

INTRODUCTION

CHINA-AFRICA RELATIONS IN A GLOBALISED WORLD

Joseph H.P. Golwa and Paul Andrew Gwaza

With the end of the Cold War and the wave of democratization sweeping across countries in the global South¹, a phase of socio-political contestations that characterized the transitional period was the persistent violent internal armed conflicts in these societies.² The phenomenon of violent conflicts in Africa, have resulted in monumental loss of lives, massive destruction of valuable properties, investment and investment opportunities, disruption of human settlement and social activities, the mass displacement of people across national and international borders and the devastation of key national infrastructure and institutions that encumber international cooperation, integration and development.³ This is in addition to its peculiar historicity in colonization, decolonization movements and their post-independent existence under a neo-liberal international economic order.⁴ The narrative defining the political economy of the global South has been that of extreme poverty,

¹ Huntington, S.P. *The Third Wave: Democratisation in the Late Twentieth Century*. Norman; OK: University of Oklahoma Press, 1991; Huntington, Samuel P. 1984. 'Will More Countries Become Democratic?', *Political Science Quarterly*, 99(1): 203-235

² Bratton, Michael and Nicholas van de Walle, *Democratic Experiments in Africa: Regime Transition in Comparative Perspective*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1997

³ Osita Agbu, "West Africa's Trouble Spots and the Imperative for Peace-Building", in *The CODESRIA Monograph Series 3-5* (2006) ; Rajagopal, Balakrishnan, "Invoking the Rule of Law in Post-conflict Rebuilding: A Critical Examination", in *William & Mary Law Review*, Vol. 49, Issue 4, 1347 (2008), <http://scholarship.law.wm.edu/wmlr/vol49/iss4/10>

⁴ M. Sornarajah, "Power and Justice: Third World Resistance in International Law", in *Singapore Year Book Of International Law*, 2006, 10 Sybil 19–57

environmental degradation, disease and terrorism amongst many other menaces⁵. The state of insecurity that these conditions breed has the implication of stifling and destroying development initiatives and further aggravating the weakening of these countries to address challenges of poverty, diseases and conflict-related crimes.⁶ The telling is that with China's strong economy, the global power could be a dependable ally in Africa's developmental strides.

As part of efforts towards tackling these challenges, the Institute for Peace and Conflict Resolution in collaboration with the Embassy of the People's Republic of China organized a One-day International Seminar with the aim of reviewing post-cold war China-Africa relations; assessing the state of international peace and security, and the contribution of China and Africa to the realization of the mandate of the United Nations; examining the exemplary character of China-Africa relations, in providing the platform for a win-win relationship; identifying and articulating the challenges, successes, and opportunities inherent in China-Africa relations. To achieve these objectives, the Institute and the Embassy assembled an array of eminent scholars from China and Africa to present the different perspectives in the China-Africa relations. This book titled; *China-Africa Relations in a Globalised World* is the product of the One-Day International Seminar. The book therefore articulates the roles that China and Africa are playing, or could play in the pursuit of international peace and security broadly speaking.

To appreciate the perceptions coherently articulated in this

⁵ Chau, Donovan C. "Political Warfare in Sub-Saharan Africa: U.S. Capabilities and Chinese Operations in Ethiopia, Kenya, Nigeria, and South Africa" (Online version on <http://www.strategicstudiesinstitute.army.mil/> accessed 20/3/2011)

⁶ Rice, Susan E. "Global Poverty, Weak States and Insecurity" The Brookings Blum Roundtable, Session I: Poverty, Insecurity and Conflict, Wednesday, August 2, 9.30 – 10.45 A.M, Brooking Global Economy and Development, http://www.brookings.edu/~media/research/files/papers/2006/8/globaleconomic%20rice/08globaleconomics_rice.pdf accessed 20/3/2011

book, it is incumbent to look at the history of China and Africa from antiquity. This will assist us in tracing and establishing the historical linkages in the evolution, development and advancement of the interconnectedness between these great civilizations. It is instructive to note that both civilizations experienced demeaning forms of treatment under foreign conquests, colonization and hegemonic influences that had negative impact in the evolution and development of their respective stages of mode of production. While some parts of China were colonized⁷, Africa was subjugated by the imperial powers of Europe consequent upon the scramble and partition of African under the supervision of Chairman Bismarck at a conference in Berlin between 1884 and 1885.⁸ This unbolted the flood-gates into one hundred years of drudgery under the yoke of a combination of the colonial establishment and the company's *Raj* (with regards to the Indian Sub Continent).

Another common factor that has the natural effect of bringing China and Africa together in strategic geopolitics of global affairs is the fact that China and Africa have the population, which is a unique privilege to sway the Trade-Related Market Friendly⁹

⁷ Wang Tieya "International Law in China: Historical and Contemporary Perspectives", in 221 *Academie du Droit International, Recueil de Cours* [Collected Courses of the Hague Academy of International Law] 195, 232, 37 (1990-II)

⁸ Adekeye Adebajo, "From Cape to Casablanca: Africa's Evolving Security Architecture", in *Favorita Papers of the Diplomatic Academy of Vienna*, No. 3, 2004; see generally, Anghie, Antony, "Finding the Peripheries: Sovereignty and Colonialism in Nineteenth-Century International Law", in *Harvard International Law Journal*, Vol. 40, 1999

⁹ Okafor, Obiora Chinedu "Assessing Baxi's Thesis on an Emergent Trade-Related Market-Friendly Human Rights Paradigm: Recent Evidence from Nigerian Labour-led Struggles", 2007 (1) *Law, Social Justice & Global Development Journal* (LGD). <http://www.go.warwick.ac.uk/elj/lgd/2007_1/okafor> ; Baxi, U (2002) *The Future of Human Rights* (Delhi: Oxford University Press), where Upendra opined that: The paradigm of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights is

international affairs to their side.

It is no longer news that China attached high premium to Africa's liberation struggles that mostly took place after the formation of the People's Republic of China in 1949. This unique role of participating in Africa's decolonization processes is not only a major factor in strengthening China-Africa relations, but also affords China the opportunity for comprehending Africa's peculiarities and uniqueness. On her part, Africa was instrumental to China's reclaiming its rightful place not only as member of the United Nations, but also as a member of the United Nations Security Council (UNSC).¹⁰ On the surface, this may seem a reciprocal gesture, but a historical analysis of China and Africa relations points to the existence of dynamism and mutual respect and understanding that spans centuries of interactions. This is relevant when the issue is situated within the copious context that the world was just emerging from the cataclysmic bunkers of the incendiary World War II and in the trenches of bipolar world during the cold war era. Interestingly, neither the World Wars and Cold War era nor the contradictions that characterized a unipolar world

being steadily, but surely, *supplanted* by that of trade-related, market-friendly human rights. This new paradigm seeks to reverse the notion that universal human rights are designed for the attainment of dignity and well-being of human beings and for enhancing the security and well being of socially, economically and civilisationally vulnerable peoples and communities. See also Okafor, Obiora Chinedu, "Attainments, Eclipses and Disciplinary Renewal in International Human Rights Law: A Critical Overview", in Armstrong, David (ed.) *Routledge Handbook of International Law*, New York: Routledge, 2009, p. 310

¹⁰ Jin Yongjian, "China's Economic Development: New Opportunities for the Sino-African Relations", Speech delivered at Africa Institute of South Africa Seminar, 17 May, 2005, <http://za.china-embassy.org/eng/znlj/ti96028.htm>; see also Srinivasan, Sharath "A 'rising Great Power' embraces Africa: Nigeria-China Relations", in Adebajo, A. & Mustapha A. (eds.), *Gulliver's Troubles: Nigeria's Foreign Policy after the Cold War*, Cape Town: University of KwaZulu-Natal Press, 2008, p. 339

under the United States of America which constitute a challenge to China-Africa relations.

The Bandung Afro-Asian Conference of April 1955 provided an opportunity for Africa and Asia, especially China and Africa to further review and strengthen direct relationship.¹¹ During the conference the then Chinese premier Zhou Enlai and vice premier Chen Yi, who was also the foreign minister, had talks with the then Egyptian premier Nasser and representatives from Ghana, Nigeria, Libya, Sudan, Liberia and Ethiopia. This strategic engagement renewed and refreshed the positive relationship between China and Africa.

Interestingly, papers presented during the conference expressed the need for coherent policies and programmes that would promote peace and security through sustained economic growth and development initiatives in the global south, especially through South-South cooperative initiative. This is because most states that are manifesting the inclination towards violent conflict within this geographical space are weak states that are poor and lack the capacity to meet their development obligations. This culminates in the manifestation that is characteristic of a discontent population motivated by the grievances over hunger, starvation, poverty, diseases and general decline in standard of living.

This book is relevant and timely because it captures in a specifically in-depth manner the perspectives of the assemblage of international scholarship from reputable academic institutions and policy establishments in China and Africa. The themes articulated ranges from strategic partnership, international cooperation and

¹¹Final Communiqué of the Asian-African conference of Bandung, 24 April 1955, accessible at http://www.ena.lu/final_communique_asian-african_conference_bandung_24_april_1955-020000556.html; see also Worsley, Peter “Models of the Modern World-System”, in Featherstone, Mike (ed.) *Global Culture: Nationalism, Globalization And Modernity*, London: SAGE Publications, 1990, p. 84

development, nature of relationship in a new international environment, peacebuilding and world peace, roles of civil society, and trade relations, as relevant in the promotion of international peace and security.

The choice of the thematic areas is informed by the reciprocity and equality (win-win approach) that typify China-African partnerships. In this respect, we should be guided by the wisdom of the late sage; the Tanzanian President Julius K. Nyerere who pointed that:

African countries should not only unite to speak with one voice but also set up reciprocal relations with countries like China to elevate its position on the international stage. For China, it could break the West's diplomatic blockade by supporting the national liberation cause of Africa. Therefore, aiding Africa is aiding China itself.

The book is compartmentalized in thirteen chapters with each consisting of exposé covering a particular subject that is sourced from the general thematic subject.

In chapter one, Dr. Yusuf Zoaka discusses under the topic; *Review of China-Nigeria Strategic Partnership*, in it he addresses the strategic partnership that has characterized China-Nigeria relations since 1971, when these countries established diplomatic relations. The paper proceeds to give concise statistics covering the volume of trade between them in a manner that suggests what foreign policy establishment strategists will readily call equal partnership. The partnership is evident in international and regional affairs; economic and trade co-operation; human and cultural exchanges; space, science and technology; infrastructural development, including road and railway rehabilitation, the construction of housing units and bridges, to mention a few.

In chapter two, Professor Liu Hongwu's systematic presentation titled, *Significance of China-Africa Development and Reshaping of*

Modern Human Civilization cannot be missed especially with regards to his capturing the theme under review. The work covers the period from 1970-1999. The thrust of this paper is sustainably fashioned to address certain basic concerns following broad subjects: The beginning of Modern Sino-African relations; Challenges posed by the processes characterizing a coherent development-based relation in the decade of the 1970s and so on. Professor Hongwu proceeds to give a vivid account of the mechanism applied to overcome these multidimensional challenges that eventuated in the achievements of China's African Policy in the Early 1980s.

Under chapter three, Professor Warisu Alli discusses *China-Nigeria Relations under the New World Situation: Challenges and Opportunities*. The background of his scholarly presentation is to trace the history of the political leanings that characterized the international environment pre- and post- Cold War era. He examines new formations, such as the institutional and organizational configurations, including, the G8 (US, UK, Germany, France, Italy, Canada, Japan and Russia); G77 developing countries; the G15; the G20 (the G8 plus China, Brazil, India, and others); the BRICS (Brazil, Russia, India, China and South Africa); IBSA (India, Brazil and South Africa); the D8 (Iran, Indonesia, Egypt, Nigeria, Bangladesh, Malaysia, Turkey and Pakistan) and so on. The paper equally analyses the power potential of China and Nigeria, and the benefits that the two stand to gain from each other in a mutually advantageous relationship. The interesting aspect of the work lies in its in-depth grasp of international issues, which the writer has demonstrated.

In chapter four Professor Li Anshan so aptly gives a fresh perspective to the conversation with the paper titled; *China-Africa Co-operation and Development: Principles, Experiences and Initiatives*. While calling for co-operation for mutual development, the paper identifies basic principles guiding China's engagements with Africa and the character of Africa towards developmental

issues. For particular note is the paper's recounting of the experiences of King Jaja of Opobo with the British, and the British's aggressive manipulation of the palm oil business against King Jaja. This clearly shows the ingenuity of Africa, in terms of commerce, trade and investment, which the world should copy from.

Dr Benedicta Daudu in chapter five discussed the paper titled, *Sustainable Economic Trade Co-operation between Nigeria and China: the Gender Perspective*. The kernel of the paper is that it set out strategies for gender-based equity initiatives to strengthened trade-related components of the China-Africa relations.

In chapter six, Professor Mrs. Liu Qingjian, in a paper titled, *A Comparative Study of China-Africa and US-Africa Co-operation in the 21st Century* undertakes a comparative analysis of Africa's engagements with China in one respect, and the US in the other respect. The paper admits the existence of co-operation that has mutually been economically profiting to Africa and China, and Africa and US respectively. However, the paper identifies the divergence of interests with regards to political co-operation, in which the scholar views the US-Africa co-operation to be lopsided in favour of the US's anti-terrorism campaign. The China-Africa cooperation on the other hand has been based on mutual support especially in the international affairs. The paper understands the several conditions of democratization, good governance and human rights by the US as being unfavourable to Africa's development.

In chapter seven, in the paper titled, *China-Nigeria Relations: Facilitating Peace building through Trade*, Charles Onunaiju reviews the diverse shades of perspectives with regards to the nature of Chinese investments across Africa before concluding that Africa is the master of her destiny.

Professor Tang Xiao discusses *African Regional Integration and Sino-Africa Cooperation: Opportunities and Challenges* in chapter eight. The paper assesses African integration processes from a Chinese perspective with a view to identifying areas of

possible co-operation and solidarity with China for the mutual benefit of the two parties. In doing that, the paper examines some of the challenges confronting African regional integration as they impact on China-Africa relations, and acknowledged that African regional integration is irreversible.

Professor Oche Ogaba's contribution titled, *China-West Africa Security Challenges: Facts and Fiction* comes as chapter nine. The scholar did a panoramic survey of existing and emerging security threats to West Africa, such as drug/human trafficking and sea piracy, while laying emphasis on threats associated with terrorism. Furthermore, he analyzes threats that have the propensity to endanger democratic governance, such as non-inclusion in government and unconstitutional change of government. The paper in addition examines how these security threats impact on China's interest, and the response of China to these threats. The paper argues that despite several options at its disposal to respond to these threats, China has always deployed diplomatic option over and above other options that will adversely impact on diplomatic relationships. The paper concludes on an optimistic note that despite myriads of security threats in the West African region, the region still provides opportunity for developmental initiatives from across the world, especially from China.

In chapter ten, Zhan Shimming discusses in a paper titled, *China and Africa: Contributions to World Peace* in view of the critical nature of current international situation and the contributions of Africa and China to world peace. The paper examines the efforts of regional and sub-regional bodies, such as the African Union (AU) and the Economic Community of West African States (ECOWAS) in conflict prevention, management and resolution in Africa as a strand in a coordinated global effort towards international peace and security. The scholar juxtaposes China's involvements in UN Peacekeeping operations and its other contributions as a strategic member of the United Nations Security Council (UNSC). These are in tandem with the Government of the

People's Republic of China's white paper titled 'China's Peaceful Development'.

Chapter eleven of the book is titled, *China-Africa Relations: Collaboration for Global Peace, Security and Integration*. Here, Dr. Joseph H.P. Golwa examines the efficacy of the multilateral arrangements propagated under the United Nations charter in fostering international collaboration. The paper identifies and discusses the multilateral and regional arrangements that have been used as vehicles for the attainment of global peace, security and integration between China and Africa. It further reviews the problems and challenges to global peace, security and integration in the context of this relationship and recommends for a system that would focus on collective strategies to weed out negative tendencies and replacing them with positive initiatives which would ultimately usher in the regime of peace, security and global co-operation.

In chapter twelve, Paul Andrew Gwaza and Caleb Ayuba discuss in a paper titled, *Approaches for Fostering Civil Society Engagements in the Light of China-Africa Relations* as a way of appraising the critical contributions of the civil society. In their analysis, they demonstrate by tracing the historical background of China-Africa relations to the unofficial engagements of organized group of individuals that both sustained and promoted the current burgeoning socio-economic, cultural and educational interactions amongst the people at all levels. Despite identified challenges, the paper contends that there is the increasing relevance of civil society organizations in the enrichment of the thematic content and paving the path for diplomatic engagements between the parties.

CHAPTER 1

A REVIEW OF CHINA-NIGERIA STRATEGIC PARTNERSHIP

Yusuf A. Zoaka

INTRODUCTION

The desire to pursue world peace and cordial relationships amongst nations led to the establishment of the United Nations Organizations following the inability of the League of Nations to prevent the outbreak of the Second World War between 1940 and 1945. Since the establishment of the UN, it has been organized to foster co-operation and promote mutually beneficial partnerships. These relationships are established between countries of equal strength or between strong and weak countries and also between weak countries, or countries with the same identical ideological blocs. For instance, NATO, European Union (EU), Economic community of West Africa States (ECOWAS) and the Arab league are co-operation among states, regions, ideological blocs, non-governmental organizations with the aim of promoting economic cooperation, infrastructural development, technology transfer and development, and the welfare and security of lives and properties. There is a growth in the relationships between nation-states over the past decades aimed at their mutual benefits in the areas of technology development and transfer, military cooperation, infrastructural provision and the promotion of peace. These are in consonance with the aims and objectives of the United Nations set out in article 1 of the 1945 Charter that provides for the maintenance of international peace and security, the development of friendly relationship among nations and so on. Therefore, when Nation States come together to promote friendly relations amongst themselves, such arrangements are in line with the objective of the

UN. Nigeria would require the collaborative assistance of other nations to promote her strategic interest within the international system. Similarly, China cannot promote its interest as an emerging global giant without courting the support of countries like Nigeria.

Globalization is an all embracing, all consuming and self propelling phenomenon, and its negative implication cannot be curtailed by isolationism or protectionism. This is because the globalization phenomenon is knowledge and technology driven (though dying down in Nigeria, it is soaring high in China). Knowledge and Technology are the driving forces of globalization, especially through the promotion of unfavourable trade and monetary policies by World Trade Organization (WTO), the International Monetary Fund (IMF), and the World Bank in favour of Western capitalist economies. We must recognize that globalization is a process that has acquired emotive and multifaceted force, because of its economic, socio-cultural and political implications.

The paper will contextualize strategic partnership using the power theory as articulating the nature of bilateral engagement between Nigeria and China. The paper analyses areas of weaknesses, before drawing a conclusion with a way forward.

STRATEGIC PARTNERSHIP

Strategic partnership is a formal alliance between two commercial enterprises of nation states usually formalized by one or more business contracts but falls short of forming a legal partnership or, agency or corporate affiliate relationship. Although a term commonly used in Business transaction, strategic partnership has also developed over the years as an important and new form of association in international relations. Since the end of the 1990s a new language has been gaining relevance in the international realm. Blaue (2011) opined that currently, a remarkable and over a growing number of “strategic partnerships”

between international actors can be observed. However, Blaue (2011) further opined that there is lack of substantial discussion concerning this phenomenon. There is no problematization of its origin and there is no discussion on to what extent it can be seen as the rise of a new form of association between international (mainly state) actors. Pena (2010a) also argued that the new realities of power distribution in the international system help us to understand the consolidation of new forms of policy making in the international realm. This explains why there is increasing relationships between developing countries to carve more power in the system like the South-South links, Africa-Caribbean relations, Asia-Pacific relations etc. This links are being expanded and multilateralism supposedly is becoming the principle behind the foreign policy of most states in the Global realignment of interests and forces that is currently enveloping the world.

Although the concept is commonly used among companies and also in the security area; however, it is in international economic relationships that its range is less easily understood. The use of the expression seems to be more an instrument to buy attention to high political meeting than to implement effective substantial agreements. The European Union which has made the concept a major principle of its acting and it defines its relationship with major Global players like India, Russia, Brazil, China, South Africa, Ukraine, Canada, Mexico among others. We must note that strategic partnerships are a means of strengthening international co-operation.

There is however imprecise declarations in the sense that it does not point out which values and goals should be shared with these strategic partners.

It does not explain how countries like China, South Africa and Ukraine qualify to the same status with the EU (to what extent are they all key actors). How are they relevant to EUs security and do they share values and goals with EU?

Lessa (2010) examines the concept within the context of

Brazilian foreign policy and argues that “strategic partnerships” are priority political and economic relations reciprocally compensating established on the basis of an accumulation of bilateral relations of a universal nature. Although this notion of strategic partnership was debunked because of its over generalization to include the period when strategic partnership was less pronounced. It is however useful to the extent that it relates to historical development of strategic partnership.

Also Emerson (2001) understands strategic partnership as a kind of relationship which involves two actors that are powerful and capable of taking strategic action together. In turn the Routledge Encyclopedia of political Economy (2001) defines a strategic partnership between states as a political instrument to facilitate the intensification of the economic relationship between the parties involved.

From the definition above, we can itemize the following briefly as the characteristics of strategic partnership:

- a. The presence of common values common interest and mutual understanding.
- b. The parties are generally and largely of equal size.
- c. The partnership is context specific.
- d. It deals with selected items that promote the interest of the parties.

THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

For the purpose of this paper we shall be employing the world systems theory in analyzing the relation between Nigerian and China. The world systems theory viewed the world as a global village that can be easily divided into different social and economic strata. Verma (2006:194) asserts that the world systems theory recognizes the inter-dependency of Nations; as no one country is self-sufficient and capable of meeting all its needs. The theory believes in the need for one nation to specialize in areas where it

has obvious comparative advantage and use what it has as bargain with other nations to get what it does not have. The theory also believes that the world is a global village an entity where an event in one would definitely affect the other. It also shares some attitudes with David Easton's systems theory where the worlds is regarded as an entity with several linkages parts each functioning in its own but dependant on the other parts in order to achieve a desired objective. The world theory has been defined by Wallenstein (2000) as a:

Social system that has boundaries, structures, group rules of legitimacy and coherence. The systems life is made up of conflicting forces which holds it together by tension and tears it apart as each group seeks eternally to remold it to its advantage. It has its characteristics of an organization in that it has a life span over which its characteristics change in some respect and remain stable in others... life within it is largely self contained and the dynamics of its development are largely internal.

With this brief outline, we have adopted this theory because it suits the purpose of the paper in analyzing the partnership between China and Nigeria.

AREAS OF STRATEGIC PARTNERSHIP BETWEEN CHINA AND NIGERIA

The discussion above on strategic partnership clearly shows that these partnerships are established among or between equal partners. Consequently we shall examine the development of Bilateral Relations between china and Nigeria and then evaluate the strategic partnership between Nigeria and china before suggesting areas of review.

Nigeria and the People's Republic of China established formal diplomatic relations on February 10th 1971. Since 1971, the relationship between the two nations has waxed stronger as a result of the international isolation and Western condemnation of Nigeria's military Regimes between 1966 with a brief civilian administrator between 1979 – 1983, pushed by isolation and embargo, slammed on the successive military junta in Nigeria by the Western powers. Nigeria had to look towards the Middle East and Asia for friends to develop her enormous natural and human resources. It is within this context that we intend to discuss Nigeria's relationship with china.

It is widely acknowledge by both China and Nigeria that their cooperation relationship have spanned over a period of 40 years but that it was recently in 2005 that the countries witnessed an all round development in their bilateral relationship through strategic partnerships in some areas of mutual interest. This is seen in closed cooperation in international and regional affairs, economic and trade cooperation, human and cultural exchange, space science and technology, infrastructural development including road, railway rehabilitation, and the construction of housing units, bridges, etc.

INTERNATIONAL AND REGIONAL AFFAIRS

At international fora like the United Nations, the Chinese government have supported Nigeria's bid for a seat at the Security Council in addition to supporting each other at the climate change discussion at Copenhagen by generating support to take a common position. China has been visible in Several African countries assisting with their efforts at development. At the political sphere the late president Yar Adua urged the Chinese leader to support Nigeria's aspiration to become a permanent member of the United Nations Security council and called on China to "bring its influence to bear" on the resolution of African problem especially 'Darfur' responding to Yar Adua's request, China proposed the

establishment of Nigeria-China Joint commission on trade and investment and promised to work with all, the UN and Sudanese government to achieve a permanent resolution of the crisis in Darfur, (<http://www.shvoing.com>.. 2005).

The above cooperation was also seen at Copenhagen where China and Nigeria mobilized other developing countries to speak with one voice. There has also been series of meetings and visits from both sides. The high level meetings between the two countries points to the mutual trust, benefits and cooperation that both countries stand to gain for the progress, peace and development of the world.

ECONOMIC AND TRADE COOPERATION

From 1970 – 1998, the trade relationship between China and Nigeria was low in terms of volume amounting to USD 384 million. However, between 2001 and 2006, China-Nigeria bilateral trade reached about USD 3 billion up from USD 384 million. During the Chinese President Hu Jintao's visit in 2006, China secured four oil drilling licenses and agreed to invest USD 4 billion in oil and infrastructural development projects in Nigeria (BBC news, 2006) cited in Wikipedia (2011). A key component of the agreement was to expand trade and investment in agriculture, telecommunications, and energy and infrastructure development. China agreed to buy a controlling stake in the Kaduna refinery that would produce 110,000 barrels per day (17,000m³/A), Nigeria also promised to give preference to Chinese oil firms in contracts for oil exploration in the Niger Delta and Chad Basin.

Also, China agreed to grant a loan of USD 1 billion to Nigeria to help it upgrade and modernize its railway networks. In 2005, Nigeria agreed to supply China with 30,000 barrels of petroleum per day (4,800m³/d) of oil for USD 800 million while in 2006 the CNOOC, purchased a share of USD2.3 billion in an oil exploration

block owned by a former defense minister. China also pledged to invest USD 267 million to build Lekki free trade zone near Lagos which the Federal Government has assured will resume full operations next year. Some of the Chinese enterprises that are involved in the construction, telecommunication oil and other sectors are Chinese civil Engineering construction company (CEECC) CGC, Huawei, 2TE, viju, Star times, etc. However, Nigeria exports to China largely include food, animal, crude oil, chemical products and manufactured goods. This is elaborately and succinctly discussed by Ogunkola et al (2008). See table 1.1 on appendix I for the value of the exports with data sourced from Ogunkola et al (2008) shows that main export commodity between 2000 and 2005 was mineral fuel and lubricants which represented USD273.7 million out of USD 307.3 million.

In contrast to Nigeria's top 10 export commodities, the top 10 import commodities from China are all manufactured goods. Top in the list are electrical and machinery equipment parts, followed by vehicles, nuclear reactors, machinery and mechanical appliances. This is presented on table 1.2 in appendix I.

This relationship shows that while Nigeria was largely exporting raw materials China was exporting finished goods into Nigeria. Currently, China has over USD 8 billion about ₦1.2 trillion worth of investment in Nigeria (Business day online 2011) However a major plus for the Chinese investment in Nigeria economy is the setting up of factories here in Nigeria. China is able to adapt to climatic and environmental changes so it is easily noticed how Chinese professionals are engaged positively in Nigeria. In spite of these positive relationships between China and Nigeria, there are areas of complaints as it relates to issues of charging of poor quality goods, refusal to employ Nigerian workers and where they are employed there is no adherence to labour laws or international labour laws.

As at the end of June according to Guo Kun, the Chinese Consulate General observed that Chinese companies had signed 43

contracts in Nigeria and had finished 58 contracts.

It is however important to note that while Van de Looy (2006) noted that Nigeria was completely absent in the pie chart showing African exports to China by country as compiled by the China statistics Year book 2005 National Bureau of statistics of China shows that Nigeria was among the top 5 countries that accounted for 55% of African imports from China because they had relatively high purchasing power by African standards, Namely South Africa, Nigeria, Egypt, Morocco and Nigeria.

SPACE SCIENCE AND TECHNOLOGY

Nigeria stands to gain from technical assistance and scientific co-operation given China's advancement in these areas. Nigerian military have benefited from China's technical assistance from military training and even supply of military hardware. When the Western countries were reluctant at providing the Nigeria army with military hardware to combat the menace of the Niger Delta militants, it was China that came to Nigeria's aid. Health personnel and different categories of patients patronizing public health providers are the main beneficiaries of technical assistance offered by China, mainly the roll-back malaria programme in which China supported Nigeria with 46 million Yuan aid for the purpose of purchase of anti-malaria medicine and for training of Nigeria health personal on malaria control and prevention. In addition to this the Chinese Government has also trained Nigerians on traditional Chinese medicine. In China the practice of traditional Chinese medicine (TCM) has become so advance that Nigerian government need to study such institutions and prepare reports on such practices and how beneficial it could be to Nigeria.

In respect of space science, technology, the relationship witnessed the launching of NICOMSA 1, Nigeria first communication satellite in early 2007. MOU on the provision of

National information communication technology infrastructure was signed between Federal Ministry of Science and Technology and Huawei Technologies. Both nations according to MSNBC (2007) cited on Wikipedia (2011) also signed a USD 311 million agreement to develop cooperation in communication and space programme .

Our analysis of the relationship show that the establishment and successful launching of Nicomsat 1 and II have the capacity to enhance or telecommunication in addition to several other uses that satellite technology could be deployed for, it will assist the country the creation of jobs, satellite technology will also attract Nigerian space engineers to participate in the process of establishing and launching of this technology into the orbit.

HUMAN AND CULTURAL EXCHANGES

In the area of Education, China signed an MOU in 2006 with the Nigeria Government to provide about ₦670 million for the training of 50 Nigerian officials and medical personnel in comprehensive malaria prevention and control. Some institutions in Nigeria have established linkages with China with a view to showcasing the Chinese culture, landscape and innovation. As noted by Ogunkola (2008:11) the collaboration between the Chinese Embassy Abuja and the Federal Polytechnic Offa led to the organization of an exhibition on Chinese culture and bond between the two countries. China is working with Nnamdi Azikiwe University, Awka to provide Chinese language teaching for Nigeria students. Under this scheme the Chinese government is to fully sponsor the training of the University's staff to study Mandarin in China up to Masters and Doctorate Degree levels. This scheme is also characterized by frequent exchanges of cultural troupes and students. During the world trade expo in Shanghai 2010 Nigeria cultural troupes, traders in artifacts and businessmen participated in the EXPO. However, it must be noted that there are cases of

maltreatment of Nigerians. Although exact figures or numbers of Nigeria professionals that have benefitted from Chinese aided training is not certain several Nigeria Academics are currently undergoing training in China. Some Nigeria universities like the University of Abuja have centres for Asian studies. This centre has prospects of promoting exchanges between University of Abuja staff and China or any Asian country. Staff can have opportunities to attend international conferences in China at subsidized rates by the Chinese government and the Nigeria government may need to look into shabby treatment meted on Nigerians at the Nigeria Embassy in China.

INFRASTRUCTURAL DEVELOPMENT, TRANSPORTATION, ENERGY, AGRICULTURE.

Several projects and over 200 Chinese companies are operating in Nigeria in the different sectors identified. Also several agreements have been entered into by China and Nigeria in different sectors including, agriculture, energy power and steel, transportation, telecommunication, crude oil, petroleum and gas sector, manufacturing, construction trade. Appendix 2 provides a list of some of the agreements while appendix 3 provides examples of Chinese companies in the construction business in Nigeria. According to Olufemi (2009), the Chinese companies have noticeably ventured into commercial farming producing rice, corn and cassava chips in Nigeria since 2000. Some of the companies are into joint ventures to import important machines and equipment such as tractors and various kinds of agricultural machines used in the agricultural sector. In agro allied sectors companies from China have begun to participate in the establishment of fish and fruits canning industries and also engaged in the establishment of cassava based industries to facilitate the exportation of cassava chip sand pellets to China. Appendix 4 provides a general list of Chinese companies in Nigeria. Several states were encouraged by the new

demand for cassava that they have gone into agreement with Chinese farms to boost cassava production. State like Jigawa, Katsina, Kwara and Taraba among others, have gone into partnerships with Chinese companies. Chinese investments in Nigeria, as noted elsewhere in this paper, have grown to over USD 8 billion in the different sectors. What are the areas of weaknesses that require review in the strategic partnership?

Areas of Labour Practices and Market Strategies: There has been accusation against Chinese employers on maltreatment of Nigerian workers. Although we cannot verify the veracity of these accusations but some Chinese firms pay low wages and engage Nigerian to work for them in poor working conditions. Some workers, work for 11 hours a day and earn paltry sums. Many workers in factories have had accidents in the process of production without compensation and majority of the workers are engaged as casual staff. In Abuja one Mr. Maaji Meriga, a 62 years old casual worker and father of six, with CCECC nearly lost his manhood while spraying the ground around Karamajiji village near Abuja Airport. When another Chinese ask him to fill two drums, he turned off the spraying machine and opened the side tap and began to fill the drums when one Macho China popularly called old soldier' kicked Mr. Meriga from behind on his scrotum and testes. Later when he reported to the personal manager Mr. Austin he was ordered out of the premises without medical attention. This lack of respect for Nigeria labour laws made the TUC chairman to lament that:

There are a lot of Chinese firms in Nigeria.
One of our challenges is how to make
Chinese companies in Nigeria respect
Nigerian law and workers rights....

From the few examples above there are clear signals that these ugly developments should be addressed and the Chinese official

should respect their host communities. These raises immediately the role of the Nigeria Embassy in China and the Ministries of Foreign Affairs and Trade to organize orientation programmes about Nigerian customs and traditions and how the Chinese should behave while in Nigeria for Chinese Businesses. While such trainings are being conducted for the Chinese farmers who were brought into Nigeria by the Obasanjo's regime, a similar training and orientation is missing for Chinese Businessmen. Therefore, such trainings should be given to Chinese workers generally.

Secondly, in the area of trade practices and investment, it has been argued that the flooding of the markets with cheap Chinese goods has become a sensitive political issue. These imports in combination with imports of second hand European goods has adversely affected domestic industries especially the textiles industries in Nigeria leading to the closure of 65 textile mills and the laying off of about 150000 textile workers over the course of a decade (Taylor 2007). There is need to develop some strategies to put our textile factories back to work.

Consequent upon the above, it is crucial that the level and wave of diplomatic relations appears to be reasonable to the extent that it is mutually beneficial to both sides. Therefore, in view of the weakness observed in the Chinese inability to adhere to domestic rules and regulations, there is need to review these areas and correct lapses noticed in order to enhance our strategic partnership. While the Chinese government has zero tolerance for corruption and sanction Chinese businessmen, women, and government officials for any wrong doing, Nigerian government tends to have a more softer attitude to corruption and have not been sanctioning, Nigerian businessmen who are conniving with some foreigners to dupe Nigerians through the importation of inferior and substandard goods into Nigeria. Nigeria needs to have a second look at its laws to further tighten leakages in order to benefit maximally from the partnership.

INFRASTRUCTURAL DEVELOPMENT (RAILWAY AND HOUSING CONTRACT EXECUTION IN ABUJA)

The construction of the Abuja games village made up of about 500 units of houses was accomplished within record time by a Chinese firm, China civil Engineering Constructive Cooperation. The same company has been engaged in rehabilitation and reconstruction of railway tracks and rehabilitation of some road networks etc. However, it has been noticed that these construction works are slow and have not been delivered within record time because of the problems of corruption and the general attitude of Nigeria's officials. This also needs to be urgently review and addressed.

SUMMARY AND CONCLUSION

In this paper, we have discussed the strategic partnership between Nigeria and China. We have shown that as countries that have areas of strength and comparative advantages, the partnership should be encouraged and developed to be stronger than it is now. We discuss the concept of strategic partnership and adopted the system theory as our framework of analysis. The two countries posses power resources, for Nigeria it is a huge market and a net exporter of mineral oil to China while China has grown into a technological giant with industrial resources. Consequently, it is in search of markets and engineering resources for its industries and its high level of development. We have shown that there are very strong areas of partnership that should be worked on to erase all forms of bottlenecks to enable the partnership work especially in the energy sector transport and trade.

Nigeria should explore the possibility of setting up its University of Traditional Medicine and enter into agreement with the Chinese government to provide training in various forms of traditional medicine that is currently being practiced in Nigeria

without standard guidelines and process of operation. The integration of traditional Chinese medicine (TCM) and modern medicine has contributed immensely in guaranteeing the health condition of the average Chinese who can make a choice of the type of treatment to receive in a hospital and can determine how to receive such treatment whether to take herbs home to cook and administer or take herbs manufactured as drugs. The use of traditional medicine is a very valuable area as the World Health Organization estimates its revenue earnings into billions of Dollars.

In the area of cultural exchange, it is important that both governments step up their exchanges. We should also see more Chinese coming to study in Nigeria institutions and exchanges of scholars in the two directions. Although it is estimated that the country has currently over 4000 Chinese, this number is very crucial for the kind of benefits to be derived from the relationship.

It is important that Nigeria also look into allegation of Nigerian businessmen not fulfilling their part in the bargain by refusing to make payments for supplies of goods from China and the Chinese for refusing to send goods after full payments have been made.

In conclusion, it is necessary to state that while elaborate visits, meetings, agreements, protocols have been signed between Nigeria and China. It is important that this is revered after a period agreed on by both partners. However, the mutual benefits to be derived from China-Nigeria strategic partnership should be encouraged to continue by all Nigerians and Chinese because by next year, if all keep to their bargain, we should began to witness improvement in electricity, completion of free trade zone, completion of roads and some parts of railway projects among several other benefits that will accrue to Nigeria.

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CHAPTER 2

SINO-AFRICAN CO-OPERATION RELATIONS AND CHINA'S PEACEFUL DEVELOPMENT STRATEGY: BACKGROUND OF CHINA-NIGERIA CO-OPERATION

Liu Hongwu

THE BEGINNING OF MODERN SINO-AFRICAN RELATIONS

The People's Republic of China began to have diplomatic relations with African countries in the 1950s, when both sides were striving to seek national revival and rejuvenation, and they discovered that on the other side of the world, there were nation/nations that treat each other as equals and were willing to offer a helping hand.

China attached much importance to Africa's national liberation cause after the founding of the People's Republic of China. The Bandung Afro-Asian Conference held in April 1955 provided an opportunity for the two sides to have direct contact. During the conference the then Chinese premier Zhou Enlai and vice premier Chen Yi, who was also the foreign minister, had talks with the then Egyptian premier Nasser and representatives from Ghana, Libya, Sudan, Liberia and Ethiopia. This reaching-out endeavor paid off when Egypt became the first African country to establish diplomatic relations with the PRC on May 30, 1956. In October 1959, Guinea became the first Sub-Saharan African country to follow Egypt's example.

In the following twenty years, Sino-African relations made great headway. By 1979, a total of 44 countries had established diplomatic relations with China, more than 120 African heads of state and over 210 minister-level officials had visited China. On the other hand, Chinese leaders and more than 40 other minister-level officials paid over 300 visits to African countries. In the mean time,

trade, cultural, sports, education and military delegations were sent in both directions. Over 1,000 African students and professionals were trained in China while dozens of Chinese medical teams served in Africa. Also, more than 50,000 Chinese mechanics worked in the construction of the Tanzania-Zambia Railway (TZR). Some Chinese students were sent to African countries to learn Kiswahili and Hausa.

Seen from the perspective of the history of human communications, Sino-African relations started in the background of seeking national rejuvenation. Tanzanian president J. K. Nyerere pointed out that African countries should not only unite to speak with one voice but also set up reciprocal relations with countries like China to elevate its position on the international stage. For China, it could break the West's diplomatic blockade by supporting the national liberation cause of Africa. Therefore, aiding Africa is aiding China itself.

Foreign aid has been an important part of Sino-African relations since the very beginning; nevertheless, China had its own perception of the nature and meaning of such aid. When visiting 10 African countries in 1963, Premier Zhou Enlai outlined 8 principles governing China's aid to Africa.¹² The principles indicated that

¹² The eight principles were: 1. The Chinese government would provide aid to Africa based on equality and reciprocity; 2. China would not attach any strings to its aid to Africa and national sovereignty would be respected. 3. The Chinese government would provide favorable aid to African countries and would ensure that the aid would not add up to the burden of the recipients. 4. Chinese aid was aimed not to create dependency, but to improve African countries' ability of development. 5. The Chinese government focuses on effective investment and intended to increase the income of recipient countries. 6. The Chinese government would provide good-quality equipment at prices common in the international market. 7. The Chinese government would ensure that personnel in the recipient countries have the technological know-how of the projects built with Chinese aid. 8. Chinese experts sent to Africa would enjoy no privileges, but the same treatment as the local experts.

China aimed to set up a relationship with Africa based on the characteristics of its own civilization and strategic needs. Since then, mutual respect, equality, reciprocity and non-interference have been the basis of Sino-African relations.

In 1956, Egypt became the first African country to accept Chinese aid. By the end of the 1970s, Chinese aid to Africa had reached a certain scale and maintained its own characteristics and influence. In the first half of the 1970, Chinese foreign aid accounted for 5.88% of its financial budget. In 1973, the percentage was the highest, reaching 6.92%.¹³ By 1978, China dispatched \$2.4 bln in the form of economic aid to 36 African countries. More than 200 aid projects in the fields of agriculture, meteorology, health, sports and education were carried out in Africa, with Tanzania-Zambia Railway (TZR) being the most well-known. China invested \$455 mln for the construction of the 1,860 km long railway line which runs from the coast of East Africa to copper mines in Zambia. Hailed as *the Freedom Railway* and *the Friendship Railway*, it laid a foundation for the development of Sino-African relations. It signified that a non-West and South-South cooperation road had been opened in the modern world.

Chinese aid based on sincerity and equality was very attractive to African countries which had born the brunt of the colonial rule of the West. In the 1970s, when the Cultural Revolution was causing political upheavals throughout China, the fact that 24 African countries established diplomatic relations with China gave the Middle Kingdom a strong boost in foreign relations.

PROBLEMS IN SINO-AFRICAN RELATIONS IN THE 1970s

¹³ Shi Lin (ed.), *Foreign Economic Cooperation of Contemporary China*(Chinese), Beijing: China Social Sciences Press, 1989, p. 69.

However, the modern revival of both China and African countries was a long process and could be achieved over night. In the 1960s and 70s, Sino-African relations embodied the most prominent characteristics of South-South Cooperation. In fact, there were still some problems in Sino-African relations. By the end of the 1970s, the passion for Sino-African relations decreased dramatically, forcing both sides to reconsider the path of development and existing shortcomings.

In the late 1970s and early 1980s, western countries experienced a new round of scientific and technological revolution which gave a new boost to their economic development. Although Asian and African countries achieved some development in the previous two decades, the gap between them and the west was widening. China and African countries had the same pressure of political and economic development. For China, it had to focus on economic development, and readjust policies toward Africa.

On the political front, China shifted its focus on supporting African countries' national liberation struggle to facilitating economic co-operation based on reciprocity, rather than ideological diplomacy. In the particular phase of the Cold War, China's relations with some African countries were distanced because of its anti-US and anti-Soviet position. Especially during the Cultural Revolution, China's relations with Kenya, Nigeria, the Ivory Coast, Lesotho, Malawi, Niger, Burkina Faso, countries that had, to a certain extent, adopted market economy or multi-party system, cooled down or even deteriorated. The then Chinese government basically stopped communications with those African countries that advocated election and free market economy. Ideology became the main factor influencing Sino-African relations. Political parties that upheld socialism or Marxism-Leninism were more active in Sino-African party communications. Although China readjusted this radical foreign strategy, the predominance of ideology was a main determinant and characteristic of Sino-African relations during that

period.

Secondly, China's economic policy toward Africa also needed to be redressed. After the founding of the PRC, policies of planned economy was implemented and state-controlled foreign trade took a small percentage of the national economy. Against this background, ordinary trade between China and African countries remained at a very low level, most aid projects were carried out as political missions regardless of economic cost. That economic relations were subordinated to political relations was one characteristic of the relations between China and African countries at that time. It is fair to say that Sino-African relations were greatly influenced by the international relations during the Cold War. On the other hand, the foreign policies of western countries were also ideologically oriented and their economic aid and development projects for Asian and African countries were endowed with political objectives. However, western countries have set up a comparatively mature market economy, trade among private enterprises and government-funded economic aid were separated and abided by the rules of the market. In the late 1970s and early 1980s, as the Chinese government made the judgment that peace and development had become the main topics of the modern world, and prioritized economic development and the modernization of the country, economy regained its due status of independence rather than being a tool for the realization of political objectives. In light of this trend, China began to readjust policies regarding economic aid to Africa: to readjust the objectives of economic aid, to take economic reward into consideration, to reform the mode of economic aid and to combine economic aid with the economic development of both China and Africa. In a nut shell, China began to draw up new policies regarding aid to African countries based on its own economic strength and African countries' actual needs. With the advent of this change, Sino-African relations entered the new phase of readjustment and adaptation.

THE READJUSTMENT AND ACHIEVEMENTS OF CHINA'S AFRICAN

POLICY IN THE EARLY THE 1980s

From December 20, 1982 to January 17, 1983, Chinese premier Zhao Ziyang visited 11 African countries. The visits came after the Cultural Revolution and were one of China's major moves to push forward its relations with African countries. Compared with Chinese premier's first visit to the continent twenty years ago, revolutionary struggle was no longer the main task, economic and social development became the most pressing problems facing both sides.

