China be able to stimulate the development processes of the black continent? It is clear from the discussion that Chinese interest in Africa is not motivated by humanitarian ends - as it would like to show - but depends on economic and political considerations. However, it must be emphasized that the advent of Chinese capital has produced, over a period of twenty years, results superior to those produced in the whole century by European colonizers. Beyond the ethical considerations concerning the modus operandi of Chinese companies

and government on African soil, it clearly emerges how the opportunities offered by Beijing (referring above all to the supply of productive infrastructures, to the development of the agricultural sector and to the provision of training programs) can serve as a fuel for the development of the entire African continent.

The analysis of every political and economic process need to be balanced and deeply examined. I believe that those who consider China to be a threat and the Chinese to be just the new colonizer of Africa are wrong.

I think that the strategic nature of the partnership between China and Africa will depend on the ability of the African governments and local communities to take advantage of the opportunities provided by the Eastern power. In light of this considerations, I would say that the positivity and negativity of the growing amount of relationships cannot be determined a priori but will depend on the way in which the different variables examined will interact with each other in the future. In about ten years it will be possible to evaluate if the cooperation between the parties involved has been translated into a win-win situation.

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L'EVOLUZIONE DELLA POLITICA ECONOMICA CINESE DAL 1949

Come il paese sta reagendo alla globalizzazione e quali sono i progetti per il continente Africano

L'ultimo decennio del secolo scorso e gli inizi dell'attuale hanno visto affacciarsi con forza alla ribalta geopolitica ed economica internazionale un nuovo, assoluto protagonista: la Cina.

Dal 1 ottobre 1949, data della fondazione della Repubblica Popolare a opera del Partito Comunista cinese, l'evoluzione della Cina è stata contrassegnata da molti progressi - in alcuni casi degli autentici balzi in avanti - che un paese arretrato, con una economia basata in larga parte sul settore primario, la vede oggi seconda potenza economica mondiale con l'obbiettivo di essere al primo posto entro il 2050.

Il Partito Comunista cinese nella sua monoliticità, tipica del dettato marxista applicato alla società, è stato un autore ed attore di tutte le scelte che hanno portato fino alla apertura nei confronti di una economia di mercato sia per l'interno che per i rapporti internazionali.

Dal progressivo abbandono del Comunismo Maoista - basti ricordare la carestia degli inizi degli anni sessanta con milioni di morti attribuiti alle riforme economiche volute da Mao per una industrializzazione a tappe forzate - attraverso le riforme operate da Deng Xiaoping nel 1978 con l'obbiettivo del cambiamento dei piani strategici nei principali settori: industria, agricoltura, difesa, tecnologia fino alla ristrutturazione degli apparati statali a partire dagli anni '80, il PCC ha gestito tutti i processi con ferrea decisione.

Anche nelle aperture ai mercati internazionali sia per le esportazioni che per le forme di incoraggiamento degli investimenti esteri per una evoluzione del proprio mercato interno l'ultimo mezzo secolo ci ha presentato un disegno economico e politico, definito proprio da Deng 'un paese, due sistemi', che può essere riassunto come un modello che combina struttura amministrativa ed istituzionale saldamente nelle mani del PCC con un sistema economico che prevedeva un rapporto costruttivo di libero mercato.

Questo accadde anche dopo che il Congresso del Partito riconobbe l'importanza della impresa privata nello sviluppo dell'economia cinese.

Sono passati solo vent'anni ma secondo McKinsey circa un terzo delle start up valutate più di un miliardo di dollari sono cinesi. E non solo sul territorio della madrepatria.

Ne abbiamo un esempio concreto se si analizza la presenza Cinese in Africa, dove Pechino prosegue la sua espansione sia di presenza economica che politica. Basti ricordare solo l'annuncio del presidente Xi Jinping di poche settimane fa al Forum della Cooperazione Africa-Cina che bissava il

pacchetto di tre anni con 60 miliardi di nuovi finanziamenti con prestiti a tasso zero, conferme di linee di credito, un fondo dedicato allo sviluppo delle aree più arretrate e fondi legati a import da imprese private africane; più di tutto il sostegno alle opere infrastrutturali che vanno a beneficio non solo degli stati Africani ma della costruzione della cosi detta 'via della seta'.

Se i processi di globalizzazione come li abbiamo conosciuti nel secolo scorso sono in via di esaurimento e verranno sostituiti da nuovi modelli e nuovi equilibri macro economici e geopolitici, analizzare l'evoluzione in corso del modello cinese fornirà sicuramente spunti di riflessione importanti per quelli che saranno gli equilibri di questo secolo.

Il rischio sarebbe quello che il risultato finale dei rapporti Africa-Cina potrebbe non essere una 'win-win relation' - come è stata soprannominata dal governo di Pechino - ma bensì una nuova forma di colonialismo che ancora oggi viene sottovalutato dal resto del mondo.

Sulla base di ciò che è stato appena affermato questa tesi verrà suddivisa in tre capitoli.

L'elaborato vuole evidenziare come il regime comunista sia riuscito a fare la storia attraverso il suo sviluppo non solo nazionale ma anche e soprattutto internazionale negli ultimi decenni.

Durante il primo capitolo, la situazione economica e politica della Cina, dopo il 1949, sarà analizzata nel dettaglio. Le caratteristiche della sorprendente performance economica cinese, iniziata verso la fine del XX° secolo, saranno evidenziate e messe a confronto con il cambiamento delle istituzioni. A questo seguirà un secondo capitolo che analizzerà la reazione della Cina all'interno del processo di globalizzazione. Il paese, infatti ha acquistato un ruolo nuovo nella scena internazionale a causa del suo stupefacente progresso economico. La Cina, però, è più coinvolta nel processo di globalizzazione di quanto possiamo immaginare. L'ultimo capitolo spiega, infine, in dettaglio l'evoluzione e la natura del rapporto tra Cina e Africa con una preminente attenzione alla descrizione degli interessi che spingono le due parti a collaborare. Cercheremo di valutare l'entità di questa relazione e ci sarà anche spazio per valutare i rischi che l'Africa deriva dalla crescente presenza cinese all'interno del suo territorio.