With the independence of Zimbabwe in 1980, the national liberation of Africa had generally concluded, which was a historical progress for the continent. On the other hand, African countries were faced with the dual challenges of economic development and improving the people's living conditions. Twenty years after independence, the economic conditions of some African countries had deteriorated and the income of the people decreased. In 1980, the Organization of African Unity (OAU) held a special meeting on economic development in the Nigerian capital of Lagos and passed *the Lagos Plan of Action for the Economic Development of Africa, 1980-2000*, the first blueprint for the social and economic development of Africa under the framework of the OAU, making economic development the top task on the agenda of the their governments. In the next few years, the OAU and the UN publicized a number of documents for Africa's economic development, some African countries initiated structural adjustment programs and market reform in collaboration with the World Bank (WB) and the International Monetary Fund (IMF).¹⁴

On the Chinese side, the country had abandoned the ideological bondage on the national economy and regained the practical and

¹⁴ Besides the *Lagos Plan of Action for the Economic Development of Africa(1980-2000)*, the Organization of African Unity and the UN have adopted various initiatives for the economic development of Africa.

rational spirit in the Chinese civilization. The striving for wealth and knowledge and the openness toward the outside world revived under the new conditions, creating a better environment for domestic reform, China's foreign relations entered the phase of active readjustment.

The 11 African countries Premier Zhao Ziyang visited were Egypt, Algeria, Morocco, Guinea, Gabon, Zaire, Congo, Zambia, Zimbabwe, Tanzania and Kenya. At that time, China had adopted the reform and opening-up policy, it needed to explain to the outside world what was happening in the Middle Kingdom and to explore opportunities of co-operation with African countries. Furthermore, China needed time to development itself before it could provide more aid to African countries, the country should explain to African countries on this point also.

At the press conference held in Dar es Salaam on January 13, 1983, the Chinese premier proclaimed that China hoped to continue its aid to African countries within its own capacity and carry out more economic and technological cooperation, and to diversify modes of aid and make Sino-African relations a motivation for the economic development and modernization of both sides. Zhao Ziyang put forward four principles regarding Sino-African economic cooperation in the new era: equality and reciprocity, emphasis of practicality, diversity of the forms of cooperation and common development.¹⁵

One thing worth noting was that cooperation, rather than aid,

¹⁵ The Chinese premier elaborated his country's policy in his speech: 1、upholding the principles of unity, friendship, equality and reciprocity, respecting each other's sovereignty, non-interference in internal affairs, imposing no political conditions, and asking for no privileges; 2、exploring each other's advantages and potential to improve the efficiency of investment and aid project; 3、to diversify economic and technological cooperation; 4、cooperation between China and Africa should be complementary to each other and be conducive to the development of both sides.

was being more frequently used in describing China's economic relations with African countries, emphasizing reciprocity rather than the one-direction aid from China to Africa. The reasons behind this modification in terminology were that, on the one hand, China had always seen its relations with African countries as mutually beneficial, and aid should come in both ways; on the other hand, China, as a developing country, had its own understanding and expectations of economic and technological cooperation with African countries.

Firstly, compared with the 8-point principles put forward by the Chinese premier in the early 1960s, China's African policy in the early 1980s had become more rational and practical, rather than ideologically dominated.

Secondly, China emphasized that economic and technological cooperation should come in both ways and the goal of such cooperation was to boost the economic and social development of both sides and improve their capacity of development. As the biggest developing country and the biggest developing continent, both China and Africa should put development on the top of their agenda. China's aid to Africa must be conducive to the development of both sides. China should not only give fish to Africa, but should also teach them how to fish.

Thirdly, China emphasized that aid to Africa should be exercisable both in form and content. The implementation of projects should be within the capacity of China's economic power and take into consideration of the needs and conditions of African countries.

Fourthly, the form of China's aid to African countries should be diversified. China began to encourage enterprises to conduct various economic activities in Africa, such as project contracting, labour cooperation, technological services, professional training, scientific and technological communication and setting up joint

ventures, etc.¹⁶

In general, Equality, pragmatism and common development were the direction and goal of China's African policy in the 1980s, which were conducive to the political and economic reform underway in China. In fact, China's African policy since 1980 have become more and more intertwined with China's political and economic reform. The focus of Sino-African relations shifted from politics to economy, from free aid to sustainable economic and technological cooperation with efficiency and reciprocity taken into account.

Thanks to the above-mentioned ideas and principles, Sino-African relations made significant headway in the 1980s.

Although China's aid to foreign countries decreased dramatically from 1978 to 1980, it began to grow again since 1983. From 1983 to 1989, China's aid to Africa included more than 130 complete sets of equipment and projects, benefiting over 30 African countries. The value of China's aid to African countries in 1988 rose to 63% compared with that in 1983.¹⁷ To improve the efficiency of aid, China began to strengthen consultation with African countries to reduce endowment and cash aid, and replace direct aid with economic and technological cooperation projects. In the mean time, post-construction management of projects was strengthened by getting Chinese personnel involved or leasing and contracting the management.¹⁸

Secondly, alone with the reform of China's aid to Africa, Chinese enterprises began to tap into the African project contracting and labor market. By the end of the 1980s, Chinese enterprises had secured more than 2,000 construction and labour

¹⁶ Ji Peiding (ed.), *Friendly Cooperation Between China and Africa Through Five Decades* (Chinese), World Affairs Press, 2000, p. 98.

¹⁷ *People's Daily* (Chinese), January 7, 1989.

¹⁸ Ge Ji (ed.), *Encyclopedia of Sub-Saharan Africa* (Chinese), Beijing: China Social Sciences Press, 2000, p. 265.

contracts and sent thousands of technicians and labourers to work in Africa. Chinese enterprises took a large share of Africa's infrastructure construction industry and won widespread reputation for the work they had done. At the same time, western enterprises were pulling out of Africa as a result of less interest, while some Chinese enterprises saw Africa as a starting point in their drive to enter the international market.

Thirdly, commodity trade between China and African countries in the 1980s made some progress but developed at a slow pace. Sino-African trade grew from \$817 mln in 1979 to \$1.02 bln in 1988, up by 25.1%.¹⁹ By the end of the 1980s, 40 African countries had signed trade agreements with the Chinese government. The commodities involved were primary products, raw materials and machinery, although the percentage of finished and semi-finished products in the overall trade value had risen to nearly 50%.

In the field of politics of foreign trade, Sino-African relations made significant progress in the 1980s. Firstly, China's relations with traditional friends such as Tanzania, Zambia, Egypt, Mali, Guinea, Zaire, Benin, Ghana and Gabon were greatly strengthened. Guinean president Toure, Tanzanian president Nyerere, Ghanaian president Rawlings and Cameroonian president Biya visited China respectively. Nyerere even visited China twice in the 1980s. Secondly, ideological affiliations were downplayed and China began to set up diplomatic relations with African countries that had been pro-US or pro-Soviet. These countries include Ethiopia, Kenya, Senegal, Madagascar, Angola, Lesotho and the Ivory Coast. The restoration and development of China's relations with these countries demonstrated the growing maturity and rationality of China's African policy. By the end of the 1980s, Sino-African relations reached a historical high with 47 of the 51 African countries having established diplomatic relations with China.

¹⁹ Ji Peiding (ed.), *Friendly Cooperation between China and Africa through Five Decades* (Chinese), World Affairs Press, 2000, p. 205.

Sino-African communication and co-operation in the fields of science, education, culture and health became frequent in the 1980s. In this decade, more than 80 African cultural and arts delegations visited China and over 10 African ensembles performed in China. The other way around, more than 20 Chinese arts delegations and ensembles visited and performed in African countries. The Chinese government also built Chinese culture centers in Mauritius and Benin. In the 1980s, more than 2,300 African students studied in China and over 100 Chinese experts and teachers were sent to teach in African universities and high schools. Some Chinese students and visiting scholars also went to Africa to study African languages and humanities. Sino-African medical cooperation maintained a certain scale in the 1980s, China dispatched dozens of medical teams to over 20 African countries. Chinese medical personnel were sent to Africa's countryside and remote areas to cure the local patients. They were seen as "the most trustworthy and welcomed people" by the Africans.

THE DEVELOPMENT AND CHALLENGES OF SINO-AFRICAN RELATIONS IN THE 1990s

The profound change in the world order in the late 1980s and early 90s, presented a strategic opportunity for the upgrading of Sino-African relations, leading to the historic high at the beginning of the 21st Century.

In the late 1980s and early 1990s, the international environment for Sino-African relations changed significantly with the disintegration of the Soviet Union and the collapse of communism in Eastern Europe. After the Tiananmen incident, Chinese diplomacy plunged into serious dilemma as a result of domestic political upheavals and sanctions imposed by western countries. The Chinese nation was endangered by the possibility of losing all the achievements made since 1978, the year when the country adopted the reform and opening-up policies. At this crucial point,

the Chinese government turned to friendly African countries to break the blockade of the West in order to rebuild its international image and rejoin the international community, just like what it had done twenty years ago.

West media turned overwhelmingly anti-China after the 1989 Tiananmen Incident, but some African countries did not act upon western countries' propaganda. In December 1989, Egyptian president, Mubarak, invited the then Chinese president Yang Shangkun to visit Egypt. Egypt was a country with important influence in Africa and the Arab world, and it was the first African country to establish diplomatic relations with the PRC. Yang Shangkun's visit was the first of its kind after the Tiananmen Incident and played the role of dispelling western pressure and restoring China's international image. When in Egypt, Yang Shangkun was welcomed by officials and people from all walks of life. On various occasions, he expressed China's opinions on domestic politics and foreign relations after the June 4 Incident. The strategic importance of Sino-African relations in improving China's position in the international arena became more apparent. Later on, the first head of state, the first head of government and the first foreign minister to visit China after the Tiananmen Incident all came from African countries. In 1989, heads of state from Burundi, Uganda, Togo, Mali and Burkina Faso visited China. In 1990, heads of state from Egypt, Equatorial Guinea, the Central African Republic, Sierra Leone, Chad and Sudan visited China. In total, 53 African heads of state, 15 African heads of government and more than 100 ministers visited China from 1990 to 1998. Since 1990, the first foreign visit of the Chinese foreign minister has been to African countries, a fact underlining the importance of Sino-African relations.

With the economic and social development of China and the change of the world order, the strategic importance of Sino-African relations had undergone profound change in the 1990s.

The US became the only super power after the Cold War and its

position on the world also changed rapidly and the strategic value of Africa was seen with less interest by western countries. Neo-liberalism was predominant in the policy-making of western countries and international financial institutions, African countries were put under a lot of pressure to implement structural adjustment programmes (SAPs). However, the results of SAPs were far away from what had been expected, economic recession and political upheavals became even worse in the countries which had implemented such programmes. In the eyes of the West, the 1990s was the lost decade for Africa.

However, China and western countries had different opinions and expectations of Africa because of varying strategic objectives and ideals. China was faced with serious political pressure and ideological challenge from western countries after the 1989 Tiananmen Incident. Since 1990, a number of western countries headed by the US have been proposing a bill condemning China's human rights record in the UN Commission on Human Rights, instigating the China Collapse and China Threat theories. On the other hand, independence forces in the Chinese island of Taiwan grew rapidly in the 1990s and finding a way to contain this trend became an important task of China's diplomatic work.

Nationalism and state interests distanced African countries from western countries' sanction of China. Nevertheless, some African countries maintained relations with China. With the support of African countries, China defeated western countries' anti-China human rights bills in the UN year after year. In 1997, when China proposed the No-Action Motion to counter the anti-China human rights bill proposed by western countries, 27 countries voted for the motion and 17 against it. Of those who voted for the motion, 17 were African countries. Throughout the 1990s, western countries adopted double standards and pragmatism on issues of human rights and democracy, forcing China and African countries to strengthen their co-operation.

It was against this background that China attached great

importance to Sino-African relations.

Against all odds, the Chinese economy did not collapse as some people had predicted, instead, it grew at a rather fast pace. More importantly, when western countries reduced investment and aid in Africa, China readjusted the forms of aid and explored new areas of economic and technological cooperation. By the middle 1990s, Sino-African relations had made great progress and China's influence in Africa grew accordingly.²⁰

In the field of economic and technological co-operation, China divided its aid to Africa into two forms, namely, interest-free loans (comprising free endowment and interest-free loans) and subsidized loans provided by financial institutions. Aid was carried in the forms of various projects to strengthen recipient countries' sense of interest- and risk-sharing. In the mean time, a portion of endowment and subsidized loans were used to boost bilateral trade and to import equipment, commodities and public and private facilities from China. Exports to China were also supported.

Since the middle 1990s, the Chinese government has been encouraging Chinese enterprises to go global, to invest and do business in Africa. As part of this strategy, a series of favorable policies such as providing subsidized loans and tax breaks were promulgated to encourage Chinese enterprises to start up all forms of businesses. In the late 1990s, China set up 11 investment and trade centres in African countries and helped Chinese and African enterprises to do businesses with the services of information management, favorable policies and financial support. Bank of China opened up a branch in Africa to help businesses weather difficulties induced by financial crises in African countries.

Such efforts paid off in the following few years. Sino-African trade jumped from \$1.02 bln in 1988 to \$3.92 bln in 1995 and \$5.67 bln in 1997. In the following few years Sino-African trade

²⁰ Liu Hongwu, "China-Africa Connections: the Significance of Civilized History", *West Asia and Africa* (Chinese), No. 1, 2007.

grew at an average of over 25% on an annualized basis, the trade volume between the two sides surpassed \$10 bln in the year 2000. By 1999, more than 800 Chinese enterprises were involved in project contracting, trade and investment activities in more than 40 African countries, nearly 400 of them had opened trade and investment companies in Africa. By 1999, China had completed the construction of over 800 whole sets of projects in more than 40 African countries and inked approximately 9,700 labour cooperation agreements with African partners. The projects contributed significantly to the improvement of Africa's infrastructures and living conditions. Investment also began to grow. By the end of 1999, China's direct investment in Africa reached \$466 mln, with 442 new enterprises opened. African countries also invested \$520 mln for 622 projects in China during the same period.²¹

In the late 1990s, Sino-African economic and technological cooperation had reached a new phase. For instance, more than 300 Chinese regional civilian aircraft valued at over \$1 bln were exported to African countries by 1999. African countries also appreciated China's experience of development. For instance, Egypt signed an agreement with China on setting up a special economic and technological zone in the Suez Canal region. The two countries also signed agreements to join forces in the field of high-tech and poverty alleviation. In the late 1990s, China and Algeria reached an agreement to develop nuclear power for civilian purposes. In 1997, China signed an agreement with the Sudanese government to build the oil pipeline from Khartoum to Port Sudan. The project was valued at \$215 mln and laid the foundation for Sino-Sudanese oil and energy cooperation. In the same year, China signed agreements with Egypt to export whole sets of cement-production equipment valued at \$145 mln with a capacity of

²¹ Ji Peiding (ed.), *Friendly Cooperation between China and Africa through Five Decades* (Chinese), World Affairs Press, 2000, p. 99.

producing 1.3 mln tons and 600,000 tons respectively. At the same time, the China Civil Engineering Construction Corporation secured the project to renovate a Nigerian railway line valued at \$529 mln.

The resumption of diplomatic relations between China and South Africa was an important development of Sino-African relations in the 1990s. The two countries began to hold talks on establishing diplomatic relations when the Apartheid system collapsed in South Africa in 1994. Its close relations with Taiwan and the domestic debate about whether to sever relations with Taiwan and establish relations with mainland China continued for years in the Rainbow Nation. But the ambition of becoming a political power in Africa forced the country to consider the importance of China. In 1997, bilateral trade between South Africa and mainland China reached \$1.8 bln, surpassing its trade value with the Chinese island of Taiwan valued at \$1.78 bln. The fast-growing trade relations were one of the major reasons behind the signing of a joint declaration between China and South Africa on December 30, 1997 to establish all-around diplomatic relations. As the most developed country on the African continent, South Africa's GNP accounted for over 1/3 of that of the whole of Africa. Therefore, the establishment of Sino-South African diplomatic relations played an important role in upgrading Sino-African relations at large.

However, Sino-African relations were also faced with some serious challenges in the 1990s. Firstly, in the early 1990s, multi-party system and parliamentary elections took place in most African countries. The first generation of African leaders walked out of the political stage and the new generation of elected leaders lacked the personal affection for China and preferred western countries' political system to China's. When western countries proposed anti-China bills in the early 1990s, some African countries took sides with the west. But this negative development was greatly altered by the fact that West-advocated multi-party

system and privatization programmes did not work out as expected and the Chinese economy maintained the momentum of fast development. The overall Sino-African relations returned to the path of normal development after a short period of turbulence following the coming into power of the second generation of African leaders.

Secondly, after the strategic change in the forms of Chinese aid to Africa, some African countries began to blame China for seeking only economic gains and abandoning the traditional friendship with African countries. Africa's worsening economic conditions and its trade deficit with China threatened the further development of Sino-African relations.

Thirdly, Sino-African relations suffered major setbacks in the 1990s as a result of Taiwan's Dollar Diplomacy. Since the independence-minded Lee Teng-Hui's assumption of the top job, small and poverty-stricken African countries became the key targets of Taiwan's diplomatic endeavors. The recession of African economy and the decrease of mainland China's Africa aid gave Taiwan the opportunity to expand diplomatic space in Africa.²² Thanks to dollar diplomacy, Liberia, Lesotho, Guinea-Bissau, the Central African Republic, Niger, Burkina Faso, Gambia, Senegal, Chad and Sao Tome and Principe set up "diplomatic relations" with African countries from 1988 to 1997. This brought the number of African countries in diplomatic relations with Taiwan to 13, as South Africa, Malawi and Swaziland had already had diplomatic relations with Taiwan. This emboldened the Taiwan leadership who had been seeking to increase its diplomatic partners from over 30 to 40 in a bid to counter the mainland's influence in the international

22 Ian Taylor, "Taiwan's foreign policy and Africa: the limitation of dollar diplomacy", *Journal of Contemporary China*, (2002) , Vol. 11, No.30, pp. 125 - 140.

community.²³

The Chinese leadership began to realize the importance of Sino-African relations and stepped up efforts to boost bilateral ties since the middle 1990s. In May, 1996, President Jiang Zemin visited Kenya, Ethiopia, Egypt, Mali, Namibia and Zimbabwe, and delivered a keynote speech at the OAU headquarters titled *Creating a new Historical Monument for Sino-African Friendship*, and put forward a five-point suggestion for the development of Sino-African relations: Sincerity and Friendship, Equal Treatment, Reciprocity, Strengthening Consultation and Looking to the Future. In May, 1997, Premier Li Peng visited Mozambique, Cameroon, Gabon and Zambia. Between October, 1999 and April 2000, President Jiang Zemin traveled to Africa twice, visiting Morocco, Algeria and South Africa. After these visits, Lesotho, Niger, South Africa, Guinea-Bissau, the Central African Republic, Senegal and Liberia severed ties with Taiwan and resumed diplomatic relations with mainland China. The establishment of diplomatic relations with South Africa in 1997 brought this trend to a new high.²⁴

V. FOCAC AND SINO-AFRICAN DEVELOPMENT CO-OPERATION

In the year 2000, Sino-African relations entered the new phase of comprehensive upgrading and China began to foster mature

²³ Richard C Lin, "Complementary measures to foreign aid : Taiwan and The PRC under diplomatic rivalry", *Contemporary Economic Policy*, Jun 2001, Vol.19, No.3, pp.360-368. Richard J.Payne and Cassandra R.Veney, "Taiwan and Africa: Taipei's continuing search for international recognition", *Journal of Asian and African Studies*, 2001, Vol.36, pp.437-450.

²⁴ After the establishment of diplomatic ties between the People's Republic of China and Malawi in January, 2008, there are only 4 African countries which have state relations with Taiwan, they are Burkina Faso, Gambia, Sao Tome & Principe, and Swaziland.

African policy.

The most significant development of the improving Sino-African relations was the setting up of the Forum on China-Africa Cooperation.

African countries' willingness to upgrade Sino-African relations grew rapidly in the 21st century with the growth of China's economy and overall national strength. China's call to set up the FOCAC to build a comprehensive Sino-African cooperation mechanism was widely welcomed by African countries. In October, 2000, FOCAC was set up and its first Ministerial conference held in Beijing.

FOCAC started as a ministerial conference mechanism (involving foreign ministers and finance ministers from both sides) and was held rotationally in China and Africa every three years. The second ministerial conference was held in Ethiopia. In the light of the fast development of Sino-African relations, the 3rd FOCAC meeting in Beijing in 2006 was elevated to Sino-African Summit and heads of state from 43 African countries joined the event, attracting frequent interest of the international community in Sino-African relations. In 2009, the fourth Ministerial Conference of FOCAC was held in the Egyptian capital of Cairo.

FOCAC created a new mechanism and platform for the upgrading of Sino-African relations and its significance have caught more and more attention in the following few years.

Firstly, FOCAC presents an effective system and platform for the long-term development of Sino-African relations. In the 1990s, various regional organizations sprouted up and integration became a main trend in international relations. In 1993, Japan initiated the Tokyo International Conference on African Development (TICAD), heralding the setting up of various kinds of mechanisms and platforms by western and African countries. The setting up of FOCAC was in tune with the development needs of Sino-African relations, the summit, ministerial conferences, meetings of senior officials and follow-up committees are a continuation of traditional

Sino-African friendship, imbued with system innovation and construction.

Secondly, the FOCAC cooperation mechanism has a comprehensive set of development ideals, strategic arrangements and policies. At the first ministerial conference held in 2000, the Beijing Declaration of the Forum on China-Africa Cooperation and the Program for China-Africa Cooperation in Economic and Social Development were adopted, specifying the objectives, structure, function, policies and measures of FOCAC. At the second ministerial conference held in Addis Ababa in 2003, the Addis Ababa Action Plan was passed to review the achievements of FOCAC since its birth and outline ways to perfect the mechanism. At the 2006 Beijing Summit, a declaration and an action plan (2007-2009) were adopted. The new Sino-African Strategic Cooperation Partnership had come into shape at this point²⁵.

Thirdly, FOCAC was set up according to the principles of modern international relations and are open, transparent, as well as inclusive. As a matter of fact, Sino-African relations have become one of the maturest areas in China's foreign relations. On January 16, 2006, China promulgated China's African Policy, the first of its kind in the country's diplomatic history. It outlines the objectives, policies and measures of the Chinese government in handling its relations with Africa. China's African Policy demonstrated the openness, transparency and maturity of the country's foreign relations.

Political relations became even closer after the founding of the FOCAC. Chinese and African leaders and foreign ministers paid more than 200 visits to each side, of which Chinese leaders paid more than 50 visits to Africa. Chinese president Hu Jintao visited Morocco, Nigeria, Kenya in 2006 and Cameroon, Liberia, Sudan, Zambia, Namibia, South Africa, Mozambique and Seychelles in

²⁵ See <http://www.focac.org/chn/zyzl/hywj/t280368.htm>.

2007, in addition to visits by other Chinese leaders.

The upgrading of Sino-African relations since 2000 was demonstrated not only in the field of politics and diplomacy, but also in the field of economic cooperation and trade, which have become a driving force for the development of Sino-African relations. Sino-African economic and trade relations have shifted from the phase of mere aid to the phase of growing all-around cooperation.²⁶

The fast development of Sino-African relations in the new era can be observed in the following fields:

Firstly, trade volume grew at astonishing rate. Having reached the threshold of \$10 bln in 2000, Sino-African trade volume jumped to \$29.46 bln in 2005 and \$39.75 bln in 2005. The trade volume grew further to \$55.5 bln in 2006 and \$73.5 bln in 2007. The year-on-year growth of Sino-African trade maintained at around 30% during this period, far exceeded the growth rate of China's total foreign trade. In 2006, China overtook the UK to become Africa's third biggest trade partner after the United States and France. It is estimated that Sino-African trade had surpassed \$100 bln by 2010, thus becoming Africa's second biggest trade partner.

Secondly, the expansion of Sino-African economic and technological cooperation and the upgrading of cooperation quality have led to more Chinese investments in Africa, supplementary to the growing trade relations. In recent years, the Chinese government has been encouraging and supporting Chinese enterprises to invest in Africa in a bid to reverse the trade imbalance between China and African countries. By the end of 2006, China had invested \$11.7 bln in Africa, of which \$6.64 bln came from enterprises, over 14 times more than the value in 1999. Preliminary statistics show Chinese-invested projects are dispersed

²⁶ Luo Jianbo & Liu Hongwu, "China's Aid to Africa through Different Phases and Its Significance", *West Asia and Africa* (Chinese), No. 11, 2007.

in 49 African countries, involving energy and resource development, infrastructure construction, trade, processing, traffic and agriculture, etc. In 2006, the sales volume of Huawei Group, China's largest telecommunications provider, reached \$2.08 bln. The company's products and services have now reached 40 African countries. Chinese-invested projects such as the Khartoum oil Refinery, the China-Zambia Friendship Farm, the Mauritius Tianli Spinning Mill, Hisense South Africa Co. Ltd and a number of other Chinese enterprises have gained a foothold on the African continent.

Sino-African cooperative relations are showing the following characteristics:

Firstly, Sino-African relations entered the phase of fast and all-around development since the setting up of the FOCAC. Economic, trade and technological cooperation have been expanding and deepening, collaboration in the fields of politics, security and international relations as well as agriculture, telecommunications, energy, processing, infrastructure construction and social welfare have picked up momentum and are beginning to generate economic and social rewards.

Secondly, the system construction for Sino-African economic and technological co-operation has also made great headway. By 2006, China had reached agreements to promote and protect bilateral investment with 28 African countries and agreements to avoid double taxing and prevent tax evasion with 8 African countries.

Thirdly, Chinese actors in investment and trade have diversified with the development of Sino-African economic and trade cooperation, investment by Chinese private enterprises is increasing significantly. In 2006, Africa became the second biggest source for China's oil imports, the second biggest contracting market and the third biggest destination of Chinese investment. China's home appliances, automobiles, aircraft and satellite have entered the African market, and on the other hand, marble from

Egypt, coffee from the Ivory Coast, automobile parts from South Africa, electronics from Tunisia, tobacco from Zimbabwe, peanuts oil from Senegal, cotton from Mali and cassava from Nigeria are being sold to the Chinese market in large amounts. Of the more than 800 Chinese enterprises operating in Africa by the end of 2006, over 700 were privately-owned.²⁷ Contracts and labour cooperation agreements signed between Chinese enterprises and their African partners in 2006 reached \$28.97 bln, accounting for 31% of China's contract value in foreign countries. Between 2000 and 2007, Chinese enterprises secured contracts to build more than 6,000 km of road, over 3,400 km of railway lines, 8 large and medium-sized power plants and a large number of public and civilian facilities.

Fourthly, large-scale projects, higher-level scientific and technological cooperation and the overall development of scientific, industrial and trade co-operation have become the new contents of Sino-African economic and technological co-operation. Between 2001 and 2006, the number of contract projects each involving more than \$100 mln was 41. The railway modernization project in Nigeria and the expressway project linking east and west Algeria, both of which were contracted to Chinese enterprises in 2005, involve \$8.3 bln and \$6.3 bln of investment respectively. The projects are by now the two biggest contract projects undertaken by Chinese contractors. In recent years, China and some African countries have also begun to build economic development zones, investment, trade and processing zones and various technological innovation zones. The Zambia-China Economic and Trade Co-operation Zone and the Lagos Free Trade Zone in Nigeria are some of the examples.²⁸ The economic and technological co-operation

²⁷ Liu Hongwu & Wang Tao, "An Analysis of the Investment of Chinese Privately-owned Enterprises in Africa: Present and Trend", *Journal of Zhejiang Normal University* (Chinese), No. 5, 2008, p. 6.

²⁸ Alden, Chris. *China in Africa*, London: Gutenberg Press Ltd, 2007. p.68.

between China and African countries have the characteristics of modern international economic and technological co-operation and have become the new trend in South-South co-operation.

At the Beijing Summit of the FOCAC held in November 2006, Chinese president Hu Jintao declared that China would take measures in eight fields to double its aid to Africa from 2006 to 2009.²⁹ Such measures include providing \$3 bln of favourable loans and \$2 bln of buyers' credit loans, setting up the \$5 bln Sino-African Development Fund, canceling debts owed by Africa's heavily-indebted and least developed countries that were due to be paid off by the end of 2005, to further open up the Chinese market to Africa, increasing the number of zero-tariff on African commodities from 190 to over 440, establishing three to five economic and trade co-operation zones in Africa, to train 15,000 personnel for Africa, sending 100 senior agricultural experts to Africa, setting up 10 agricultural technology demonstration centres in Africa, providing aid to build 30 hospitals, earmarking RMB 300 mln to help prevent and control malaria and setting up 30 anti-malaria centers, sending 300 volunteers to Africa and to help build 100 rural schools and to double the yearly number of Chinese government scholarships for African students from the present 2,000 to 4,000 by 2009.³⁰

Chinese government has also formed follow-up committees and taken concrete steps after the Beijing Summit. The current Sino-African Co-operation is not only some pompous declaration of principles, but also rich in action plans and projects.³¹ When some

²⁹ See <http://www.focac.org/chn/zyzl/hywj/>.

³⁰ By March 2008, China had set up 12 Confucius institutes in Africa in collaboration with African countries, 2 of which are in Egypt, 2 in South Africa, 2 in Nigeria, 2 in Kenya, 1 in Zimbabwe, 1 in Rwanda, 1 in Madagascar and 1 in Cameroon.

³¹ Drew Thompson, "China's Soft Power in Africa: From the 'Beijing Consensus' to Health Diplomacy", in *China Brief*, Volume V, Issue 21, October 13, 2005.

western politicians were debating on ideological principles, China had joined forces to work.

The economic and technological co-operation between China and Africa have had a positive impact on the economic and social development of African countries and the improvement of the people's living conditions. In recent years, China's demand for African commodities has become a main factor to power the economic development of Africa.³² China's cheap and fairly good-quality commodities have also made it possible for Africa's poverty-stricken residents to be able to buy what they need for daily life. For instance, Chinese investment has helped Sudan to build its own oil exploration and production system. Sudan has changed from an oil-importing to an oil-exporting country and its economy is one of the fastest-growing in Africa. Studies show Sino-African economic co-operation contributed to 5% of Africa's economic growth, leading to the upgrading of Africa's economic structure and development potential.³³

SINO-AFRICAN CO-OPERATION: A CORNERSTONE IN RESHAPING CHINA'S RELATIONS WITH WESTERN COUNTRIES

Fundamentally, the fast development and all-around upgrading of Sino-African relations have the strategic significance of elevating the positions of both China and Africa in the international order and bring double-win results to the two sides.

The worldwide significance of contemporary Sino-African relations is its contribution to the development of Asia and Africa. As the country with 1/5 of the world's population, China's progress

in fighting poverty and pursuing development is also a contribution

³² Alden, Chris. *China in Africa*, Gutenberg Press Ltd, London, 2007. p.38.

³³ Peluola Adewale, "China: A new partner for Africa's development?" *Pambazuka News*, March 21, 2007.

to the world at large. The opportunities for Africa generated by a rising China will, to a large extent, have a worldwide significance. As some western media have pointed out, “If there is a continent which can be overwhelmingly changed under the influence of China, that would be Africa.”³⁴

After all, China, with a long history and a unique civilization, is bound to differ from the west in implementing market economy and democratization. China’s development mode has challenged the mainstream western ideas on eliminating poverty and building good governance.³⁵ Although African countries don’t copy China’s development mode, they do hope to learn from China’s experiences.

Asian and African countries’ drive to transform from traditional societies to modern societies is more difficult and complicated than that of western countries centuries back, no external forces are able to replace Asian and African countries themselves in this cause. Africa needs to have governments capable of implementing development policies. More importantly, China’s call for sincere dialogue and equal cooperation without any political conditions attached are more attractive to African countries who have had painful histories of humiliation. China’s development mode presents more options for African countries as the US mode is not generating results as expected.

China does not advocate promoting its own development, but encourages studies of and communications between different civilizations. At the 2006 Beijing Summit, participating leaders agreed to strengthen communication in governance and development experiences, and conduct co-operation in state capacity building. The low efficiency and poor performance of

³⁴ See “Foreign Media Positive on Beijing Summit of FOCAC”, *People’s Daily* (Chinese), November 7, 2006.

³⁵ Wei-Wei Zhang, “The Allure of the Chinese Model”, see <http://www.iht.com/articles/2006/11/01/opinion/edafrica.php>

African governments are in strong contrast to China's outstanding achievements in economic development. Furthermore, China's experiences in handling issues relating to ethnic relations, religion and borderlands can be valuable references for young African countries with internal conflicts. In the process of economic and trade co-operation with African countries, China has found more opportunities to enter the world market and improve its ability in the international arena. The double-win co-operation between China and Africa has become a vivid illustration of the peaceful rise, rather than threat, of China in the new millennium.³⁶

The strategic significance of Sino-African relations for Africa is also becoming more apparent. In recent year, the peripheration of Africa in the world system has begun to change. African countries are being seen not only as recipients, but also as opportunities which can bring wealth to the world. World powers such as the US, UK, France, Germany, Japan and India have set up various forums and held summits to boost investment, trade and market development in Africa, a development different from the confrontational struggle during the Cold War period. China has been stepping up efforts to seek common grounds with the West in Africa and realize multi-lateral and multi-win cooperation.³⁷

The profound significance of Sino-African relations is also seen in the fact that its influence goes beyond the sphere of Sino-African relations. In the past few decades, Sino-African relations have been a platform for China to enter the outside world with dignity. The growing relevance of China's role in Africa has forced the West to reconsider what China and Africa mean for itself.³⁸

³⁶ Liu Hongwu, "On New-type Sino-African Strategic Partnership & its Values and Significance in the Contemporary World", *Foreign Affairs Review* (Chinese), Feb. 2007, NO. 94, p. 32.

³⁷ See Liu Hongwu, "Sino-African Relations: An Opportunity for Africa and the World", *People's Daily* (Chinese), January 15, 2007.

³⁸ Bruce D. Larkin: *China and Africa, 1949—1970, The foreign Policy of The*

The oriental Chinese civilization and the tropical African civilization are two of the world's most unique civilizations. Communication and understanding between the two sides experienced rapid development in the second half of the 20th Century, generating profound influence on the overall order of modern human communications. The old one-direction, centre-dominates-periphery world system is being enriched by the modern Sino-African relations based on equality, reciprocity and mutual respect. Multi-oriented all-level communication is heralding a new era of world history.³⁹

Along with the transformation of the world order comes the adjustment of relevant forces and interest structures. Responses of some western politicians and media have been simplistic and outright negative, accusing China of promoting Neo-colonialism and Neo-imperialism, and supporting corrupt and autocratic African states without caring about the interests of ordinary Africans.⁴⁰ Such accusations, politicizing ordinary trade relations between China and Africa, reflect the moral elitism deeply rooted in western minds.

For centuries, Africa had been the backyard of Europe. It had been a place for affluent Europeans to spend holidays and show off superiority. A certain kind of European Menroe Doctrine has been prevalent among some Europeans. Europe's influence has not fundamentally changed after the independence of African countries. For some westerners, the fast development of Sino-African relations deviated from the course pre-set by the west, thus shaking Europe's traditional position in Africa. Some western media said

People's Republic of China, University of California Press, 1971, p.83.

³⁹ Liu Hongwu, "China-Africa Connections: the Significance of Civilized History", *West Asia and Africa* (Chinese), No. 1, 2007.

⁴⁰ Joshua Kurlantzick, *Beijing's Safari: China Moves into Africa and Its Implications for Aid, Development, and Governance*, Carnegie Endowment for International Peace, November, 2006, p. 1.

that trade and investment among developing countries were frustrating for the old powers.⁴¹ It is out of such worries that western countries show prejudice and pride to China's development and Sino-African relations, double standards are usually used in their dealings with China. In their eyes, the investment of western enterprises in Africa is for the promotion of free market and the idea of equality, while the investment of Chinese enterprises leads to the exploitation of resources and environmental degradation.⁴²

People who hold such accusations have not realized that the development of Sino-African relations have gone beyond the traditional system dominated by the West, a new world system is coming into shape. The relations between Africa and the West have not brought about the development of Africa, causing Africa to look for other development options. China's fast development in the past three decades has presented valuable references for African countries which are beginning to learn from China's experiences.⁴³

Equal dialogue, sincere co-operation and aid with no political strings attached have been the basic spirit and principles of China's policies governing its relations with Africa. China is being welcomed by Africans who see China as a peaceful and friendly partner.⁴⁴

ASIAN-AFRICAN CO-OPERATION AND THE WORLD PEACE

The ultimate goal of the human race is development of southern and developing countries. The accumulation of wealth and

⁴¹ Conal Walsh, "Is China the New Colonial Power in Africa?", see <http://www.guardian.co.uk/business/2006/oct/29/china.theobserver>

⁴² Joshua Kurlantzick, *Beijing's Safari: China Move into Africa and Its Implications for Aid, Development, and Governance*, Carnegie Endowment for International Peace, November, 2006, p. 3.

⁴³ Wanjohi Kabukuru, "Kenya: Look East My Son", in *New African*, Jul 2006.

⁴⁴ See <http://www.focac.org/chn/zyzl/hywj/>.

modernization of western countries, which account for only 20% of the world's population, had been the main characteristic of world history by the 1980s, the poverty and under-development of the non-West world, with 80% of the global population, are the root causes of the conflicts around the world. Neither could the West rest assured on what it is already enjoying without the common wealth and peace of other parts of the world. Development must expand to all parts of the world and benefit all peoples so that it could lead to the solution of world issues.⁴⁵

This is the worldwide significance of Sino-African relations and the development of China and Africa. As the biggest developing country and the biggest developing continent, the development of China and Africa is the goal of the human race.

In the past decade, developing countries are the most dynamic in the world economy. According to the 2008 World Bank Development Report released on April 11, 2008, the percentage of the economies of developing countries in the world economy has risen from 36% in 2000 to 41% in 2008. In the past three decades (1978-2007), Sino-African trade has risen from \$700 mln to more than \$70 bln, rising 100 times. The percentage of African exports to Asia in its total exports rose from 14% in 2000 to 28% in 2007. The economic relations between Asia and Africa have been rising rapidly, with China, India, and Southeast Asia becoming new engines for Africa's economic development.⁴⁶

All these developments are heralding a structural transformation in world history, presenting brand-new hope for Asian and African countries. The achievements of Asian and African countries in historical times give strong faith in their future rise even when they currently lag behind in development.

⁴⁵ See Liu Hongwu, "Sino-African Relations: An Opportunity for Africa and the World", *People's Daily* (Chinese), October 25, 2007.

⁴⁶ Femi Akomolafe, "No One Is Laughing at the Asians Anymore," *New African*, No.452, June 2006, pp.48-50.

In recent years, Oriental Revival and the Revival of Asia and Africa have become hotly-discussed topics. The BRICS (China, India, Russia and Brazil), VISTA (Vietnam, and the eleven booming countries of Egypt, Indonesia, Philippines, Mexico, Turkey, Pakistan, South Korea, Bangladesh, Nigeria and Iran) have achieved remarkable development in the past two decades, adding up to the success story of East Asia's Four Little Dragons. Africa's economic growth reached 6.1% in 2007. As a matter of fact, Africa is full of business opportunities despite poverty. Research of the US Ministry of Commerce shows that rate of return of US Transnational companies is 14% in Asia, 12% in Latin America and 33% in Africa.⁴⁷ High risk and high return have been the characteristics of Africa's economic environment attracting foreign investors.

Harry G. Broadman, economic advisor for the African region at the World Bank argued in his new book, *Africa's Silk Road: China and India's New Economic Frontier* that a new economic frontier is appearing among Africa, India and China. He argues that the rise of the middle classes in China and India and their growing purchasing power have increased the demand for African products. The new Silk Road also presents an unprecedented opportunity for the integration and economic development of Sub-Saharan Africa.

This new economic frontier includes not only traditional trade and investment, but also forces which bring about profound changes in the world economic structure. Various statistics show that the business activities of China, India and Africa are opening a road for Sub-Saharan Africa, Africa has become the processor of primary commodities and a competitive provider of labour-intensive products and services for both China and India. Compared with the economic relations with Europe, Africa has moved a great step forward. These promising South-South economic relations are conducive to the interests of China and

⁴⁷ See U. S. Commerce Service: *Business Opportunity Events: Sub-Saharan Africa Trade Mission*, U. S. Department of Commerce, December 2007.

India, and both sides have to take measures to tackle trade imbalances and remove barriers hindering future development.⁴⁸

Although Asian and African countries are still backward compared with western countries, the trend is that they are realizing the dream of revival. In the past two decades, China, India and Africa are all experiencing profound transformations. A report compiled by A. T. Kearney a trans-Indian Ocean market covering different continents is coming into shape.

The Report named the common market Chimea, comprising “Chi” (China and India), “me” (the Middle East) and “a” (Africa).⁴⁹ China and India are rich in technology, money and have a enormous demand for resources, the Middle East is rich in money and oil and Africa is rich in raw materials and opportunities. A research of the International Monetary Fund concluded that Brazil, China, India and South Africa have pulled out of the group of traditional developing countries. They are depending on their mutual relations rather than on developed countries in powering development. The report points out that this situation is a proper explanation to the strengthening of cooperative relations between Africa and booming oriental countries such as China.

The development experiences of China and other Asian and African countries indicate that the modernization heralded by western countries is only one specific phase, rather than the end, of modernity. As a matter of fact, world history does not end in the completion of the modernization of the western world. It has rather entered into a new phase with the contemporary rise of Asian and African countries.

The contemporary development of China and other Asian and African countries is of the choices of the respective governments

⁴⁸ See Harry G. Broadman, *Africa's Silk Road: China and India's New Economic Frontier*, World Bank, 18 September 2006.

⁴⁹ David Wessel, “The Rise Of South-South Trade”, in *The Wall Street Journal*, January 3, 2008.

and is based on their historical heritage. The West has to adopt new approaches in dealing with the changing world and reconsider the changes which need to be made of its own system.

The existing theories of world politics, of the underdevelopment of the third world and of aid, are formed on the basis of western experiences interlaced with western perspectives. Old theories, knowledge and analytical tools are no longer capable of revealing the nature of the contemporary Sino-African relations. It is in this respect that new theories, ideas and knowledge need to be created.

Due to different strategic interests and historical experiences, China's approach to Africa differs significantly from that of the western world. Drawing from experiences of poverty reduction and social development in its vast western regions, China has reformed its African policy to integrate aid with trade, as it drives up to build a co-operative relationship with Africa based on equality, reciprocity, rationality and practicality. China attaches great importance to cultivate the developing capacities of African states, often citing the famous Chinese saying of *Teaching a man how to catch fish is better than giving him a fish*. The contemporary Sino-African relations have enriched the content of South-South co-operation.

Development, poverty elimination and the establishment of a wealthy and harmonious world is the fundamental and universal goal of the human race. Democracy, liberty and human rights should be oriented toward this goal. Wealth and development should extend to all parts of the world, only then can we say that the problem of the world is solved, and the hope of mankind preserved.

Generally speaking, the centuries-old relationship between Africa and the West has brought little, if any, modern development to the world's biggest developing continent. On the other hand, the spectacular development of China in the past 30 years, and the transformation of its aid policies toward Africa has presented

illuminating inspirations to Africa's leaders and educated elite.

For thousands of years, China has been an influential world power in East Asia, with abundant experiences and wisdom in sustaining the operation of a world power. Chinese traditional wisdom believes that peaceful development and peaceful foreign strategy is conducive to the existence of a big country. The Chinese leadership fully understands the high cost of maintaining a big country. In today's world system, it is far more beneficial for a world power to uphold the peaceful coexistence policy than to pursue territorial expansion and hegemony.

Nowadays, the domestic development of developing countries is becoming more intertwined with the international environment. The cooperation between developing countries and developed countries is becoming increasingly important and is faced up with complicated challenges. From an academic perspective, we need to move from the theoretical system dominated by western ideas to a new theoretical system based on the experiences of Asian and African development. A new theoretical system is bound to draw lessons from Chinese history and civilization.

THE REVIVAL OF ASIA AND AFRICA IS DUE

The proper understanding and evaluation of Sino-African relations cannot be achieved without the knowledge of its history. In my opinion, the development of Africa in the 20th Century can be divided into three phases: 1. From the 1930s to the 50s was the national liberation phase: colonies under the rule of western countries fought strenuous for national independence, freedom and equality, laying the foundation for their modern development; 2. from the 1960s to the 90s, was the phase of nation-state building and national culture construction, consolidating the national polity and the growth of national culture; in the first two decades of the 21st Century, the African continent will be in the phase of economic development and social modernization. The process of Africa's

development corresponds with the natural historical process of civilization and state growth. China's fast growth in the past three decades and the nation-building of African countries from the 1960s to the 1980s, have made it possible for them to pursue their own revival.

It is against this background that Sino-African relations have made significant progress. Sino-African relations have transformed from the idealistic politics-dominated one to a more practical and rational one featuring political, economic and cultural co-operation, a new strategic partnership focusing on political equality and trust, economic reciprocity and double-win and cultural communication and exchanges. This new strategic partnership is still in the inchoative and its influence can only be seen in the long term.

It is my strong belief that as the fast growing developing economy interacts with the African continent, Sino-African relations based on sincere friendship, equal treatment, mutual support and common development will move forward and present opportunities and hope to Africa and China, and the world at large.

CHAPTER 3

NIGERIA-CHINA RELATIONS IN A DYNAMIC INTERNATIONAL ENVIRONMENT: CHALLENGES AND PROSPECTS

Professor Warisu O. Alli

INTRODUCTION

Nigeria and China relations have developed rapidly in the last decade and half, even though diplomatic relations was established about forty years ago. The great improvement in relations began after sanctions were imposed on the regime of General Sani Abacha, by traditional partners, for human rights abuses. As a result, in his search for new allies, the Abacha regime cultivated the friendship of some emerging powers, mostly from Asia, including China which as a matter of policy always avoids interference in the internal affairs of other nations.

In 1995 Nigeria and China established a Joint Commission. This was the foundation for what has become a truly extra-ordinary era in the relationship which has led to rapid growth in political and cultural exchanges, as well as in trade and investment between the two countries with prospects for what many are beginning to describe as strategic partnership. President Olusegun Obasanjo signed a Memorandum of Understanding with the Chinese in which both described their relationship as strategic. Speaking in China on November 7, 2011, Nigeria's Minister of Trade and Investment, Olusegun Aganga declared that Nigeria regards China as a strategic partner (The Nation, November, 8, 2011).

At the same time, the relationship is being impacted upon by the dynamics of a rapidly changing international environment defined by globalisation, and the growing neo-liberal tendencies in international economic relations, multipolarity, the emergence of

new global players, referred to as emerging powers, (China, India, Brazil and others), the evolution of what we should consider a new framework for global governance and lately the global economic crisis all of which have contributed to the rise of China, with its over 3 trillion dollar reserve, as a guarantor of global economic health and as such a global power and not just an emerging one.

These developments have opened up great opportunities to all actors on the international stage for fundamental review of their foreign policy agenda in a manner that would attract greater benefits. For Nigeria and other developing countries, these dramatic changes carry both great challenges, great opportunities also abound.

DYNAMIC CHANGES IN THE INTERNATIONAL ENVIRONMENT

The international environment does significantly influence and indeed determine the behaviour of actors on the international arena. This international environment is defined by the socio-economic, political and cultural dynamics and institutional frameworks which inform policy, while externally, we are referring to the configuration of power, the political and economic dynamics and the institutional frameworks and structures which define options and policy choices of actors.

Interestingly, the environment of international relations and foreign policy has become more dynamic with the collapse of the Soviet Union and the end of the cold war and the beginning of the new phase of globalization, the historical process of increasing openness of most countries through three significant instruments: international trade, international investment and international finance. Other aspects include the increasing flow of services (tourism and insurance), technology, communication and ideas (Onimode. 2000: 162).

Globalisation is also fast eroding state boundaries and at the same time eating away at state sovereignty thus dramatically

changing the whole notion of the environment of international relations. States no longer have total control over their affairs as a result of the growing role of Non-State Actors (NSAs) and Non-Government Organisations (NGOs). It has also led to fundamental paradigm shift and altered military/strategic, socio-economic, political and diplomatic balance and equilibrium that existed during the cold war era (Obiozor, 2004: 237).

Against the background of Nigeria's huge natural resource endowment in solid minerals, oil and gas and potential for agricultural production and its huge population, the domestic environment for foreign policy is the democratic dispensation which allows for greater people oriented and participatory diplomacy. The economic reform agenda of the civilian government of the Fourth republic with its focus on neo-liberal market economy, deregulation and privatization and Foreign Direct Investment (FDI) and the incessant call for foreign investors has also affected the nation's diplomacy generally. Taken together, all these have made Nigeria a magnet for major powers and the big players in the global economy.

Another dimension of the dynamics of the environment for foreign policy is the emergence of new frameworks and new alliances and structures which now introduce new elements in terms of alliance politics and elevating multilateralism to a new level. These new formations include the institutional and organizational configurations including the G8 (US, UK, Germany, France, Italy, Canada, Japan and Russia), the G77 developing countries, the G15, the G20 (the G8 plus China, Brazil, India, and others), the BRICS (Brazil, Russia, India, China and South Africa); IBSA (India, Brazil and South Africa); the D8 (Iran, Indonesia, Egypt, Nigeria, Bangladesh, Malaysia, Turkey and Pakistan) and several other regional and sub-regional initiatives. This is in addition to the emergence of China and India as the new centres of global economic power.

While old frameworks for cooperation such as the Commonwealth are being reorganized, new ones have also appeared in the form of multilateral initiatives such as the China-Africa Summit, EU-Africa Summit, Franco-Africa Summit and several others creating new opportunities for global engagement. These new bodies impact significantly on the international system and the environment for foreign policy.

For example, though Nigeria's large population is an incentive for the development of an industrial economy, the nation has not been able to build a credible industrial production capacity and the necessary infrastructure to drive the process or take advantage of the opportunities offered by new technology. It has been said that the new global environment favour the export of knowledge, the so called invisible goods. But Nigeria has not shown an appreciation of this in the design of a national agenda or the foreign policy to go with it. These are the areas where co-operation with China should help in transforming the nation's economy.

Nigeria should urgently and creatively engage the changing dynamics of world affairs, the impact of globalization, the instrumentality of economic capability and trade as the new currency for global relevance, leverage and power to achieve greater effectiveness in foreign policy.

Importantly, the ruling elite will have to purge itself of its selfishness, greed and corruption to be able to generate the kind of national strategy that will not only allow the nation to prosper but also achieve the primary objective of meeting the socio-economic welfare and other aspirations of the people. The capabilities are there, it is just in need of being consciously activated in a definite goal-oriented direction.

Another major dimension of the dynamics of the international environment is the global economic crisis of 2008, which was defined by the collapse of major financial houses in the United States of America, led by the Lehman Brothers. The crisis was essentially financial and as has been earlier noted "financial crises

are a recurrent feature of the global international economy (Gilpin;2001: 263).

It was in this condition that the 2008 crisis of global capitalism exploded. It is the result of the failure of global economic management as manifested in the overdependence on market forces as key regulators of the world economy.

Globalisation contributed in no small measure to the crisis. It fueled instability in the global financial system. This is why the IMF explained that the global systemic meltdown “is exemplified by the collapse of the credit system, bank failures, collapse of the US housing market and industries, rising unemployment, collapse of the commodity prices, and fall in trade and export” (IMF;2008). The crisis was brought about by the crash of key financial institutions such as the Lehman Brothers, as a result of default by bank debtors and what has become generally known as toxic assets, that is bad loans being classified by many banks as credits. Once proud global financial institutions have been humbled; business and regulatory models turned upside down and the global economy faces its most serious challenge in decades (Elumelu, 2009: 24). The US announced a buy American campaign in line with other protectionist measures

At a special G20 meeting in London, it was agreed that the crisis was caused by poor regulatory framework for financial institutions particularly banks. Britain, Germany and France were calling for a stronger global regulatory regime for the banking and financial sector. The Europeans are generally more strict over their banks, while the Americans were generally lax, leaving everything in the hand of “market forces” with dire consequences for all. It was also agreed that stimulus packages, which many of the leading countries have already been making available to their banks and industries to forestall their collapse be extended. Overall, stimulus packages amounting to more than five trillion dollars was planned to be available by 2010. Another \$1.1 trillion programme of support to restore credit growth and jobs in the world economy was

also agreed upon. Importantly, the Europeans wanted a comprehensive cross-border (international) regulation of financial markets, participants and products, with French President Nicolas Sarkozy threatening to walk out if there was no better regulation of banks and financial markets. Meanwhile, the Americans wanted domestic and not global regulation.

However, while Western banks and industries were receiving stimulus packages in billions. In the US, over a trillion dollars had been deployed by the government of President Barack Obama to stabilize the market. African countries were being given promises of assistance.

Africa has not been spared from the global economic crisis. The outside world has pat answers concerning Africa's prolonged crises, everything comes back again and again to corruption and misrule (Sachs; 2005:188). However, the continent's financial and banking system had been thrown into disarray. Africa was severely affected by plummeting levels of FDI and remittances, falling commodity prices, depressed export demands from OECD countries and drastic reduction in aid. African states have grown to be more and more dependent on international development assistance in the last few decades. The consequence of aid-driven international development policy has been debt peonage and the annual transfer of massive amounts of capital from the global South to the Global North under the pretext of debt payment (Omano and Amuwo;2008: 5).

However, despite the relative progress made in overcoming the debt crisis, the risk of reversals in recent development progress is looming, which in turn poses serious threats to the hard-won gains in political and social stability. A growth circle of several years has just been interrupted (AfDB; 2009). This is how, in the Foreword to the 2009 African Economic Outlook, the trio of Donald Kaberuka, President of the African Development Bank (AfDB), Angel Gurría, the Secretary General, Organisation for Cooperation and Development (OECD), and Abdoulaye Janneh, the Executive

Secretary, United Nations Economic Commission for Africa (ECA) described the impact of the global economic crisis on Africa.

It is therefore to be understood that developing countries could not escape the dire consequences and fallout of the crises, being largely dependent on the industrialized countries, the so called development partners. The condition of African countries was particularly precarious because most of them were at the bottom of the global economic ladder, running mono cultural economies and tied to the apron strings of former colonial powers and indebted to many private global financial institutions and the multilateral ones such as the International Monetary Fund (IMF) and the International Bank for Reconstruction and Development (IBRD), the World Bank. African states have therefore been in one type of crisis or the other since independence.

The global economic crisis cannot but have a major impact on African states. This is because African economies are largely dependent. African countries are marginalized in the global economy generally but more particularly so in the global financial system from which they are seriously marginalized. This should not of course be all that surprising because by its nature, capitalist accumulation can only take place on the basis of some countries loosing out to those who gain and control the entire system of production and reproduction (Nabudere; 2000: 32). Indicative of this malaise is the fact that the actual number of people living in poverty has increased by almost 100 million at a time that total world income actually increased by an average of US\$2.5 billion annually (Stiglitz;2002: 5).

Even though many African countries are facing several setbacks in their national economies, according to the Africa Progress Panel, headed by Kofi Annan, the demand for African export started falling in the second half of 2008; and since early 2009, inflow of capital have come under growing pressure as global liquidity tightened, exchange rates and capital markets became more volatile (The Economy; 2009: 75). Already commodity and oil prices have

been depressed as a result of reduction in demand. In Nigeria, the national currency has depreciated while the nation's foreign reserve has dropped from a high of US\$67 billion in June 2008 to 53 billion by December, 2008 according to Jega. Market capitalization on the Nigerian Stock Exchange (NSE), fell to 4.8 trillion as at March 2009 from a high of 16 trillion in July 2008 (Idris, 2009: 31). The Director General of the NSE pointed out that foreigners have repatriated 555 billion naira (about US\$4 billion). Over 70% of Nigerians are said to be living below the poverty line of less than one dollar a day (Jega; 2009: 64).

Jeffrey Sachs, Special Economic Adviser to the UN Secretary General Ban Ki-Moon, has pointed out the imbalances of global trade and the ensuing unequal exchange and the impact of this on the prospects of developing countries generally (2005). As a result of all these assault on Africa, China has helped many African states by opening up opportunities for international exchange and the prospects of an expanding market for African traditional exports much needed by the booming Chinese economy. Thus, though of course African states may not be well integrated into the global economy, they are deeply dependent on capitalist states for FDI and technological know-how.

Though, those countries with huge income from oil and solid mineral are expected to have more leverage, they will still suffer from fall in demand for their items because of the slowing down of industrial production in their traditional markets. As for those without oil or solid minerals, largely dependent on international assistance, they will be in very precarious economic condition as the major donors scale down economic assistance as they try to adjust to the crisis situation. In any case, resource endowed or not, no African country can escape the vicious grip of neo-liberal forces on them.

The global crisis poses serious challenges for African states in several critical areas including investment, food security, development of social and physical infrastructure, political stability

and the need to take greater control of their economic life. But a major challenge is how Africa could improve its role in the management of global finance, because it is in the area of banking and finance that the fate of African states are determined.

Already, the Nigerian economy is suffering a dearth of capital, drastic fall in FDI, and of course a major challenge remains poor infrastructure, poor governance and widespread corruption.

This argument has been borne out by the outcome of the historic G20 crisis meeting in London in April, 2009. At that meeting, as we already noted, there were no concrete special promises made to help Africa apart from the general recognition that Africa needs help and a provision of 6 billion dollars in concessional finance for poor nations and a promise to continue to support the MDG and other aid programmes. The G20 also appealed to multilateral organisations to establish or review existing programmes in line with the new situation.

Meanwhile huge resources were made available, as so called stimulus packages, for the developed economies. In the US the amount voted to stimulate economic activities were staggering – amounting to trillions of dollars. There is no doubt that Africa also needs the kind of stimulus package being distributed to major western banks; trade support, greater freedom to protect its key industries through subsidies and other measures to protect them from pressures from developed and other advantaged countries; investment in infrastructure; and lowering of tariffs would also help African economies as instrument to stimulate export.

“Neo-liberal discourse cannot respond to the crisis of globalization, unless, according to its principles, it anticipates the simultaneous opening up of all frontiers to commerce, capital and to migration of workers” (Amir; 1997). But this discourse remains truncated, suggesting the opening of frontiers to capital but their closure to human beings. Accordingly, the proposed formula can therefore only serve to aggravate global polarization (Amir; 1997: 76).

Another challenge for Nigeria is that it is not effectively represented at important global economic fora generally and particularly in those being put together to address the current economic crisis. There is nothing of the quality of the ACP framework which served Africa relatively well in negotiations with the EEC/EU. Only South Africa is a member of the Financial Stability Board.

A major challenge is that many African leaders and governments are not enthusiastic about challenging the status quo or charting a new development course. African governments and organizations are weak. Many of the brightest African thinkers have been forced abroad, working for American and European think tanks in search of a more meaningful life. Those left at home are frustrated by the nature of African politics and are not given opportunities to serve the continent. In contrast, most of the Asian PhDs remain at home, working in their universities and other government agencies (Versi; 2009: 11).

PROSPECTS FOR AFRICAN STATES

This global economic crisis offers African states the opportunity to review their economic situation, their position in the global financial system and the international division of labour generally, and adopt new people-oriented ideas for dealing with the challenges of economic underdevelopment and widespread poverty in their countries. The crisis offers African states an opportunity to retrace their steps from market orthodoxy and deploy the instrumentality of the state as a crucial agent of development as well as renegotiate the relationship with the World Bank, the IMF and the WTO. As constraining as globalization is, the greater interdependence it offers could be creatively exploited to improve Africa's position in global finance and reduce the dependency of African states.

Just like Asante noted in the 1990s that, “the unprecedented grave economic crisis, the havoc of the World Bank’s orthodox SAPs, the perestroika and the upheaval in Eastern Europe and the threat of the single European market is a boon to the governments and people of Africa because they have raised awareness of the imperative to design new development strategies and to chart out new directions to sustain their efforts to improve the life on the continent (Asante;1991: 205), so it is expected that the 2008 global economic crisis should be another wake-up call for African leaders on the development needs of the continent and the need to put the people first. Many economists insist that the African continent remains a sleeping giant on the verge of becoming an economic powerhouse if the continent can leverage its rich assets (Ahmed; 2009: 27).

The crisis has given the continent an opportunity for a new orientation. Africa, according to Elumelu, Group Managing Director of the United Bank for Africa, is in a far stronger position than 10 – 15 years ago, particularly in the qualitative change in the management of the economies, with independent central banks, improved country balance sheets and strengthening of democratic institutions (Elumelu 2;2009:24). Akpan Ekpo, a Professor of economics, agreed, pointing out that the global economic meltdown was some sort of acid test for Nigeria and other African countries and might help the continent to explore its potential to leap to greater heights (2009: 50). Also, the President of the African Export-Import Bank Jean-Louis Ekra urged African countries to continue to strife and use the crisis to diversify their exports, their products and their markets (Newsstar; 2009: 5).

China has been building economic relations with many African states since the late 1950s. The construction of Tanzam railway lines is an enduring symbol of that cooperation. In the past two decades or so, China has significantly and positively improved its role in the economic fortunes of African states by offering them a huge alternative and lucrative market for African raw materials

such as oil, solid minerals and agricultural products. China has also expanded its provision of investment finance for the development of infrastructure and other sectors of the ailing economy of the continent. China has become a major trading partner, an investor, mainly in the form of project financing and export credit and aid donor to Africa. The interest of the Chinese in Africa has objective basis and will no doubt continue to grow as testified to by increasing Chinese investment in critical sectors like oil in Sudan, Angola, Nigeria and the quiet efforts being made to become major players in mining and other sectors of many African countries.

Growing Afro-Chinese economic relations also offers additional prospects from the point of view of social and political management of China. The Chinese success has been built on a careful deregulation of the economy under the guidance of the Communist political structure. China practiced what is generally known as authoritarian command capitalism that is creatively and pragmatically administered by the Communist Party. This has provided the political stability needed for economic growth and development and has turned out to be one of the greatest creative geniuses of the Chinese in navigating a global economy dominated by free-wheeling capitalism. This has also allowed the Chinese to escape the most devastating effects of the global economic crisis. The Chinese model therefore has some unique experiences and competences to offer African countries particularly in this period of global economic crisis.

In this regard, we should also take note of another aspect of the Chinese experience which will be useful and enhance the prospects of African states if they will emulate them. What sets China ... apart from African countries is that they have refused to imbibe globalisation's hegemonic tenets hook, line and sinker. Rather, they have used the forces of globalization to enhance their domestic capacities, the lesson being that "the benefits of globalization come to those who do their home work" (Omano and Amuwo; 2008: 25).

As noted by Professor Kwaku Atuahene (2009: 47), “if there is any lesson for Africa on how to structure its economy and balance it with an indigenous ways of doing things, then we can only learn from China.”

However, for Africa to overcome the socio-economic and political consequences of the crisis, and achieve development and progress, there is need for a paradigm shift away from market orthodoxy and towards a development paradigm that is focused on the welfare of the people rather than just economic growth; and a clearer and more creative strategy and a greater commitment to implement adopted strategy. In this regard, there is need for what Omano and Amuwo (2008) call political approach to economics in Africa. Africa needs, more than at any time in its global engagement, creative and courageous leaders that can navigate the historic opportunity offered by the global economic convulsion toward a more beneficial role in the world financial system and the global economy generally.

“Development Partners” is a term used to describe the collectivity of the developed countries and organizations dominated by them, which provide assistance to developing countries. The developing countries, according to Jeffery Sachs (2003: 285), refer euphemistically to the United Nations agencies, bilateral donors, Breton Woods institutions as “their development partners.” While agreeing that they could really act as partners, he argues that “often they can be as much nuisance as help.” The most active in Nigeria among the development partners and their different categories are the United Nations Development Programme (UNDP); International Fund for Agricultural Development (IFAD); and other UN agencies. Equally active and influential are also the multilateral agencies, particularly IFIs, such as International Monetary Fund (IMF) and the International Bank for Reconstruction and Development (IBRD). There are national agencies such as the Department for International Development (DFID) and the British Council both of the United Kingdom;

United States Agency for International Development (USAID); the European Union (EU); Canadian International Development Agency (CIDA), Japan International Development Agency (JICA) and several others including foundations; International Non-Governmental Organizations: Actionaid, OSIWA, and Humanitarian Organizations: Medecins Sans Frontier, Caritas, Save the Children, etc. Even though China does not feature as a development partner, but rather a trading partner, its cooperation with Nigeria is increasingly being considered very beneficial.

OVERVIEW OF NIGERIA-CHINA RELATIONS

Nigeria-China relations dates back to 1958, according to Ogunsanwo (1974), even though it formally began on February 10, 1971 just months before China was to be admitted into the UN on October 25 of the same year to occupy the permanent seat allocated to China and earlier occupied by Republic of China (Taiwan).

Since then, the diplomatic relations between the two countries have been good. However, the relations became much closer during the turbulent days of the Abacha regime, when Nigeria's traditional partners imposed sanctions on the country. In reaction, the Abacha regime sought new friends from among the emerging powers of Asia such as China. That new initiative led to the establishment of the Nigeria-China Joint Commission in 1995 and this has come to give a decidedly economic focus to the relations.

In subsequent years, following the dramatic changes at the international and domestic levels, the relations between the two countries continued to deepen. It became even so close that China asked Nigeria to represent its interests in Gambia in the wake of that country's recognition and establishment of diplomatic relations with Taiwan.

The return of the country to civil democratic rule and the inauguration of the fourth republic was a period of particular benefit to the bilateral relations. President Olusegun Obasanjo

played a crucial role in deepening these relations. Nigeria is now a major supplier of oil and is now one of the leading trading partners of China in Africa. The volume of trade between the two countries is now worth over 13 billion dollars according Mathew Uwaekwe, CEO, Nigeria-China Business Council with 9 billion in favour of China (The Nation; November 10, 2011). The volume was less than 400 million dollars on the eve of the fourth republic and under 60 million dollars at the beginning of the second republic.

The Chinese have demonstrated courage and faith in the Nigerian economy having continued to make substantial strategic investments in the country at a time many Western investors are complaining of security and instability. Chinese investments in Nigeria, expected to be worth about 10 billion dollars by the end of 2011, are a source of great benefits to the Nigerian economy in virtually all sectors of the economy such as oil, infrastructural development, railway rehabilitation, construction, agricultural production and of course trade. The Chinese are involved in the establishment of the Lekki Free Trade Zone in Lagos as well as in the launching of Nigeria's first satellite into space among several new initiatives. The Chinese Southern Airlines now flies direct from Beijing to Lagos. There has also been an increase in security sector cooperation with more frequent exchanges between the military of both countries.

As a consequence of this rapidly growing economic relationship, the number of Chinese in Nigeria is said to have grown to over 100,000 at the beginning of 2011. Many of these Chinese are even involved in trading, bakery and restaurant businesses. At the same time, the number of Nigerians in China is said to be between 300,000 and 500,000 mostly traders and a few students.

It should be noted that China is an ancient civilization, with a long history of effective administration and the legacy of Maoism, central planning, self reliance and focused nationalist development strategies, massive infrastructural, industrial, scientific and

technological development, internal cohesion, and an effective and strategic foreign policy and diplomacy, built on the One-China policy and the principle of “non-interference” in the internal political affairs of other countries particularly African states. Importantly, the Chinese are generally serious-minded in matters of state. They probably have to be able to feed, house and gainfully employ about 1.5 billion people.

Of great significance in the Chinese political genius, is the deployment of communist political structure to administer a clearly capitalist economy. The value of this should be apparent when we compare the approach of the Russians who adopted market capitalism and liberal democracy all at the same time with the resultant collapse of the USSR into capitalist chaos and the emergence of oligarchic rule which almost led to anarchy.

CHALLENGES

The challenge for Nigeria is not so much that China is a powerful country that has become the focus of all in the world. Rather’ the challenge is that the Chinese are so organized, strategic and focused and to engage them meaningfully, Nigeria should be more organized, focused and strategic. And there is the not so small matter of pervasive corruption and extra-ordinary passivity and carelessness about very many grave matters of state!

Engaging the Chinese is now a necessity. However, Nigeria cannot engage them or the Indians or any major player effectively, because the nation faces many serious challenges in managing its affairs and achieving greater effectiveness in international relations.

With the volume of trade between Nigeria and China now put at 13 billion dollars and the widespread involvement of the Chinese in the nation’s economy, the government should be building the necessary capacity and concrete institutional framework to enable Nigerian scholars and officials engage the Chinese more meaningfully.

There is the critical challenge of managing the growing influence of the Chinese on the nation's economy and particularly the overbearing attitude of the Chinese in trade which has stifled domestic economic activities particularly in the textile industry. The Nigerian Customs has had to close down the China towns for alleged importation of banned goods into the country, just as Chinese businessmen are increasingly being accused of unscrupulous behaviour (Aremu, 2011: 111). It is also increasingly being observed that Chinese companies use very little local labour and prefer to bring Chinese to do many jobs which Nigerians could do. The problem here however is not so much about the Chinese but about how the Nigerian government chooses to engage them.

It is important to begin to invest in acquiring adequate knowledge of the Chinese-culturally, politically and economically:

1. How many Nigerian officials speak Chinese to start with?
2. How many Nigerian officials have read any of the Chinese classics?
3. And importantly, how many Nigerian officials and even Nigerians generally, understand how China functions?
4. How many Nigerian scholars are experts on China, or Chinese politics, economy, military, foreign policy, diplomacy, science and technology among others?

These are very critical matters. And it appears that Nigeria is yet to take the first important step in meaningfully engaging the Chinese as an emerging strategic partner.

Nigeria despite her resource endowments, potential and population is also largely on the fringes of global governance not being in any of the major frameworks i.e. G20, BRICS or even IBSA. This is the result of poor governance which has resulted in the many domestic challenges the country is facing. There is need to pay attention to the rapidly changing global architecture of finance, manufacturing, trade and research and development.

Lack of appreciation of this new dynamics and an inability to tap into them have put Nigeria out of the major inner circles of global

power game leading to the nation being upstaged by other countries in competition for international appointments such as that of the President of the African Development Bank (AfDB), and the denial of invitation to some critical international meetings such as the April 2009 G20 meeting in London to discuss the global economic crisis about which the late President Umar Yar Adua openly lamented.

PROSPECTS

Definitely, engaging China offers great prospects and opportunities for Nigeria. Even though it is being celebrated that the volume of trade between China and Nigeria has reached about 13 billion dollars, this is still small compared to the potential of the economic partnership. For example EU trade with Nigeria is worth 75 billion dollars. It is also not much when it is considered that it is largely in China's favour and China is set to stake much more into the Nigerian economy. It should also be appreciated that the Chinese have over 3 trillion dollars in reserve and the G8 countries are even looking up to the Chinese to bail them out of the current crises of capitalism.

This should inform us all, that the era of the Chinese has indeed arrived and we should all wake up to this reality and be ready to work more seriously with the Chinese. The Chinese market has helped to arrest the volatility, the unstable movement of commodity prices on which the economies of most African countries depend.

Significantly, the relative loss of world dominance by the North and the rise of new economic power houses in Asia is a major message of hope to African countries (Onimode, 2000: 227). This dramatic change would give space to well –governed developing countries to manoeuvre more effectively in the international system (Ibid.)

Just last week, the Minister for Investment, Olusegun Aganga, who was on an investment drive to China, was asking the Chinese

to make Nigeria their investment hub in Africa. Caution is of course recommended in this investment drive. As it is, we have over 100,000 Chinese in Nigeria, involved in all manner of economic activities from construction, oil and gas, telecommunication, retail trade and even bakery and restaurant. China was able to buy into the lucrative Nigerian oil business when in 2006 it secured a 45% stake in the OML 130 concession from South Atlantic Petroleum Limited (SAPETRO) for 2.6 billion dollars. (Aremu; 2011: 109).

Nigeria's Minister of Trade and Investment, Olusegun Aganga appealing to the Chinese last week to make Nigeria their manufacturing hub in Africa. But the prospect in this economic partnership drive is only possible if the Nigerian leadership will do the necessary and be prepared to work really hard to reorient itself generally and appreciate the ascendancy of the Chinese as truly an historic opportunity that should be managed more strategically. Hitherto, this is yet to manifest.

This should force Nigeria to develop an internal cohesion built on a more effective national administration and a new national philosophy that can help project the image of a serious minded partner and committed ally.

Towards this end, the nation's intellectual capability should be aggressively deployed to engage the Chinese more seriously. In this regard, it is here suggested that an Institute for Asian Affairs, devoted to the study of China, India and other Asian powers including Japan, Korea, Indonesia and Malaysia, should be urgently set up to begin the serious task of building necessary capacity for more meaningful engagement with the Chinese and other emerging Asian powers. I am sure the Chinese will welcome this opportunity to broaden cooperation between the two countries just as I expect other countries in Asia to also contribute. All serious countries have invested in area studies which are used to build capacity and knowledge about partners.

Engaging China more meaningfully and seriously should also help us improve our control over our economy and also improve our capacity to engage our so-called traditional partners more effectively and with greater confidence. Meanwhile, the think tanks of G8 countries have been tracking the Chinese involvement in Africa and have been generally trying to scare African states away from the so called “dragon”, while they themselves are busy trying to be part of the boom in China. We should also follow their example and put our acts together to deepen cooperation with China.

CONCLUSION

Generally, no doubt, Nigeria and indeed Africa has benefitted from the last ten years of industrial boom in China. Relations with China built essentially on trade rather than on aid has had positive impact on African economies. The rise, in the projection for African economic development for the next few years, is essentially dependent on continued Chinese aggressive investment and expansion into Africa. It is therefore in the interest of Nigeria to make all the required efforts to benefit from this it is important to observe that though the search for a strategic partner of the caliber of the Chinese is meaningful, this cannot replace a focused, strategic and visionary leadership. This is actually what has helped the Chinese in the first place. And it is what has helped to transform Dubai, Malaysia, Brazil, and Turkey all of which in the last one to two decades achieved prosperity.

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CHAPTER 4

CHINA-AFRICA CO-OPERATION AND DEVELOPMENT: PRINCIPLES, EXPERIENCES AND INITIATIVE

LI Anshan

Nigeria is a country with great civilization. Besides the Nok culture represented by the terra-cottas which dated as early as the middle of the first millennium B.C., there are highly artistic wood and ivory works of Ife, famous stone images of Esie and the bronze sculpture of Benin, etc. When German scholar Leo Frobenius found a bronze head in Nigeria in 1910-1912, he could not help his admiration, “the setting of the lips, the shape of the ears, the contour of the face, all prove, if separately examined, the perfection of a work of true art which the whole of it obviously isIt is cast in what we call the ‘cire perdue’, or the hollow cast, and is very finely chased, indeed like the best Roman examples.”⁵⁰ In 1897, in order to control the trade and avenge the death of eight British officials, the British force broke through Benin City, the capital of Benin Kingdom, and took 2500 pieces of precious bronze sculptures from Benin. The British force effectively demolished the longstanding kingdom.

China is a great country with rich historical heritage with the invention of paper-making and printing technology, compass and gun powder, the Great Wall, etc. Yet in 1860, thirty-seven years before the damage of Benin, Britain and France launched the 2nd Opium War against China in order to force China to open its market. They broke through the prestigious royal palace-Sumer

⁵⁰ Leo Frobenius, *Histoire de la Civilisation Africaine*, Paris: Gallimard, 1936, p.56. Quoted from W. E. Burghardt Du Bois, *The World and Africa, An inquiry into the part which Africa has played in world history*, New York: International Publishers, 1992 [1946], p.152.

Palace and robbed the treasures and destroyed the imperial court. Victor Hugo, the famous French writer criticized the destruction in his letter, which was later entitled "Expedition de Chine", "two robbers breaking into a museum, devastating, looting and burning, leaving laughing hand-in-hand with their bags full of treasures.....one of the robbers is called France and the other Britain." In his letter, Hugo hoped that one day France would feel guilty and return what it had plundered from China.⁵¹

The two incidents indicate that there are similarities between Nigeria and China. Both have a history of civilization, both suffered from imperialist invasion, and both shared same experience of humiliation from colonial powers.

This article will try to explore why China and Africa can develop the solid foundation for their cooperation. It is divided into three parts, China's perspective and principles, the experiences of China's development which might be helpful for Africa, African initiative and China's role to promote African development.

CHINA'S PERSPECTIVE AND PRINCIPLES

Many scholars have been involved in debates and arguments about China's engagement in Africa in the West. Yet very few would like to discuss about the differences between China and the West in terms of the perspective and principles regarding Africa.⁵² The perspective and principles are the basis for China-African Cooperation. An analysis is really needed for this respect. This part will illustrate how differently China looks at Africa and what principles it carries out in terms of government policies regarding China-Africa cooperation.

⁵¹ Victor Hugo, "Lettre au capitaine Butler", Hauteville House, 25 novembre 1861. <http://www.monde-diplomatique.fr/2004/10/HUGO/11563>.

⁵² Deborah Brautigam is an exception. See Deborah Brautigam, *Dragon's Gift: The real story of China in Africa*, Oxford University Press, 2009.

First, how should we look at Africa? Is it a great continent or a backward continent?

Raphael Armattoe, a Ghanaian doctor and philosopher, nominated for the 1949 Nobel Peace Prize, once said: “Throughout the whole of Middle Ages, West Africa had a more solid politico-social organization, attained a greater degree of internal cohesion and was more conscious of the social function of science than Europe.”⁵³ He was referring to the West African achievements during the Middle Ages. Of course, Africa has much more to boast except this regarding civilizations, just think about the monumental obelisks in Ethiopia, the ruins of the royal palace at the foot of Jebel Barkal, the architecture of the Greater Zimbabwe, the scale and complex Kingdom of Kongo (koutou of the Dutch delegation before the Kongo King in 1642), etc.

Then, how about Africa’s achievements during the past 50 years? It is unnecessary to demonstrate how the West sees Africa, since so many discouraging terms or even humiliating expressions have been used to describe the continent. Regarding the achievements since African independence, if we take a historical perspective, we will find that Africa is not a backward continent, rather, it has made a great progress since its independence. I would like to name just a few, integration, human rights, border issue and nation building.

- 1) Africa is the only continent which gives one voice regarding the big issues through African Union in the international arena.
- 2) Human rights is another issue. If we look at women’s rights, it is very impressive that Africa has produced its own female ministers, UN Chair, Nobel Prize winners, two presidents and African Union Chair in only about 50 years, which other continents can hardly compete with.
- 3) Compared with what occurred in European continent where

⁵³ Raphael Armattoe, *The Golden Age of Western African Civilization*, Londonderry: Lomeshie Research Center, 1946, p.35.

countless wars occurred on the dispute of borders during the modern time, there is no such phenomenon in African continent. This is more impressive considering that the African border is mainly the result of colonial occupation, with 44% marked according to longitude and latitude, 30% by straight geometrical line and only 26% by natural markers.⁵⁴ 4) Nation-building is another great achievement. Modern nation-building is a difficult process for every nation. Yet, for African nations, it goes rather smoothly.⁵⁵

Secondly, China has never used the concept of “donor-recipient” to describe China-African relations, while “partner” is preferred. China believes that assistance is not unilateral, but mutual. The status of China and Africa is equal, not a relation of superior and inferior. Although the relation is strategic, it is equal and friendly. Both China and Africa appreciate each other and cooperate with each other. It is noticeable that “donor-recipient” notion reflects a philanthropic idea with donor with a condescending attitude while recipient humble and obedient. With “if-you-don-I-will” attitude, donors are unable to take “recipients” as their equal partners. On the contrary, they always want to be “preacher” and usually threaten to withdraw the aid if they are not satisfied with what happen in the recipient countries. Therefore, no matter what aid they offered, they would not to be appreciated by the recipients owing to their arrogant manner.

Thirdly, China takes Africa as a promising not “hopeless continent”. In a cover of *The Economist*, May 13, 2000, the title “Hopeless Africa” shows clearly how some of the West media

⁵⁴ B. BoutrosGhali, *Les Conflicts de Frontieres en Afrique*, Paris, 1972.

⁵⁵ For African achievements, see LI Anshan, “China and Africa: Cultural Similarity and Mutual Learning”, in James Shikwati, ed., *China-Africa Partnership-The quest for a win-win relationship*, Nairobi: Inter Region Economic Network, pp.99-103

looked at Africa at the time. Yet, in the same year, in 2000, Forum on China-Africa Co-operation was set up, which began a new period of China-Africa relations and gave a big push to China-African Co-operation.⁵⁶ This attitude can be tested from the Chinese investment in Africa in recent years. According to a West media, “Luanda is changing fast. A few years after the end of a devastating civil war, cranes are crowding the skyline of Angola’s capital.... Last year Angola’s economy grew by an estimated 15.5%, the fastest on the continent.... the rest of Africa has also been doing well: a recent report by OECD estimates that Africa’s economy grew by almost 5% last year, and is expected to do even better this year and next.... Is Africa, often dubbed the hopeless continent, finally taking off?”⁵⁷

With various advantages such as human resources, natural resources and cultural heritage, why should Africa be poor and hopeless?

In my view, the principles guiding China-African relations can be summarized as equality and mutual respect, bilateralism and co-development, no-political strings attached and non-interference in domestic affairs, and stress on the capability of self-reliance.

Principle of equality: State-state relation is like person-person relation, only equality and mutual respect can endure any difficulties. Although the ideology of equality has been the major theme in human history, and has been written in the constitution of almost all nations, yet equality has never been mentioned in international relations, where “might is right” speaks louder.

⁵⁶ There are various interpretations about the origin of FOCAC, yet it was the African side initiated the scheme and Madagascar’s Minister of Foreign Affairs Lila Ratsifandrihama kicked off the ball. See LI Anshan, Liu Haifang, Pan Huaqiong, Zeng Aiping and He Wenping, *FOCAC Twelve Years Later: Achievements, challenges and the Way Forward*, Nordiska Afrikainstitutet, Uppsala, 2012, pp.16-17.

⁵⁷ *The Economist* June 24, 2006.

Equality is a unique principle regarding the relationship between China and Africa. As early as 1963-1964, Chinese Premier Zhou Enlai put forward Eight Principles of development assistance as follows:

- 1) Aid should not be considered as unilateral grant, but mutual help.
- 2) Neither conditions nor privileges should be attached to the aid.
- 3) To reduce the burden of the recipient countries, no-interest or low-interest loan can prolong the time limit if necessary.
- 4) The purpose of aid is to help recipient countries develop independently;
- 5) To increase the income of recipient countries, the programs should produce quicker result with less investment.
- 6) China would provide the best equipments and materials for the recipient countries, and promise to change them if the quality is not as good as the agreement permits.
- 7) To guarantee the recipient countries to master the relevant technology when technical assistance is provided.
- 8) Experts from China should never enjoy any privileges and should receive the same treatment as the local experts in recipient countries.⁵⁸

If we carefully analyze these principles, it is quite obvious that they are a kind of self-discipline, obligation on China's side, e.g., what China should do and what the Chinese should avoid. One example can explain this relation. The building of Tanzania-Zambia Railway (TAZARA) is "one of the lasting monuments to its former presence". China helped Tanzania and Zambia build the railway of

⁵⁸ "Chronology of China-Africa Relations", <http://www.china.com.cn/chinese/HIAW/445819.htm>.

1,860 km for US\$500 million during 1968-1986 with about 30,000 to 50,000 Chinese involved and 64 died. As Jamie Monson points out, “.....the Chinese had articulated their own vision of development assistance in Africa throughout the Eight Principles of Development Assistance.....these principles reflected China’s efforts to distinguish its approach to African development from those of the United States and the Soviet Union. Several of these principles had direct application to the TAZARA project ...”⁵⁹

Principle of co-development: This is a principle which can guarantee the sustainability of the cooperation. After the 12th Party Congress, Chinese Communist Party started to formulate its new policy including that of economic assistance. During his visit to Africa in 1982, Premier Zhao Zhiyang put forward four principles regarding China-African Economic and Technological Cooperation, e.g., equal bilateralism, stress on effectiveness, various forms and common development.⁶⁰ “Common development” is a new principle here. China-Sudan cooperation serves a good case for co-development. After the Canadian oil firm Talisman decided to sell its interest in a Sudan consortium that also involved Chinese and Malaysian firms, the China National Petroleum Corporation wanted to purchase the interest, but Khartoum turned down the Chinese offer and awarded the shares to an Indian firm instead. The deal by no means troubled the relations between China and the Sudan, which shows that China and the Sudan are equal partners, and they each make decisions to guard their national interests independently. As Mkumbwa Ally, Deputy Managing Editor of Tanzania Standard Newspapers stated, “The co-operation between China and Africa including Tanzania is based

⁵⁹ Jamie Monson, *African Freedom Railway, How a Chinese development project changed lives and livelihoods in Tanzania*, Indiana U.P.2008, p.148.

⁶⁰“Chronology of China-Africa Relations”, [http:// www.china.com.cn/chinese/HIAW/445819.htm](http://www.china.com.cn/chinese/HIAW/445819.htm).

on mutual-benefit, that's not the 'Power matters the most' policy by some western countries but the way to cooperate with others.”⁶¹ Co-development should also be based on equality. China-Sudan cooperation is an example. On the one hand, China has obtained oil for its fast economic development from its production in the Sudan and other countries. On the other hand, the Sudanese people benefited from the oil production, and the Sudan has changed from an oil-importing country to one with a whole system of oil exploration-drilling-refining-exporting.

Principle of non-interference: No-political strings attached and non-interference of domestic affairs is another important principle. China and African countries have the similar experience of being colonized and they put great emphasis on national sovereignty. In any issue regarding African affairs, China always refers to U.N. and African Union’s stand in order to make a good decision. What is more, the international affairs show clearly that external interference can seldom settle the problem but worsen the situation. What happened in Afghanistan, Iraq, Libya has provided a vivid example of the chaotic situation of interference. As Deborah Brautigam observed recently, “Where the West regularly changes its development advice, programmes, and approach in Africa... China does not claim it knows what Africa must do to develop. China has argued that it was wrong to impose political and economic conditionality in exchange for aid, and that countries should be free to find their own pathway out of poverty. Mainstream economists in the West today are also questioning the value of many of the conditions imposed on aid over the past few decades.”⁶²

Principle of self-reliance: China’s policy also put a stress on self-

⁶¹ “China not throwing its weight amid China-Africa cooperation: senior Tanzanian media official”, March 18, 2010, <http://english.peopledaily.com.cn/90001/90776/90883/6922926.html>.

⁶² Deborah Brautigam, *Dragon’s Gift, The real story of China in Africa*, p.308.

reliance, which is an experience from China's own development. With the help from China, the Sudan has turned from being a net oil importer to an oil exporter. Recent collaboration between China and Nigeria to launch a communications satellite, NigSat I, is a groundbreaking project where China has provided much of the technology necessary for launch, on-orbit service and has even provided for the training of Nigerian command and control operators. While Nigeria acquired satellite technology, China also gained from the collaboration by burnishing its credentials as a reliable player in the international commercial satellite market.⁶³ There are quite a few examples of this principle, such as brewing beer in Cameroon, making sugar in Mali, planting mushroom in South Africa, shoe-making in Ethiopia, etc.

The aid from West does not work properly in Africa. Walt Rostow called for doubling foreign aid in 1960; World Bank President McNamara called for doubling of aid in 1973; the World Bank again called for doubling aid of with the end of the Cold War in 1990; World Bank President Wolfensohn called for doubling of aid with beginning of terrorist war in 2001; G-8 Summit in July 2005 agreed to double aid to Africa. "Aid to Africa did indeed rise steadily throughout this period (tripling as a percent of African GDP from 1970s to 1990s), but African growth remained stuck at zero percent per capita."⁶⁴ This viewpoint is also expressed in other works by New York University Professor William Easterly and ex-World Bank employee Robert Calderisi.⁶⁵ Zambian scholar Dambisa Moyo, who once worked for World Bank, also published

⁶³ "China launched satellite for Nigeria," Xinhua News Agency, May 14th, 2007.

⁶⁴ William Easterly, *Can Foreign Aid Save Africa?* Clemens Lecture Series 2005, No.17, Saint John's University, pp.2-3.

⁶⁵ William Easterly, *White Man's Burden: Why the West's Efforts to Aid the Rest Have Done So Much Ill and So Little Good* New York: The Penguin Press, 2006; Robert Calderisi, *The Trouble With Africa: Why Foreign Aid Isn't Working*, Houndmills: Palgrave Macmillan, 2006.

a book entitled *Dead Aid, Why Aid is Not Working and How There is Another Way for Africa*, which criticizes severely the aid regime. She termed aid as “silent killer of growth” and made a statement, “Africa’s development impasse demands a new level of consciousness, a greater degree of innovation, and a generous dose of honesty about what works and what does not as far as development is concerned. And one thing is certain, depending on aid has not worked.”⁶⁶ She called for a stop to aid, yet she used a chapter entitled “The Chinese are Our Friends” to praise China’s way of co-operation with Africa.⁶⁷

Why can China’s co-operation with Africa effectively help Africa’s development? The reason, in my opinion, can be attributed to China’s principles, which regard African countries as equal partners and believe aid should be mutually beneficial and make African self-reliant. China and Africa have both been colonized or semi-colonized, and the experiences have offered them similar norms by which they conduct international relations: mutual respect and equal footing.

CHINA’S EXPERIENCES IN DEVELOPMENT

There is a tendency for the African countries to “looking east”, and some Nigerian scholars think positively of China’s development model. There are debates within Chinese academia regarding “China model” or “Beijing consensus”, yet the Chinese seems to be reluctant to accept these terms.⁶⁸ The very reason could

⁶⁶ Dambisa Moyo, *Dead Aid Why Aid is Not Working and How There is Another Way for Africa*, Allen Lane, 2009, p.154.

⁶⁷ Dambisa Moyo, *Dead Aid Why Aid is Not Working and How There is Another Way for Africa*, pp.98-113.

⁶⁸ Joshua Cooper Ramo, *The Beijing Consensus*, London: The Foreign Policy Centre, 2002. Since Joshua Ramo’s frequently quoted phrase was out, there are quite a few discussions relevant to China’s engagement in Africa, as well as China’s soft power. See for example, Drew Thompson, “China’s Soft Power in

be that China had some negative experiences of copying others' models.

China's development is simply a process of learning, learning from anybody who can provide a better way for development, and the process is still going on. To apply others' experiences and lessons, that is, their success and failure, to your own conditions, is the only applicable lesson that China can offer. Regarding experiences of China's development, four fields more relevant to Africa are political leadership, social stability, agricultural production and reasonable use of foreign aid, which may shed some light on African development.

Political leadership: In China, the political leadership is strongly emphasized. The Chinese Communist Party's (CCP) leadership is supposed to represent the people's will and serve the people's interests, with party school, party commission and party branch as the organizational guarantee. The leadership comprises two contents: the paramount party leadership and political leadership itself. The party leadership over almost everything has existed for a long time and will continue for some time. Here political leadership and its succession will be analyzed.

Chairman Mao once pointed out "When the political map is determined, cadres are the decisive factor."⁶⁹ After the Cultural Revolution, there was a difficult time in the selection of a new generation of leadership. In 1980, Deng Xiaoping emphasised this issue and later put forward the standards for the young CCP

Africa: From the 'Beijing Consensus' to Health Diplomacy", *China Brief*, 5:21 (October 13, 2005), pp.1-4; "CHINA/AFRICA: Emerging Beijing consensus shapes policy", Oxford Analytica Daily Brief Service. Jan 24, 2006. For a recent application of "China's model" in Africa, see Johan Lagerkvist, "Chinese eyes on Africa: Authoritarian flexibility versus democratic governance", *Journal of Contemporary African Studies*, 27:2 (April 2009), pp.119-134.

⁶⁹ Mao Zedong, *Selected Works of Mao Zedong*, Vol. 2, Beijing: People's Press, 1991, p.526.

leaders, which was termed “four-way transformation” (sihua) of the cadre corps, i.e., younger leaders around the age of 40 who were “revolutionary, younger, more educated, and more technically specialized” (geminghua, nianqinghua, zhishihua, zhuankehua).⁷⁰ Both Jiang Zemin and Hu Jintao also put a great emphasis on the political leadership of the CCP.

In order to train good leadership and guarantee a healthy power transition, various ways are adopted, such as a strict process of selection, fieldwork, party school training and shift work experiences. Young carders are usually sent to the local level for field study or fieldwork at the grassroots. There are continuous and systematic theoretical trainings which are usually held in party school at different levels, among which the central party school is the top one. Promising leaders are also shifted from one position to another, in order for them to get different work experiences.

Yet the power succession is a key issue in the history of the CCP. It is true that in the history of the CCP, the moment of power succession is sometimes accompanied with political crisis, interruption or disturbances. According to the theory of political science in the West, “authoritarian regimes” like China are inherently fragile because of their weak legitimacy, over-reliance on coercion, over-centralization of decision-making and the predominance of personal power over institutional norms. This presumption has been less convincing with China’s experience of development. Andrew Nathan, in his article published in *Journal of Democracy* in 2003, pointed out that China’s leadership was stable and the regime resilient, which presents a new challenge to classical political science. In his article, Andrew Nathan listed several phenomena indicative of the institutionalization of the succession process:

- Jiang Zemin finished his full term in office and did not stay in

⁷⁰ Deng Xiaoping, *Selected Works of Deng Xiaoping*, Vol.2, Beijing: People’s Press, pp.190-193, 261-265, 384-388.

office past the time when the rules said he should leave. Jiang was the first leader in the history of the People's Republic of China (PRC) not to select his own successor.

- The retired elders did not attempt to intervene in the succession or, indeed, in any decision; the military exercised no influence over the succession.
- The selection of the new politburo was made by consensus within the old politburo. According to his judgment, meritocracy played a larger role, and factionalism a smaller role, in the rise of the fourth generation than was the case with earlier generations of Chinese leaders.
- Five of the nine members of the new Politburo Standing Committee were alternate members of the Central Committee as long ago as 1982.
- Never before in the PRC's history had there been a succession whose arrangements were fixed this far in advance and whose results were so unambiguous in transferring power from one generation of leaders to another.⁷¹

His observation was fairly good, but the presumption inaccurate or incorrect. His judgment of the CCP's "weak legitimacy" is definitely wrong. No party in the world could have enjoyed more legitimacy than CCP by solving a problem of feeding more than one billion people. Again, "Over-reliance on coercion" is not an accurate description. Andrew Nathan's judgment is more or less contradictory to the reform which is being carried out by the Chinese people right now. It is noticed that the process of going up-and-down has frequently been practised in political reform, economic development or social experiments. The criticism about the "over-centralization of decision-making" is not accurate. China is a country with the most population in the world and the political mechanism has its historical rationale. We cannot copy the political

⁷¹ Andrew Nathan, "China's Changing of the Guard: Authoritarian Resilience", *Journal of Democracy*, 14.1 (2003), pp.6-17.

system of other country which has no roots in China. Ironically, centralization has proven to be more workable and effective than the neo-liberal way in the current financial crisis, in both its cause and its solution. The criticism of the “predominance of personal power over institutional norms” is true in some sense, but not a reasonable generalization. The Chinese are clever enough to adapt its own system to the different situation and reform right now is an adjustment. Chinese people have, along with the West, realized that thanks to the staunch leadership of the CCP, China has kept its pace in development constantly, although with some setbacks and failures along the way. China will definitely continue its own way of development with great momentum.

Social Stability: In a conference to celebrate 30th anniversary of China’s reform, President Hu Jintao talked about “bu zheteng”? When Hu Jintao finished his expression, every Chinese participant laughed, which indicated that they understood and agreed. Yet the English translations afterwards such as “don’t flip flop”, “don’t get sidetracked”, “don’t sway back and forth” and “no dithering” could hardly express its real meaning, which has its cultural background in Chinese politics. Every Chinese knows what “zheteng” means, but there is no equivalent in English. The essence of “bu zheteng” simply means do not create disturbance by yourself. Why did President Hu put forward this expression? That is because the CCP and the Chinese people once had a very negative experience of “zheteng” and have had wasted a lot of time. This is a hard lesson they learned from their contemporary history. In other words, we should maintain a stable social order in order to achieve our goal of development.

With the opening-up policy, the CCP realized that in order to maintain social stability, China should put more emphasis on economic construction. Deng Xiaoping made this very clear by

saying “Stability is more important than everything.”⁷² For a society to develop in a consistent way, a stable political order is extremely important, especially for a developing country. Samuel Huntington also stressed the importance of stability in the process of modernization. What’s a “stable social order”, or simply “social stability”? It means that there is no destruction of or threat to the present social order or legislative system by any person, organization or social group within the society, and the social life in the country runs normal and orderly. Stability is a presentation of a peaceful and orderly society, but by no means indicates there are no social contradictions or confrontations. If the contradictions and confrontations between different political forces and interest groups neither present a threat to the frame of present social order and the legislative system, nor cause open conflicts and chaos, the society should be considered as stable.

We may define three types of social stability: traditional order, coercive order and institutionalized order. Traditional society is characterized as having lower productivity and less social stratification and social mobility, and therefore the social order is rather stable. In Chinese academia, this kind of stability is termed “super-stability”, which exists mostly in the pre-capitalist stage, and is therefore out of our discussion here.

Coercive stability means to achieve social stability by force. When social contradictions and political conflicts cannot be solved within the present political frame and legislative system, the government, out of a certain motivation, decides to control or even suppress the acute contradictions by force or violence to maintain or strengthen the present social order, therefore to keep the socio-political situation in order.

Institutionalized stability is a situation where all the social contradictions and political conflicts can be controlled or

⁷² Deng Xiaoping, *Selected Works of Deng Xiaoping*, Vol.3, Beijing: People’s Press, pp.284-285.

constrained in the frame of politics and law, which can be adjusted or settled through the channel of democracy or social reform, and the reorganization or improvement of the political system, so that both politics and society can maintain stability.

Generally speaking, none of the three types of stability is pure, and coercive stability is not all negative, that may create a temporary situation suitable for adjustment and reform, which is necessary in some occasion. Institutional stability would not change to coercive stability, yet there is an occasional exception. Coercive stability could not last long and it may transform into two different directions. In some case, with the improvement of social and political conditions and the legal system, institutional stability is gradually established. In other cases, coercive stability could only last for a while before it may turn out to be a disaster. The better transformation depends on the orientation of the government's interest and the choice of its policy.

Emphasis on agriculture: China is a country with a long history of agriculture. Africa also has a long tradition of agriculture. In China, 90 percent of the population used to be rural; now this figure has decreased to about 600 million, yet it is still an agricultural state. China has put a great emphasis on rural development, with agricultural production on the top. There is a very common expression, “wu liang bu wen”, which means “without grain, there is no stability”. The stressing of agricultural production in policy has been practised since the founding of the PRC.

With the opening-up of 1978, although there was a shift of emphasis on economic development, agriculture remained a key issue on the agenda of the Chinese government. It is well understood that China, with such a big population, simply could not afford to depend on the international market for food, something which has been taken seriously as a strategic issue in every generation of Chinese leadership. Although there was a

neglect of peasants' interests occasionally, agricultural production is always stressed and food provision is kept as the number one issue.

Since poverty is concentrated in the rural areas, and the food issue is the key factor of poverty, the CCP keeps a sharp eye on three rural issues: agriculture, peasants and the countryside. As early as 1982, the first document issued by the Central Party Committee of the CPC and the State Council was on the agricultural issue. Since then, this first document of the year has mostly been on peasants or rural issues, such as the agricultural economy, agricultural planning, peasants' income and the new socialist countryside. For example, the number one document of 2009 is to improve the stable development of agriculture and achieve a continuous increase in peasants' income. Since great attention has been paid to the rural issue, China has speeded up the successful solution of its poverty. The absolute impoverished number of the population decreased from 32 million at the end of 2000 to 23.65 million in 2005. A total of 8.35 million people were lifted out of poverty within five years, down by 5.87 percent per year.⁷³

Africa's cultivable land represents about 26.41 per cent of the total land of the continent, yet there is a picture of uncultivated land and a large population of poverty. In fact, in many African countries, food production could have been self-provided following the first decade after independence. Yet the later period witnessed the deterioration of the food situation, and food crises have occurred more frequently in recent years. Kenya is a good example, so is Zimbabwe. Why? There are external problems and obstacles, such as the fluctuation of food prices of international market, and foreign interference (the Berger Report, for example), yet we should also ask this question: Do African governments pay enough

⁷³ Zhang Lei, ed., *The Course of Poverty Reduction in China (1949-2005)*, Beijing, 2007, p.337.

attention to agricultural production and its rural population?

If a government could not feed or clothe its people, then you would be in a very difficult situation. You need either food aid or have to spend precious foreign currency to buy food. When Ghana needed both food and money for its development in the past years, the World Bank agreed to lend some money under the condition that Ghana open its market for rice. The condition was accompanied by the unfair trade rule of the International Monetary Fund (IMF), which opened the market for cheap American rice. Although Ghanaian rice is better nutritionally, Ghanaians prefer the cheap rice from the U.S.⁷⁴ In many other African countries, there is still shortage of food. They may reconsider their strategy and put more emphasis on agricultural production.

Initiative and aid: The last subject is initiative and aid, a very important issue for developing countries. The “initiative” and “aid” here have various aspects; while the former comprises individuals, the local level and the state, the latter encompasses the internal and external, including individuals, companies, states, and international organizations, etc. Obviously, only the needy need aid.

Although China has gradually changed its position in recent years from aid beneficiary to aid provider, the country has a long history of receiving aid. Internally, providing financial support to the poor individual or area has always been an important issue in poverty reduction in China, and the notion has changed constantly. At first, the measure called “blood-transmission” is adopted, with money provided to the less developed areas to solve the problem. The result is not ideal; money is spent but the situation does not change, year after year. The policy proves less effective,

⁷⁴ Refer to Oxfam Annual Report (2005-2006). African cotton peasants also face the threat of the cotton from the U.S. where cotton producers are subsidized for \$230 every acre of cotton. Lucy Bannerman, “The farmers ruined by subsidy”, *The Times*, April, 9, 2007.

necessitating reflection. Then another notion of “blood-making” is introduced, meaning to mobilize the initiative of the poor area and make the best use of local conditions to realize the purpose of development. All the financial aid – whether money, personnel or technology – is provided to support measures beneficial to contextualized development of the locality.

The policy of “blood-making” seems to work better than that of “blood-transmission”; it is much more successful than the former. Yet with the new idea of scientific development, it is realized that in some areas the environment is targeted for particular protection. In those areas, blood-making certainly works for material development. Yet from a longer-term perspective, what is workable for the locality may not be good for the whole region. Or worse still, it is not a sustainable development and brings disaster to the people. What is more, the less developed area is usually the better ecological area which is chosen for environmental protection. In other words, for some particular areas which should serve an ecological role and thus not be suitable for industrial development, the government should compensate for environmental protection through blood-transmission in order to support the strategy of sustainable and scientific development. To sum up, blood-transmission and blood-making should be combined in policy making.⁷⁵

No matter what the notion, it is clear that only if the needy realize the importance of poverty reduction and get down to solid work, can the aim be achieved, with or without support from outside.

China has for a long time received financial support from outside, either international organizations or individual countries. The 1950s witnessed the financial support from the USSR (Union

⁷⁵ Zhang Lei, et al., eds., *Poverty Monitoring and Evaluation*, Beijing: China Agriculture Press, 2008; Li Xiaoyun, et al, eds., *Status of Rural China (2006-2007)*, Beijing: Social Sciences Documentation Publisher, 2008.

of Soviet Socialist Republics), comprising 156 projects, which contributed a great deal to China's early infrastructure building. In 1979, Deng Xiaoping pointed out that we also needed to borrow some money for development. For more than 20 years, the overseas development assistance (ODA) from Japan has been number one among some 24 countries, and it provided ODA to China worth some 3225.4 billion yen, about 60 per cent of the total aid to China from foreign countries. Yet Japan was also rewarded with cheap natural resource by the Chinese government.⁷⁶ China consistently adheres to the principle of "self-reliance first, foreign aid second". This principle is crucial because it guarantees that China can develop according to its own strategy and own needs.

First, while China can compromise on some issues, it would never give up its sovereignty for aid. In 1958, when the USSR asked China to make a concession on the issues of long-wave transceiver and allied fleet, Chairman Mao Zedong realized its intention to control China and thus refused resolutely. Secondly, China would not let the aid provider interfere with its internal affairs and would make its own strategy of development, with foreign aid as a subsidiary measure. Thirdly, China would put foreign money in the most needed place, thus making the best use of foreign aid. How to make the best use of money provided by external sources has always been a serious consideration of the Chinese government. Fourthly, China would always try to keep foreign aid, especially aid in the form of debt, on a controllable base. If a country relies on foreign aid too much, it will gradually develop a mentality of dependency on aid. When you depend on aid yet cannot get aid, you may yield your sovereignty for financial support.

⁷⁶ Zhu Fenglan, "The position and evaluation of Japanese ODA to China", *Contemporary Asia-Pacific*, Issue 12 (2004); Dai Yan, "Does China need foreign aid anymore?" *Half-Monthly Talk*, from China.com.cn. http://www.china.com.cn/international/txt/2008-02/07/content_9661029.htm.

Most of the African countries have received foreign aid for quite a long time. According to William Easterly's figure, for the past 40 years, the West has spent more than US\$568 billion on foreign aid to Africa. Easterly also observed that very little improvement occurred in Africa.⁷⁷ For example, Tanzania has been heavily depended on foreign aid, with a great percentage (40 per cent) of its revenue as foreign aid. Yet there is a high percentage of maternal death, with 24 maternal mothers and 144 new-born babies dying every day. How to make the best use of foreign aid is a serious issue facing African countries. First, it is not proper to rely on foreign aid, yet most African countries still need foreign aid to promote economic development. There should be a balance in the introduction of foreign aid and the mobilization of initiative at the local level. Second, foreign aid should be put at the most suitable place. In Africa, it is a common practice for the top leaders, whether presidents or ministers, to use the foreign aid or foreign-aided project to benefit their own home villages. I am not sure whether this is the best way to serve the whole country, or is this the best way to use foreign aid? Probably it is not usually so.

What is the lesson of China's development? Indigenous solution to indigenous problems might be the most important one. Nigerian historian Femi Akomolafe points out, "Whilst the Chinese opted for an indigenous solution to their economic backwardness, African governments (against the advice of eminent African economists such as Professor Adedeji) chose to follow the prescriptions of the World Bank and the IMF. These Western-dominated organizations prescribed the vile Structural Adjustment Programmes (SAPs) which later metamorphosed into the Enhanced Structural Adjustment Programmes (ESAP) which, in turn, metamorphosed into the insulting Highly Indebted Poor Country

⁷⁷ William Easterly, *Can Foreign Aid Save Africa?* Clemens Lecture Series 2005, No.17, Saint John's University, p.3.

(HIPC) programmes.”⁷⁸

This observation is correct, but it is an incomplete one. To make the matter worse, the prescription prepared by the outsiders would eventually fail without doubt simply because it is made by those who do not understand the African local situation (with a “vile” intention?). When the prescription does not work, the prescription-makers would not take the responsibility. It is the Africans who get scolded. Usually, the African leaders would become the scapegoat and blamed for their incapability. Then a new development strategy would be provided by the outsiders again, and inevitably fail again with more damage, here is the vicious circle. And it is always the African that is to blame. It is not fair! With a frequent change of the West development strategy, advice, program and approach, how could Africa find its own path and develop itself?

AFRICAN INITIATIVE AND CHINA' ROLE IN AFRICAN DEVELOPMENT

The argument is clear, African initiative with African creativity is needed in African development.

When former British Prime Minister Gordon Brown visited Nigeria and promised to help Nigerians in their development, it is obvious that he was ignorant of the story of King Ja Ja in Nigerian history. During the early times of British occupation of Nigeria, King Ja Ja, the founder of Opobo town, was a very successful entrepreneur and he was in firm control of the palm oil trade between Opobo and the hinterland. Although the British supercargoes wanted to get rid of him and deal directly with the hinterland, but King Ja Ja was so skillfully controlled the trade that even the British government had to sign a treaty with him in 1873 that prohibited any British vessel from proceeding inland beyond

⁷⁸ Femi Akomolafe, “No one is laughing at the Asians anymore”, *New African*, 452 (June, 2006), pp.48-49.

the beach opposite Hippopotamus Creek.⁷⁹ After the repeated petition against King Jaja from the British merchants in the region,

the acting British Consul H.H. Johnston had to use super-economic measure plus dirty tricks to capture him and send him on exile.⁸⁰

Human history has witnessed the decline of Indian culture in America, the wipeout of the indigenous culture in Australasia. Yet, African culture stands firmly with vigor. Africa is still there after several centuries of slave trade which resulted in the loss of their most capable labour force, one century of colonialism which brought about a material damage and spiritual catastrophe, and half a century of unequal international economic and political order which has provided Africa a disadvantageous position. Yet Africa not only exists, its philosophy of optimism and harmony between human and nature, its religion, art, music, dance have spread all over the world.

Africans have shown their initiative as early as ancient times, as the creation of the artistic works show. Even during the colonial period, African chiefs (Na Na and Jaja in Nigeria, for example) competed with their counterpart in Britain and France in enterprises, African intellectual showed their talents in financial

⁷⁹ K.O.Dike, *Trade and Politics in the Niger Delta, 1830-1885*, London: Oxford University Press, 1972, Appendix C.

⁸⁰ Acting Consul Johnston wrote Jia Jia a letter to join him in a meeting at the beach of Messrs Harrison, one of the English firms on the Opobo river. Jia Jia refused the invitation until the Consul had pledged his word that he would not be detained against his will and that he would be free to go after the meeting. The Acting Consul said in the letter dated September 18, 1887, "If you attend tomorrow, I pledge you my word that you will be free to come and go, but if you do not attend I shall conclude you to be guilty of the charges brought against you and shall immediately proceed to carry out you punishment." Sir Alan Burns, *History of Nigeria*, London: Allen and Unwin Ltd., 1963 (Sixth edition, [1929]), pp.154-155; Toyin Falola, ed., *Britain and Nigeria: Exploitation or Development*, London: Zed, 1987, p.48.

fields (such as Ansar in Gold Coast) and South African black peasants upper-handed their white competitors in agricultural sector. Today, Africans need to fully play their capability in their deal with outsiders, display initiative in their regional cooperation and integration, show competence in catching up with other countries in the world.

Africans created various civilizations and wonders in human history, Nubian construction and political structure, Egyptian pyramids and hierarchical system, Ethiopian architecture and language, Greater Zimbabwe in the south, African empires (Ghana, Mali, Songhai and Hausa Emirs, etc.) in the Middle Ages in the west, Kingdom of Kongo in the forest, Swahili cities in the eastern coast, etc. With trade, immigration, and the enslaved process, African cultural achievements spread to other parts of the world. Their lively bronze figure and artistic sculpture brought new life to the declining West art, which ushered a new period of prosperity.

In the contemporary world, various great figures have appeared in Africa, such as Nkrumah, Cheikh Anta Diop, Julius Nyerere, Nelson Mandela, etc. Nigeria has also produced its own historical figures, such as Nnamdi Azikiwe, the nationalist leader, Soyinka the Nobel Prize Winner, Philip Emeagwali the computer wizard, etc. Can Africa bring a new hope to the world in this difficult time? I am sure it can, with a common effort of a hard working people and good leadership, rich natural resources and human resources, integration and unity of the continent, self-determination of development, Africa will rise again.

What role can China play, as a long-time friend of Africa? As early as 1993 during the first Tokyo International Conference of African Development, African leaders realized that strategic investment would be much more important than aid. China can bring more investment to Africa in various fields, especially in agriculture, manufacturing, renewable energy, green food agribusiness, etc. During the co-operation with African countries, technological transfer is very important in order to speed up

African development.

Experience sharing is another important field that China can offer its help and gain from Africa. Chinese experiences show that national sovereignty is very important in current international affairs, especially for African countries with a heart-broken experience of colonial suffering. Strategic plan is needed for a sustainable development. China can learn from Africa in its philosophy of harmony between mankind and nature, the optimism and the outlook of broad-mindedness.

Africa would make its own leap forward soon if both its leaders and people work hard on their own. As the Nigerian historian Akomolafe Femi pointed out, “China’s economic performance is nothing short of a miracle. It shows what a people with confidence, determination and vision can achieve.”⁸¹ One Nigerian claims, “Nigeria will rise again!”⁸² Of course, Africa will also rise again.

⁸¹ Femi Akomolafe, “No one is laughing at the Asians anymore”, *New African*, 452 (June, 2006), p.48.

CHAPTER 5

SUSTAINABLE ECONOMIC TRADE CO-OPERATION BETWEEN NIGERIA AND CHINA: THE GENDER PERSPECTIVE

Benedicta Daudu PhD

INTRODUCTION

There has been an increase in bilateral relationship between Nigeria and China since Nigeria's independence. The relationship has grown from cordial to warm. There are particular milestones that are indicators of improved quality of relationship between both countries. The first being the state visit by General Yakubu Gowon in 1974, active cooperation between Nigeria and China in the non-aligned movement and the clearing of Nigeria's debt by China during General Olusegun Obasanjo's regime in 1999 and the increasing presence of Chinese companies to carry out contracts, the most recent being the Zungeru power project.

The increase in economic relationship will naturally result in cultural exchange between various segments of Nigerian people and the Chinese people. To further enhance mutually beneficial cultural exchanges, at the gender level, the Beijing action for women platform and the Convention on the Elimination of all Forms of Discrimination against Women (CEDAW) is an appropriate framework within which to anticipate this relationship and evaluate them in future.

In order to put this paper in its proper perspective, the paper examines the cooperation arrangements between Nigeria and China with specific focus on diplomatic ties, technical assistance, scientific cooperation, economic and cultural cooperation. The paper seeks to analyze the relationship between both countries with respect to investment and trade from a gender perspective thereby

examining the place of women in fostering such bilateral relationship as well as the factors that hinder women from contributing their quota in such scheme of things. The paper examines the economic backgrounds and achievements of both countries in terms of employment creation, the contribution or otherwise of women towards such economic growth and observes that the economic engagement between China and Nigeria has given rise to multifaceted social networks and expatriate communities in each country. The paper notes that Nigerian women are not given equal opportunity with their male counterparts in terms of job creation despite existing legislation for the protection of women. This is not the situation with the women in China who are better advantaged compared to their Nigerian counterparts. The paper therefore concludes that women be given more opportunities to contribute to the development, economic growth and well being of both countries.

SIMILARITIES BETWEEN NIGERIA AND CHINA

Commonalities and parallels can be drawn between Nigeria and China. Nigeria-china relationship dates back to more than three decades.⁸² Both countries have observed their relationships grow from exploratory trips of the 1970s, to political and now to seeking to boost economic and trade investment potentials. Nigeria had independence on 1st October 1960 while the Chinese revolution took place on 1st October 1949. Both are giants of their continents. Nigeria is industrious while China is industrial. Nigeria is about 10% the size of china and about 10% its population.⁸³ By regional relevance, they share status symbols and internally, they are both endowed with abundant natural resources. In addition, both

⁸² Ogunkola, E.O., et al (2008), China-Nigeria Economic Relations, assessed at www.aercafrica.org/documents/China_africa_relations/Nigeria

⁸³ *ibid*

countries have similarities and differences in historical legacy, historical development, pluralistic culture and so on. Like China, Nigeria is composed of numerous ethnic and religious groups and both have existed for thousands of years. While both countries have the largest population on their respective continents and vast natural resources, both have relatively low per capita income.

The rise of China in the last three decades has been phenomenal. This transformation began in the late 1970s after the open door policy orchestrated by the then leader, Deng Xiaoping.⁸⁴ Prior to that time, china was relatively impoverished and economically backward. Today, China has gained stability and respect, she is economically strong and has emerged as a power that must be reckoned with in global economic as well as political decision making. It is one country that is on the verge of achieving the Millennium Development Goals (MDGs) by 2015. One lesson we can take from the Chinese is discipline of purpose, purposeful planning, upholding of performance pledge and deliverability.

NIGERIA AND THE ECONOMY

Nigeria and China have over the past 42 years, forged closer economic ties. Nigeria is the 3rd largest trade partner of China in Africa.⁸⁵ In 2012, the trade volume between the two countries reached USD 10.57 billion.⁸⁶ This means that the two economies are highly complementary and the cooperative relations have huge potential and broad prospects. For instance, Nigeria is one of the top crude oil producers and exporters in the world, and like many

⁸⁴ Brautigam D. and Xiaoyang T., (2009) African Shenzhen: China's special economic zones in Africa assessed at www.american.edu/sis/faculty

⁸⁵ Olugboyega A. O., et al (2010) The impact of China-Africa Investment Relations: the case of Nigeria assessed at www.aercafrica.org/documents/china-africa-policybriefs/Nigeria

⁸⁶ *ibid*

other countries in the world, China imports crude oil from Nigeria.⁸⁷ On agriculture, China imported 1.1 million metric tons of cassava chips from Nigeria in 2012.

In the financial sector, the Central Bank of Nigeria is the first in Africa to include Chinese currency in its foreign exchange reserves, with a view to building strategic and mutually beneficial relationship with key Chinese financial institutions. The cooperation in science and technology has made Nigeria the first African country that boasts of satellite navigation capacity. In 2011, the China Great Wall Industry Corporation (CGWIC) launched Nigerian communications Satellite 1 R, which is claimed to have met Nigeria's requirements on communications, broadcast, navigation and broadband access and also provided services for Africa, Europe and Asian continents.⁸⁸ People-to-people communication and cultural exchanges are an integral part of bilateral relations and both countries are keying into this as well as enjoying ancient civilizations and splendid cultures.

Although Nigeria has made rapid progress over the years, we are aware that as the most populous African country in the world, Nigeria remains a developing country, facing all kinds of challenges in its development.

Nigeria's quest for development is yet to deliver on the ultimate goal of poverty reduction, despite various plans, programmes and projects. Analysis of performance on poverty reduction strategy necessarily examines issues in growth and equity because growth maybe recorded without impacting on the poor. As a resource-rich country, Nigeria's economic performance has been unfortunately driven by the oil and gas sector to the extent that even progress recorded towards genuine economic development prior to the discovery of oil in commercial quantity has been virtually eroded.

An analysis of constraints to the high performance of the non-

⁸⁷ *ibid*

⁸⁸ *ibid*

oil sectors identifies low productivity as a precursor to low private returns and which in turn leads to low investment. Macro economic instability, micro economic risks from corruption and weakness of institutions and regulations to guide investment behavior are the main constraints to high performance of the economy. Consequently, sustainable development of the Nigerian economy will require diversifying the economy away from oil and gas to non-oil sector and this should be based on the country's abundant resources and comparative advantage.

In addition, a critical element in enhancing the performance of non-oil sectors is investment in infrastructure which will enhance private investment. Thus, private investment and investment in the public sector of the economy is one of the factors for ensuring sustainable development.

CHINA AND THE ECONOMY

China is currently the world's second largest economy, witnessing great changes, making notable achievements and progress. China's economic aggregate has risen fourfold from 4.4% to about 10% of the world economic aggregate.⁸⁹ China's development has made great contributions to the world economy and this success can be ascribed to many factors such as China finding her own path of development, establishing her own social institutions and proposing her own developmental theories, which has been up to further improvement to meet new challenges.

BILATERAL RELATIONS BETWEEN NIGERIA AND CHINA

China's growing involvement in the African continent has drawn intense scrutiny from traditional partners and raises the

⁸⁹ Brautigam D. and Xiaoyang T., (2009) African Shenzhen: China's special economic zones in Africa assessed at www.american.edu/sis/faculty

question of whether or not collaboration is beneficial for African countries and their development goals. There is no bilateral China-African relationship that is evolving faster, or impacts more people, than the one between Nigeria and China. This bilateral relationship aims at enhancing political mutual trust to promote strategic co-operation, expanding co-operation in areas of agriculture, oil, electricity, infrastructure construction, telecommunications and satellite, expanding cultural exchanges and strengthening cooperation in international affairs in order to promote world peace, enhance co-ordination and human rights and so on.⁹⁰ China and Nigeria have signed a number of agreements on trade, economic and technical cooperation, scientific and technological cooperation, as well as agreements on investment protection, consular affairs and tourism cooperation.⁹¹ The advantages of these agreements and ventures are numerous and can cover security, jobs that will translate into local capacity building, technology transfer, quality of life and so on. China's main exports to Nigeria are light industrial and mechanical and electrical products.⁹² China mainly imports from Nigeria petroleum, timber and cotton. Historically, the first economic and trade cooperation was signed in the 1980s when both countries set up a joint economic and trade commission.

Between 2003 and 2009, Nigeria was a destination for Chinese Foreign Direct Investment on the continent, second only to South Africa, its attractions being vast energy reserves and a large domestic market of over 150 million inhabitants with growing disposable incomes. For Nigeria, incentives lie in China's own successful economic transformation, its capacity to deliver large-scale infrastructure projects and its ability to finance them. While

⁹⁰ Tribune Newspaper, China and Nigerian relation, assessed at www.tribune.com.ng/index

⁹¹ *ibid*

⁹² *ibid*

initially driven by its vast demand for energy resources, China's involvement in Nigeria has expanded far beyond oil. China's public and private companies are making forays into Nigeria's manufacturing and information and communication technology sectors.⁹³ They are developing special economic zones within Nigeria, building roads, railways and airports across Nigeria. In an effort to boost Nigeria's agricultural output, hundreds of Chinese specialists are bringing new techniques and technology to bear.

Diplomatic relations between the Federal Republic of Nigeria and the People's Republic of China was formally established in 1971. In the years that followed, diplomatic relations between Nigeria and China produced little of economic consequence because, while china was transforming into an economic power, Nigeria, in the 1980s and 1990s was marked by series of military coup d'états. Despite the military rule in the country, the Nigerian-Chinese Chamber of Commerce was founded in 1994. Economic relations began to develop in earnest in Nigeria after return to democratic rule in 1999. Both Presidential and ministerial visits from the Chinese government (such as the visit of President Hu Jintao and Prime Minister Wen Jiabao) to Nigeria and vice versa (Gen. Obasanjo's trip to Beijing in 2004), helped both countries to develop and intensify mutual friendship.

In 2001, the two countries signed agreements on the establishment of a Nigeria Trade Office in China and a China Investment Development and Trade Promotion Centre in Nigeria.

Both governments in 2006 also signed a memorandum of understanding (MOU) on the establishment of a strategic partnership and since then, bilateral trade has grown exponentially, such that the value of trade was USD 17.7 billion in 2010, the petroleum, power, telecommunications and manufacturing sectors being the main targets for investment.

⁹³ *ibid*

Currently, Nigeria is China's 4th biggest African trading partner, and the 2nd largest Chinese export destination on the continent.⁹⁴ She is also China's 6th largest supplier of crude oil in Africa.⁹⁵ China accounts for a fraction of Nigeria's global trade and about 87% of Nigeria's exports to China are oil and gas products. China by contrast, exports a diversified range of goods to Nigeria, mostly machinery, equipment and manufactured commodities. Trade between the two countries accounted for nearly one third of the trade between China and the whole of West Africa, indicating the importance of Nigeria to China's entry into the regional market.

Nigeria occupies the second position (after South Africa) among African countries for Chinese Foreign Direct Investment (FDI) between 2003 and 2009 and FDI from Chinese private investors is mainly in the agro-allied industries, manufacturing and communications.⁹⁶ Chinese investments are concentrated in the oil industry, manufacturing, construction and telecoms. Research indicates that China established more than 30 solely-owned or joint-venture companies in the construction, oil and gas, technology, services and education sectors of the Nigerian economy.⁹⁷ One definite area of co-operation between China and Nigeria is agriculture. Chinese investors are also making forays into Nigeria's agricultural sector and acquiring land, though on a small scale and often together with Nigerian partners because land is rarely sold outrightly to foreigners.⁹⁸ So, Chinese firms most often gain access to land indirectly through, for example,

⁹⁴ Olugboyege A. O., et al (2010) The impact of China-Africa Investment Relations: the case of Nigeria assessed at www.aercafrica.org/documents/china-africa-policybriefs/Nigeria

⁹⁵ *ibid*

⁹⁶ *ibid*

⁹⁷ Oyeranti O.A. et al , The impact of China-Africa Investment relations: The case of Nigeria (2010) <http://www.aercafrica.org/documents/china-africa-policybriefs/Nigeria>

⁹⁸ Globe Times, <http://business.globaltimes> assessed on 09/09/2013

infrastructure deals and other construction projects.⁹⁹

In terms of telecommunication, Nigeria has become in recent years, one of China's most important telecoms markets. The two largest players in the country are Zhong Xing Telecommunication Equipment Company (ZTE) and Huawei.¹⁰⁰ Established in 1985 as an electronics factory affiliated with the Chinese Aerospace Ministry, ZTE is China's largest listed telecommunications equipment maker and its second biggest telecom gear vendor after Huawei. ZTE entered the Nigerian market in 1999.¹⁰¹

Furthermore, China Civil Engineering Construction Corporation (CCECC), the biggest Chinese construction company in Nigeria, has more than 50 projects underway.¹⁰² Another prominent Chinese construction company is the Geo-Engineering Corporation (GCE). The Nigeria's branch is the largest in Africa, employing more than 200 Chinese staff. A number of smaller Chinese construction companies also thrive off state and federal government contracts.

The Federal Government of Nigeria contracted two Chinese companies Sinohydro Corporation and China National Electric and Engineering Corporation (CNEEC) to rehabilitate the Zungeru hydro-electric power project in Niger State.¹⁰³ More recently, a Chinese company is one of the private firms that acquired the PHCN.¹⁰⁴ Other forms of Chinese aid are: emergency humanitarian assistance, goods and materials, technical co-operation, human resource training, medical and other volunteers and completed construction and infrastructure products financed by grants and low

⁹⁹ Daily Trust, <http://www.english.peopledaily.com>

¹⁰⁰ *ibid*

¹⁰¹ China mighty telecom footprint in Africa, <http://www.newsecuritylearning.com>

¹⁰² *ibid*

¹⁰³ Hamisu M & Adugbo D., Daily Trust Newspaper, September 30, 2013

¹⁰⁴ *ibid*

or no-interest loans.¹⁰⁵

Now the question is, how has the Chinese created jobs and reduced poverty for Nigerians particularly the female gender considering the benefits she is enjoying in Nigeria? According to Chinese government, Chinese companies operating in Nigeria employ about 30,000 local workers. This pales into insignificance in comparison to the 350,000 manufacturing jobs that labour unions say have been lost because of Chinese imports.¹⁰⁶

Moreover, what percentage of the workforce are women? Again, for the few Nigerians that are working for Chinese companies in Nigeria, they complain about the working conditions, where they say Nigerian workers are poorly paid and rarely rise to managerial level. Chinese companies are accused of flouting labour laws and discouraging unions.¹⁰⁷

WOMEN'S INCLUSIVENESS AND ECONOMIC SUSTAINABILITY IN NIGERIA

Women constitute 49% of the total population in Nigeria, according to census results.¹⁰⁸ Despite this numerical number, women are marginalized and oppressed in Nigeria. In a capitalist society, a woman is doubly oppressed, first as a worker whose employer must maximize profit by exploiting her labour power and secondly as a woman in patriarchal society. In Nigeria and elsewhere, religion and tradition are instruments of women oppression. They constitute among others the ideology of the society, which is a superstructure on the socio-economic foundation of any class society. Tradition or culture and religion have dictated

¹⁰⁵ <http://www.eutimes.net>

¹⁰⁶ <http://234next.com> Nigeria's unemployment figures remain same for years.

¹⁰⁷ *ibid*

¹⁰⁸ Ogunkola, E.O., et al (2008), *China-Nigeria Economic Relations*, assessed at [www.aercafrica.org/documents/ China_africa_relations/ Nigeria](http://www.aercafrica.org/documents/China_africa_relations/Nigeria)

men and women relationship for centuries and entrenched male domination into the structure of social organization and institution at all levels of leadership. They justify capitalism's marginalization of women in education, labour market, politics, business, family, domestic matters and inheritance.

By the virtue of the population of Nigeria, the potential female labour force is 50% but the actual value is 31% and the proportion of women in the formal sector is very minimal.¹⁰⁹ This is noticeable in the industries and the civil services; statistics indicate that in the Federal Civil Service, (which is the highest employer in the country) women are mostly found in the junior cadres. Women are mainly involved in petty trading, selling wares in the market and street hawking in urban areas. According to statistics 78% of women are mostly engaged in the informal sector, which are farming and petty trading as a result of lack of education which is a strong visible barrier to female participation in the formal sector. More generally, girls' educational opportunities tend to be circumscribed by patriarchal attitudes about gender roles, which results in some parents attaching greater importance to the education of boys than girls. This is always the likelihood when parents lack resources to enroll all their children in school.

Granted that lack of education or low level of education is responsible for the low presence of women in the formal sector, but where they are available in this sector, their contribution is not commensurate monetarily. The women's unpaid labour is twice that of men and its economic value is estimated to be up to 30% of the nation's Gross National Product¹¹⁰.

Nigerian women, like their counterpart in China and around the world, face a lot of discrimination that limit their opportunities to develop their full potential on the basis of equality with men. The 1999 constitution forbids discrimination on the basis of sex and

¹⁰⁹ *ibid*

¹¹⁰ Globe Times, <http://business.globaltimes> assessed on 09/09/2013

women employment rights are further protected under the Labour Act.¹¹¹ Nevertheless, the reality is that Nigerian women are far from enjoying equal rights in the labour market, due mainly to their domestic burden, low level of educational attainment, biases against women's employment in certain branches of the economy or types of work and discriminatory salary practices. This is compounded by the fact that the legal protection granted by the constitution and the Labour Act has little or no effect.

These discriminatory practices are also in contravention of the Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination (Cedaw), adopted in 1979 by the United Nations General Assembly, which defines what constitutes discrimination against women and sets up an agenda for action to end such discrimination. By accepting the Convention, states commit themselves to undertake a series of measures to end discrimination against women in all forms, including:

- a) To incorporate the principle of equality of men and women in their legal system, abolish all discriminatory laws and adopt appropriate ones prohibiting discrimination against women,
- b) To establish tribunals and other public institutions to ensure the effective protection of women against discrimination, and
- c) to ensure elimination of all acts of discrimination against women by persons, organizations or enterprises.

WOMEN'S INCLUSIVENESS AND ECONOMIC SUSTAINABILITY IN CHINA

According to statistics, by 1949, Chinese women constituted only 7.5% of the total labour force.¹¹² By 1978, female employees

¹¹¹ *ibid*

¹¹² This figure does not presumably reflect the numbers of women working in

had reached 31.28 million. By 1997, women accounted for 39% of China's work force, while by 2012, China had over 450 million women, accounting for 46.7 % of the total population in China.¹¹³ What accounts for this radical and transformative change is the influence of the Chinese revolution which established communist rule as a liberating force in China and which is still the only political party in power. Reports indicate that just like Nigeria, Chinese women are employed mainly in the primary or lower status industries such as manufacturing.¹¹⁴ Women account for a very low percentage of managerial staff and those employed in professional sectors because they are seen as expensive and unfavourable candidates for work place training or promotion,¹¹⁵ perpetuating their status as second class workers.

Notwithstanding the above, there have been major advances and positive improvement for women in China not only in terms of their economic status and reforms but also in terms of their position in society.

An important effect of the economic reformation of China's economy is that there are new opportunities for many, but at the same time major challenges. The increased employment opportunities have given many women, especially poor rural migrant women an opportunity to enter the work force by taking work in new private enterprises that have sprung up throughout China. This has meant that millions of women from poor farming communities have left their homes in search of work in cities leading to an improvement in their daily lives and standard of living.¹¹⁶

family farms or those engaged in undocumented work.

¹¹³ Globe Times, <http://business.globaltimes> assessed on 09/09/2013

¹¹⁴ *ibid*

¹¹⁵ *ibid*

¹¹⁶ Guthrie, Doug *China and Globalization: The Social Economic and Political Transformation of Chinese Society*, (2008), London: Taylor & Francis, p. 86

Furthermore, the myth that women are best suited to certain types of unskilled work in manufacturing, domestic work, cleaning, service industries (such as waitressing) and other more ‘female’ occupations such as primary school teaching, and not for example, management, professional jobs such as engineering, architecture and so on, is perpetuated in training courses for unemployed women and some state operated migration schemes.¹¹⁷

LEGISLATION FOR THE PROTECTION OF WOMEN: A BLUNT AND DOUBLE-EDGED SWORD?

As with many areas of the laws in Nigeria and China, there is a huge and sometimes widening gap between the theory and the implementation of the law. Both countries possess comprehensive laws and regulations that are designed to protect women’s health and certain rights to work such as that employers must not terminate the contract of pregnant or breastfeeding workers and so on. Labour laws of both countries provide restrictions for the type and duration of work women can undertake during pregnancy and breastfeeding. Certain types of work are forbidden for women during these periods and some work is restricted at all times, including for example, work at high altitudes or extreme temperatures, any work at the mine or down the pit, assembling and dismantling of scaffolding, overhead electrical work and so on.¹¹⁸

However, while some of these legislations are comprehensive, there are often little details given on how to implement the requirements and what the various legal requirements actually are. This adds to the large scale avoidance of compliance by employers. Working women discover that the relevant provisions relating to their gender specific needs is actually playing a part in the

¹¹⁷ *ibid*

¹¹⁸ Hayes, Jeff, “Working Women in China – Facts and Details. Retrieved from <http://factsanddetails.com/china>

suppression of progress towards equality of employment and opportunity for women in part, because of the practical considerations for an enterprise employing women for other reasons other than their competence at a more fundamental level. This is not good and should be addressed.

RECOMMENDATION

From the foregoing, the following recommendations are suggested in order to further boost the economic partnership that both countries have affirmed as their commitment to broadening the economic co-operation as well as promote the protection and participation of women in this venture because both counties stand to gain significantly from their economic engagement.

Interaction and integration with the rest of the world should be strengthened. Nigeria should keep on exploring ways of reform and development while trying her best to stay on the right tract of development. As a big country with a huge population of over 140 million, if Nigeria tackles her security and developmental issues, it can be good news enough to the rest of the world. Against the backdrop of globalization and ever-increasing interdependence among countries, more often than not, human beings are faced with challenges which could only be tackled with joint efforts of different countries. Nigeria should always be in the position to collaborate with others to promote world peace and prosperity.

For women to be able to compete equally with men in the workplace and to overcome the existing prejudices towards employment of women in higher status or well paid employment, the government must emphasize the provision of affordable education for all female children and should redress any imbalances. In addition, many of the laudable provisions (such as on health and safety, maternity benefits etc) in the various laws must be fleshed out with detailed recommendations and punishments. This must be followed up with a reinforced system of

enforcement and investigation, allowing for suitable financial punishments for those enterprises flouting regulations.

At the same time, the laws protecting women's interests should be reviewed to address the concerns that the laws in fact are hindering the advancement of women. Relevant laws which promote equality and anti-discrimination against women should be drawn up as opposed to laws enhancing the biological differences of women. There should also be provisions promoting gender-neutral support for careers. Existing procedures for complaints, arbitration and legal aid for women in the event of a labour dispute or the denial of statutory rights should be strengthened and simplified. Proper support should be given to women seeking redress, and compensation at suitable levels for illness, accidents and other issues should be provided to all working women. Government should tackle at the root fundamental issues such as widespread discrimination in hiring, firing, promotion and pay against women.

Finally female employment has increased significantly but it will be difficult to realize women's full potential without improving access to childcare, sharing household chores more equally and changing discriminatory social norms. Well thought out policies can help, but further actions need to be considered.

CONCLUSION

Concerted attempt has been made to bring to the fore the Nigeria-China relations as shown in this piece covering different facets of the Nigerian economy. It is observed that the resurgence in the relationship between both countries is attributable to improved and deliberate mutual efforts at the highest political levels. It is further observed that China has successfully transformed itself from a developing nation to the world's largest factory therefore there is need for Nigerian leaders to learn from China's experience in economic development and approach

situations with articulated seriousness and discuss issues that can be measurable and benchmarked so that performance and outcomes can be appreciated either at intervals or within mutually agreed time frame. This is what China does on bilateral and international scenes, especially where it involves investment discussions. This phenomenal rise by China as a global economic giant as well as the political stability is a recipe for emulation by Nigeria.

Furthermore, this paper has brought forth the unnatural gender divide in working abilities and interests. There is need therefore, for both governments to formulate legislations and ensure that existing labour laws are promoted, implemented and enforced to protect women and promote equality so that the very laws designed to protect women do not in actual sense subject them to discrimination and disadvantage in the labour market.

Finally, as Nigeria and China commence a marriage of convenience with dialectic diplomatic discussions, Nigerians are expectant of what will be achieved and eager to see how such deliverables can be translated into projects, more jobs particularly for the women, quality life and ultimately a better society for Nigerians.

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CHAPTER 6

A COMPARATIVE STUDY OF CHINA-AFRICAN AND U.S-AFRICAN CO-OPERATION IN THE 21ST CENTURY

Qingjian Liu ¹¹⁹

Abstract: The US and China both have their own strategic, political and economic interests in Africa. Common interests on a general or partial level between African states and the US or China have formed the foundation of their cooperation. Both China and the US have established multilateral cooperation regimes with African countries, but the Sino-African cooperation regime is much broader. U.S-African and China-African cooperation have been economically fruitful in that: Sino-African and US-African trade have been growing consistently; investment from China and the US to African countries continues to grow; all the concerned parties in China, the US and African countries have realized economic growth; and the strategy of energy diversification for both the US and China have achieved preliminary results. The greatest achievement the US has made in its political cooperation with African countries is in the smooth operation of its anti-terrorism strategy. However, its promotion of democracy and good governance has had both positive and negative effects. China's greatest achievement in its political cooperation with African countries lies in that China and Africa have strengthened mutual support in international affairs and in coping with global challenges. Moreover, African countries have shown better trust in China than in the US. The achievements the US and China have made indicate that both the U.S and China have contributed to the development of African countries and both have benefited from

¹¹⁹ Liu Qingjian is a Professor of international Relations from School of International Studies, Renmin University of China.

their co-operation with African countries. The conditions of democracy, good governance and human rights that the US requires has proved unfavorable for African development, while China's approach without these conditions can deepen its co-operation with African countries and contribute to the latter's development to a greater extent.

Key Words: China-Africa Co-operation, U.S-African Co-operation, political and economic co-operation, comparison

The first decade of the 21st century has witnessed rapid development of Africa's co-operation with exterior countries. Its political and economic co-operation with America, the world's most powerful developed country and China, the world's largest developing country have attracted a great deal of attention from international society. "Presently, the United States and China are the two most important foreign players in the continent; both have made contributions to the development of Africa."¹²⁰ However, besides similarities, there are also many differences between Sino-African cooperation and US-African co-operation. This paper aims to draw a few conclusions from an analysis based on a comparison of the mechanisms, the foundations and the effectiveness of the Sino-African and US-African co-operation.

PART 1: THE FOUNDATION OF CO-OPERATION: A COMPARISON OF INTERESTS, STRATEGIES AND POLICIES

Theoretically, Sino-African and US-African cooperation is based on partial or general consistencies between each side's national interests. In the new century, both China and America have their own strategic political and economic interests in Africa.

¹²⁰ Yun Liu, Comparison Between China-African and U.S-African Relations: Interest, Strategy and Actions, *African Studies*, 2010(1), Beijing: China Academy of Social Sciences Press, 2011, p135.

Therefore, it is the consistency of these interests with the interests of African states that forms the foundation of their co-operation. In international political and economic reality, a country in a stronger economical position tends to dominate the co-operation.

In Sino-African and US-African co-operation, both China and U.S are economically stronger than African countries, so China and the US are both in a more active position in their co-operation with Africa. Africa's strategy and policy determine the direction and goals, and even the effectiveness, of their co-operation with African countries. Of course, the effectiveness of these strategies and policies also lies in how well African countries respond to and coordinate with them, which is further determined by how consistent African countries' interests are with that of the U.S and China, as well as how much African countries trust the two partners. As the US and China are both in a more active or dominant position in their cooperation with Africa, in this section, each state's national interests as well as the national strategies of China and the US will be analyzed and their policies towards Africa will be compared. Then, the different emphasis on Africa in US and Chinese strategy will be examined through a comparison between their respective African policies, which will further reveal the different foundations of the U.S and China's co-operation with Africa.

Shortly after the new century began, the September 11 attacks occurred. America's interests in Africa were mainly security interests, centred on the counter-terrorism campaign and economic interests centred on energy. Homeland security was placed at the top of Bush's administration's agenda after 9/11. U.S security interests and energy-centred economic interests in Africa are both independent and interrelated. It was of U.S strategic and security interest to wage the counter-terrorism campaign in Africa, while ensuring the diversification of sources of strategic resources proved to be vital to U.S long-term interest in maintaining its primacy. Especially after the international financial crisis in 2008, a stable

supply of oil and other strategic resources, and a growing share of U.S investment in and export to African markets would be of great significance. “Energy security is an important component of U.S. global strategy, and U.S’ concern over Africa’s oil is an important extension of U.S’ security strategy”.¹²¹ The two oil routes around Africa are both major trade routes and the strategic passageways, and therefore are significant for America’s political strategic interests. After 9/11, counter-terrorism became the top priority of the U.S’ global strategy and President Bush quickly changed his previous view during his presidential election campaign from "Africa is not within the scope of the U.S. strategic interests.”¹²² He not only raised the status of Africa in U.S. national strategy, but also visited African nations which were closely related to such issues on two occasions.¹²³ The Obama administration also regards African affairs as a priority in its foreign policy and has stated its aims to build partnership with Africa.

Besides security and energy interests, America attaches importance to the promotion of democracy, good governance and human rights in Africa. It is an integral part of America’s Africa policy. What is different is the fact that these policies change with each administration. The priority list of Obama’s administration is: democracy and good governance, security and counter-terrorism, resources and energy, models and competition.¹²⁴ On the other hand, the main thrust of the Bush administration’s foreign policy was security and counter-terrorism.

¹²¹ Zhang Yongpeng, *Characteristics of Africa Policy in the Bush Administration*, West Asia and Africa, 2002(5),p.41.

¹²² Ikechi Nwosu, “Upbeat in United States African Agenda Despite Hurdles,” *Guardian*, September 10, 2003, p. 10.

¹²³ President Bush visited Senegal, South Africa, Botswana, Uganda and Nigeria In July 2003, then he visited Benin, Tanzania, Rwanda, Ghana and Liberia in 2008.

¹²⁴ Zhang Zhong-xiang, *Analysis of the Obama Administration's Africa Policy*, *Contemporary International Relations*, 2010(5), p.15-16.

China's Africa strategy is determined by its core interests. China's core interests are national sovereignty, national security, territorial integrity and national unity, the stability of China's political system and overall society, and sustained economic and social development.¹²⁵ Therefore, China's national interests in relation to Africa include maintaining the "one-China" principle, opposition to any foreign interference in China's internal affairs, and ensuring a sustainable supply of energy and other resources necessary for China's peaceful development. In co-operation with Africa, China seeks co-operative development and common development. In African affairs, China supports the African countries' independent choice of their political system and development path. China opposes the interference in the internal affairs of African countries and supports the maintenance of stability in Africa. In international affairs, China emphasizes solidarity and co-operation with African countries in order to jointly oppose hegemonism and power politics, as well as to safeguard world peace, the interests of developing countries, to promote and build a new international political and economic order and establish a harmonious world.

In January 2006 China's government issued "China's African Policy," in which China clearly declared that its general principles and objectives are: sincere friendship, equality, mutual benefit and common prosperity, mutual support and close co-ordination; learning from each other and seeking common development. China also takes the one-China principle as the political basis on which China would establish and develop relations with African countries and regional organizations. The document also provided concrete policies that China would establish "full co-operation" with Africa in 30 areas such as political issues, economy, science, education, community, peace and security and other. This is not only the

¹²⁵ The People's Republic of China State Council Information Office, *China's Peaceful Development*, Beijing: People's Publishing House, 2011, p21.

conclusion of the experience of cooperation between China and Africa over the last few decades, but the direction of China-Africa cooperation in the future.

By comparing the foundation of Sino-Africa and US-Africa cooperation, we can find that both the US and China seek cooperation with African countries based on their respective political and economic interests. However, there is a huge difference in their defined range of national interests. In terms of political interests, China's political (security) interests are confined within its territory (the one-China principle, for instance). However, besides its political interests within its own territory, America has political interests around the world. US counter-terrorism strategy is a form of the locus of its endeavour to protect its own national political (security) interests. In terms of economic interests, China's pursuit of energy and resource co-operation with Africa is done in order to ensure socio-economic development. However, America's energy and resource co-operation with African countries also aims to maintain its global economic power in addition to its basic to fuel its economic development.

Africa holds a completely different position in US and Chinese national strategy. US geo-strategic priorities begin with US territory and its surrounding areas, and then extend to U.S. allies, the Middle East, the Asia-Pacific, and finally Africa. Although in the new century both Bush's and Obama's administrations enhanced Africa's position in its foreign strategy, as compared to the negligence and marginalization of Africa in US strategy in mid-1990s, Africa is still relatively low on America's priority list. Because of this, in the new century, America's Africa policy is similar to what it maintained during the Cold War: it is subordinate to the larger aims of its global strategy. However, in China's diplomatic strategy, Africa has always been foundational. The Chinese government has always attached importance to Africa, supported Africa, and regarded its solidarity and cooperation with Africa as the basic point of China's foreign policy, be it in the

African national liberation movements during the 1950s and 1960s, or in their struggle for political independence and economic development in the 1970s, or in their recent search for development models that suit their own national conditions while opposing foreign interference.

Another major difference between U.S and China's African policies lies in how to promote African economic development. China has confirmed that its national goal is to promote peace and development, and it attaches great importance to the balance between reform, stability and development. Based on China's national interests, strategies and its Africa policies, China highlights principles of equality and mutual benefit, non-interference in internal affairs, not attaching political conditions, pursuing practical results, and embracing the ideals of peaceful development, co-operative development and common development which are consistent with the African countries' priority of economic development and poverty reduction. This consistency constitutes the firm foundation of Sino-African co-operation. Based on U.S. national interests, global strategy and its Africa policy, the US also endeavours to promote African development. However, the US believes corruption and criminal behavior are the greatest barriers to African development.

Therefore, its African policies have taken into account its concerns about African democracy, good governance and human rights, and emphasize improving the governance of African governments, effective economic growth, peace and security. Its conditional assistance, namely its direct assistance for democracy building, is an obvious interference in Africa's internal affairs and, therefore, is unequal treatment. It is hard for African states to accept and hinders Africa from benefiting from the co-operation.

The US and China have displayed large differences in their priorities for co-operation with African countries.

PART 2. COOPERATION REGIMES: A COMPARISON BETWEEN THE AGOA FORUM AND FOCAC

Entering the new century, both China and the United States have established major multilateral cooperative regimes in order to enhance the level of their respective cooperation with African states.

The U.S.-Sub-Saharan Africa Trade and Economic Cooperation Forum (The AGOA Forum) is a major multilateral regime for U.S.-Africa cooperation. The AGOA Forum started a little earlier than the FOCAC. This regime began with the African Growth and Opportunity Act, an economic imitative proposed by Senator Jim McDermott in April, 1997. This act was supported by then President of the United States Bill Clinton and became the foundation for further U.S.-African co-operation. During his visit to Africa in 1998, President Clinton announced that the U.S. government would set up a new partnership with Africa to support the latter's development. Meanwhile, the African Growth and Opportunity Act proposed that "(the President) shall convene annual high-level meetings between appropriate officials of the United States Government and officials of the governments of sub-Saharan African countries in order to foster close economic ties between the United States and sub-Saharan Africa".¹²⁶ The first AGOA Forum was held in October 29, 2001 in Washington. The scale of the conference, the agenda and America's aid commitment to Africa are quite similar to those of FOCAC that occurred a year before. This conference agreed to set up the U.S.-Sub-Saharan Africa Trade and Economic Co-operation Forum to ensure that high ranking officials from both sides can meet annually and

¹²⁶ One Hundred Sixth Congress of the United States of America: "Trade and Development Act of 2000", http://www.agoa.gov/agoa_legislation/agoatext.pdf.

discuss the issues of economic cooperation. The Forum included intergovernmental conferences, conferences of private enterprises and conferences of non-governmental organizations (NGOs). In order to show the equality of the relationship between America and Africa, the conferences would be held in America and African states respectively. By doing so, U.S-Africa co-operation was institutionalized and ten AGOA Forum conferences have been held since then.

The U.S.-Africa co-operation regime was confirmed and guaranteed by U.S domestic law. As the foundation of the U.S.-Africa co-operation regime in the new century, the *African Growth and Opportunity Act* was adopted by Congress in May, 2000 as the first part of “2000 Trade and Development Law, and entered into force on October 1 in the same year. The Act was further amended in August 2002, July 2004, and December 2006. This act was the first unilateral non-reciprocal act promulgated by the United States for the 48 Sub-Saharan African countries, aiming to provide them with more access to the American market (about 6400 kinds of goods) through exemption of tariffs and quotas. Since then, most African countries have benefited from this act.

The Forum on China-Africa Co-operation is a multilateral co-operative regime between China and African countries. The Forum on China-Africa Co-operation was established in October, 2000, in Beijing. It was then decided that there would be triennial Ministerial Conferences alternatively convened in China and Africa. Four such conferences have been held since. The *Beijing Declaration of the Forum on China-Africa Co-operation and the Programme for China-Africa Co-operation in Economic and Social Development*, which was passed during the First Ministerial Conference, have constructed the framework for a long-term stable, equal and mutually beneficial new partnership between China and

Africa that seeks for common development.¹²⁷ The Procedures of the Follow-up Mechanism of FOCAC (Draft), was adopted in the Follow-up Actions Conference held in July of 2001, and determined to set up the Forum on China-Africa Co-operation Follow-up Mechanism. In December 2003, the Second Ministerial Conference of FOCAC, convened in Addis Ababa, the capital of Ethiopia, adopted the Forum on *China-Africa Co-operation-Addis Ababa Action Plan (2004-2006)*, which made a general plan and a specific action plan for cooperation between China and Africa in the years that followed. The Addis Ababa Action Plan not only broadened the categories of China-Africa co-operation, but also set up a framework for co-ordination with and support of the African Union's NEPAD, namely, The New Partnership for Africa's Development. The Beijing Summit held in November of 2006 adopted two important documents, *the Declaration of the Beijing Summit of the Forum on China-Africa Co-operation* and *the Forum on China-Africa Co-operation Beijing Action Plan (2007-2009)*. The former document confirmed to build up China-Africa new strategic partnership and the latter was a guideline for China-Africa cooperation in the economic and social sectors in the following three years. The Fourth Ministerial Conference held in November of 2009 in Sharm el-Sheikh of Egypt adopted the Forum on *China-Africa Co-operation-Sharm el-Sheikh Action Plan (2010-2012)*, which made detailed arrangements for the cooperation of China and Africa in the political sector, regional peace and security, international affairs, the economic sector, development areas, and cultural exchanges. The Forum on China-Africa Cooperation has laid a firm foundation for the long-term and stable cooperation between China and Africa. The three Action Plans adopted by the

¹²⁷Wang Qinmei, "The Emphasis on Actions of China-Africa Cooperation", *West Asia and Africa*, 2004(1), p.42.

FOCAC have made the specific implementation of China-Africa cooperation possible.

The major difference between AGOA Forum and FOCAC is that the former is mainly an economic co-operation framework, while the latter is a comprehensive co-operation regime that covers political, economic, security, education, science and technology, cultural, sector, etc. The AGOA Forum “mainly focuses on economic and public health issues, such as America-Africa trade co-operation, America’s investment to Africa, African integration, as well as Africa’s poverty reduction and disease control”.¹²⁸ America’s co-operation with African countries is realized through its multinational organizations. Within the framework of FOCAC, the political relationship between China and Africa has evolved from a “partnership” through a “new partnership” and on to “new strategic partnership”. As China-Africa multilateral co-operation progresses, the co-operation mechanism have been gradually completed. In the political sector, the Beijing Summit of FOCAC held in 2006 decided to hold regular conferences attended by ministers of foreign affairs from China and African countries for political consultation during the UN general assembly. The first such conference was held in 2007 and had become a regular mechanism for political dialogue between China and Africa. In 2008, the annual China-AU Strategic Dialogue Mechanism was set up at the multilateral level and the China-South Africa Strategic Dialogue Mechanism was set up at bilateral level. The FOCAC has also established the Senior Officials Meeting, Chinese Follow-up Action Committee Secretariat and African Missions in China Consultation Conference, among others. In addition to the dialogue and co-operation mechanisms of ministerial conferences, meetings of senior officials, and the Conference of Chinese and African

¹²⁸ Yun Liu, Comparison Between China-African and U.S-African Relations: Interest, Strategy and Actions, *African Studies*, 2010(1), Beijing: China Academy of Social Sciences Press, 2011, p130.

Entrepreneurs (China-Africa Business Conference), China and Africa have also established sub-forums such as the Youth Forum, Women's Forum, Agricultural Forum, Legal Forum, Science and Technology Forum, Education Forum, etc. During the fourth Forum on China-Africa Co-operation, both sides voiced their desire to establish a Cultural Forum. Besides a number of sub-forums, there are various co-operation plans and projects. For instance, the China-Africa Science and Technology Partnership Programme (CASTEP), "China-Africa Joint Research and Exchange Programme", "China-Africa Talent Training Programme", "China-Africa Universities 20+20 Co-operation Plan", aid projects such as sending agricultural technology groups, construction of agricultural technology demonstration centre, the construction of hospitals, construction of malaria prevention and treatment centers, construction of rural schools, etc. Because the co-operation under the framework of FOCAC involves a lot of departments in different sectors, in order to co-ordinate the various departments and improve their efficiency in working with African countries, the Chinese government has also established Inter-Ministerial Contact Mechanism on Foreign Aid in Human Resources Development and Co-operation which includes the Ministry of Commerce, Ministry of Foreign Affairs, Ministry of Finance, International Department, Central Committee of CPC, Ministry of Defense, Ministry of Education, Ministry of Science and Technology, and other 12 government ministries. These various kinds of co-operation forums, programmes, and projects under the mechanism of FOCAC, have ensured that the all-around co-operation between China and Africa could be conducted comprehensively and smoothly.

The second difference between the AGOA Forum and the FOCAC is that the participants of the U.S.-Africa co-operation mechanism are limited, but participants of the China-Africa co-operation mechanism are much more numerous. In terms of the regular conference mechanisms, the conference of the U.S.-Sub-

Saharan Africa Trade and Economic Co-operation Forum is held every year. But the participants are mainly heads of governments, economic officials, and businessmen. In the three conferences held in Washington, the U.S president, the secretary of state and the national security adviser were all present. However, the Mauritius conference just displayed a video of President Bush's speech. In the Dakar conference, secretary of state Condoleezza Rice appeared when it was about to end. Present at the conferences are often senior government officials, such as Secretary of the Treasury, Secretary of Commerce, Secretary of Agriculture and heads or officials from Office of the United States Trade Representative, U.S Agency for International Development, U.S Trade and Development Agency, the Overseas Private Investment Corporation of the United States, American Import and Export Bank, etc. Besides these, the Senate and the House of Representatives also sent many senators or representatives to attend the meeting.¹²⁹ As far as African participants are concerned, the mechanism is attended by Sub-Saharan African countries instead of all African countries. Moreover, it doesn't cover all sub-Sahara African countries. For example, during the conference held in Washington in October, 2001, the United States only invited the ministers of 35 Sub-Saharan African states. Though the conference of the FOCAC is held every three years, it was attended not only by the foreign ministers and the ministers responsible for economic co-operation from both China and Africa countries, but the Chinese premier was present at every such conference and put forward concrete suggestions for China-Africa co-operation. In the Beijing Summit held in 2006, China invited the heads of state and government from all the African states that had diplomatic relations with China. Altogether, 35 heads of state, 6 heads of government, 1 vice

¹²⁹ Liu Weicai, "A Brief Introduction of U.S.-Sub-Saharan Africa Trade and Economic Cooperation Forum", *West Asia and Africa*, 2007(1), p.72.

president, 6 senior representatives and the president of the AU attended this conference and each of them were received warmly by President Hu Jin-tao. The leaders of African states have also attached great importance to the FOCAC. The two forums held in Africa have also attracted the attendance of many heads of state and government.¹³⁰ Even representatives from those African states that didn't have diplomatic relations with China attended the meetings as non-voting delegates.¹³¹ In terms of the participants in implementation of the mechanisms, the participants of the United States mainly belong to the economic departments of the government and multinational corporations. However, China has mobilized almost all the social resources to join in this mechanism, including all levels of governments and various departments of economic, political, social and cultural sectors.¹³²

¹³⁰For example, there were 13 heads of state and heads of government attending the second ministerial conference of FOCAC. There were 9 presidents of African states, 3 premiers of government, 3 vice presidents and 1 senator attending the fourth ministerial conference.

¹³¹For example, in the second ministerial conference, Malawi and Swaziland sent their representatives to attend the meeting as the observers.

¹³²As far as educational field is concerned, in order to implement the plan put forward by FOCAC, the China-Africa Education Minister Forum was held in Beijing on November 27, 2005. In order to assist human resources development of Africa, China's Ministry of Education successively set up the Vocational and Technical Education Base in Tianjin University of Technology and Education in 2003, the Education Management Base in Zhejiang Normal University in 2004 (mainly focused on the higher education management), the Education Administration Base in Northeast Normal University in 2004, the Long-Distance Education Base in Jilin University in 2004. In addition to the four bases, many other universities and colleges of China have also taken part in the cooperation on the human resources development of Africa. The Ministry of Education and Ministry of Commerce have also commissioned dozens of colleges to hold research classes and training classes for the personnel training of Africa. The training areas involved the higher education management, elementary education management, educational administration, modern long-distance education, vocational education, agricultural products processing, computer application

What needs to be mentioned here is that the U.S. announced the establishment of AFRICOM in October, 2007. Besides the economic sector, the US Military can be regarded as the second department of the US that has participated in the co-operation between America and Africa. The mission of AFRICOM is to fight against terrorism, strengthen America's strategic bases and secure oil supply.

Both China and the U.S have conditions for their co-operation with Africa, but those conditions are very different. The China-Africa co-operation regime is a broad one. Therefore, the fundamental and also the only condition of China's co-operation with Africa is that the one China principle should be respected based on the five principles of peaceful coexistence. This principle has been generally recognized and accepted by African countries, which has ensured the steady development of China-Africa co-operation. Although the U.S.-Africa co-operation regime is mainly an economic one, the United States has imposed more conditions on the participating African states. The African Growth and Opportunity Act had stated clearly that African states enjoying the preferential policies provided by the United States must: support democracy and free market economy, reduce trade barriers, permit investment from foreign corporations, allow to set up joint ventures by America's corporations and Africa's corporations, fight against intellectual property rights piracy, reduce import tariffs and taxes imposed on corporations, eradicate corruption, reduce the intervention of government in the market, encourage the private sector to operate communications and other infrastructures,

technology, medicinal plant research, poverty eradication and economic

development, etc. For example, the School of International Studies, Renmin University of China, where I am working, has been undertaking the task of training teachers for primary and middle schools of African English-speaking countries.

eradicate poverty, combat international terrorism like Sudan, etc. These conditions include political ones, but most of them belong to African domestic affairs that shall be handled by African governments themselves. These conditions have hindered the development of America-Africa cooperation.

PART 3. THE ECONOMIC AND POLITICAL EFFECTS OF THE COOPERATION

There have been multiple effects of Sino-African and US-African cooperation. This paper mainly compares the economic and political effects. The achievements of Sino-African and US-African economic co-operation could be summarized as follows:

Firstly, Sino-Africa and US-Africa trade volume has grown consistently. China and America have become the major trade partners for Africa. As was indicated in Table 1, Sino-African and US-African trade continues to grow in the new century, except for a decline in 2009 due to the financial crisis. Beginning in 2006, the growth rate of China-Africa trade is higher than that between U.S and Africa, except for that of 2009 when the trade volume between America and Africa was higher than that of China and Africa. Since then, China has become Africa's largest trading partner and U.S is the second largest.

Table 1. Sino-Africa and US-Africa Trade (2001-2010)
(100 million dollars)

	2001	2002	2003	2004	2005	2006	2007	2008	2009	2010
Sino-Africa	108	123.9	185.5	294.6	397.5	550	733.1	1068	910.66	1269.11
America-Africa	375.50	327.63	426.34	588.39	805.21	990.	1154.39	1418.88	866.88	1133.55

Sources:

<http://tse.export.gov/TSE/TSEOptions.aspx?ReportID=2&Referrer=TSEReports.aspx&DataSource=NTD>. (Time: Oct 28, 2011.)

Secondly, total US investment in Africa has usually been more than China's, while in some years China invested more. China's investment coverage in Africa is higher. In terms of China and America's investment in Africa, a comparison of the past 4 years' data (table 2.) indicate America's direct investment in Africa reached its peak in 2009, about 8.652 billion dollars. And China's greatest yearly investment in Africa was made in 2008, about 5.49055 billion dollars. China invested less in Africa for all years except in 2008. But as a developing country, China's contribution to Africa is relatively large since China's annual direct investment in Africa never reached 100 million dollars in last the century. Until 2003, China's accumulated investment in Africa was not more than 490 million dollars.¹³³

However, in 2007, China's direct investment in Africa reached 1.57 billion dollars, an increase of 202.6% compared with that of 2006.¹³⁴ In 2008, China's investment in Africa reached its peak, 5.49 billion dollars, an increase of 249% compared with the previous year, accounting for 9.8% of China's total foreign investment.¹³⁵ China's investment in Africa declined in 2009 because of financial crisis, but still reached 1.43387 billion dollars.¹³⁶ In the first half of 2011, China's non-financial

¹³³ Phillip C. Saunders, *China's Global Activism: Strategy, Drivers, and Tools*, Institute for National Strategic Studies, October 2006, p.57; PRC, Ministry of Commerce, 2006 Statistical Bulletin of China's Outward Foreign Direct Investment, U.S Bureau of Economic Analysis, U.S Direct Investment Abroad database.

¹³⁴ Ministry of Commerce of the People's Republic: *2007 Statistical Bulletin of China's Outward Foreign Direct Investment*, p.2.

¹³⁵ Ministry of Commerce of the PRC, National Bureau of Statistics, State Administration of Foreign Exchange: *2008 Statistical Bulletin of China's Outward Foreign Direct Investment*, p.7-11.

¹³⁶ Ministry of Commerce of the PRC, National Bureau of Statistics, State Administration of Foreign Exchange: *2009 Statistical Bulletin of China's Outward Foreign Direct Investment*, p.9-15.

investment in Africa reached 800 million dollars, an increase of 46.7% compared with the same period for the year 2010.¹³⁷ Besides the Chinese central government, local governments also engaged in the investment in Africa. In 2003, more than 1600 Chinese enterprises invested in Africa, mainly in Nigeria, South Africa, Ethiopia, Zambia, Egypt, Sudan, Algeria and so on. The coverage ratio of Chinese investment in Africa reached up to 83%.¹³⁸ The coverage ratio of U.S. investment in Africa is relatively low compared with that of China..

Table 2.China and America’s investment in Africa (2007-2010)
(100 million dollars)

Year	America		China	
	Africa	the World	Africa	the world
2007	44.9	3935.18	15.7431	224.6886
2008	38.37	3082.96	54.9055	521.5
2009	86.52	2826.86	14.3887	565.3
2010	83.14	3289.05	21.1199	680

Sources: Dates on China’s investment in Africa come from Annual Statistical Bulletin of China's Foreign Direct Investment (2010), Ministry of Commerce of the People's Republic. <http://hzs.mofcom.gov.cn/accessory/201109/1316069604368.pdf>; Total investment in the world of China and America is from UNCTAD database of foreign investment, <http://stats.unctad.org/FDI/>; Dates on America’s investment in

¹³⁷ “An Increase of 46.7% in Direct Investment in Africa during the First Half of the Year”, *People's Daily [J]*, September 9, 2011, 10th edition/Economy.

¹³⁸ Ministry of Commerce of the PRC, National Bureau of Statistics, State Administration of Foreign Exchange: *2009 Statistical Bulletin of China's Outward Foreign Direct Investment*, p.9-15.

Africa come from U.S. Department of Commerce Bureau of Economic Analysis. <http://www.bea.gov/iTable/iTable.cfm?ReqID=2 &step=1>. (Time: Oct 22, 2011.)

Thirdly, the U.S and China's cooperation with Africa has contributed to the economic growth for all the concerned parties, especially for Africa. The following table (Table 3.) shows the economic growth rates of U.S, China and Africa (sub-Saharan Africa) from 2005 through 2010.

Table 3. GDP Growth Rates (%)

	2000	2005	2006	2007	2008	2009	2010
World	4.8	4.6	5.2	5.4	2.9	-0.5	5.1
Sub-Saharan Africa	3.6	6.2	6.4	7.2	5.6	2.8	5.4
America	4.139	3.07	2.658	1.913	-0.337	-3.486	3.03
China	8.4	11.3	12.7	14.2	9.6	9.2	10.3

Sources: IMF WEO database, <http://www.imf.org/external/ns/cs.aspx?id=28>.(Time: December 3, 2010);The changes of the USA's GDP, IMF World Economic Outlook Database, http://www.imf.org/external/pubs/ft/weo/2011/02/weodata/weorept.aspx?sy=2000&ey=2011&scsm=1&ssd=1&sort=country&ds=.&br=1&c=111&s=NGDP_RPCH&grp=0&a=&pr1.x=38&pr1.y=7. (Time: October 22, 2011).

US and Chinese trade with and investment in Africa provided necessary capital, technology and management experience for African countries, and promoted the economic development of Africa. China's preferential loans, debt relief and tax preferences for Africa not only provided Africa with much-needed funds but also helped African countries to expand their exports to China. China has also taken various measures to expand investment in Africa. In addition, it helped African countries establish economic cooperation zones to attract more foreign investment (China has

established 6 economic cooperation zones in Nigeria, Zambia, Mauritius, etc.). China-Africa cooperation in infrastructure construction is another major driving factor in Africa's rapid economic growth.

During the new century, sub-Saharan Africa has maintained an annual growth rate above 5% (except a growth rate of 2.8% in 2008 owing to the financial crisis), which was higher than the world's economic growth, and even higher than that of the U.S. in the same period. Obviously, US and Chinese economic cooperation with Africa has played an essential role in promoting Africa's economic growth. In the year 2009, Africa was the third largest contributor to the world's positive economic growth

Fourthly, China and the United States have obtained a stable oil supply from Africa, and their energy diversification strategies have borne fruit. Table 4 shows that US and Chinese oil imports from Africa keep on growing, and so does the African share of U.S and China's total oil imports. But China's total oil imports from Africa were significantly less than the US. China's total oil imports from Africa was just 59% that of the U.S in 2010. In terms of their energy strategies, the U.S increased its oil imports from Africa in order to reduce its dependence on oil imports from South America and the Middle East, and to further promote its energy security via diversification of its sources.¹³⁹ China-Africa energy cooperation is also done for energy security considerations, and it is a major step towards the diversification of China's energy sources. In 2010, U.S. oil imports from Africa accounted for 19.5% of its total imports, while the share of African oil for China was 22.58%. This means both U.S and China's energy diversification strategies have paid off.

¹³⁹ Qin Tian, "New Situation and Prospects of China-Africa Oil and Gas Cooperation", *International Data Information*, Vol.4, 2011, p.23.

Table 4. China and America’s Oil Imports from Africa (2000-2010)

(Million tons)

Years	U.S.				China			
	Imports from Africa	Total Imports	Total oil consumption	Imports from Africa/ Total Imports	Imports from Africa	Total Imports	Total oil consumption	Imports from Africa/ Total Imports
2000	80.7	549.6	884.1	0.146834	16.9	88.3	224.2	0.191393
2001	81.8	573.7	884.1	0.142583	9.1	88.3	228.4	0.103058
2002	69.1	561	884.9	0.123173	16.2	100.4	247.5	0.161355
2003	90.5	605.1	900.7	0.149562	22.5	128.3	271.7	0.17537
2004	104.9	638.4	936.5	0.164317	35.4	168.4	318.9	0.210214
2005	123.2	666.7	939.8	0.184791	38.5	166.9	327.8	0.230677
2006	131.5	671	930.7	0.195976	46	191.7	351.2	0.239958
2007	135.2	671.9	928.8	0.20122	53.1	203.1	369.3	0.261448
2008	123.5	636.6	875.8	0.193999	53.9	217.8	376	0.247475
2009	107.4	564.9	833.2	0.190122	62.8	253.3	388.2	0.247927
2010	112.7	577.1	850	0.195287	66.5	294.5	428.6	0.225806

Sources: BP Statistical Review of World Energy 2001 , BP Statistical Review of World Energy 2002, BP Statistical Review of World Energy 2003 , BP Statistical Review of World Energy 2004 , BP Statistical Review of World Energy 2005 , BP Statistical Review of World Energy 2006 , BP Statistical Review of World Energy 2007 , BP Statistical Review of World Energy 2008, BP Statistical Review of World Energy 2009 , BP Statistical Review of World Energy 2010 , BP Statistical Review of World Energy 2011 ,<http://www.bp.com/>. (Time: October 22, 2011)

THE EFFECTS OF SINO-AFRICA AND U.S.-AFRICA POLITICAL COOPERATION

The effects of Sino-Africa and U.S-Africa political cooperation are as follows:

Firstly, the U.S anti-terrorist strategy proved to be effective. President Bush had established many regional anti-terrorism programmes, including Combined Joint Task Force-Horn of Africa, Pan-Sahel Initiative, East African Counter-terrorism Initiative, and Trans-Saharan Counter Terrorism Initiative, in which a total of 44 African countries participated.¹⁴⁰ President Obama has increased funding for anti-terrorism and established the African Command, set up more than ten military aid programmes for African emergency action training, and has established many military bases all over the continent. U.S military cooperation with African countries is essentially a unilateral move by the US to train anti-terrorism officials and soldiers for African partner countries. The US had also constructed a pan-African anti-terrorism network that covers the Horn of East Africa, the Sahara Desert and the Guinea Bay, and has conducted military exercises with Algeria, Chad, Mali, the Niger and 10 other African countries. During the past two and a half years, thousands of U.S officers and soldiers have been training anti-terrorist armies in 38 countries including Algeria, Mali, Mauritania, Chad, Kenya, Niger, Nigeria, Tanzania, Sierra Leone, etc.¹⁴¹

Secondly, U.S promotion of democracy has got mixed results. Under the “US promotion of democracy,” some countries have realized peaceful transition to democracies. However, the upheaval

¹⁴⁰ Zhang Chun, “A Comparison Between U.S and EU’s African Policy after the ‘9.11 Incident’”, *Contemporary International Relations*, 2007(4), pp9-10.

¹⁴¹ Shu Zhan, “Counter-terrorism, bases, oil—Africa Command and the US’s Strategic Objectives in Africa”, *African Studies*, Vol.1, 2011, 2011 edition, Beijing: China Social Sciences Publishing House, Beijing. p.154.

that began in Tunisia and spread to Egypt finally led to the collapse of the pro-American authoritarian regimes that ruled the two countries for decades and realized a transition of power to new governments. The process was made with the help of the U.S. Air attacks launched by North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO) effectively helped the Libyan rebels gain interim governance, and following the October 20th shooting death of Colonel Qaddafi, it too will become a political democracy that the west favours. But what should be questioned is whether these new democracies could realize sustained political stability and economic growth.

Thirdly, in the international arena, China and Africa will be in support of each other in major international affairs and in addressing international challenges. This is not only because China does not attach any conditions in their co-operation that violate the basic principles for international relations, but also because it can always fulfill its commitment to Africa partners. On issues concerning the security and development of African countries, China respects the sovereignty, territorial integrity and African countries' right to choose their own development model. It never intervenes in the continent's domestic affairs and it supports African unity and African countries' endeavours to safeguard national independence, fight against foreign interference and any exterior attempt to control them. China believes African countries and African people can solve their own problems through their own endeavors. The stances of China have contributed greatly to the mutual trust between China and African countries, and promoted the sound communication of China and African countries in terms of their respective political stances and co-ordinate their diplomatic actions. Up to the present, China has assumed 15 UN peace-keeping tasks in Africa, and has sent a total of 15,000 officers and soldiers to the continent. Through June, 2011, China carried on 6 such peace-keeping tasks in African with a total number of 1,622 peace-keepers. China has become a major contributor of the U.N's peace-keeping mechanism in Africa. Its peace-keeping actions are

mainly in Mozambique, Sierra Leone, Congo Democratic Republic (CDR), Liberia, Burundi, Sudan, Ethiopia, Eritrea, etc.

Fourthly, in Sino-African and U.S-African co-operation, African countries have shown more trust in China than in the United States on a general basis. In Sino-African co-operation there is increasing strategic trust between the two parties. African countries have consistently supported China in international issues such as China's nuclear interest and other major concerns. African countries have helped China to depress western countries' Anti-China proposals in the UN Human Rights Committee, and have opposed the proposal of "Taiwan Return to the United Nations" in the UN Conference, as well as supporting China in boycotting Taiwan's attempts to join international organizations that only sovereign countries are eligible for, such as the World Health Organization (WHO). In 2007, former Director of Department of Health of Hong Kong Special Administrative Region (HKDH), Feng-fu-zhen Chen was elected as Director-general of World Health Organization with precious support from African countries, who have 9 votes with the Executive committee. In addition, China received an incredible amount of support from African countries in its successful bidding to host the 2008 Olympic Games and the 2010 World Expo.

In contrast, U.S. Africa Command, established in 2007, has failed to settle down in Africa. The Southern African Development Community, which consists of 14 countries including South Africa, Namibia and Zambia has decided collectively that none of its member states shall accommodate U.S. military forces. The US's lobbying of North African countries has repeatedly been rebuffed. This shows the African countries' mistrust of the United States.

PART 4: PERSPECTIVES ON THE COMPARISON OF U.S AND CHINA'S CO-OPERATION WITH AFRICAN COUNTRIES

Through comparisons of the foundations, regimes and effects of U.S and China's co-operation with African countries over the past 10 years, the author has some findings and reflections:

Firstly, during the past ten years in the new century, China and America have made their own contributions to the development of Africa. In terms of trade, investment and assistance, the US has made greater contributions than China. This means that as the world's most powerful country, U.S can play an eminent role in promoting African development. The key issue is whether this great country will really put African development at the top of its international responsibility agenda. If yes, Africa will benefit from it to a larger extent and achieve better development. Obviously, the US can attach less importance to African development.

Secondly, though China is relatively smaller in regard to trade, investment and assistance, compared with U.S, but as an emerging developing country, China has done its share in promoting African development, especially with regards to the fact that China seeks sincere friendship, mutual benefit, practical cooperation, and China-Africa co-operation is more impressive in width and depth. Under the backing of China, various multi-layer cooperation regimes, projects and plans have been established in almost all policy areas, practical means were applied to realize the action plans of each forum and each of the commitments that China has made has been followed. The two parties also seek to explore new cooperation fields and patterns to inject new dynamics for Sino-African co-operation with a view to comprehensive China-Africa friendship and long-term development, and Sino-African relations are based on an open and democratic spirit.

Thirdly, in terms of the total amount of China and America's import of Africa's oil, China and America both have been successful in their diversification strategies. Now that both China

and America have been benefiting from their cooperation with Africa (America has benefitted the most), there is no reason for it to criticize Sino-African co-operation. For old European colonial countries, their imports of oil from Africa are declining. This means their new energy strategy is effective. EU countries should take pride in this, since they have made impressive contributions in environmental protection and clean energy development, and further contributed to the ultimate solution to the energy crisis for all human beings. It also means that they are correcting the rapacious drawing of resources of their forefathers from Africa, and therefore is commendable. They can help China in developing clean energy instead of criticizing China's energy cooperation with Africa.

Fourthly, China never attaches any conditions such as democracy, good governance and human rights in its co-operation with African countries because China knows well that democracy cannot be maintained without a developed economy, good governance cannot be realized without sustained economic development, and human rights cannot be guaranteed without economic prosperity. After World War II, almost all newly independent countries have adopted the political system of the U.K or that of the US. However, the democratic regime did not bring dynamics for economic development neither was it successful in boosting their economy. On the other hand, almost all developing countries that have realized considerable economic development made their achievements under authoritarian regimes. Western experience also tells the Chinese that the early stage of development (Primitive accumulation of capital) were under autocratic systems. Therefore, it is impracticable to impose the established and effective democratic model on all African countries and other developing countries and may prove negative for the development of all developing countries.

CHAPTER 7

CHINA-AFRICA COOPERATION AND THE PEACE DIVIDEND

Charles Onunaiju

At the turn of this century, China-African co-operation has matured through its earlier trajectories of solidarity and mutual empathy to a key strand of contemporary international relations. Since China first opened the diplomatic mission in Egypt in 1954 and followed up with high profile participation at the famous conference of Afro-Asian solidarity in Bandung Indonesia in 1955, where premier Zhou Enlai and foreign minister Chen Yi, met with some African delegations, including the then iconic rising star of African anti-colonial struggle, Kwame Nkrumah, the relation between the two sides has seen steady growth. The watershed in this era of China-Africa co-operation came in 1971 when majority of African countries vigorously campaigned and backed the restoration of China's legitimate seat at the United Nations. The then youthful Tanzanian foreign minister, Mr. Ahmed Salim, who later went on to become the secretary general of the defunct organization of African Union (OAU), danced enthusiastically at the re-admission of the People's Republic of China. The OAU was later replaced by the African Union in 2002 and has since become the key institutional arrow head of the deepening of co-operation between Africa and China, especially in the critical sector of the search for peace and security in the continent. China which was by then, a key supporter of the anti-colonial struggle reciprocated by taking the responsibility of the construction of one of Africa's foremost infrastructure, the more than one thousand kilometer Zambia-Tanzania railway line linking former copper mine hinterland to the only viable port, Dar-salaam of the later in the region. The project of the railway has earlier been dismissed by

some countries in the West and even the then former Soviet Union as economically unviable, when they were approached to help in the construction of the rail, which would shield the countries in the region from the strangle-hold of the then racist regime in South Africa, who has the only alternate port in Pretoria. This key and frontline infrastructure, whose import has enormous political ramification for the whole of Africa whose then prevailing sentiment, contained in the founding charter of the OAU, consisted essentially in the total liberation of the continent from colonial rule and the more vicious apartheid regime. Countries in Africa, outside the geo-graphical fold of the Southern African sub-region, where the anti-colonial struggle was at its peak, like Nigeria, were elaborately committed to be designated frontline states, a term that would finely fit the People's Republic of China, considering her enormous contribution, especially in the construction of the Tanzam railways. The Tanzam railway has critical security implications for the countries in the sub-region, as it denied the racist regime then, in South Africa of direct sabotage of the economies of the countries, supporting the liberation movements within its enclave. I drew fairly, elaborately from this earlier exchange in the co-operation and relation between China and African to underscore the historical dimension of what has become a key component of international co-operation now.

However, the 1980s and 1990s witnessed the expansion of Sino-African co-operation, featuring more economic exchanges, cultural and political co-operation. The burst of Taiwan dollar diplomacy, in which Taipei tried or attempted to bribe its way to recognition in Africa, was effectively checkmated, as China deepened her co-operation and exchanges in Africa.

Earlier, as observed elsewhere, "during the tense period of the Cold War, the focus of China-Africa co-operation was political as the two sides sought political stability in domestic affairs, to secure and consolidate national sovereignty and promote international stability". To co-ordinate her effort toward material assistance and

support for Africa, China-Africa Peoples Friendship Association was launched on April 12th, 1960. African countries provided political support to enhance and consolidate China's national sovereignty. In 1963, the third Asian and African conference held in Tanzania, with the support of many African countries, a resolution was adopted by the conference which strongly condemned the occupation of Taiwan by the U.S puppet regime and urged the United Nations to restore China's legitimate seat in the world body.

However, through all the trajectories of China-African co-operation, from the ideologically driven solidarity and political co-operation to more economic co-operation marked by the win-win framework, the decisive turning point set in, with the founding of the Forum on China-African Co-operation in 2000. The Beijing inaugural summit of the forum focuses on two major areas; how to promote and establish a just and equitable new international economic order, and to further strengthen co-operation between China and Africa on economic and social development.

A major characteristic of the FOCAC process since its inception in 2000 has been to give greater impetus to infrastructure construction in Africa. The first FOCAC document pointed out that the "Chinese government will continue to encourage well-established Chinese enterprises to participate in economic and infrastructure and development projects in African countries".

At the 5th ministerial summit of FOCAC in Beijing in 2002, the then Chinese president, Mr. Hu Jintao outlined five priorities to which China would commit 20 billion U.S dollars in concessionary financing. Among the critical sectors which would receive the concessionary financing and which are generally considered potential key drivers to any meaningful and sustainable economic development in Africa would be China's support to African integration process and enhancement of her capacity for overall development through establishing a partnership with Africa on transnational and trans-regional infrastructural development.

The key area of Africa's socio-economic challenge has

witnessed a critical and enormous intervention by Beijing, as there are widespread politically motivated views especially from the west, that such intervention is driven by resource hunger. A brilliant study of an American academic both highlighted these assumptions and consequently underscored its fallacy.

“The World Bank team that used newspaper and internet sources to study China’s infrastructure projects (they do not actually visit any African countries) said that most of them were aimed at security flows of resources back to China. Yet the list of projects they provided, comprising roads, bridges, sewer systems and power plants with Chinese finance in places such as Botswana, Kenya, Rwanda, Madagascar, and Mauritius and so on do not map out to some kind for master plan for resource extraction”.²

A World Bank study has earlier claimed that “most Chinese government funded projects in sub-Saharan ultimately aimed at securing a flow of sub-Saharan Africa’s natural resources for export to China”.³

Even beyond the world bank cynicism, “others even assume that the infrastructure been built by Chinese companies across the continent follows a grand strategy; roads and railroads leading directly from mines and wells to ports, to ships and to China”⁴, a classical re-enactment of European colonial strategy of economic expropriation where infrastructure were built from the hinterland straight to the coast for transport of produce and even human slaves for onwards shipment to metropolitan Europe. For example, in what is known now as Congo Democratic Republic, formerly Zaire and a former personal estate of the Belgium king, the Chimindefe de-Bas-Congo au Katanga railway was built to connect the mineral- rich Katanga to the sea. In Congo Brazzaville, there is the Congo-Ocean railway built to facilitate the transportation of manganese ore from Gabon as well as forest products. In Nigeria the Kano-Apapa railway line was built to facilitate the collection of cotton, groundnuts and cocoa for exports to Europe. Among other railway lines built specifically for export commodities by the

European colonial administration in Africa were the marampepe line in Sierra Leone, the Fria-Conakry line in Guinea, the entire railway system in Liberia, the Dakar-Niger railway line in Mali and Senegal and the port of Elienne fort Gouvarand in Mauritania. As if to emphasize the fact that the railway was purely functional for the gathering and exporting the commodities of the colonies, the Germans in Togo actually named their railway lines after the particular primary commodities and minerals which they transport. Thus, there were cotton line, Cocoa line, Coconut line, Iron Ore line and the Palm oil line. It is certain that a psychic reflex of European colonial economic model that laid the foundation for the disarticulation of African contemporary economies still pervade in some western commentaries of China-Africa economic co-operation. In fact, the London based magazine, the Economist, claimed that ‘China is building a lot of infrastructure, presumably to help it procure all the natural resources its firms are gobbling up’.⁵

It took the scholarly and brilliant study of Deborah Brautigam, a professor of international development of American university in Washington D.C, in her work “ The Dragon’s gift: the real story of China in Africa” to dismantle much of the ideologically-driven politically-motivated and un-substantiated commentaries that have become the staple of mainstream Western media and academic establishment on contemporary China-Africa co-operation.

A clearer case of deliberate obfuscation of the facts of China-Africa co-operation could be glimpsed from the circumstances of oil rich Angola. As the Angolan civil war, drew to an end, the country was under pressure for its debts of over two billion dollars owed to the Paris club, a consortium of nineteen wealthy nations. While the Paris club members were putting pressure for the Angolan government to pay, even as some went to a considerable length of attempting to seize the government property outside the country. Buffeted by western creditors and the International Monetary Fund (IMF) to agree on several stringent measures which

includes reduction of fuel subsidies, raising water rate, privatize many state enterprises and turning over custom management to a British firm (crown agents), China stepped in and offered two billion dollars line of credit through her Eximbank and unlike other oil-backed loans from the west.

And unusually, the credit line from China tied the loan to infrastructure projects. World Bank's report earlier pointed out that nearly forty years of war had left Angola's road system "in a shocking state of disrepair. Bombs destroyed more than 300 bridges, rural roads and farming fields were planted with land mines. Urban infrastructure dramatically deteriorated and streets were in a state of virtual collapse".

Within months of the Chinese loans, a group of western banks, including Barclays and Royal bank of Scotland, provided an even larger oil backed loan of 2.35 and 2.5 billion dollars at 2.5% over the LIBOR (the London Inter-Bank offered rate, the benchmark interest rate for international finance).

At any rate, by the time Angolan war was over, the country had an estimated forty-eighty oil backed loans, "nearly all arranged very profitably, by respectable western banks: BNP Paribas of France, Standard Chartered of the UK, Commerzbank of Germany and so on".⁶

Drawing extensively from these deals professor Brautigam arrived at the fact that "it was the western banks that gave loans without requiring transparency and western companies that exported Angolan oil, providing cash flow to the ruling party. The Chinese deal was not without risk but it was also revolutionary for the country. For the first time there was hope that some of Angolan's riches might actually be translated directly in development projects".⁷

Elucidating China's view on the question of critical intervention on Africa foremost socio-economic challenges, Beijing former top envoy to Africa, Mr. Liu Guijin was quoted as saying, "we don't attach political condition. We have realized the political and

economic environments are not ideal. But we don't have to wait for everything to be satisfactory or human rights to be perfect". Echoing similar view, economist and Columbia university scholar Jeffery Sachs, known for championing increased aid to African countries commented in 2006 that the idea that aid should be heavily conditioned with political conditions was a mistake. The best way to end conflict is to end poverty". On this score, the consolidation of China-Africa co-operation has furnished a decisive instrument in relieving one of African's most dire socio-economic deficits: infrastructural reconstruction, enabling the building of peace infrastructure, out of which most of Africa's conflicts can be resolved.

A western scholar, has argued that "China has had little interest in Africa's internal problems or politics", also recalled that "though this has been less publicized in the western press, China has actually participated in the UN-sanctioned peace-keeping operations in parts of Africa. Chinese peace-keeping has expanded across the continent, starting with a large contingent in Liberia and smaller attachments to UN missions in the Democratic Republic of Congo and even in Sudan. All in all, over three thousand Chinese Peace-keeping troops have participated in seven UN mission on the continent. The majority of Chinese peace-keeping, in fact are based in Africa, making permanent member states of the UN Security Council to peace-keeping operations. Concurrently it (China) has also provided financial support to combat drought in the horn of Africa, amounting to a modest \$200, 000 U.S dollars in 1999 and 610,000 U.S dollars in humanitarian assistance in 2004 to address the Darfur crises.

In a dramatic step aimed at countering critics of its role in Sudan, the Chinese government announced in the middle of 2006 that it would be providing 3.5 million U.S dollars in support of Africa Union peace keeping operations in that strife torn region".⁸

On the Darfur conflict in Sudan, in which China was routinely denounced for providing political support and diplomatic cover for

the Khartoum regime, a Sudan expert and programme director at the social science research council, Professor Alex de Waal said that “China has been vilified over Sudan on the basis of inflated expectation about what it could do. Russia is in fact more significant in terms of been an aggressive ally”.

Peace and security in Africa remain an existential challenge. The socio-economic and political terrain in Africa, are in themselves sufficiently fragile that conflicts and even wars have become essential part of its landscape. While many have argued that colonialism is far too long gone, to be held responsible for African conflicts and wars, it is easily forgotten that the foremost legacy of colonialism, that state is central and at the root of conflicts in Africa. In spite of its seemingly legality at home and recognition abroad, African States are broadly in a state of contestable legitimacy. Because the State in Africa has its origin as alien and hostile phenomenon to keep society in submission to alien and distant authority, it is still widely viewed in contemporary times as forceful and hostile intrusion in the lives of the people. The travails of governance in Africa are essentially part of the crises of the legitimacy of the state. The emasculation of State in Africa in the wave of the sweeping neo-liberal reforms that stripped the state of its previously bare social functions almost threw it back in popular perception to its original colonial role of merely keeping law and order.

Even viewed as worst than classical colonial State that were less partial in enforcement of law and order, contemporary states in Africa are considered more selective and punitive in the use of state organised violence.

A victim of ethnic or religious group that views state repression as mere disguise of hegemony practised by its rival who has access to state powers stages violent rebellion not against the impartial state, but ethnic or religious competitor allied to the state. Related to the crises of the state and governance in Africa is the nationality and class questions. African conflicts are even less a crisis of

governance than the fundamental question of the crises of the state. Measures to improve governance in Africa as a way to reduce conflicts actually holds only prospects of temporary relief, as the deeper question of the state, its nature, structure and role must be re-assessed in the context of democratic political process. From the violence and desperation to win African elections, it appears elections are part of the manoeuvres of the contested state in Africa. Given the entrenched structural deficits of the African states and given its crises of legitimacy, would the China-African co-operation relieve this fundamental lacuna? Somewhere I argued “that the state (in Africa) must find legitimacy in the delivery of basic essentials for decent livelihood of the population and whether its current institutional ambiguities will enable it to take advantage and seize the moment of China’s vigorous entry into Africa’s stage, is difficult to conclude. But taking advantage of China’s massive investment flows and generous assistance, Africa’s post-colonial state can gain some measure of popular legitimacy in the sphere of meaningful economic reconstruction. But an ineffectual and failing state could as well bungle the prospects of economic reconstruction, the opportunity that the rising Sino-Africa’s co-operation has generously offered”.⁹

However, while I do not suppose that the Chinese have a magic wand with which to wave away African problems, it was noted somewhere that “while Africa’s challenges for development and its many obstacles have never lacked generous words of empathy and concern from several partner governments, international organisations and even non-governmental organizations (NGOs), what is however unique to China’s co-operation with Africa is that words and commitments are always matched with actions and thankfully, these trends have been the defining hallmarks of Sino-Africa relations encapsulated in the FOCAC process, since its founding in 2000”.

Apart from enabling the conditions for peace and security through critical interventions in the socio-economic landscape,

China has vigorously pursued institutional capacity building. At the 18th summit of the heads of state and government of the African Union (AU), China presented a golden key of the completed conference centre built by it at the headquarters of the union. The sprawling structure built on a land mass of 50,000 square metres is composed of three parts: the office building, conference and ancillary facilities. While some media in Africa were skeptical of the Chinese gift, I expressed the view that Beijing may have acted in enlightened self-interest by narrowing the nightmare in dealing with a disparate 54 African states and even lessen that existential dilemma of whom to call, when Beijing wishes to place call to Africa, overcoming similar challenges when former U.S secretary of state, Henry Kissinger expressed his frustrations in the 1970s, about whom Washington shall call when wanting to reach Europe.

To conclude, the search for peace and security in Africa is not a package of goods to be delivered within a time-frame, but a process which China-Africa co-operation is making useful contribution to. However, suffice it to say that Africa is largely responsible for its fate. Much of Africa is stirring and even though its people are weighed down by serial crises, are not simply waiting for global compassion to lift her from the stupor.

From my home country Nigeria, where the popular quest to recast the state through the instrumentality of ethnic nationality conference, is in popular agitation, in other parts of Africa where the states are surrendering to the popular pressure for considerable devolution of its power to local communities, the integrity of the state may be rebuilt in a mould of a state where a popular revolutionary struggle ejected colonialism and imperialism.

ENDNOTE:

1. Onunaiju Charles: *China/Africa: Issues, Challenges and Possibilities*. 2012
2. Deborah Brautigam: *The Dragon's gift: the real story of China in Africa*, Oxford University press, 2011
3. *Building Bridges: China's growing role as infrastructure financier for some sub-saharan Africa*, world bank July, 2008, page 68
4. "Oil, Politics and Corruption," *The Economist*, September 20, 2008, Page 20
5. Deborah Brautigam, *Ibid*
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7. Chris Alden: *China in Africa*. Zed Books, London
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CHAPTER 8

SIGNIFICANCE OF CHINA-AFRICA DEVELOPMENT AND RESHAPING OF MODERN HUMAN CIVILIZATION

Liu Hongwu

The modernization process which started from the West, as a result of long-term accumulation and development of human civilization in the past several thousand years, is one stage in and integral part of the entire modernization evolution of mankind. No matter how important this stage and part is, it does not and can never substitute the entire process of human civilization development. Viewed from the need of human development at present and in a longer period to come, it is necessary to add the crystallized wisdom and experience of Afro-Asian civilizations and the more plural "Afro-Asian knowledge" or other fruits of wisdom that can enrich and improve human knowledge and experience to the structure of universal concepts of modern civilization and progress, development and justice, and democracy and human rights, and, on the basis of this, synthesize human knowledge and thinking. In this regard, the cooperation between China and Africa, two major components of oriental civilization, is exerting complex and diverse influence on the transformation of the world system and providing a special hotbed for theory, platform for practice and foundation of credibility for the breeding and growing of the contemporary "Chinese knowledge" and "Chinese ideology".

"POST-WEST PERIOD" IN GLOBAL DEVELOPMENT AND EXPANSION OF HUMAN MODERNIZATION

Due to historical reasons, the breakthrough in the tremendous transformation from agricultural civilization to industrial civilization took place in Western Europe. For several hundred

years, the West that rose first led and dominated the development of modern world. No doubt, the creativeness released by the West made significant contributions to modern civilization. But the development pattern of modern world with the West as its centre brought huge sufferings to China and Africa and the entire Afro-Asian and Latin American world-they experienced disintegration and degradation of their civilizations, collapse of their societies, and marginalization in national development under the impact of the expansionist, capitalist, imperialist and industrialized West in the early stages of their modernization development. And hence, human and global modernization development experienced twists, turbulences and conflicts.

However, modern world history is not, perhaps, entirely West-centred as asserted in Immanuel Wallerstein's "world system" theory. As a matter of fact, since modern time, when the West kept its leading position, people and nations in other parts of the world have withstood in their own ways, the various changes brought about by modernization while safeguarding their history and cultures, and have sought for their independence in making contacts with others, unswervingly explored the path of modernization that suits their own conditions, and thus joined the process of reshaping global modern civilization. At present, efforts by the non-Western world have achieved significant progress-they begin to have their own experience and self-confidence in modernization development. Along with the rise of the non-Western world not only politically but also economically and even culturally and in concepts, the modernization development of mankind is going beyond the "West period" to enter the "post-West period", and a new global system featuring equal exchange among various civilizations is in the making.

Yet the non-Western world has experienced successful development only in the past several decades where the Western world has undergone the process of modernization for several centuries. Hence, the development experience and value of the non-

Western world have not been widely understood and acknowledged, and the West-centred pattern basically remains. Generally speaking, in the colonial days, Western countries exerted influence on non-Western nations mainly on the material level such as technology, conduct and systems, whereas today they are exerting fresh influence on the ideological level through ideas, knowledge, concepts, etc. in addition to the material.¹⁴²

In the meantime, in the past 200 or so years, the knowledge system of the Western world failed to make due adjustments and improvements and accomplish the task of comprehensive integration of the entire human knowledge to make it a truly universal global system of knowledge and thinking because of the absence of the experience from non-Western countries for comparison, supplementation and revision or due to ideological reasons. So far as such core concepts as "civilization", "progress", "development", "democracy", "freedom", and "human rights" are concerned, the Western ideology and practice remained largely Euro-American "local knowledge" based on Western experience, only to assume a bit of the halo of universalism due to their wide spread in the world in the modern time in the wake of the strong political and economic powers of the West.

For long, ideological and intellectual practices such as interpreting Western civilization as modern universal civilization to neglect or even debase other civilizations and contradicting the industrial civilization against the traditional civilizations, to blindly propagating the superiority of capitalism and its systems as well as the ensuing discrimination of all sorts, have enabled the Western ideology to distort the essence of modernization and misguide people's thinking to a large extent. Such a situation and the bias and chaos resulting from it have hindered the healthy development of

¹⁴² Liu Hongwu, "Sino-African Relations, A Cornerstone in Reshaping China-Europe-Africa Trilateral Relations"(Chinese), available at <http://www.invest.net.cn/News/ShowInfo.aspx?ID=22838>

mankind's modern civilization. Since the new century, the used-to-be self-centred system of Western modern knowledge has as a matter of fact encountered challenges never seen before in the face of the advent of the "post-Western era" in global development. At a time when the development processes and development models of mankind are becoming plural and the connotation of modernization is fast extending, mankind will be incapable to face the complex challenges of today and march to a new high platitude of history if it still uses the limited knowledge and experience of the West as instruments for explanation and regard Western wisdom as the only standard for modernization.

It is precisely in this sense that, for the need of human development at present and in a longer period in the future, the Western system of knowledge that has dominated the world for long should be sorted out, rectified and sublated, that the structure of universal concepts concerning modern civilization, progress, justice, freedom, democracy, human rights, etc. should absorb the rich wisdom accumulated in the long history of the Afro-Asian world and the experience in its modern development and be enriched by the more plural "Afro-Asian knowledge" such as "Chinese knowledge", "African knowledge", "Indian knowledge" and "Arab knowledge" or any other fruits of wisdom that can enrich and improve the system of human knowledge and experience, and that a "new global systemization" of man's fresh knowledge, thinking, experience and sentiments be achieved on the basis of this. Only in this way can the system of knowledge and thinking, which is the source of human strength, be in a position to embody the entire experience and values accumulated hitherto by human civilization and support and help mankind to overcome various problems and challenges brought about by modernization.

From a wider angle of the history of human civilization, the inception of modernization is, both in time and space, a process far beyond the limited area of Western Europe and much longer than the past a few centuries, and the origin and core contents of

modernization are not just that part seen or interested by such modern Western thinkers as Hegel, Max Weber, Fernand Braudel and Francis Fukuyama. Historically speaking, it is true that the process of human modernization witnessed breakthroughs first in the West. Yet quite some essential elements that till now constitute the foundation for modern civilization have been growing in the protracted evolvement of the agricultural societies. The only thing is the more lasting role and significance of these elements have been greatly underestimated and marginalized in the West-dominated system of world knowledge in the past two to three hundred years.

As a matter of fact, divergent civilization systems and complicated accumulations have grown up in the various ancient civilizations of China as well as the Afro-Asian world and they exerted profound impacts on the development process of the Western civilization at different periods of history. Even at the early stage of the rise of the West in modern time, China's systems, culture, state form, administrative expertise and bureaucratic set up as well as knowledge and rationalism, currency and commodity all played significant roles in pushing the West out of the dark Middle Ages. In this sense, the modernization process that brought about breakthroughs first in the West is in fact the result of long-term accumulation and development of the entire human civilization in the past several thousand years, and it is only one stage and one component in the entire process of human modernization. It is not the highest and last form of modernization that would end the historical process of its continued development and improvement. This is the reason why we think the Sino-African co-operation today is bound to have broad prospects and world significance. And it is on such a stage that the value and future significance of China-Africa development co-operation will be displayed and demonstrated.

CHINA-AFRICA DEVELOPMENT CO-OPERATION AND HISTORIC TRANSITION OF THE "AFRO-ASIAN IDENTITY"

Since entering the age of modern civilization, the China-Africa development co-operation has undergone more than half a century transformation. Viewed from the perspectives of China and the world and the process of reconstructing human modern civilization and creating new areas of future development for mankind, the practice of China-Africa co-operation has undoubtedly the following significance.

Firstly, the development of China-Africa cooperative relationship has created for China strategic space for global development that is of significance of the times and based on history and culture and hence demonstrates the unique stimulant role China plays as a newly emerging power to the development process of the world.¹⁴³

To developing countries, development remains the highest politics and the heart of national interest. To China, development, among others, bears the unique significance of civilization and rejuvenation. China, the largest developing country on the globe, has a civilization with the longest history of unification in the world, whereas Africa, especially the sub-Sahara African continent, has retained the features of isolation and seclusion in its development due to unique natural and geographical reasons. Though different in history and culture, China and Africa, with both their civilizations existing independently of other civilizations, have influenced to some extent the exchanges and evolvement of various civilizations prior to the modern time.

The thousand-year-old Chinese civilization, however, has unparalleled creativeness and potentials. The size of the Chinese

¹⁴³ Liu Hongwu, "On New-type Sino-African Strategic Partnership & its Values and Significance in the Contemporary World", *Foreign Affairs Review*(Chinese), Feb. 2007, NO. 94, p. 12.

society and the history of the Chinese civilization determine that China today, in the course of opening to and integrating with the outside world, needs to break through the past confines and open up, to the largest extent, space for exchange and development of its civilization in the world. Different from the Western powers in the past, the present-day China will not resort to means of colonization and force or even wars or through struggling for land and contention for hegemony to extend the space for its survival and development because it runs counter to the traditions of the Chinese civilization since ancient times as well as the objective of modern China for peaceful development. Hence, it is necessary for China to take new ways and means and exploit the strength of civilization to braze a new path for its national development and create a new model for conducting exchanges with the world and opening up more space for its development.

Home to the majority of developing countries in the world, Africa, with vast land mass, rich natural resources, plural and long history and culture, and underdevelopment of its economy and society, has the most strong and lasting desire for development as China does. Therefore, to develop a long-term strategic cooperative relationship between China, the biggest developing country, and Africa, the largest developing continent, and to construct the world's biggest time-space body for intrinsic development in the creative convergence of the two outstanding civilizations so as to achieve their common development and rejuvenation in line with the principles of mutual respect, equality, mutual benefit and win-win cooperation are of tremendous and far-reaching significance whether to China and Africa or the whole world and whether to history or the future.

Being a big developing country and a future power in the world, China needs to properly handle its relations with the outside world at various levels such as the major powers in the world, its surrounding countries, the region where it locates and the whole globe. China-Africa co-operation, which falls on to the global level

in China's external relations, is of fundamental significance. Because of the peculiarity of China-Africa relations, the successive Chinese leaders have always paid special attention to the development orientation of this relationship. Today when the path to rejuvenating the Chinese civilization and building China into a strong state looms clearer, the long-term strategic significance of China-Africa relations to China's development becomes ever more explicit and outstanding. The achievements of China-Africa co-operation in the past 30 years have not only revealed to Africa the new and most potential prospect for external co-operation and development but also markedly enhanced Africa's status in global development and competition- thanks to China's participation and efforts. In a nutshell, nothing suffices to describe the significance of carrying out long-term, sincere and all-dimensional co-operation between China and Africa, both of whom need the effort of several generations to eradicate poverty and accomplish the tasks of economic and social development.

Secondly, the development of China-Africa co-operation will build up an important external platform for China to realize its strategic goal of peaceful development and provide a stage for China to shape a modern "national identity" and "national image" that is more morally appealing.

At present, it is probable that China, a developing country on the way to a developed one with transitional and dual features, may play a role with varied capacities and in a more positive way and act more flexibly as a bridge to promote global development. On the other hand, a specially-positioned China may confront more challenges and pressures from various sides in its identity-determination, interest-identification, strategic choice and development space manoeuvring while enjoying more strategic space, because this special position might make China the focus of the global interest appeals and challenges faced by present-day mankind in its development. Against this backdrop, how would China handle its relations with the developed and developing

countries that have different appeals and values and how to construct a more stable and multi-pillared platform for external development is a strategic topic that needs farsighted strategic thinking, meticulous tactical arrangements and careful external publicity.

From a long point of view, China's development goal is of course to become gradually a developed country, or at least a relatively developed country, a comparatively rich, strong and developed country that has shaken off poverty, backwardness and weakness. In this regard, China need not deliberately shy away from its strategic objective. Though China is still a developing country, that its position and role are constantly changing, is an objective trend, and whether as a conceptual symbol or a factual reality, China, a developing country itself, is also undergoing change. Therefore, the problem is whether or not China should become a developed country but rather what kind of developed country, or the process of becoming a developed country is at the same time one of promoting the development of all developing countries and one of bringing new development opportunities, enlightenment, platform and space to the entire developing world. To position China as a rising world power devoted to promoting common development, harmonious development and cooperative development of mankind and a constructive force bringing development opportunities and hope to the future world especially the developing countries, is the key for China to eventually becoming a developed country in the world. Hence, a rising major power that gives hope and opportunity to other countries and nations instead of sacrificing the interests of other countries and nations is not only the correct but also the only choice for China's development path; otherwise, China would meet with increasingly stronger resistance and opposition from the outside in the course of its development and rise.

If we could understand the strategic significance and special value of China-Africa cooperation from such a high strategic level,

we would naturally come to realize that we not only should but also must develop China-Africa co-operation. To China, promoting all-dimensional co-operation with dozens of developing countries on the African continent not only concerns its national interests but also its international responsibilities. Such strategic co-operation that combines interests with responsibilities will no doubt bring exceptionally great opportunities and space for both China and Africa. It can be said that just like China and the United States are highly complementary in economic and technological co-operation, the same is true between China and Africa in many respects. As far as global strategy is concerned, if China succeeds in fostering common interests and strategic co-operative relations in economy and development with the most advanced and richest country in the world as well as the least-developed continent on the globe, it means China will be able to build a solid and spacious international arena on which to realize its goal of peaceful development.

After 30 years' successful development, China is overtaking Japan to become the second largest economy in the world. If China could keep a relatively high rate of economic growth in the next 20 to 30 years, it would probably approach or even surpass the United States in economic aggregates. The change in China's economic size is bound to exert an impact on the existing global political and economic pattern. In the current practical international politico-economic environment full of conflicts of interests, it is unavoidable that China's development would be regarded as a challenge and apprehension over and caution against China's development would come up in the international community. In fact, there have been recurrent ear-piercing arguments against China fraught up with words like "containment, threat, conflict, collapse, precaution", which has to be dealt with rationally according to actual circumstances.

Most of the arguments doubtful of China's goal and course of peaceful development originate from Western countries that used to regard the West as the center of world order, about which China

should not bother much. However, some of them are natural results when people anxious about the uncertainty of the future new world order turn to focus their worrying attention to the fast-developing China, while the problems they identify should be carefully studied and addressed by China too. Besides, the geographical location and surrounding environment of China also determine that China's peaceful development strategy would encounter conflicts and challenges from the surrounding countries as well as intra-and extra-regional powers due to complicated historical and practical interests. The fact that China is moving closer to politico-economic centre stage of the world, undertaking more international responsibilities, exerting bigger international influence and facing greater international challenges requires China to get rid of its traditional simple, isolated and short-term way of thinking on international issues and instead to formulate, with a global vision and long-term perspective, an international strategy and policy that can embody China's peaceful development strategy and ensure its realization.¹⁴⁴

As mentioned above, Africa, as a region distant from China but having stable political and economic relations with China in history and at present and a region enjoying special international influence in global political, economic and cultural affairs, is able to provide a big enough international platform for China to demonstrate and practice its peaceful development strategy and one that will produce long-lasting global effect. China may adopt various forms—economic, political, historical, cultural, etc. to conduct co-operation with African countries and take the initiative to shape a positive image of being a civilized and responsible global power to mitigate the pressures and conflicts brought about by complex global

¹⁴⁴ Sino-African trade rose over 100 times from \$700 mln in 1978 to more than \$73 bln in 2007; by 2008, more than 1,000 Chinese enterprises have investments in Africa, and more business forums are being held in China and Africa.

interests and development and eventually work out a modern-time China-Africa co-operation strategy with Chinese characteristics. Obviously, such international and diplomatic efforts are not purely China's one-sided aspiration and action but a choice based on the intrinsic logic of global development and the result of communication and cooperation with African countries and other stake-holders in the course of global systems culture building. In a nutshell, like the United States, Africa provides China with another object for international co-operation and competition with matching global influence from the other side of the international interest structure. China should bring its great national and historical wisdom into full play and make good and full use of the opportunities and challenges brought about by this "country-region" co-operative relationship with extraordinary strategic thinking and unusual courage in practice in the new era.

***CHINA-AFRICA DEVELOPMENT C-OPERATION AND CREDIBILITY
FOUNDATION FOR "AFRO-ASIAN KNOWLEDGE"***

Taking as a whole, China-Africa development co-operation is more than cooperation between China and various African countries—it is co-operation between a major power and a major continent in the world. Such a development-centred co-operation is also one between two major civilizations or two major elements in the international relations structure. And the possible involvement, intervention and interaction it may attract from other major international forces and the immense potentials it may open up in strategic width and depth as well as in time and space determine that the China-Africa co-operative relationship will inevitably become an extremely important area for practice and thinking in contemporary China's diplomacy. Contemporary Chinese scholars should be soberly aware of this and understand the special significance of the African continent to China from the perspective of China's national strategy and the global changing situation so as

to promote and enhance their study on the contemporary China-Africa co-operative relationship.

Firstly, the China-Africa co-operative relationship on development and its study will open up new dimension for China's international thinking and related theoretical building and provide a unique hotbed for theory and platform for practice for the contemporary "Afro-Asian knowledge", "Afro-Asian ideology" or "Afro-Asian wisdom", thereby setting up the credibility foundation and the right to speak for the Afro-Asian knowledge, ideology and wisdom.

Afro-Asia are two major civilizations and have very long history in the world. Being an ancient, big Oriental country, China has its own ideas of international relations and ideological traditions marked with historical characteristics. In ancient times, China experienced the "Spring and Autumn" and "Warring States" periods during which various states as well as dukes and princes were locked in fierce fight and contention. Before the 19th century, the regional international system in East Asia centred on the Chinese civilization used to be one of the most important international systems in pre-modern-day world history. Since modern time, China was first passively drawn into the West-centred modern international system and then took the initiative to open up and participate in it. Yet by modern-day standards and in comparison to the survival and development environment of states and nations as well as changes in the world, China's international relations theory still lags behind, and much so with that of the Western developed countries. In spite of the rich legacy of national thinking from the pre-modern times, the ideas and theories introduced from the West (including the former Soviet Union) in various periods in the past, and the numerous experience and lessons accumulated in the past hundred years and more, China today has not yet produced the international relations theory and related social sciences theory that can marry its long history with current experience, guide China to effectively and leisurely engage

in and address global transformation and challenges, participate in the construction of international ideas and institutions, and efficiently promote understanding and communication between China and the outside world due to changes of the times, or failure in full assimilation, or lack in original systematic theories.

However, along with China's development and increasing involvement in international affairs and global ideological exchanges, and in particular, the gradual breaking of the limits and bondage imposed on China by the West-dominated mainstream discourse in social sciences, the condition is ripe for China to produce its original theory and global ideology. Like sports competition in the Olympic Games, the Chinese academia is becoming more and more determined and confident to break the Western dominance over knowledge and discourse in the entire field of human and social sciences. The Chinese scholars know pretty well that if developing countries lack the ability to tangibly participate in the shaping of academic and knowledge discourse, they will be unable to have genuine equality in the international community and in international contact and communication, nor will it be possible for them to produce theories with Chinese characteristics on international relations, diplomacy, international cooperation and international assistance and make systematic summarization of and theoretic study on the rich practice and experience in China-African development cooperation.

Secondly, Chinese scholars should have a clear understanding and sense of mission over the shaping of "Chinese knowledge" or "Chinese ideology" and the right to speak for them at a time when swift changes and development are taking place and various human ideas and concepts are clashing with each other across the globe, because behind academic studies and ideological creation lies great state and national interests as well as basic strength and core competitive force that concern the survival and development of the states and nations.

Of course, "Chinese knowledge" or "Chinese ideology" is not a

groundless fabrication, nor romantic imagination: it is the crystallization of civilization fruits and ideological creation since China's ancient times, and it is the long-carrying knowledge system and ideological tradition that embodies the core values of the Chinese civilization and is further developing in the course of integrating with the practices in modern China's rejuvenation and development. Just like such concepts as "Western knowledge" and "Western ideology", "Chinese knowledge" or "Chinese ideology" is a historical reality, and it is because of the thousands of years' inheritance of such knowledge or ideology that China today has displayed its singular integrity and magnanimity in its domestic and foreign affairs as well as its survival and development in the world.

From a wide perspective, it is also because of the support of such "Chinese knowledge" and "Chinese ideology" that China's Africa policy has shown its special quality and China's strategy and ideas for co-operation with Africa have acquired Chinese characteristics. This long and ancient tradition must face up to the new challenges resulting from China's social development to evolve into an open system, a system that improves with the progress of the time. This system should absorb fresh nutriments from the rich practices in China's development and rejuvenation including China-Africa co-operation and then make new theoretic summarization to establish its own position in the system of modern-day human knowledge and ideology as well as its due right to speak and the ideological strength in the course of inheritance and innovation.

CHINA-AFRICA DEVELOPMENT CO-OPERATION AND EXPANSION OF THE NEW INTERNATIONAL THEORY

The increasingly deeper involvement in the global system requires more and more that China should strive for and safeguard its national interests through co-operation and exchanges across the world so as to build up China's moral appeal and enhance the right

to speak for China's knowledge and ideology, experience and model, and the Chinese wisdom. But such a systematic comprehensive system of knowledge, ideology and discourse cannot be constructed out of thin air: it needs a platform for construction and space for practice as well as areas for innovation and chances for trial. China-Africa development co-operation and the related areas are just important fields that China can take the initiative to explore and a unique chance that China should firmly seize.

The topic of correlation between China-Africa development co-operation and human modernization building concerns some basic topics in modern China's human and social sciences, to which the academic circle is duty-bound to make a positive response. Apart from what have been written above, this author deems it necessary to give careful consideration to the following additional points:

Firstly, as China-Africa development co-operation concerns two independent and comprehensive civilizations, the problems that evolved are both profound and extensive and many of them have the features of not being one-sided, isolated, partial, short-term and simple. Because of the complexity of the problems, it is necessary to conduct both specialized and classified studies as well as comprehensive and multi-disciplinary basic studies. In view of the current situation, the latter studies are more badly needed; and as there are more gaps in this area, it is hence more possible to make breakthroughs. Once breakthroughs are made, they will serve as a strong stimulant to the development and innovation of China's human and social sciences.

Secondly, China, though a late comer in the study and exploration of the African development issue compared to the West and some Asian countries, has its own advantages. They include:

1. The impetus and support from the 30-year fast development of China-Africa relations,
2. The accumulation of rich theory and practice in history,
3. The fruits and lessons from the West and other countries in

their past African studies, and

4. It should be pointed out in particular that the right to say in studies on African development and related international theories is not wholly dominated and covered by that on other international issues and international relations theories; on the contrary, the African development studies show that the Western discourse in this regard is biased and invalid in many respects.

Therefore, African studies may to certain extent be regarded as a pure sphere of knowledge and a "theoretic new frontier" that could make special contributions to the development of non-Western world knowledge.

CHAPTER 9

AFRICAN REGIONAL INTEGRATION AND SINO-AFRICA COOPERATION: OPPORTUNITIES AND CHALLENGES

Professor Tang Xiao

African regional integration is the historical process for African countries to seek independent revival and solidarity based on common region and ideal, relying on collective force. This process enshrines "pan Africanism" of "unity, self-confidence, self-reliance of Africa". In 2002, the organization of African Unity was replaced by the African Union which is the important step of Pan-Africanism revival. Thereafter, African countries have shifted from political co-operation towards a comprehensive co-operation, and from "seeking independence and liberation" to "peace and development", catching the theme of the times. African centripetal force has rapidly been enforced. In 2001, the introduction of "new partnership for Africa's development" (NEPAD) which was incorporated into the framework of the African Union, and later became the first African independently formulated strategic blueprint, guiding all round development in Africa. ECOWAS, SADC, EAC and other sub-regional organizations also actively cooperate with the African Union, become the building blocks for Africa's integration process.

The international financial crisis brought enormous pressure on African countries in the process of regional co-operation and integration, but also brought opportunities. Many African countries have realized that the strengthening of regional political consultation and acceleration of regional economic integration, will help countries to resist external economic impact, reducing the negative influence of the international financial crisis. As the AU Commission chairman Konare noted: "Africa needs a new

momentum and stronger determination to keep on fighting for integration without which our people will have no future”.

Both China and Africa belong to developing countries and both are in the process of industrialization, urbanization and modernization. Both are faced with the common task of development and both have the complementary economic and trade structure. China's capital, technology, industry structure and products are suitable for economic development and market demand in Africa while Africa's rich energy and raw material resources can meet the rapid growth of China's economic development needs. The profound historical and traditional friendship, solid political co-operation foundation and broad economic and trade co-operation, provide tremendous potentiality and broad space for further China-Africa co-operation and sustainable development, and make the co-operation of very important strategic meaning and value. Strengthening China-Africa cooperation in Africa is the powerful arms and a rare historical opportunity for Africa to realize their industrialization and modernization. It is also an important means by which China can keep sustainable development, promote national economy to a higher level after her rapid development in the process of industrialization, urbanization and modernization.

African regional integration is the important tool and means for African Unity to seek peace and development, China-Africa co-operation is an important platform on which Africa committed to co-operate with international partners for Africa's peace building and economic development. For China, it is also an important means and tool for China to realize the sustainable development, the African regional integration and China-Africa co-operation both have common interests, with the mutual complement to promote each other's interests. Achieving convergence of the two processes will contribute both to the peace and development in Africa and to China's sustainable development, thereafter getting onto the international stage. China and Africa's co-operation in

regional integration is an important step to further consolidate China-Africa co-operation, and important areas in which both sides can promote each other's growth and development through larger scale investment and trade from Africa's regional integration and more efficient cooperation from Africa's regional uniform standard in trade facilitation.

African regional integration has created new opportunities for China-Africa co-operation, but it also brings new challenges.

THE OPPORTUNITIES IT BRINGS ABOUT TO SINO-AFRICA POLITICAL CO-OPERATION

The following are opportunities for Sino-Africa political co-operation

(1) Africa's regional integration has promoted Africa political stability. This is conducive to laying the peaceful, stable and unified political foundation and good environment for Sino-African co-operation.

(2) Africa's regional integration promotes African states speaking with one voice. By this, China and Africa can adopt a common position in international affairs of mutual interest at the United Nations and to carry out extensive co-operation and mutual support.

(3) The institutionalized mechanisms and favourable legal and investment environment established in Africa's regional integration process have created a more favourable political environment. China-Africa economic co-operation, can lead to coordinated and unified tariff and trade regulations in the sub-regional integration, as well as regional and sub-regional development plans and policies in infrastructure, energy, agriculture and trade, the stability of governance due to the political good governance efforts and the mechanisms (such as the African peers monitoring mechanisms).

(4) The higher degree of integration in Africa, the stronger implementation capacity of African countries. It will be conducive for the implementation of policy on China-Africa co-operation and to improve the efficiency and quality of China-Africa co-operation.

(5) The principle and spirit of co-ordination and co-operation. Co-operation and co-ordination should be cultivated among African states and sub-regional groups. This process in Africa can be a driving force for Africa and China to share this experience of mutual co-operation to achieve greater and more tangible results of co-operation.

THE CHALLENGES CHINA IS FACING IN THE FIELD OF POLITICS AND SECURITY

First of all, there is the need to address the correlation between Chinese principle of non-interference in other states' internal affairs and AU non-indifference principle. In recent years, the AU and African sub-regional organizations have largely accepted current dominant concept of international governance, such as humanitarian intervention, the responsibility to protect their members. In 2010, the AU adopted a resolution requesting the United Nations Security Council sanctions for its members Eritrea on grounds that Eritrea supported young Somali Jihadists (terrorist organizations). The Council adopted the resolution but China abstained from voting. In addition, in 2010 post election crisis in Côte d'Ivoire, the West could not wait to declare their support for Wattara, who was involved in civil war in his country. ECOWAS and the AU, especially ECOWAS high-profile involvement in the crisis and tried to make Gbagbo step down even by force. Also on the issue of Libya, the Arab League adopted a resolution calling for setting up the non-fly zone. Therefore, in the new situation how can China co-ordinate her non-interference principle with AU's non-indifference principle in the co-operation with African regional and

sub-regional organizations in the field of peace and security. This is for the interest of both China and Africa. It is the responsibility of both parties to play their roles, highlight their responsibilities, but also stick to their principles.

Secondly, China needs to strengthen sectoral co-ordination in Sino-Africa co-operation. Now that the actors in China's foreign aid, economic and trade relations with Africa have been diversified, in addition to the government as well as business corporate in state enterprises, private enterprises and joint ventures, this diversity must derive some problems, if not strengthen collaboration and co-ordination, particularly at regional and sub-regional level, then we will be in trouble, and caught in a state of disorder. So far, we do not have a strong co-ordinating body. For example, foreign media and scholars are now studying China's internal problems such as limited co-ordination in policy-making between departments, mainly referring to the Ministry of Commerce, Ministry of Finance, and Ministry of Foreign Affairs, claiming that co-ordination among the three ministries is so limited that they cannot even co-ordinate large-scale international events. In addition, they proposed not to overestimate the Chinese enterprises' role in enhancement of the interests of the Chinese government due to their profitable nature; their behavior should not be interpreted as a government action. Therefore, to enhance coordination among major government agencies is an important issue.

Thirdly, China needs to coordinate China's Africa policy and the United States-Africa, Europe-Africa, India and other non-multilateral relations with Africa. An African Union diplomat pointed out that when China gains access to resources in Africa, what she has to consider is not only the equality and mutual benefit of both, but also to consider the interests of Western countries in Africa, especially the interests of both China and the

United States in Africa. If they can co-ordinate and co-operate well, then Africa will benefit from it, if they conflict with each other, then African countries will suffer from it. Because the goal of Africa's integration is to co-operate with major countries in the world, to win more external support for peace and development in Africa, the co-operative or competitive or even antagonistic relationships among African international partners will directly impact Africa's interests.

From the African perspective, there are some issues to draw to their attention and resolution.

Firstly, how to express African states' stronger and more sincere political will to address the internal political problems such as border disputes and maintain political stability. Although political stability in Africa has generally been improved, but unrest in North Africa, the existence of conflicts on national borders, internal ethnic and political conflict in Sahara African states remains a serious problem. Some government ministers do not understand Africa's NEPAD plan indicating that some African countries, particularly small countries simply do not accept it. Some large countries such as South Africa's performance is very positive because it gained the much. Some other small countries which benefit a little appear not so positive. So how to make all countries benefit from it requires genuine political will, the will to resolve their internal conflicts, to maintain political stability, the will to let all the countries benefit, to maintain a balanced development.

Secondly, there are more regional integration plans, but a few put into practice. Some countries are also members of several regional organizations. This kind of you have me, I have you situation is impeding implementation of the plan. NEPAD can be traced back to the early of part of the new century. NEPAD itself is

a good programme even with the twist and turns. The pertinent question to ask however is how many items on its plan has been engaged. Much effort has to be made to effectively strengthen the ability to implement plans and programmes, not just to develop a plan and then shelve it.

2. Opportunities and challenges in the field of trade and development: Opportunities on China-Africa economic cooperation include:

(i) Africa economic integration provides opportunities and space in the breadth and depth for China-Africa economic and trade co-operation. African integration put forward the goal of economic growth in Africa and more targeted strategy and development projects in the fields of agriculture, energy, transportation, public health and communications among African countries, and therefore brings many opportunities for China-Africa co-operation in infrastructure, promotion of mutual interaction between people, promotion of Chinese technology transfer and strengthening Africa's capacity building, which will result in more favourable regional development projects, especially in infrastructure development, energy, agriculture and conflict management .

(ii) Economic integration in Africa could provide China with huge untapped market. Regional integration in Africa is committed to expand the commodity markets; this will help Chinese products enter Africa. Any Free Trade Area and the Common Market of the regional community will provide China a ready, fruitful cooperation platform. Regional integration in Africa will not only have a single African country, but the whole Africa will benefit from China-Africa cooperation.

(iii) Economic integration in Africa will help promote Chinese investment and trade facilitation. Common market would mean that China's participation in co-operation is facing a unified legal and regulatory system; it will be time-effective. African Economic Community signed many agreements such as ECOWAS' Common Market and East African Community's free trade policy. These provide opportunities for Chinese goods to freely enter into African markets. In addition, greater economic integration of markets creates more attractiveness to investors. Chinese companies can be more assured in the African market investments. Investment in a member of state of the free trade area or customs union means one having access passport to all member states.

(iv) African integration provided the opportunity for China's economic and industrial structural adjustment and transformation. In the process of promoting the integration, one of the key priorities is infrastructure and manufacturing industries. China has the experience in the two aspects, especially in infrastructure construction which China has been doing in Africa. To improve Africa's internal trade, the development of manufacturing or processing industry of raw materials is an important start-up power and this happens to coincide with China's economic restructuring which can transfer those industries abroad.

CHINA-AFRICA ECONOMIC CO-OPERATION: CHALLENGES FOR CHINA

The first thing is the need to change the concept of cooperation. While in theory regional integration in Africa brings about more convenient and effective opportunities to China-African cooperation, China can engage with a single country or a sub-region upon the request, at both bilateral level and multilateral level. But investment and trade co-operation between China and Africa over the last few decades is basically a bilateral way. So,

facing multiple or overlapping member identification of African regional economic communities, African countries in the different process of regional integration with differential benefit; China has to deal with these contradictions and differences both at strategic planning and at operational level. China's cooperation with Africa so far is mostly bilateral, few multilateral, familiar to bilateral but unfamiliar to multilateral. China's government departments, state-owned enterprises have lots of concern and uncertainties on the technical operations such as division of responsibilities, management efficiency at the multilateral level, and are very cautious to take a step forward to that direction.

Secondly, the development of regional integration in Africa requires China to increase its investment in Africa. Africa's infrastructure, food security, agriculture, energy development and construction are all priority development projects in Africa's economic integration, if China wants to achieve broad extension and make use of facilitation in the African regional integration. We need to increase investment in Africa. Otherwise there will be some problems. For example in agriculture, if there is no national support, our co-operation with Africa in agriculture will be difficult to develop on a large scale, while the food security issues are not well addressed in Africa. China- Africa co-operation in other fields will be affected. To strengthen capacity building in African countries will sound more like a loud slogan. That is true in other areas.

CHINA-AFRICA ECONOMIC CO-OPERATION: CHALLENGES FOR AFRICA

Firstly, there is need to address the relationship between self-reliance and relying on external assistance. African NEPAD plan takes foreign assistance especially aid from Western countries as major source of funding for implementation of the scheme.

China's aid is limited in number; aid from the West is conditional and does not meet the priority areas of Africa. Therefore, Africa should mainly rely on their own strength, to realize capital accumulation through the export of primary products, to develop manufacturing and processing industries through the accumulation of development, result in optimizing its economic structure.

In addition, African countries, including regional organizations should seize with the great opportunity when China attaches importance to Africa and to expand trade, and China's rising labour costs and make full use of the advantages of cheap labour in Africa to develop manufacturing and processing industries to increase the added value of exports, to stimulate national economic development.

Secondly, African states need to address the economic restructuring and expansion of internal trade among sub-regions. Most production and trade of African countries are primary products, such as minerals, timber, coffee, cocoa and other raw materials. Many countries lack the ability to produce a variety of industrial products and therefore can not support the development of domestic trade. The industrial products demanded mainly come from countries outside the African continent. Many studies have shown that in the short term the trade within the continent has a great difficulty in large scale development due to Africa's economic structure of "non-complementary", and internal trade is an important engine driving the regional integration.

3. Opportunities and Challenges in Cultural Area

OPPORTUNITIES:

(i) Integration of African culture is conducive to China's overall understanding of African culture, and creates a big market for China to understand African Culture. There are sports and cultural exchanges at African regional and sub-regional levels.

(ii) China-Africa cultural exchanges and cooperation within the framework of China-Africa Co-operation Forum help to strengthen the historic friendship between China and Africa and eliminate the cultural gap between China and Africa, as well as sharing a common cause of cultural values. These include Sino-African scholars' joint research and exchange programmes, the establishment of Confucius Institute in some African countries, personal resources training programmes, and other cultural and sports exchange programmes.

(iii) With China-Africa co-operation at regional and sub-regional level of promotion in-depth, Africa will gradually deepen the understanding of Chinese cultural values. These include China's development of road, mutual respect and win-win cooperation, independence and hard struggle, the relationship among reform, stability and development.

CHALLENGES

1. As far as China is concerned, with the increasingly close co-operation and exchanges in Africa, the image of China in Africa is getting more complex. This increased and close co-operation coincides with China's complex and diverse image in Africa which produces a paradox. Effort should be made to crack this paradox to improve the national image of China in Africa.

2. As for Africa, the language problem is still the challenge of regional integration. There are many different languages in Africa but English, French and Arabic are most popular official languages or common languages, with French as the official language in West Africa, English in East, South Africa, and Arabic in North Africa. Language differences are reflections of different cultural history and different economic interests, two kinds of regional currencies of Francs and Eco in ECOWAS is the product of these differences.

The African regional integration is an irreversible historical process, China-Africa cooperation is a new strategic partnership

based on political equality and mutual respect, economic mutual benefit and win-win game, culturally learning from each other for better understanding, so for our common interests, let's make joint efforts and contributions to cherish and seize opportunities, and meet challenges.

CHAPTER 10

CHINA-WEST AFRICA SECURITY CHALLENGES: FACTS AND FICTION¹⁴⁵

Professor Ogaba Oche

INTRODUCTION

China's remarkable progress in the economic sphere, following the introduction of reform policies in the 1970s and 80s has made the Asian country to develop and intensify her relations with West African countries largely in order to secure markets for her manufactured goods as well as sources of raw material. Today, the Chinese presence is perceptible in almost every part of West Africa. Chinese businessmen, with the backing of their home government, have in the last decade, increasingly ventured into various sectors of the region's economy. One implication of such large scale incursion is that the Chinese will face security threats and challenges that are peculiar to West Africa.

Many parts of West Africa have been embroiled in violent conflict from the late 1980s till the first years of the 21st century. Conflict theatres included Liberia, Sierra Leone, Guinea-Bissau and Côte d'Ivoire. This has posed significant challenges to regional peace and security. The threats to regional stability which assumed ascendancy in the 1990s and first part of the 21st century included military and political adventurism, ethnic divisions and illegal exploitation of natural resources. These were intensified by serious socio-economic constraints, weak state structures, porous borders and the prevalence of illegal arms trafficking and mercenary activities.

¹⁴⁵ Being a paper delivered at a one-day seminar on China-Africa Relations and Globalization held at the Institute for Peace and Conflict Resolution, Abuja

Most of the countries that experienced violent conflict during the period have now recently entered into an era of peace consolidation and peace building, albeit with continued fragile security. Sierra Leone, Liberia and Guinea-Bissau are currently all on the agenda of the UN Peace building Commission (PBC).

Some of the old challenges to regional peace and security remain, in varying degrees and numbers, in many of the 16 countries that make up the sub-region. However, it has become apparent in very recent times that a number of relatively “new” potential drivers of conflict and challenges to security have been emerging. It is this latter phenomenon that this paper has been designed to address, to identify and analyze the key emerging challenges, especially with regard to how these new challenges could impact the incursion of China into the region.

Four major emerging threats have been identified in the West African sub-region that pose serious threats to the security of the sub-region and which must be taken cognizance of by the Chinese:

1. Drug Trafficking and Organized Crime
2. Terrorism
3. Challenges to Democratic Governance
4. Piracy

It must be noted that at the global level the “emerging threats” are not new issues. However, they have gained prominence in West Africa in recent years due to the significant scale in which they are beginning to be felt in the sub-region and the consequent challenges to regional stability that they now pose.

WEST AFRICA'S SECURITY VULNERABILITY

Despite the considerable progress made in development and peace consolidation in some parts of West Africa (and in some instances the notable democratic and socio-economic advances) and notwithstanding the fact that some countries, such as Ghana, have no history of violent national civil conflict, it seems that there

are apparent structural deficiencies which have made much of the region particularly susceptible to the emerging threats. These vulnerabilities include weak border control systems (leading to porous territorial boundaries), the inability of criminal justice systems to ensure effective operation of the rule of law and inadequate coordination and information-sharing among relevant national agencies, as well as limited institutional cooperation across borders with neighboring countries, among others.

These vulnerabilities seem to have exposed the sub-region to the emergence of relatively new threats to peace and security and to undermine the capacity of the sub-region to respond adequately to the impact of drugs, terrorism and piracy. Some general conclusions from analysis seem appropriate at this stage.

Identifiable inter-linkages between the various emerging threats are highlighted, as well as their linkages with the existing security challenges in the sub-region. Drug money laundered in the region funds the transit activity, including the sustenance and expansion, of drug trafficking networks, but is also a latent source of funding for violent insurrections, religious militancy and terrorism. It has also enabled the hollowing of state institutions from the inside out, through corruption of government officials and made affected countries susceptible to becoming “narco-states”. A related latent consequence is the potential for violent reaction resulting from disaffection about the socio-economic disparities created by the infusion of drug money. Negative trends due to structural deficiencies in the region have meant that the smuggling of arms, drugs and contraband, widespread corruption and poor governance can be exploited by terrorist organizations’ operatives, and the lines between Islamic militancy and organized crime and piracy can become blurred. High levels of youth unemployment, illegal arms trafficking, weak naval policing and socio-political disaffection have provided an enabling environment for criminal gangs engaged in piracy in West Africa.

The exploitation of underlying socio-economic challenges and ethnic differences, as well as possible funding by drug trafficking networks and relatively easy access to illegal weapons have influenced recent challenges to democratic governance in the region.

Efforts to effectively redress the emerging challenges will have to be primarily taken by the nation at immediate risk in the sub-region. However, this cannot be effective unless it is buttressed by strategic international partnerships primarily because of their transnational character.

THE EMERGING THREAT FROM DRUG TRAFFICKING

The UN Office on Drugs and Crime (UNODC) has noted that in recent years West Africa has emerged as a key transit point for illicit drugs, in particular cocaine, from Latin American countries to Europe. Not surprisingly, drug-trafficking has also now emerged as a credible threat to the ability of countries in West Africa to maintain peace and security. This is because of the drug traders' capacity to exploit and further undermine West Africa's already weak governance, impede its development, and potentially, to reignite its smoldering conflicts.

Growing demand in Europe for cocaine seems to be resulting in increased shipment from South America to Europe. (A contributing factor may also be tightening enforcement and interdiction along the traditional trafficking routes to North America.) Consequently, drug traffickers seem to have turned their attention to West Africa as a transit zone for conveying a range of illicit drugs to Europe, including heroin and cocaine.

The impact of the illicit trade on the local economy can sometimes be dramatic. For example, UNODC estimated in 2008 that in Guinea-Bissau the value of cocaine transported through the country may have been greater than the entire national income.

The ECOWAS Intergovernmental Action Group against Money Laundering in West Africa (GIABA) has noted that cocaine seizures in West Africa increased significantly since 2003 and 2004. The region's trans-shipment role for heroin and especially cocaine, as well as on a smaller scale from cannabis production, have resulted in the availability in the region of new sources of revenue derived from the drug trafficking. Small aircraft and ships are mainly used to transport cocaine from Latin America to West Africa. It is then repackaged in the region and sent on, especially to Europe, primarily by carriers or (human) "mules" on commercial aircraft, but also by sea or across the Sahara desert.

Drug money was laundered in the region principally to fund the transit activity including the sustenance and expansion of drug trafficking networks, and it is also a latent source to fund violent insurrections and religious militancy. A May 2010 report by GIABA entitled *Corruption–Money Laundering Nexus: An Analysis of Risks and Control Measures in West Africa*, noted that there was also growing evidence of wider laundering of drug profits in the region, especially in the property market. The UNODC report also noted that the street value of cocaine passing through the region has been estimated at some \$1 billion in 2009, and while it had recently noted some decrease in cocaine quantities passing through West Africa, the weakness of preventive capacity in the region ensured that this route from South America to Europe remained open and a major contributor to illegal earnings for those engaged in it.

A sign of another emerging threat is the appearance of reports of local consumption of cocaine in certain transit countries (e.g. Guinea-Bissau) and the emergence of related addictive behaviour among sections (albeit relatively small) of local population. This has been adding a new layer to the problems that have bedeviled the sub-region.

The following are some examples of some recent publicly known cases. Between 28 May and 1 June 2010, Liberia deported

seven people to the US after they were arrested for allegedly trying to ship 4,000 kilograms of cocaine there. The suspects were accused of trying to bribe key Liberian officials to facilitate large shipments of cocaine since 2007. (The deportees were subsequently charged by prosecutors in New York.) On 8 April 2010 the US accused two high-level military officials in Guinea-Bissau, former Navy Chief Rear Admiral José Américo Bubo Na Tchuto and Air Force Chief of Staff Ibraima Papa Camara, of drug running and imposed financial sanctions and proscribed US citizens from doing business with them under the Foreign Narcotics Kingpin Designation Act, commonly known as the “kingpin act.”

On 8 June 2010 Gambian authorities intercepted about two tonnes of cocaine bound for Europe with a street value estimated at US\$1 billion, together with large quantities of cash, arms and numerous revealing computer records. Twelve suspected traffickers were arrested.

THE EMERGING THREAT FROM TERRORISM

Over recent years it has emerged that, in addition to drug traffickers, and the related organized crime elements, terrorist groups have begun exploiting structural state weaknesses in the West African sub-region, including especially the porous borders and socioeconomic discontent. It seems that the other negative trends which are problematic in the region—the smuggling of arms, drugs and contraband, widespread corruption, poor governance and a history of hostage taking for ransom in the Sahelian region—have provided an opportunity for the entrance of terrorist organizations with operatives, and the lines between Islamic militancy and organized crime are becoming blurred.

Al-Qaida in the Islamic Maghreb (AQIM)

AQIM is the most well-known and verifiable terrorist group whose operation affects West Africa. AQIM is a terrorist

organization with its origins in Algeria (in North Africa). It has spread its operations to Mali, Mauritania and Niger (all in West Africa). It seems AQIM operatives have learned their techniques from Iraq, as well as in Afghanistan, and AQIM is gaining a foothold in lawless parts of regions in that part of the Sahara, with nomadic tribes, where local loyalties take precedence over other allegiances.

In Mauritania, in December 2007, four French tourists were murdered by attackers linked to Al-Qaida. In February 2008 gunmen alleged to have links with AQIM opened fire on the Israeli embassy in the capital, Nouakchott. In September of that year twelve Mauritanian soldiers were killed in an ambush claimed by AQIM. In August 2009, AQIM claimed responsibility for a suicide bomb attack directed at the French Embassy. In December of that same year Al-Qaida claimed responsibility for kidnapping two Italians, weeks after kidnapping three Spanish aid workers. Mauritania adopted new anti-terrorism law in July 2010, to enhance the powers of national security forces to combat AQIM. In September 2010, the Mauritanian air force launched attacks at suspected Al-Qaida militant bases in Mali, after kidnappers crossed into Mali with seven foreigners who had been abducted in Niger.

In Niger, in December 2008 the UN secretary-general's special envoy to Niger, Robert Fowler, and his aide were kidnapped by Al-Qaida. (They were both subsequently released in April 2009.) In April 2010, a French national was kidnapped near the borders with Mali and Algeria, with Al-Qaida claiming responsibility. The hostage was killed after a failed French rescue raid in Mali. In September 2010, seven foreigners were kidnapped in northern Niger. In January 2011, two French nationals, kidnapped by suspected AQIM militants, were killed in a rescue attempt involving French military forces. However, in April 2010 Mauritania, Mali, Niger and Algeria established a joint command to deal with the threat of terrorism.

The Taliban

On 10 and 12 February 2011, five alleged Taliban operatives were arrested by Liberian security personnel and subsequently transferred into the custody of the US. The five have since been charged in the US in connection with a plot to assist the Afghan Taliban by sending weapons to their insurgents and transporting tons of Afghan heroin through West Africa. The five arrested men were reported to have operated drug trafficking networks in Benin and elsewhere in the region. (Two Americans linked to the plot were arrested in Romania and were charged with conspiracy to sell automatic rifles, surface-to-air missiles and other weapons to the Taliban to support their operations.)

These particular arrests, while achieved as a result of a security operation by Liberian and US undercover agents posing as Taliban, nevertheless confirm the general threat that exists and the way that the sub-region's vulnerabilities could be exploited by terrorists elsewhere to further their purposes including using the area to launch attacks both sub-regionally or elsewhere.

THE EMERGING THREATS OF REGIONAL CHALLENGES TO DEMOCRATIC GOVERNANCE

Elections and the Winner Takes All Principle

Recent challenges to democratic governance in West Africa in the form of election-related disputes (e.g. Côte d'Ivoire) as well as the resurgence of coups d'état (e.g. Guinea), have in some cases threatened deterioration in national security apparatuses, with consequent threats to peace and security in fragile neighboring states. The fiercely competitive nature of party politics has been a factor threatening stability in the region in large part because there is a widespread perception of elections as a "winner takes all" event. This perception, against a backdrop of palpable inter-ethnic tensions, raises the stakes and risks for all those involved.

Countries like Ghana have successfully transitioned from one

government to another through credible democratic elections. However, in a sense this may be the exception rather than the rule. Nigeria's 2007 elections left much to be desired. The violence that broke out in the northern parts of Nigeria in the aftermath of the 2011 elections illustrated the extent that reactions can go as a result of zero-sum character of electoral victories. The 2010 presidential elections in Guinea led to the outbreak of violence along ethnic lines that threatened to engulf the country in civil war, with potential security risks for its neighboring countries.

In Côte d'Ivoire, the case of the election dispute over the outcome of the 28 November 2010 presidential elections, which was designed to help bring closure to the country's peace and security challenges, has graphically underlined the problem. The refusal of the camp of Laurent Gbagbo to cede office, following UN certification of the results in favour of his opponent Alassane Ouattara, led to a four-month long tense standoff and widespread violence against civilians. There was a real fear that the country would unravel into full scale civil war, with a possible domino effect on its neighbouring countries, especially those that are recently emerging from conflict like Liberia and fragile states like Guinea.

The zero-sum-game increasingly being adopted by some key political actors seems to be producing a trend in which democratic elections are being used as occasions to exploit underlying socio-economic and ethnic differences to reinforce bids for power. This seems to be accompanied by an upsurge in violence which increasingly is being seen in periods when general elections are being held in countries in the region, as in northern Nigeria in 2011. Partisan security forces have become part of the problem and the judicial machinery often seems complicit or to be turning a blind eye to electoral rigging and violence. The judiciary also in some contexts seems influenced by the "winner takes all" culture, leading to pervasive impunity and weak rule of law.

Renewed Propensity to Unconstitutional Changes of Government

Another factor in the emerging threats to stability, which may be linked to or even result from the “winner takes all” culture, has been a renewed pattern of unconstitutional changes in government by coups d’état in West Africa in recent times. While coups d’état are not new phenomena in West Africa’s chequered political history, the recent unconstitutional changes in government have given rise to concern especially since the post-Cold War era. Coup attempts have also led to violent civil strife (e.g. Liberia, Sierra Leone and Côte d’Ivoire) and affected stability in neighbouring countries.

In Guinea a military junta seized power on 23 December 2008 after the death of long-serving President Lansana Conte. The coup was widely condemned internationally. Both the AU, on 29 December 2008, and the Economic Community of West African States (ECOWAS), on 10 January 2009, decided to suspend Guinea until the return of constitutional order in the country. The intense domestic pressure and political response including mass democratic protests was surpassed by the killing of over a hundred civilians by security forces. However, following strong international pressure, including a presidential statement by the Security Council about possible prosecution of the junta leaders found to be responsible for the killings before the ICC, the coup leaders relented on their bid for power and held elections leading to the eventual choice of a civilian president.

In August 2008, authorities in Guinea-Bissau uncovered an attempted coup d’état, allegedly organized by the then navy chief of staff, Rear Admiral José Américo Bubo Na Tchuto. Bubo NaTchuto, who was suspended and kept under house arrest, subsequently escaped to Gambia where the national authorities reported his arrest and sought the assistance of the UN to return him to Guinea-Bissau. On 6 August 2008 in Mauritania, General Mohamed Ould Abdel Aziz, former chief of staff of the Mauritanian army and head of the Presidential Guard, took power

from Mauritania's first democratically elected president, Sidi Mohamed Ould Cheikh Abdallahi, in a coup. Presidential elections were eventually organized by the junta in July 2009, with its leader Abdel Aziz prevailing as the winner.

In early 2009, Niger witnessed what some described as a "constitutional coup". President Mamadou Tandja had ruled Niger for more than a decade when he was toppled by a coup in February 2010. Tandja sought to extend his stay in power in 2009 by changing the constitution to allow him to seek a third term, with his supporters citing the relative socio-economic gains that he had made. Niger's Constitutional Court thrice ruled that Tandja's plans for a referendum on the issue were illegal. However, Tanja responded by disbanding both the court and parliament, and assumed emergency powers. A referendum was subsequently held in August 2009, with Tandja winning. But the opposition described the referendum results as rigged and accused the president of staging a coup.

In October 2010, a referendum was held in Niger and approved a new constitution drawn up to restore civilian rule. Presidential and parliamentary elections were held in January 2011. A run-off presidential race was held on 12 March 2011 with opposition leader Mahamadou Issoufou emerging as the winner with 58 percent of the votes.

THE EMERGING THREAT FROM PIRACY

The West African coast has been listed among the International Maritime Organization's (IMO) top seven piracy hotspots in the world in its 2009 Annual Report. Piracy in West Africa has both political and economic causes. It often occurs in places where there is a lack of law enforcement on the seas, excessive poverty and resentment of commercially successful vessels. The coasts of parts of West Africa fulfil these three criteria. Our interviews in the region suggest that, apart from the situation in Somalia (in East

Africa), West Africa has some of the most volatile and dangerous seas in Africa.

Among the other factors contributing to the emergence of piracy off the Western Africa coast have been the proliferation of arms in the region (due to recent history of civil wars and weak state controls), as well as high levels of youth unemployment. Unemployed youths have been lured into criminal groups engaged in piracy or the theft of crude oil (referred to as illegal oil bunkering). The International Chamber of Commerce's Commercial Crime Services has, for instance, highlighted some areas in the subregion, including Lagos and Bonny River (Nigeria), Conakry (Guinea) and Douala Outer Anchorage (Cameroon), as being piracy prone areas and cautioned mariners to be watchful when transiting those areas.

It has been estimated by the International Maritime Bureau (IMB) that the majority of incidents of piracy (54 percent) in West Africa between 2001 and 2008 occurred in Nigeria. In the case of Nigeria, piracy is linked to the large scale of oil bunkering which is sold to vessels offshore. This trade has drawn in illegal oil buyers and arms traders in the Gulf of Guinea coast off Nigeria. Given the increasing number of off-shore oil resources that have been discovered along the coast of West Africa (e.g. in Ghana, Sierra Leone and Liberia), an area of particular concern could be attacks along these poorly policed territorial waters by pirates, either on oil rigs or against commercial vessels.

Effects of Piracy

The effects of piracy are quite far reaching. In the immediate sub-region pirates have been reported to use proceeds from their activities to arm rebel groups (e.g. in the Niger Delta of Nigeria), thus posing a direct threat to the stability of affected countries. Piracy further adversely impacts domestic economies and, therefore, impacts political stability. Disruption of the fishing industry harms local economies and leaves people more susceptible

to further impoverishment. As pirate attacks increase, states that cannot effectively combat pirates lose their economic capacity also because trading companies begin to avoid their territorial waters and ports, searching for safer alternatives. This negatively impacts the flow of foreign direct investment and trade.

Where pirates are allowed to operate successfully, it could be at the expense of the wider global economy, including the loss of goods meant to be traded between countries. This not only harms the countries themselves, but also provides a disincentive to companies wishing to ship their goods across international waters, with a consequent effect on global economic activity. Thus, as has been seen in the case of Somalia, piracy can actively hinder international economic development and reduce the benefits of globalization for both developing and developed countries.

SECURITY THREATS AGAINST CHINESE INTERESTS

Ever since China first began investing in Africa, its interests have been exposed to various kinds of security threats, ranging from armed robberies and labour protests to attacks by rebel groups. For example in April 2006 militants in the Port Harcourt detonated a car bomb to warn that Chinese oil companies could suffer further attacks. In January 2007 5 Chinese telecom workers were kidnapped by gunmen in Port Harcourt. These incidents are partly explained by the fact that Chinese companies have been inclined to take bigger risks than their Western counterparts and even looking for business opportunities in locations left vacant by others.

While Chinese investments and citizens are at times the victims of indiscriminate violence and crime in high-risk areas, they have also been consciously targeted in several situations. Perceptions of Chinese investments as being detrimental to the development of the local economy have triggered anti-Chinese sentiment in other parts of Africa, such as Zambia, Lesotho and the DRC. The

confrontations include attacks, riots and other forms of economically and politically motivated violence that has been directed at Chinese citizens and investments in Africa since 2004. The most prominent cases include attacks by rebel groups in Sudan and Nigeria motivated by efforts to force China to give up its support for the respective governments.

China's Response to Security Threats

As China increases its presence in Africa, it is forced to adopt new measures to deal with the new challenges threatening the West African sub-region. Beijing has mainly chosen to deal with security issues by means of diplomatic efforts. The Chinese Foreign Ministry in 2006 set up a consular protection department in order to improve the protection of Chinese nationals overseas. However, the assistance that Chinese citizens in Africa can expect from its government is limited. In cases of kidnapping, for example, the official guide to China's consular protection advises citizens to get in touch with the Chinese diplomatic or consular mission as soon as possible. Thereafter "a consular officer will ask the competent authorities of the country to look for the missing person or rescue the kidnapped." Beijing relies on international rule of law, the UN framework, and working relations with various governments in order to safeguard its interests in Africa, i.e. citizens and investments.

But with respect to emerging threats China's security co-operation will have to be made more robust. Right now China's military representation is limited roughly 15 defence attachés in Africa, where it has embassies in 48 out of 49 countries with allegiance to Beijing. By contrast, China has a defence attaché in nearly every European capital.

The number of Chinese military troops in Africa is roughly 1,500 Chinese personnel involved in UN peacekeeping operations (UNPKO). These are largely civilian police, military observers, engineers and medical personnel. Roughly three quarters of

Chinese personnel in UN operations are deployed in Africa. Some observers argue that China's hunger for oil and other natural resources has led it to engage in international operations in resource rich African countries, reflected by the large Chinese deployment in UN operations in oil-rich Sudan. Instead, China emphasizes that peacekeeping efforts can contribute in securing a healthy and stable global economic development, which will in turn serve its economic interests by safeguarding demand in overseas markets. By participating in UNPKO, China can also improve its international reputation, which is of high value in its pursuit of economic benefits.

However, quite significantly, China has active security cooperation with African governments, laid out in its Africa Policy of 2006. In the white paper, Beijing notes the importance of exchange of intelligence and close co-operation in order to deal with non-traditional security threats. It also vows to promote exchange of military technology. In 2007 and 2008, China accepted senior military delegations from 24 African countries including Nigeria. As part of this strategy, China is offering training courses to African militaries "for their own security".

China's sales of arms and other military equipment to African governments is also part of its security co-operation with the continent. China's military efforts in Africa may increase in the future. Chinese observers have suggested that Beijing is likely to benefit from developing a military presence in Africa. Indeed, Sino-African co-operation had already involved military matters, such as training of African troops, forming a foundation for a Chinese military presence.

Further military co-operation would be beneficial for the protection of Chinese citizens and interests such as resource-extraction projects. Issues of multilateral interest, such as the protection of investments and efforts to combat piracy would also be more effectively handled with the help from Chinese military. For instance, China in late 2008 deployed three vessels from its

naval fleet with about 800 sailors and 70 marines, to the waters off Somalia. In January 2009, two Chinese destroyers escorted four Chinese merchant ships from the Gulf of Aden. The Chinese vessels are also planned to escort UN ships carrying humanitarian aid. China could also provide assistance to the ECOWAS region to help combat piracy and other forms of sea-borne crime.

CONCLUSION

China is a burgeoning global power whose economic interests have rapidly spread to various parts of the world including West Africa. Current developments show us that West Africa is not a placid region but one beset by a variety of threats to regional security, both old and emerging ones. Since China's interests are long term in nature she may have to alter foreign dictum of non-involvement in the affairs of other countries to accommodate a form of co-operative involvement for purposes of fighting emerging threats that ultimately pose risks to both West Africa and China.

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CHAPTER 11

CHINA AND AFRICA: CONTRIBUTIONS TO WORLD PEACE

Zhan Shiming

It is necessary for us to make a brief assessment of the current international situations before discussing the contributions that China and Africa have made to world peace. China and Africa share similar visions towards the international situations, which is, generally speaking, a stable one. However, complex and profound changes continue to take place. Global issues represented by economic development, poverty, food safety, energy, climate change and prevention and treatment of serious diseases are becoming increasingly prominent and greater number of destabilizing factors and uncertainties on the rise. Both the traditional and non-traditional security factors are impacting world peace and development. Peace remains one of the key themes in the development of our times.

China, the largest developing country in the world, and Africa, the continent encompassing the largest number of developing countries, represent 25% and 34% respectively of the world's states and population. The ideas of peace inherent in the traditional cultures of China and Africa have produced endless wisdom to the world development. Ever since the founding of the People's Republic of China and the independence of African countries, both parties have played significant roles in exerted great influence on promoting and safeguarding the world peace.

China has declared to the rest of the world on many occasions that it takes a path of peaceful development and is committed to upholding world peace and promoting common development and prosperity for all countries. In September 2011, Chinese government issued the White paper of "China's Peaceful

Development”, declared solemnly again to the world that peaceful development is a strategic choice made by China to realize modernization, make itself strong and prosperous, and make more contribution to the progress of human civilization. China will unswervingly follow the path of peaceful development. Viewed in the broader, global and historical context, the path of peaceful development may be defined as follows: China should develop itself through upholding world peace and contribute to world peace through its own development. It should achieve development with its own efforts and by carrying out reform and innovation; at the same time, it should open itself to the outside and learn from other countries. It should seek mutual benefit and common development with other countries in keeping with the trend of economic globalization, and it should work together with other countries to build a harmonious world of durable peace and common prosperity. This is a path of scientific, independent, open, peaceful, co-operative and common development.

China plays an important role in safeguarding world peace and meeting global challenges. China is the only nuclear-weapon country that has publicly stated that it will not be the first to use nuclear weapons, or use or threaten to use nuclear weapons against non-nuclear-weapon states or nuclear-weapon-free zones. China has dispatched about 21,000 personnel on 30 UN peacekeeping missions, which is the highest number among the permanent members of the UN Security Council. China takes an active part in international co-operation in anti-terrorism and nonproliferation. It provides humanitarian aid and dispatches rescue teams to countries hit by severe natural disasters and deploys naval escort fleets to combat piracy in the Gulf of Aden and off the coast of Somalia. China is a member of over 100 inter-governmental international organizations, a party to over 300 international conventions, and an active participant in building the international system. China is the first developing country to formulate and implement the National Climate Change Programme. It is also one of the countries which

have made the greatest efforts in energy saving and emission reduction and which have made the fastest progress in developing new and renewable energy sources in recent years. China has played a constructive role in addressing international and regional hotspot problems. For instance, it calls for resolving the Korean nuclear issue, the Iranian nuclear issue and other hotspot issues through peaceful talks, and has helped to establish the Six-Party Talks mechanism on the Korean nuclear issue. China has settled historical boundary issues with 12 land neighbors. It calls for settling disputes over territory and maritime rights and interests with neighboring countries through dialogue and negotiation. For instance, China has made a constructive proposal to “shelve disputes and seek joint development” and done its utmost to uphold peace and stability in the South China Sea, East China Sea and the surrounding areas. China seeks to promote common development and prosperity in the Asia-Pacific region by pursuing bilateral cooperation and participating in regional and sub-regional cooperation. China has played a very important role in safeguarding world peace.

In recent years, the political situation in Africa has been stable on the whole. However, it is still one of the regions suffering from serious conflicts and turmoil. Among the 51 resolutions adopted by the UN Security Council (UNSC) in 2011, 39 are directly connected with Africa and 7 out of the present 15 UN peacekeeping operations are carried out in Africa.

However, the present turmoil and conflicts in certain parts of Africa cannot deny the enormous efforts that the African continent has made in seeking peace and stability. Following their independence, the countries in Africa have been conscientiously exploring a road to development suited to their national conditions and seeking peace, stability and development by joint efforts. Thanks to the concerted efforts of Africa countries and the Organization of African Unity (OAU) now the African Union (AU), the political situation in Africa has been stable on the whole,

and regional conflicts are being gradually resolved. The tendency for peace, stability and development becomes more apparent especially after the founding of the AU. Ever since 2003, the AU has directly intervened in the conflicts that happened in Burundi, Darfur of Sudan, Cote d'ivoire and Somali. It has played a positive role in preventing conflicts from getting out of control and in accelerating the early resolution of conflicts. In 2004, a Peace and Security Council (PSC) was set up under the AU, to serve as a standing decision-making and implementing organ for the prevention, control and settlement of conflicts. Hundreds of meetings have been held by PSC. The AU is also preparing the setting up a permanent African Standby Force (APF). The AU has, in addition, co-ordinated its positions with the international organizations including UN, to promote the peaceful resolution of regional conflicts.

Some of Africa's sub-regional organizations such as the ECOWAS and SDAC have also made great contributions to the resolution of the conflicts in their own regions. Some of the influential countries like Nigeria have been participating actively in the mediating, peace-making and peacekeeping in Africa. Remarkable work has been done by Nigeria in the peace process of West Africa by contributing money and dispatching peacekeepers and exerting irreplaceable influences in restoring peace in Sierra Leone and Liberia. Some of the political figures who have left office have also taken active parts in conflicts resolving activities. In addition, the general public in Africa have gradually taken a "zero-tolerance" attitude towards military coups and resist resolutely the resuming of power in breach of constitutional procedures. It can be said that a multi-dimensional and multi-faceted collective security mechanism is thus emerging, which is beneficial to the settlement of internal conflicts and the emergence of a stable situation. At the same time, Africa has as well devoted itself to the conflicts resolution outside this continent. Being one of the most supporters of UN peacekeeping operations, Africa

contributes more than 1/3 of the UN peacekeeping staff.

It is great significance for China and Africa to strengthen co-operation in peace and security. A number of African leaders have expressed their desire for China to intensify its participation in African security affairs, and security has become one of the critical areas where both parties will conduct co-operation, as referred to at the Forum on China-Africa co-operation. In 2006 China published its White-paper on policy towards Africa, intending to support the efforts by the AU and other Sub-regional organizations and African countries concerned to settle regional conflicts and it will provide assistance within its own capacity. China will urge the UNSC to pay more attention to and help resolve the regional conflicts in Africa. There is still much scope for China to do to help African countries develop economy and eliminate poverty in order to eradicate the sources for conflicts, to provide them with resources and equipment, personnel training, and strengthen the capability of the African countries. At present, the African countries are making attempts to gain the permanent seats of UNSC. China consistently insists prioritizing the enhancement of the representativeness and full engagement of the African countries not only in the UN, but in other international organizations. (I personally believe Nigeria is one of the best choices if any African countries have the opportunity to become a permanent member of the UNSC)

My conclusion is that China, the largest developing country following the path of peaceful development, and Africa, with the largest number of developing countries dedicated to stability, development and rejuvenation, have both made indispensable contributions to world peace and development.

CHAPTER 12

CHINA - AFRICA RELATIONS: COLLABORATION FOR GLOBAL PEACE, SECURITY AND INTEGRATION

Joseph H.P. Golwa, Ph.D

ABSTRACT

Historical and archeological evidences point to the existence of China-Africa relations to about 3000 years ago from discoveries of Chinese silk on Egyptian mummy. This is further sustained through the exchange of gifts and representatives by rulers of both ancient African kingdoms and Chinese Empire. These and other contacts explained the bonds which exist, and opened up the channels of subsequent engagements between China and Africa at both bilateral and multilateral climes. That contemporary challenges existed which manifest in form of globalization, climate change, and such other issues associated to international relations and politics, has not abrogated the age long mutuality, collegiality and respect in anyway. This paper is an attempt at interrogating this relation with a view to situating its relevance to collaboration for global peace, security and integration. This becomes expedient in the face of increasing threats to the collaboration for global peace, security and integration. The paper examines the problems confronting collaborative efforts to global peace, security and integration, and discusses the strategies for effective collaboration. It is the argument in this paper that building an integrated approach is sine qua non to achieving the main objective for global peace, security and integration. This approach must be

hinged on the principles of mutuality, equity, respect and trust. This position is necessary because of the negative perception of China-Africa relations that has been alleged to be anchored on inequality, distrust, negligence and disrespect.

INTRODUCTION

The early China and Africa contacts were informed by curiosity, respect and appreciation. These attributes have remain intact in subsequent interactions over the years and has even defined and shaped the participation of China and Africa in other international engagements till date. Egypt, the cradle of civilization had shown traces of fascination with Chinese fashion in the consistent way the great Cleopatra was always adorned in the Chinese silk. In fact, archeological findings reveal that Chinese silk was used on the Egyptian mummy about 3000 years ago. However, more formal contacts between China and Africa is traceable to the 2nd and 11th century, when Egypt commenced sending representatives to Chinese Emperors, and they also equally sent representatives, scholars and historians with gifts to African rulers. Apart from Egypt in North Africa, there had been sustained contacts between China and the peoples of Eastern Africa both commercially and diplomatically.

We need to clarify here the nature of China-Africa relations within the context of international law. Can China-Africa relations be viewed as a multilateral or bilateral relation? Though China is a recognized personality under international law, as well as other independent Africa countries, Africa as a continent is not recognized as such. But international organizations such as UN, EU, AU, ASEAN and ECOWAS are recognized as personalities. The reality on ground is that China deals with individual African states upon thorough understanding of the interests of both parties. In essence, the terms and conditions that defined China- Nigeria

relations, for instance, are not necessarily the same with the terms and conditions that defined China-Chad relations.

From whatever angle one views the China-Africa relations, whether from a multilateral or bilateral prism, the relationship has consciously secured the mutually beneficial interest of both parties by providing alternatives in a very competitive global environment and strengthening the involvement of China and Africa in global affairs. This point was underscored in Mr. Deng Boqing recent analysis (2011: 64), especially when he posited that:

China will continue to uphold the principle of equality and mutual benefit in its co-operation with other countries. China will never seek hegemonic power or colonize others. One of the core values of the Chinese civilization is that 'don't do unto others what you don't want others do unto you.' If one does not want to be bullied or oppressed, then he shall not bully or oppress others.

The late Chinese leader, Deng Xiao Ping earlier noted the mutual relations in the Sino-Africa relations when he said, 'let a million flowers blossom.' This is because China and Africa are committed as enterprising partners that are determine to surmount all cases of drawback. These drawbacks resulted from the activities of some scrupulous businessmen who engaged in unethical business practices that negatively impacted this age long collaboration for the benefit of both parties.

Africa had faced challenging periods in her history, particularly when she served as the battlefield for the proxy war that characterized cold war era especially between the Western Bloc and the Eastern Bloc. With the end of the Cold War era, it is expected that even the mentality of that era should cease, but that has continued to define and determine issues of global peace, security and integration. These are shown in the existence of sharp division amongst the great powers of the world in their responses to issues that ordinarily should be for collective peace and security. The

position exists in spite of Boutros-Ghali's advice (Boutros-Ghali, 1992:7) that:

Never again must the Security Council lose the collegiality that is essential to its proper functioning.... A genuine sense of consensus deriving from shared interests must govern its work, not the threat of veto or the power of any group of nations.

The remaining paper will discuss the following: the nature of collaboration for global peace, security and integration, the problems and challenges of collaboration for global peace and strategies for effective collaboration for global peace. The paper concludes on a cautious note that global collaboration is achievable through deliberation agenda that would reform the current international system away from perceived injustice, inequity and oppression to fairness.

THE NATURE OF COLLABORATION FOR GLOBAL PEACE, SECURITY AND INTEGRATION:

The nature of international system has contributed and defined the nature and character of collaboration for global peace, security and integration. But suffice it to say that global collaboration has come to be mostly co-ordinated on a multilateral basis, but with some success stories of bilateral and unilateral arrangements. Multilateral arrangements have enhanced the understanding of international relations, especially with its emphasis on the capacity to check arbitrariness and tendencies of stronger countries to take undue advantage of seemingly weaker countries. Multilateral arrangements saw to the establishment of international, regional and sub-regional bodies such as United Nations Organisation, African Union, Economic Community of West African States, Association of South East Asian Nations (ASEAN), etc to help galvanize efforts towards addressing issues of peace, security and

integration. Mr. Kofi Annan made reference to this position when he observed that “the greatest source of strength enjoyed by the United Nations stems from its universality of membership and the comprehensive scope of its mandates.”¹⁴⁶ This does not exist in a vacuum but is premised on the “potentially anarchical nature of the international society...and the sovereign equality of all the states actors.”¹⁴⁷

At the international level, the instrumentality of the United Nations has successfully been deployed or used in the promotion of global collaboration for peace, security and integration.

Established in 1945 with fifty-one independent sovereign states, the United Nations now consist of one hundred and ninety one memberships coming from all the continents of the globe. Through its six principal organs, the United Nations organization provides the avenue for collaboration for peace, security and integration.

The nature of collaboration for global peace, security and integration (Pg 250) established in 1945 with fifty-one (51) independent sovereign states, the United Nations now consist of one hundred and ninety one members coming from all the continents of the globe. Though its six principal organs the United National Organization provides the avenue for collaboration for peace, security and integration.

Since the end of the cold war, UN Intervention has shifted focus from interstate level to interstate conflicts which have continued to rise dramatically. With it corresponding increase in peace operation intended to manage these conflicts¹⁴⁸. A good

¹⁴⁶ Akindele, R.A., “Nigeria at the United Nations: An Overview” in Akinterinwa (ed.), *Nigeria and the United Nations Security Council*, Ibadan, Vantage Publishers Limited, 2005, p.8

¹⁴⁷ *Ibid*, p. 22

¹⁴⁸ See Michael Pugh and Waheguru Pal Sinah Sidhu (eds), *The United Nations and Regional Security European & Beyond* a project of the International Peace Academy, Lynne Rienner Publishers, inc. 2003, P.1

example is the 1990 intervention in Liberia by the economic community of West African States (ECOWAS) Ceasefire Monitoring Group (ECOMOG). This marked the beginning of a trend toward 'regionalization whereby regional actors became increasingly engaged in peace operations, either alongside the United Nations or occasionally autonomously.¹⁴⁹

Indeed, the many organisations having a relationship with the UN, and the regular meetings between them, the regional representatives and the UN, suggest the emergence of institutionalization partnerships, (if not in all cases), as a concept for sharing responsibility. This division of labour is implicit in the first paragraph of Article 52-

“Nothing in the present chapter precludes the existence of regional arrangements or agencies for dealing with such matters relating to the maintenance of international peace and security as are appropriate for regional action.¹⁵⁰

By implication, small crises that could be settled by peaceful means under chapter VI of the UN charter should now be first within the competence of regional arrangements. Major crises on the other hand have to be settled at the world level, including potential resort to chapter VII enforcement measures. The challenge remains that while these partnerships and multilateral diplomacy will always be cherished, the peculiarity of needs and challenges of African conflicts require an equally much more proactive and special attention particularly the five members of the UN Security Council. We agree no less with former president Olusegun Obasanjo when he expressed this much concern, thus;

¹⁴⁹ *Ibid*, p. 1

¹⁵⁰ *Ibid*, p.3

The time has come for the Security Council to assume its full responsibility... for too long, the burden of preserving international peace and security in West Africa has been left almost entirely on the shoulders of a few states in our sub-regional, the United Nations needs to do more in providing logistics and financial support to assist regional peace-keeping and peace-building efforts as well as the welfare of Refugees".¹⁵¹

It should be noted that the historical background of nations has always been determined by their character and attitude to enter into or engage in collaborative efforts towards international peace, security and integration. For Africa therefore, the history of colonialism and dictatorial regimes explained the seemingly constraint position to issues of global peace, security and integration. This suspicious stance however changed with the increasing demand by other members of the international community to engage the continent.

The gradual integration of the global community was hastened by the process of globalization which interfaces various elements of social life of the people particularly through technological advancement in information technology. The process of globalization itself has continued to define the processes for collaboration for global peace, security and integration. Globalization is therefore both a shield and a sword in international peace and security. This is because while this has hastened and precipitated the processes of international integration, it has

¹⁵¹ U.Joy Ogwu, and W. O. Alli (eds); years of reconstruction. Selected foreign policy speeches of Olusegun Obasanjo. (Nigerian Institute of International Affairs- NIIA- Lagos, 2007, P 40

continuously been deployed in the process of international disintegration. Some of the few instances where this happened include:

- (a) Global Terrorism: The increasing activities of terrorists groups with global networking and capacity to effectively deploy the readily available knowledge of Information Technological to lure people into joining them. For instance, Al-Qaida is one of the most effective international terrorist groups that have continued to define the character of international peace and security. They are reportedly being involved in the September 11, 2001 attacks on the world Trade Centre in New York City; the Pentagon in Arlington, Virginia; the March 11, 2004 bombings carried out by Islamic militants killing 191 people on the commuter rail system of Madrid, Spain; series of bombings carried out by Islamic militants killing 56 people in London on July 7, 2005; July 11, 2006 Mumbai explosion that killed 209 people. Other global terrorists activities include the continuous Arab – Israeli conflicts, especially between Israel and Hezbollah; the terrorist activities of Niger Delta militants in the kidnapping of Nigerians and foreign nationals alike, the activities of the *Boko Haram* Islamic sect, the Sudanese *Janjaweed* Militia; the *Al-shabaab* in Somalia that makes the Gulf of Eden unsafe for commercial activities.
- (b) The threat of Nuclear Terrorism: The allegation of the possibility of the technology for nuclear bomb straying into the hands of terrorists groups was succinctly captured by Venter (2007: xx) thus:

Al-Qaeda has also made no secret of its desire to obtain a dirty bomb. Its leaders in Iraq, Abu Hamza al-Muhajir, called for scientists to join them and experiment with radioactive devices for use against Coalition troops. And

let us not forget that even before the 2001 terror attack, Osama bin Ladan invited two Pakistani atomic scientists to visit a training camp in Afghanistan to discuss how to build bomb using stolen plutonium.”

(c) Piracy: The two most strategic international gulfs are the gulf of Eden and the gulf of guinea.¹⁵² The security of these two gulfs has been of concern to the international community because while the gulf of Eden is best strategic for international commerce, the gulf of guinea is very strategic for a number of reasons (Lubeck et al 2007):

- 1 Accelerating political turmoil in the Middle East due to the United States occupation of Iraq, Sunni-Shi’a rivalries and Islamist-based resistance movement, Rapidly growing global demand for oil, especially by China and India as well as United States and Europe;
- 2 Declining production among several core suppliers, and perhaps globally, as a result of depletion and underinvestment in the Persia Gulf region, and
- 3 Finally the September 11 attack on the United State which prompted the Bush Administration’s global war on terrorism (GWOT) based on the twin principles of “unilateralism” and “preemption”.

The security concern in this regard is the growing threats to peace and security in the regions due to the activities of sea pirates. This state of insecurity in the gulf of guinea, for instance is further exacerbated by the activities of militia groups in the Nigerian Niger Delta area and the attitude of political leadership in the region in protection of regime (“...whose interest may not necessarily

¹⁵² Vreÿ, Francois “Bad order at sea: From the Gulf of Aden to the Gulf of Guinea”, in *African Security Review*, vol. 18, No. 3 Pretoria: Institute for Security Studies

coincide with those of the population as a whole...”) as opposed to protection of the state (Eze, 2010:267).

- (d) Drug trafficking: It has been established that proceeds of drug trafficking has been used in the execution of other criminal activities of international proportion that are threats to global peace and security. Terrorists’ organizations have consistently engaged in illicit drug trafficking as avenue for financing their terror activities.¹⁵³
- (e) Human trafficking: Apart from the fact that human trafficking challenges international immigration norms, it has been categorized as the “modern slavery” because people are subjected to inhuman and degrading conditions both in transit and through forced labour.¹⁵⁴

PROBLEMS AND CHALLENGES OF COLLABORATION FOR GLOBAL PEACE, SECURITY AND INTEGRATION

Increasingly, the world communities are coming closer to each other and what ordinarily would have been the problem of a state in Africa has assumed such a proportion and magnitude that it will impact on the political, social and economic life of the American or Russian community. What this portends to humanity is that members of the international community must come together to confront and address issues collectively and build synergy for sustaining peace and security in the world. In this section, we intend to discuss issues that have posed as problems or challenges

¹⁵³ Shehu, Abdullahi, “Drug Trafficking and its Impact on West Africa”, in Paper Presented at the Meeting of the Joint Committee on Political Affairs, Peace and Security/NEPAD and Africa Peer Review Mechanism of the ECOWAS Parliament, Held in Katsina, Nigeria, on 28 July to 1st August 2009

¹⁵⁴ Agbu, Osita “Corruption and Human Trafficking: The Nigerian Case”, *West Africa Review*, Vol. 4, No. 1 (2003); Innocent Ebirim, “Human Trafficking: Economic Implications”, *New Nigerian*, 25 February 2002

to collaboration for global peace, security and integration.

Of note in this respect is the absence of consensus among members of the international community on what constitutes peace and security, and the threats to global peace and security. For instance, individuals or groups that are considered terrorists are hailed as freedom fighters by some communities. In fact, members of the United Nations Security Council (UNSC) are not in agreement on the types of sanctions to be meted on defaulters of international laws. While some members would advocate for economic sanctions, others would prefer military action.

The changing nature of international relations and politics has constituted a major challenge to collaborative efforts. This is because nation-states tend to pursue programmes that would protect their interest most, than holding onto relations that are detrimental to their interest.

Also because some members of the international community have not domesticated nor ratified vital international instruments, there exist incompatible national legal regimes that challenge collaboration among nation-states. For instance, there are about 322 Nigerians currently in detention in China. Of this number, 98 are in prison and 5 on death row, 304 awaiting deportation. The offences range from human and drug trafficking, documentation fraud, business fraud, robbery, gun running and immigration offences. While the worst some of these offences would attract is life imprisonment, under the Chinese legal regime the punishment is death sentence. (Eze, 2010: 197). These are some of the issues to be addressed by the Africa-China relations being sustained.

The call for the reform of the United Nations Security Council (UNSC) to give other continents that have no representation some sense of belonging is long overdue. The issue in the call for the reform of the UN is centred principally around the need to expand the UNSC to include representations from Africa, Asia and Latin America with members having equal rights in terms of decision making. This call has been the position of China and African

countries especially Nigeria. It would be recalled that during former President Olusegun Obasanjo's official visit to China between 14th – 17th April, 2005, he unequivocally urged the Government and peoples of the People's Republic of China to support Nigeria's aspiration to represent Africa at the United Nations Security Council in the event the proposed reform scaled through.

Growing influence of Multinational Corporation with national interest is indeed a challenge. This is principally because, these multinational corporation's allegiance is more to their home countries than the host countries. Their involvement in the domestic affairs of the host countries has increasingly destabilized political, economic and social lives of their host countries. There are reported cases of the involvement of these multinational corporations in the proliferation of small arms and light weapons, unconstitutional change of government, extra-judicial killings, and in causing disaffection in their host communities. The protracted violent crisis in the Niger Delta area has been connected to the unethical corporate practices of the extractive industries in the area that degrade the environment and negatively impacted on the health and living standard of the people. The seeming marginalization of the host communities by these multinational corporations informed their hostile attitude towards them.

International affairs is alleged to be anchored on inequality, injustice and unfairness. This is informed by the imbalance in the nature and mode of operation of the global system. It is perceived by the majority of world inhabitants to be fashioned in such a way to favour the interest of few at the expense of the majority. Advanced countries lusher in the wealth, while other countries continue to wallow in abject poverty, hunger and diseases.

Acute poverty has been a major challenge to the attainment of global peace and security and it literally kills. Hunger, malnutrition, and disease claim the lives of millions of people each year. It is evident that poverty exhausts governing institutions, depletes

resources, weakens leaders, and crushes hope, fueling an unpredictable blend of nervousness and insecurity. Poor and weak countries can blow up into aggression or implode into collapse, imperiling their citizens, neighbours and the wider world as livelihoods are crushed, investors flee and ungoverned territories become a spawning ground for terrorism, trafficking, environmental devastation and disease. Yet if poverty leads to insecurity, it is also true that the destabilizing effects of conflict make it harder for leaders, institutions and outsiders to promote human development. Civil wars may result in as many as 30 percent more people living in poverty—and as many as one-third of civil wars ultimately reignite.¹⁵⁵

Another major challenging factor which has potentiality for global integration is the problem of global natural disaster. Indeed, between 1950 and 2010, there were 19,370 great natural disasters globally costing the world \$2.1trillion with over 2,300,000 fatalities. The magnitude of destruction of these natural disasters was more in the continent of Asia, followed by North America and least in Africa. In all these disasters, the world witnessed increased collaboration among peoples from across the globe in response to it.¹⁵⁶

Global economic recession has challenged countries' responsiveness to new and emerging peace and security problems.¹⁵⁷ This is even pronounced in developing economies, especially in Africa whose economies are not responsive enough to the plight of the ordinary citizens. The eventual repercussion for

¹⁵⁵ Brainard, Lael et al "Conflict and Poverty", in Brookings Global Economy and Development, Brookings Institution Press, 2007

¹⁵⁶ Andrea De Guttery, Marco Gestri, Gabriella Venturini (eds.) *International Disaster Response Law*, The Hague: T.M.C. ASSER PRESS, 2012

¹⁵⁷ Obi, Cyril I. *Perspectives On Côte d'Ivoire: Between Political Breakdown And Post-Conflict Peace*, Discussion Paper 3 9, Nordiska Afrikainstitutet, Uppsala 2007, P. 17

this is always being the contentions with the state as the civil populace vent its frustration on the state. Indeed, part of the precursor to build up to the Arab uprising is the frustration of the youth with a system that has not innovatively responded to the economic hardship of its people.

STRATEGIES FOR EFFECTIVE COLLABORATION FOR GLOBAL PEACE, SECURITY AND INTEGRATION:

First and foremost, it is critical to underscore the fact that in view of new and emerging challenges to global peace and security, global stakeholders must ensure the viability of international institutions that would both sustain and improve on new and existing collaborative initiative amongst members of the international community.

Secondly and for this to be achieved, peoples of the world must have sense of belonging in global governance. To this end the call for the reform of the United Nation Security Council becomes as paramount now that threats to international peace and security are globalised.

Thirdly, the activities of global players such as multinational business corporations, with headquarters in the global north, but operating mainly in the global south must conform and respect international standard practices. This so because as BS Chimni warns:

‘...the relationship between the State and the United Nations is being reconstituted. There is the trend to turn to the transnational corporate actor for financing the organization. The corporate actor also has come to play a greater role within different UN bodies. Its growing influence and linkages is being used by the corporate actor to legitimize its less than wholesome activities. As Onyango and Udigama warn, ‘a danger exists of such

linkages being exploited by the latter, while only paying lipservice to the ideals and principles for which the United Nations was created and to which it continues to be devoted. Moreover, because the actors who are being linked up with have considerably more financial and political clout, there is a danger that the United Nations will come out the loser'.¹⁵⁸

Indeed, the narratives of most terrorist organizations for attacking western interests across the world have been the uneven and unfair nature of global system or international order.

In his contribution entitled *Sino - Nigeria Relations: Growing on the Basis of Mutual Respect?* Chuka Udedibia (Eze, 2010: 203 – 204) advocates the adoption of a Chinese Public Security Bureau type of arrangement as strategy for responding to the challenges of global peace, security and integration. The Chinese Public Security Bureau ensures the screening of would-be Chinese travellers and determining whether the individual has good reason for travelling. This they do by ascertaining the purpose of the trip, the traveller's financial sustainability abroad, the relevance or value of the trip to the individual or the nation, the background of the individual, and so on. The Bureau where satisfied that the traveller would cause any embarrassment to the country issuing him/her a clearance letter of eligibility to travel. The clearance letter forms part of the documents to be submitted for the issuance of visa. By so doing Chinese citizens only leave China for meaningful purpose and are not nuisances to other countries.

¹⁵⁸ Chimni, B.S., *Third World Approaches to International Law: A Manifesto*, *International Community Law Review* 8: 3–27, 2006. 3 2006 Koninklijke Brill NV. Printed in the Netherlands, p. 14

CONCLUSION

It is the argument in this paper that China and Africa have come a long way in the collaboration against threats to global peace, security and integration. When colonialism was a threat to world peace and security, China stood by Africa in the liberation struggle, the fight against apartheid in South Africa and imperialism. China and Africa stood together to ensure that the People's Republic of China occupied her rightful place in the United Nations by being a recognized member, and in assuming a position at the UNSC too. In the face of contemporary global threats to peace and security, the solution lays in a stronger global integration based on those principles that guided Sino-Africa relations, that is, "sovereign equality, non aggression, mutual respect and peaceful co-existence." The paper supported the argument for the introduction of the Chinese Public Security Bureau that normally screen eligibility of would-be Chinese travellers before visa applications are issued in other African countries to check the embarrassing situation where Africans constitute security threats to their host countries.

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CHAPTER 13

APPROACHES FOR FOSTERING CIVIL SOCIETY ENGAGEMENTS IN LIGHT OF CHINA - AFRICA RELATIONS

**Paul Andrew Gwaza
and
Caleb Ayuba**

INTRODUCTION

The realm of bilateral (BL), multilateral (ML) and limited multilateral (LML)¹⁵⁹ diplomatic engagements are predominantly those for the interactions of state officialdom and not necessarily for civil society, but the latter can influence it negatively or positively. That being the case, track two level of diplomacy is concerned with non-official engagements of actors such as scholars, retired civil and military officials, public figures, social activists, with the aim of building confidence and fostering mutually beneficial relations. It is in this light that Abdul Raufu Mustapha's thesis titled, *The Three Faces of Nigeria's Foreign Policy: Nationhood, Identity and External Relation*,¹⁶⁰ succinctly articulates Nigeria's foreign policy as being influenced by three main determinants, which include the domain of formal state officialdom; the Nigeria's fractured nationhood and the Nigeria's global reputation. He argues that whilst at the level of formal official engagements, activities are regulated by the state, the latter

¹⁵⁹ Gabriella Blum, "Bilateralism, Multilateralism, and the Architecture of International Law", *Harvard International Law Journal*, VOLUME 49, NUMBER 2, SUMMER 2008

¹⁶⁰ Mustapha, A., 'The Three Faces of Nigeria's Foreign Policy: Nationhood, Identity and External Relation' in Adebajo, A. & Mustapha A. (eds.), *Gulliver's Troubles: Nigeria's Foreign Policy after the Cold War*, Cape Town: University of KwaZulu-Natal Press, 2008, p. 41

two only influences and impact the nature of Nigeria's foreign policy practices. To be sure, Mustapha is of the believe that foreign policies mirror domestic considerations in the sense that they shape 'the viewpoints and value premises of the personnel in the foreign policy process, whose task it is to make day-to-day judgments on many practical aspects of foreign policy.'¹⁶¹

Similarly, Zhu Liqun¹⁶² argues that China's foreign policy is influenced by both international and domestic circumstances, which informed the actions or inactions of China in almost all her international engagements. Thus, in finding explanations for the nature of changes in China's international engagements, Liqun provides theoretical basis in a handful of perspectives including what the paper calls domestic political perspective. This perspective therefore argues that China's participation in the international system is the product of domestic political process. But the strength of Liqun's thesis, in this regards, lies in its categorization of China's practice of engagement, of which the paper identifies to include goal setting and framing practice, persuading and mobilizing practice, mimicking and learning practice, internalizing and socializing practice, creating and innovating practice. The significance of these practices for China's foreign policy is that:

Practice of engagement is a socialization process of power and a constant process of transforming and rebuilding the common community. In this process, the practice of engagement constantly generates new recognition, promoting the evolution of relations with the international system.¹⁶³

¹⁶¹ Ibid, p. 52

¹⁶² Liqun, Zhu, "An Explanatory Practice Model of China's Participation in International System", in *Foreign Affairs Review*, China Foreign Affairs University, Vol. 4, 2011

¹⁶³ Ibid, p. 21

What can therefore be gleaned from the foregoing is that China has always engaged Africa with open arms and mind to socialize, transform and rebuild a common community for the mutual benefits of the parties involved and for the good of the international community in general.

This paper is an attempt to demonstrate the potentials of civil society in advancing and determining the nature, character and feature of China-Africa relations, especially by driving and strengthening closer ties amongst their respective state and non-state actors.

The remaining part of the paper will concentrate on conceptualizing civil society from both China and African perspectives, examining the nature of contemporary China – Africa relations, the complementary role of civil society in fostering China – African relations, challenges and prospects for civil society playing the envisaged complementary role, and then ultimately, the a conclusion.

CONCEPTUALISING CIVIL SOCIETY:

Coming from different historical orientations, Africa and China are bound to have different understanding of civil society and its role in social reengineering and diplomacy, especially with the complicated colonial legacy and skewed nature of contemporary international engagements that is predominated by Eurocentric tendencies. This being the case, there cannot be a universally accepted origin and conception of civil society that maybe generally applied to both African and Chinese context. However, the common denominator is the timeless existence of the family and state even in the face of the negative Eurocentric narrative that nothing happened, for instance, in Africa's prehistoric period as an excuse for massive atrocities and willful dehumanization that took

place during the enslavement, colonization and exploitation of the continent by the Europeans.¹⁶⁴ Describing the ruthlessness that characterized the scrambling and partitioning of Africa by Europeans, Young Crawford argues that:

Africa, in the rhetorical metaphor of the imperial jingoism, was a ripe melon awaiting carving in the late nineteenth century. Those who scrambled the fastest won the largest slices and the right to consume at their leisure the sweet, succulent flesh. Stragglers snatched only small servings or tasteless portions; Italians, for example, found only deserts on their plate.¹⁶⁵

In fact, Ekeh has argued that European colonizers achieved this by aggressively inculcating in Africans and their fellow countrymen the existence of: the backwardness of the African past, inter-tribal feuds; the lack of contributions of Africans to the building of Africa, the benefits of European colonial rule, the administrative cost of colonization to Europeans, and the distinction between natives and westernized Africans.¹⁶⁶

Thus, in Gathii's thinking, negative Eurocentric narrative has been deployed into international law to further sustain the impoverishment of the global south, especially Africa, which

¹⁶⁴ Mutua, M. "(Book Review) Africa: Mapping New Boundaries in International Law by Jeremy I. Levitt", in *American Journal of International Law*, Vol. 104, No. 3, pp. 532-538, July 2010, p. 532

¹⁶⁵ Crawford Young, "The Heritage of Colonialism", in John W. Harbeson & Donald Rothchild (eds.) *Africa in World Politics*, 19 cited in *ibid*, Mutua, M. "(Book Review) Africa: Mapping New Boundaries in International Law by Jeremy I. Levitt", p. 532

¹⁶⁶ Ekeh, P.P. "Colonialism and the Two Publics in Africa: A Theoretical Statement", in *Comparative Studies in Society and History*, Vol. 17, No. 1. (Jan., 1975), pp.97-100

according to Siba N’zatioula Grovogui¹⁶⁷ was a deliberate ploy to divide the world into Western and non-Western order with sovereign belonging to the Europeans and their multinational corporations. He observed that:

The relationship between the European self and the non-European other has been characterized primarily by confrontation arising from European expansion and the ensuing exploitation of the other. This exploitative interaction has been organized around a set of value, an ideology, whose philosophic system, or episteme emerged during the Enlightenment to guide western praxis ... In addition, the constellation of principles and rules that applied to non-Europeans was part of a generative process depended upon a tradition of alterity and erasure, of silencing the rights of non-Western claims, and interests of non-western societies.¹⁶⁸

This thinking is very important in appreciating civil society’s emergence and engagements in post colonial context, which is the subject of Peter P. Ekeh’s thesis in the seminal work titled *Colonialism and the Two Publics in Africa: A Theoretical Statement*.¹⁶⁹ Ekeh argues that one of the conscientious legacies of colonialism in Africa is the bestowment of two publics that are constantly on collision course with each other. He has used the two

¹⁶⁷ N’zatioula Grovogui, Siba *Sovereigns, Quasi Sovereigns and Africans: Race and Self-Determination in International Law*, Minnesota: University of Minnesota Press, 1998

¹⁶⁸ Ibid, p. 63

¹⁶⁹ Ekeh, P.P. “Colonialism and the Two Publics in Africa: A Theoretical Statement”, in *Comparative Studies in Society and History*, Vol. 17, No. 1. (Jan., 1975), pp. 91-112

publics (civic and primordial public) to explain the nature of interaction that colonialism designed the post independence African state to express. He insists that:

In fact there are two public realms in post-colonial Africa, with different types of moral linkages to the private realm. At one level is the public realm in which primordial groupings, ties, and sentiments influence and determine the individual's public behaviour.¹⁷⁰ While many Africans bend over backwards to benefit and sustain their primordial publics, they seek to gain from the civic public...While the individual seeks to gain from the civic public, there is no moral urge on him to give back to civic public in return for his benefits. Duties, that is, are de-emphasized while rights are squeezed out of the civic public with the amorality of an artful dodger.¹⁷¹

However, it is the commentary on Ekeh's related works in the light of the 1975 paper by Professor Eghosa Osaghea¹⁷² that brought in bold relief implications of his thesis on civil society in post-independence African states. Osaghea insists that to Ekeh, 'colonialism turned African society upside down and inside out, and marked a re-invention of social formations that have endured in various ways till this day.'¹⁷³ This rendition was made at a time when the notion of civil society was not a popular concept in

¹⁷⁰ Ibid, p. 92

¹⁷¹ Ibid, p. 107

¹⁷² Eghosa E. Osaghae, "Colonialism and Civil Society in Africa: The Perspective of Ekeh's Two Publics", in a Paper presented at the Symposium on Canonical Works and Continuing Innovation in African Arts and Humanities, Accra, Ghana, 17-19 September 2003

¹⁷³ Ibid, p. 2

Africa. But the fact that civil society is understood to imply and 'emphasize publicness, civility, nationalness, homogeneity and cohesiveness' and Ekeh's insistence of the subtractive tendencies of primordial public on civic public suggest fundamentally that ethnicity is central to the development of civil society in Africa.¹⁷⁴ As Osaghea rightly observed, Ekeh's work enables us to understand the nature of civil society in African context as an exit site and shadow state, especially the interaction or reflection of ethnic forces in its structuration.¹⁷⁵

This is important because civil societies in Africa are an arena of fundamental contradictions and contestations and not the cohesive or consensual formation it ought to be.¹⁷⁶ The strength of Ekeh's hypothesis with regards to civil society in Africa lies in the fact that it is skewed towards primordial public where ethnicity and corruption is used to gain advantage to employ resources in the civic public to further group, communal and private interest. In his later work, Ekeh understood civil society within African context as comprising "free associations whose operations have the consequences, whether intended or unintended, of promoting individual liberty and whose existence is related to the functioning of the state and the public domain".¹⁷⁷

Be that as it may, civil society in Africa encapsulates several coalitions of Non-Governmental Organisations, Faith-Based Organisations, Community-Based Organisations, professional bodies, labour unions, and the media, that are an integral part of the socio-economic and political fabric of the continent.¹⁷⁸ They have

¹⁷⁴ Ibid, pp. 10-11

¹⁷⁵ Ibid, p. 2

¹⁷⁶ Ibid, p. 2

¹⁷⁷ Ekeh, P.P. "Historical and Cross-Cultural Contexts of Civil Society in Africa", Paper presented at the USADI workshop on Civil Society, Democracy and Development in Africa, Washington DC, 1994, p. 4

¹⁷⁸ Ladan, M.T., "Civil Society Organisations' Contribution towards the Implementation of the MDGs in Nigeria", in a Presentation at the United Nations

played a complementary role in driving populace initiatives by collaborating and cooperating with government at all levels.¹⁷⁹

That notwithstanding, civil society in Africa are quick to rise up against the tyranny of the state and its official as was demonstrated in the fight against repressive regimes under colonialism, apartheid, military rule, one party dictatorships and other inhuman systems that perpetuate injustices and inhumanity.

Turning to the domain of civil society within Chinese context, the work of Heath Chamberlain¹⁸⁰ is instructive in the sense that it tries to review existing perspectives of civil society in China, especially using the western understanding in gauging the origin, presence, and workings of civil society in China. Apart from that, Chamberlain was able to also distinguish civil society from society while interrogating the interconnection between the two and the state. He observed that the very *raison d'être* of civil society - what gives rise to it and sustains it over time - is the determination of its members to achieve some degree of autonomy and self-organization in their quest for individual freedom and political democracy. The *terra firma* of his analysis is the fact that a well-functioning civil society cannot be totally autonomous of either society or the state. This postulation is necessary in providing an understanding of the interaction between the civil society, the private world of family obligations, personal connections, social prejudices and in the face of intrusion, imposition by the state. This is apposite and essential to the good health of civil society whether in China, Africa or any part of human society across the universe.

MDGs Review Meeting, UN Headquarters, New York, USA, organisation by a Coalition of CSOs on MDGs in Nigeria, 18th-22nd September, 2010, p.5

¹⁷⁹ Ibid

¹⁸⁰ Heath B. Chamberlain, "On the Search for Civil Society in China", *Modern China*, Vol. 19, No. 2, Symposium: "Public Sphere"/"Civil Society" in China? Paradigmatic Issues in Chinese Studies, III (Apr., 1993), pp. 199-215 Published by: Sage Publications, Inc.

What stands Chamberlain's study out, as noted above, is the author's ability to take a panoramic survey of the debates among international scholars in Chinese studies and categorized them into three main strands, sudden, gradual and re-emergence approaches. The first strands are those that treat civil society as the product of a "revolutionary moment," a sudden forging of a united front among disparate social elements, taking shape essentially "at the barricades". Therefore, the incidence of the spring of 1989 at the Tiananmen Square is being presented, by this 'suddenists' approach, to demonstrate ... 'the sudden capacity of once alienated groups within society to overcome their differences and present a solid front in the face of an intransigent regime.' However, the post-Tiananmen analysis points to the absence of unity among the various groups that carried out the action at that period.¹⁸¹ The second category includes those that see it as a recently emergent counter elite structure, restricted mainly to urban-based intellectuals and students outside state control, yet firmly established and potentially expandable. Again the question of whether indeed China's civil society, especially taking the 1989 Tiananmen Square incidence as a case study, actually intended to carry out acts that are independent of the government or as confrontational against the state, remains unclear. The third involves those that view it in longer-range historical perspective, as a phenomenon clearly evident decades, if not a century ago-and now, after years of forcible suppression, reasserting itself. He submits that to the extent that these three strands think civil society as "existing outside the orbit of the state," or "beyond the control of government," or "autonomous vis-à-vis state officials," then those conceptions are flawed.

With the increased proliferation of civil society in post-Deng Xiaoping era, the number has risen from 4,446 registered

¹⁸¹ Shen Tong (1990) *Almost a Revolution*, Boston: Houghton Mifflin, p. 228)

organizations in 1988 to 431,096 in 2009.¹⁸² In fact, it has been argued that there are approximately about three million formal and informal civil society groups in China.¹⁸³ In analyzing the nature and feature of civil societies in China, Yan Xiaojun identifies five to include:

- i. The fact that Chinese civil society are highly depoliticized, i.e., they are confined to issues that are not politically sensitive, especially that they concentrate in areas such as chartered environmental and scientific educational groups and charities and philanthropic associations.
- ii. That they show high level of conformity with political agenda, discourse, and rhetoric of the government.
- iii. That they concentrate on providing supplemental public services that the state cannot sufficiently administer.
- iv. That most of Chinese civil society has symbiotic relationship with local branches of the party-state and the fact that they mostly need the permission of the party to operate.
- v. He further argued that Chinese civil society is highly disorganized because it lacks the involvement of an engaged intelligentsia.¹⁸⁴

These highly critical analyses should have taken note of the strategic role of civil society not serving as alternative government, per se, but as key player in the emergence of an egalitarian society

¹⁸² Lowell Dittmer and Guoli Liu (eds.) *China's Deep Reform*, Lanham, MD: Rowan & Littlefield, 2006, see generally Xiaojun, Yan "Where have all the People Gone? Some Reflections on Civil Society and Regime Stability in the People's Republic of China", in *Taiwan Journal Democracy*, vol 8, No 2, December, 2012, p.18

¹⁸³ Meng Xia, "Three Million NGOs Deemed Illegal in China", in *Chinese Social Science Network*, July 11, 2011, <http://www.cssn.cn/news/379783.htm> accessed [November 11](#), 2009

¹⁸⁴ *Ibid*, Xiaojun, Yan "Where Have all the People Gone? Some Reflections on Civil Society and Regime Stability in the People's Republic of China", pp. 19-20

where the freedom of every citizen to live is guaranteed. It is equally very important to state here that it is not in every situation that civil society should be suspicious and opposed to government or state's policies and programmes, but as will be observed anon, civil societies cannot operate without the state and the society. That being the case, Chinese civil society engagements in supplementing government's activities should necessarily be seen as contrary to ideal civil society engagements.

This context of civil society is important when juxtaposed with the history of civil society which dates back to the 16th century, specifically to the epochal age of the renaissance and the reformation that saw the revolutionary transition from the Dark Age and feudalism to the modern era. The enlightenment that produced thinkers like the Scottish Philosopher/historian, Adam Ferguson equally ensured the accommodation of his philosophies and thoughts. Ferguson's virile and active mind successfully weaved and integrated the concepts of civil society and the development of the economic state and tied its emergence to the transition from despotic regimes and the feudal order to the liberal capitalist phase of human evolution. Pursuant to the above perspective, Masterson remains consistent in maintaining that:

Whilst Ferguson did not make a distinction between the state and civil society, relating his concept far more closely to the market, other theorists sought to refine his theories to understand the emerging phenomenon of civic activism which began to emerge in Europe at the time of the French and Industrial Revolutions.¹⁸⁵

Thus, Civil Society could be understood only within the context

¹⁸⁵ Masterson, G., 'Defining Civil Society in the Context of the African Peer Review Mechanism', in the Journal of Conflicts, Democracy and Development, 2007, p.2

of its organic origins in the fringes of the family and state structure. Hegel, the cryptic German thinker in his usually forceful manner, posits that civil society can be understood when examined in the light of identifying the dividing line between the micro (family) unit and macro (state) community. This definition of the concept sees the totality of human experiences within the dual dimensions of time and space, occurring outside of the family unit and the confines of the state as aspects of the activities of the civil society. Karl Marx, Hegel's best apostle is known to have adapted these thoughts in conceiving his own Marxists philosophies especially his 'petty bourgeoisie' narrative.¹⁸⁶ A related conceptual analysis that pertains definition concerns Van Rooy's¹⁸⁷ scholarly perspective that is hinged on the traditional assumption that civil society transcends the family unit even as it cannot be situated within the purview of the state. Specifically, the above mentioned thinkers opine that civil society can only be understood as the "population of groups formed for collective purposes primarily outside of the state and market place".¹⁸⁸

However, by far the greatest and most refreshing conceptual discourse on meanings and themes of civil society can be easily traced to the scholarly 20th century Italian scholar of the paradigm, Antonio Gramsci¹⁸⁹. He defines civil society as the aggregate of the superstructures such as the trade unions, associations, political parties, churches, and the media.¹⁹⁰ It can easily be deduced from the above that, the exemption to the above categorization is the state, its bureaucracies and militarized arm that serves as the tool of

¹⁸⁶ Ibid, Footnote 163

¹⁸⁷ Van Rooy , A. (ed) (1998), *Civil Society and the Aid Industry*, London: Earthscan, p. 30

¹⁸⁸ Ibid

¹⁸⁹ Ibid

¹⁹⁰ Hassan, H.A.R. "The State and Civil Society in Africa: A North African Perspective", *The African Journal of Political Science and International Relations* Vol 3 (2), 2009 p. 1-2

coercion and by implication its functioning and stability because our frequently referenced G.W.F. Hegel¹⁹¹ has constantly maintained that civil society needs to be ordered by the state, otherwise it will become self interested and would not contribute to what he calls the ‘common good’ of the human community. Of course what constitutes the common good is simply the aggregation of those things that serve the interests of the state irrespective of the needs and values that civil society hold in esteem.¹⁹² The family unit, the micro aspect of the community as coherently presented above is also not a category or feature of civil society.

Despite this analysis, it is important to note the complementary role of civil society to the realm of state and society, and to argue that civil society forces need the state and society to strengthen and perpetuate its existence. This has been the position of even Locke and Tocqueville who though had argued for the independence of civil society in protecting members from the tyranny of the state, maintained that:

The free institutions which the inhabitants of the United States possess, and the political rights of which they make so much use, remind every citizen, and in a thousand ways, that he lives in society. They every instant impress upon his mind the notion that it is the duty as well as the interest of men to make themselves useful to their fellow creatures.¹⁹³

NATURE OF CHINA – AFRICA RELATIONS

¹⁹¹ Hegel G.W.F. (1821/1991) Elements of the Philosophy of Rights (ed Allen D. wood, tr HB Nisbet) Cambridge: Cambridge University Press

¹⁹² Burton, J. (1984) Global Conflicts: The Domestic Sources of International Crisis, Wheatsheaf, England, P. 20

¹⁹³ Tocqueville, Alexis De (1954) Democracy in America, Volume 2. New York: Vintage, p. 112

Africa and China have shared a long history of relationship that dates back to the 15th century when Zheng He, the great Chinese explorer in the Ming Dynasty sailed across the Atlantic Ocean for seven times. Thereafter, Africans and Chinese had course to interact, understand and communicate with each other more and more in diverse aspects of common interest ranging from culture, agriculture, trade and commerce, language and so on. It is evident that Africa cannot be ignored by major international players, such as China, that are concerned about resource security because of the continent's vast resources that are ironically tampered by multiplicity of challenges. These challenges are characterized and worsened by violent armed conflicts, bad governance and natural disasters. Despite these, the continent has always shown promising prospects, especially as one of the fastest growing markets in the world especially in the telecommunication sector. Therefore, as the relationship between China and Africa grows, emphasis must be placed on mutual benefits without compromising the interests or desires of the parties to meet the aspirations of the people and generation yet unborn.

This concern must have informed the decision for the convocation of the second China-Africa People's Forum held in 2012 at Suzhou where China brought together 300 Chinese and African civil society delegations to share experiences on areas of common concerns. At the end of the meeting, a five point resolution was forwarded to the 5th Ministerial Conference of the FOCAC that bothers on deepening cooperation consensus, improving cooperation mechanisms, introducing new cooperation concepts, diversifying cooperation modalities, and enriching cooperation content.¹⁹⁴ Similarly, at the second China-Africa Young Leaders Forum held in Beijing between 18-19 June, 2012, it

¹⁹⁴ Liyao, L., "NGO Exchanges to Promote China-Africa Ties", (Online version http://www.china.org.cn/world/2012-07/12/content_25886870.htm accessed 13th December, 2013)

was emphasized that there is need to establish a mechanism, under which a regular dialogue among young people in China and African countries would be maintained.¹⁹⁵

One other initiative that has been in the vanguard for people-to-people (Civil Society) engagements between Africa and China is the Chinese-African People's Friendship Association (CAPFA), founded in April 1960. The association is a national people's organization of the People's Republic of China. It was initiated by 17 national people's organizations including the Chinese People's Association for Friendship with Foreign Countries (CPAFFC), All-China Federation of Trade Unions, All-China Youth Federation, and All-China Women's Federation, etc. The CAPFA aims at enhancing mutual understanding and friendship between the Chinese and African people, promoting the exchanges and cooperation between China and Africa, safeguarding world peace, and promoting common development.

In further appreciating these engagements, the exponential economic activities between the people of these two great continents is demonstrated in the steady economic growth as reflected in the volume of trading activities. This is even as Wei Jianguo, the former Chinese vice Minister of Commerce¹⁹⁶ observed that in 2012, China's trade with Africa would hit \$220billion, which is an increase from the \$166.3 billion in 2011. He believes that if the trend continues, China's trade with Africa will surpass those of US and the EU. Indeed, a fair analysis of the trend from 1980 when the total Sino-African trade volume was

¹⁹⁵ Jiali, G., "Youth Dialogue Critical to China-Africa Relations", (Online version http://www.china.org.cn/world/2012-06/20/content_25698632.htm accessed 13th December, 2013)

¹⁹⁶ Yuanyan, Hu, 'African Trade to Surpass EU, US', in *China Daily* (Online version http://www.chinadaily.com.cn/china/2012-10/13/content_15814760.htm accessed 17/12/2013)

US\$1 billion will show a steady increase.¹⁹⁷ In 1999, it was US\$6.5 billion¹⁹⁸ and in 2000, US\$10 billion.¹⁹⁹ By 2005, the total Sino-African trade had reached US\$39.7 billion before it jumped to US\$55 billion in 2006, making China the second largest trading partner with Africa after the United States, which had a trade balance worth US\$91 billion with African nations. The PRC also surpasses the traditional African economic partner and former colonial power France, which had trade worth US\$47 billion.²⁰⁰ In 2010, trade between Africa and China was worth US\$114 billion²⁰¹ and in 2011, US\$166.3 billion.²⁰² In the first 10 months of 2012 it was US\$163.9 billion.

These achievements have been attributed to the increased number of Africans living in China, especially in cities such as Beijing, Guangzhou and Yiwa.²⁰³ These Africans freely interact, transact businesses and practice their faiths in China within the confines of the Chinese laws. It is also instructive to note that more and more Chinese are moving into Africa to invest in commerce and industrial activities. In fact, the involvement of China in Africa resulted in the formation of strategic Chinese villages across the landscape of the continent, such as the ‘Wenzhou Trade City’ in Cameroon and South Africa. In Nigeria for instance, Mr. Hu

¹⁹⁷ Peter Wonacott (2011-09-02). "In Africa, U.S. Watches China's Rise" *The Wall Street Journal* (Online version accessed 13th December, 2013)

¹⁹⁸ "China-Africa Relations" *Ministry of Foreign Affairs, the People's Republic of China*

¹⁹⁹ *Ibid*, Footnote 176

²⁰⁰ "China boosts African economies, offering a 'second opportunity'" *Christian Science Monitor*

²⁰¹ *Ibid*, Footnote 176

²⁰² *Ibid*

²⁰³ Enyu, Ma "Non-Governmental Exchange Enhances the Mutual Understanding between China and Africa", in Hongwu, Liu and Jiemian, Yang (eds.) *Fifty Years of Sino-African Cooperation: Background, Progress and Significance – Chinese Perspectives on Sino-African Relations*, Yunnan University Press, 2009, p. 300

Jieguo, Director of the Board of Jinmen Group of Company was turbaned the Chinese Emir of Africa²⁰⁴. In the 1990s, he invested 8 million dollars to build up the six-storey 4000-square meter Golden Gate Hotel in Lagos, in Nigeria. In 1998, he helped to construct and equipped 4 schools in Nigeria, each of them boasting of rooms with fluorescent lights, electric fans and special wooden shutters.²⁰⁵ African countries and the People's Republic of China have increased the number of students and scholars exchange over the years. In fact, it was observed that:

Since the launch of a joint research and exchange programme in March 2012, it has supported 64 projects undertaken by over 30 academic institutes on both sides and facilitated academic exchanges between over 600 people, greatly adding mutual trust among the people. Three successful Think Tanks Forums have been held between China and Africa. China-Africa Think Tanks 10+10 Partnership Plan was also successfully launched in Beijing last October.²⁰⁶

APPROACHES FOR THE INVOLVEMENT OF CIVIL SOCIETY IN FOSTERING CHINA-AFRICA RELATIONS

Generally, the objective of civil society is the desire to make the society better, stable, and prosperous for all those who desire to

²⁰⁴ Ibid, p. 304

²⁰⁵ A Chinese Chieftain in Africa, Hu Jieguo, 2009-09-22 16:52:24 CRIENGLISH.com, <http://english.cri.cn/4406/2009/09/22/2062s517616.htm> accessed 12/02/2011

²⁰⁶ He Wenping, "New areas of Sino-African cooperation in 2013" in China.org.cn, January 14, 2014 (Online version on http://www.china.org.cn/opinion/2014-01/14/content_31182893.htm accessed on 16/1/2014)

move and live in it. Therefore, they seek to address issues such as health, food security, poverty eradication, education, women and youth empowerment and gender equality, agriculture, environmental protection and so on. These again are fundamentally issues that the government is established to address. But as military and despotic regimes lasted in Africa, civil society found their engagements and energies tilting more towards a sustained struggle aimed at eliminating human rights violation while promoting participatory engagements and development.²⁰⁷ It is necessary to mention at this juncture, that globally, civil society, since the 1980's have remained consistently active in "seeking and often obtaining the protections and freedoms necessary to engage in and (to a lesser or greater extent) direct the course in which governments focus their policies and priorities"²⁰⁸. Hence, it will be safe to sum the matter by maintaining that civil society are entrenched in playing critical roles in both developing and developed societies. It is common knowledge that with the broadening of participatory engagements and the accommodation of differing shades of interests, civil society especially in Africa has undergone profound transition in the manner they are interacting with other key stakeholders such as state and the society concerning such core areas of concern as governance. In addition, nothing confirms the budding influence and vibrancy of civil society engagements more than their activities with organizations like the African Union, especially in the African Peer Review Mechanism (APRM)²⁰⁹. This trend is similar to what obtains within the Chinese Society with the twenty years of economic reform, which had a dramatic impact on the nature of state- society

²⁰⁷ *Op. cit* Masterson, G., 'Defining Civil Society in the Context of the African Peer Review Mechanism'

²⁰⁸ *Ibid*

²⁰⁹ *Ibid*, p. 1

relations in China.²¹⁰

The reality of contemporary international relations has influenced the coinage of such functional concepts as citizens and peace diplomacy. In articulating this concept to direct Nigeria's foreign policy during President Umaru Musa Yar'Adua, Alaba Ogunsanwo²¹¹ has this to say:

Our orientation so far has not been to consult with the popular masses on matters relating to foreign policy formulation and implementation. That does not mean we cannot start that now. I agree it is difficult point to any country doing this, but we can choose to be different as there is nothing wrong with that.²¹²

The above highlight suggests the importance of the individual in foreign policy. For now, a core sphere where the individual is most conspicuously represented is in the activities of civil society that concerns itself with issues covering a broad spectrum of developments concerning societal advance. Relevant amongst these concerns is in the area of civil society constituting a crucial element in the continent's efforts to attain greater economic viability and social prosperity for her people. It is this concern that informed the understanding that except the civil society gets involved, in an active manner too, in this economic revolution, that is the only way Africans can be truly liberated from poverty and stagnation. A resolve that has occasioned the role it is playing in promoting Sino-African economic diplomacy. Herein lies the significance of

²¹⁰ Wai-hang, T. (2004), *Civil Society in China: An Analysis of NGOs on the Mainland*, The University of Hong Kong, p. 5

²¹¹ Ogunsawo, A., "Citizen Diplomacy: Challenges for Nigeria's Foreign Policy" in Eze, O. (ed), *Citizen Diplomacy*, Lagos: NIIA, 2009

²¹² *Ibid*, p. 19

Ferguson's assertion in which he situates the emergence of civil society to the evolution of the economic state and the expiration of despotic and feudal state mode. It is necessary to quickly add that Ferguson's position is not the standard model. Other equally potent perspectives were advanced to present the origins and mechanics of civil society as something more than a response to the emergence of the economic state and what it entails. Borhan Ghallion for instance surmises that "at its inception in the 17th and the 18th centuries, the concept of civil society in Europe was closely knit with the concept of Law and Social Contract". At this juncture of the human historico-political process, the state was made a distinct entity from religion and its mystic practices. By this postulation, it is evident that the activities of the civil society encompass the entire superstructure constituting society²¹³.

CHALLENGES AND PROSPECTS

Despite appreciable commitment on the parts of relevant stakeholders, especially the civil society in enhancing China-Africa relations, there exist challenges to the full realization of its potentials, especially in the area of cultural exchange(s), funding, language expertise from the both sides, and so on.

Though at official diplomatic level, China-Africa relations enjoys tremendous progression with commitment of China to decolonization of Africa, the fight against apartheid in South Africa and imperialism in Africa, and with Africa fully supporting China to assume full membership of United Nations Security Council, yet there seems to be in existence some levels of suspicion amongst their peoples even in the face of trade, educational, cultural and other cooperative exchanges. And this is exhibited in the shallow social interactions amongst the peoples, especially that Chinese

²¹³ *Op. cit* Hassan, H.A.R. "The State and Civil Society in Africa: A North African Perspective" p. 2

traders and workers in Africa rarely intermingle with their local host communities. This could have informed the clusters of Chinese town across cities in Africa. Similarly, Africans living in China are found in clusters and only transact with the Chinese when it comes to trade and commerce. In fact, with the level of interactions between China and Africa, a new generation of citizens with mixed blood, hence the formation of a distinct ‘race’ would have evolved in the two societies, but both Africans and the Chinese do not seem to be favorably disposed to this orientation. Again, as researchers, we are bound to wonder if it is as a result of societal or state prohibitions.

Another challenge is the doubt especially across Africa on the thinking that China-Africa relations is a win-win one. This doubt arises from the fact that the balance of trade is largely in favour of China than Africa even as Africa continues to supply the needed raw materials for Chinese industries across Africa and at home in China. As Amuta queries:

In terms of our contemporary reality, a few things are true.... These contractors inundate the project sites with Chinese workers and therefore deliver fast because the communism-induced work ethic of the average Chinese leaves little room for indolence.... China’s indifference to the domestic and foreign policies of their host African countries is a dangerous veneer for condoning vicious human rights abuses The working conditions of Chinese factories in Nigeria violate nearly every code of minimally decent labour laws.²¹⁴

This doubt is strong among scholars who are concerned that

²¹⁴Amuta, Chidi “A Caution on China”, in *ThisDay Newspaper*, Tuesday, August 16, 2011

China's involvement in Africa would not culminate in a new scramble for Africa.²¹⁵ The need for both parties to scale beyond formal diplomatic rhetoric in the sensitization of their citizens on the benefits of China-Africa relations became clear when a militant socio-cultural group called Movement for the Emancipation of the Niger Delta (MEND) attacked Chinese and China's corporate interest in that region. This view and perception of Chinese engagements in the volatile oil-rich region as being part of the sustained "predatory activities of the western multinationals: Shell, Chevron, Texaco, Exxon, Mobil, Total and Agip ENI working in partnership with the Nigerian State to exploit and pollute the oil-rich but impoverished region"²¹⁶ is because of the state centric nature of the engagements.

Be that as it may, the prospects for the contribution of civil society to China-Africa relations are enormous in the sense that more and more Chinese and Africans are getting involved in breaking the language barrier by learning to speak each other's language. Though Chinese would be faced with the challenge of getting to speak the hundreds of languages in Africa, but again they have shown extraordinary commitment in this regards. Both parties have demonstrated this commitment in scholarship awards to young Chinese and Africans willing to learn to further foster closer ties between these two great civilizations.

Equally of importance in this regard is the commitment of parties to uphold the principles of equality and mutual benefits in their respective dealings with each other. This is obviously a

²¹⁵ See Obi, Cyril, "Enter the Dragon? Chinese Oil Companies and Resistance in the Niger Delta", in *Review of African Political Economy*, No 117, pp. 417-434, ROAPE Publication Ltd., 2008; see generally Eze, Osita C. and Anigbo, Chike A. (eds) *New Scramble for Africa*, Lagos: Nigerian Institute of International Affairs, 2010

²¹⁶ Op. cit. Obi, Cyril, "Enter the Dragon? Chinese Oil Companies and Resistance in the Niger Delta", p. 418

continuation of the long history of friendship that has existed between the parties which dates back to 15th century and sustained throughout the period of colonialism to the present.

CONCLUSION

This paper has deliberated on approaches to fostering civil society engagements to strengthen China – Africa relations. The central argument being that these two civilizations can cash in on the immense civil society potentials in both Africa and China in ensuring that this mutually beneficial engagement is sustained. This is important because by nature, civil societies in both Africa and China have demonstrated commitment towards complementing government's policies and programmes that are meant for the good of the generality of the entire population.

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CHINA-AFRICA RELATIONS IN A GLOBALISED WORLD

Early contacts between peoples of China and Africa were characterized by curiosity, respect and appreciation of differences in physical appearance, religion, language and socio-cultural traits. Interestingly, these differences did not deter successive interaction between China and Africa. Fortunately, this has remained intact and is still influencing engagements of these great peoples at bilateral and multilateral levels. It is necessary to note that Africa and China have continued to participate and present common front at global stage on issues, especially with regards to responses to the international challenges of peace and security that is exacerbated by forces of globalization in the 21st century.

Joseph Habila Ponzhi Golwa holds a doctorate degree in Law and Diplomacy from the University of Jos, Nigeria. He was a former Permanent Secretary in Plateau State public service before joining the federal civil service. He was also the Special Adviser to Plateau State Administrator on Media and Reconciliation during the Emergency Rule in Plateau State. He was also Chairman of the study group that organized the Plateau Peace Conference, a process which was adjudged successful. He has been Chairman and Secretary to several Government Committees and Panels in the Plateau State Government. He has been involved in many specialized duties for Peace, National Security and Development including membership of the Presidential Committee on Dialogue and Peaceful Resolution of Security Challenges in the North. Dr. Joseph Golwa is a seasoned peace and conflict researcher and practitioner, who have published widely in local and international journals. Among his works are Dialogue on Citizenship in Nigeria (Institute for Peace and Conflict Resolution, 2008), Media, Conflict and Peace building in Nigeria (Institute for Peace and Conflict Resolution, 2011), Peace and Security as Imperative for National Development (Institute for Peace and Conflict Resolution, 2013).

Dr. Joseph Golwa is currently the Director General, Institute for Peace and Conflict Resolution, Abuja, Nigeria.

Paul Andrew Gwaza: He is a Senior Research Officer in the Department of Research and Policy Analysis, Institute for Peace and Conflict Resolution, Abuja, Nigeria. He is a graduate of law (LL. B, BL) from the Ahmadu Bello University, Zaria and the Nigerian Law School. Before joining the Institute, he practiced law in Jos, Plateau State, Calabar, Cross River State and Lokoja, Kogi State in private chambers and legal officer with the Independent National Electoral Commission (INEC).

