



中非关系圆桌会

China-Africa Relations Roundtable Conference

Johannesburg 约翰内斯堡 1 December 2015

会议手册

Conference Manual

中国公共外交协会
China Public Diplomacy Association

南非独立传媒集团
Independent Media



INDEPENDENT

目 录 Contents

日程 AGENDA	01- 04
嘉宾简历 BIOGRAPHY OF ACADEMICS	05- 20
嘉宾文章 ARTICLE OF ACADEMICS	21- 60



日程 2015年12月1日

09:30-10:00	签到	
10:00-10:15	开幕式及致辞	
主持人:	龚建忠	中国公共外交协会副会长
开幕致辞:	张明	中国外交部副部长
	Nomaindiya Mfeketo	南非外交部副部长
10:15-11:15	专家圆桌论坛：新非洲、新机遇——展望中非合作升级版（1）	
发言人:	周欲晓	前中国驻赞比亚大使
	Peter Kagwanja (肯尼亚)	非洲政策研究所所长
	李安山	中国北京大学非洲研究中心主任
	Garth Le Pere (南非)	比勒陀利亚大学国际关系学院客座教授
	Ibrahim Alghitany (埃及)	埃及地区战略研究中心经济研究部主任
11:15-11:30	茶歇	
11:30-12:15	专家圆桌论坛：新非洲、新机遇——展望中非合作升级版（2）	
发言人:	Garth Shelton (南非)	南非金山大学副教授
	姚遥	外交学院国家软实力研究中心主任
	Sheriff Ghali Ibrahim (尼日利亚)	尼日利亚阿布贾大学政治科学与国际关系学院讲师
	Funeka Yazini April (南非)	人类科学研究委员会
12:15-12:35	自由提问环节	
12:35-12:50	专家圆桌会闭幕式及致辞	
闭幕致辞:	钟建华	中国政府非洲事务特别代表

12:50-14:00	工作午餐	
14:00-15:00	媒体圆桌论坛：新媒体、新贡献——开启中非友好新篇章（1）	
主持人:	Shannon Ebrahim (南非)	南非独立传媒集团副总编
发言人:	赵月琴	四达时代集团副总裁
	MadaKufamba Munetsi (津巴布韦)	南部非洲研究与文献中心执行主任
	南庚戌	环球广域传媒集团总裁
	钟新	中国人民大学新闻学院教授、院长助理
	Alebel Bayrau Weldesilassie (埃塞俄比亚)	埃塞俄比亚发展研究所高级研究员
15:00-15:15	茶歇	
15:15-16:00	媒体圆桌论坛：新媒体、新贡献——开启中非友好新篇章（2）	
发言人:	非洲媒体代表发言	
16:00-16:20	自由提问环节	
16:20-16:35	总结发言	
发言人	Dr Iqbal Surve (南非)	南非独立传媒董事长



Agenda December 1, 2015

09:30-10:00	Registration	
10:00-10:15	Opening Ceremony and Opening Remarks	
Moderator	Gong Jianzhong	Vice President of China Public Diplomacy Association
Opening remarks	Zhang Ming	Vice Minister of Foreign Ministry of China
	Nomaindiya Mfeketo	Deputy Minister of International Relations & Cooperation Department of South Africa
10:15-11:15	Roundtable Conference: New Africa, New Opportunity-Expectation for the Upgrade China-Africa Cooperation(1)	
Speakers:	Zhou Yuxiao	Former Chinese Ambassador to Zambia
	Peter Kagwanja (Kenya)	Chief Executive of the Africa Policy Institute
	Li Anshan	Director of Center for African Studies at Peking University
	Garth Le Pere (South Africa)	Visiting Professor of International Relations at the University of Pretoria
	Ibrahim Alghitany (Egypt)	Director of Economic Unit in Regional Center for Strategic Studies in Cairo
11:15-11:30	Tea break	
11:30-12:15	Roundtable Conference: New Africa, New Opportunity-Expectation for the Upgrade China-Africa Cooperation(2)	
Speakers	Garth Shelton (South Africa)	Associate Professor, University of the Witwatersrand
	Yao Yao	Director of Center for National Soft Power Research at China Foreign Affairs University
	Sheriff Ghali Ibrahim (Nigeria)	Professor of Department of Political Science and International Relations, University of Abuja
	Funeka Yazini April (South Africa)	Research Specialist of Human Science Research Council
12:15-12:35	Question & Answer	
12:35-12:50	Closing Ceremony and Closing Remarks	
Closing remarks	Zhong Jianhua	Special Representative on African Affairs for the Chinese Government

12:50-14:00	Working Luncheon	
14:00-15:00	Roundtable Conference: New Media, New Contribution (1)	
Moderator	Shannon Ebrahim (South Africa)	Deputy Editor of South African Independence Media
Speakers	Zhao Yueqin	Vice President of Star Times(China)
	Mada Kufamba Munetsi (Zimbabwe)	Executive Director, Southern African Research and Documentation Centre
	Nan Gengxu	Chairman of Global Max Media Group
	Zhong Xin	Professor, Assistant to the Dean of School of Journalism and Communication at Renmin University of China
	Alebel Bayrau Weldesilassie (Ethiopia)	Senior Researcher of Ethiopian Development Research Institute
15:00-15:15	Tea break	
15:15-16:00	Roundtable Conference: New Media, New Contribution (2)	
Speakers	Representatives of African Journalists	
16:00-16:20	Question & Answer	
16:20-16:35	Concluding Remarks	
Concluding Remarks	Dr Iqbal Surve	Owner of South African Independence Media
End		



Zhong Jianhua

Ambassador Zhong was born in 1950, in Jiangsu, China. After spent five years in village as a peasant, he was sent to study in Beijing Institute of Foreign Language in 1973. Joined the foreign service in 1977, he first served as a diplomatic courier for 2 years and then posted in the Chinese Embassy in London for 4 years.

Ambassador Zhong went to study in Fletcher School of Law and Diplomacy, Tufts University in Boston USA 1984-1985, and finished with a master degree. He went back to work in the Embassy in London again for another 4 years as 3rd secretary and 2nd secretary before been posted as a 1st secretary and legal expert in the Sino-British Joint Liaison Group in Hong Kong from 1991 to 1993.

From 1993 to 2002, he worked in the Consular Department of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs in Beijing, as Director, Deputy Director General and Director General. He was appointed Consul General (ambassador rank) in Los Angeles in 2002, and served there until 2007. He was Ambassador of China to South Africa from May 2007 to January 2012.

Ambassador was appointed Special Representative on African Affairs for the Chinese Government in February 2012.



Gong Jianzhong

born in Jiangsu Province in 1953, went to Iceland for studying Icelandic in 1977 after graduation from Beijing Foreign Studies University, served in the Department of Information in Ministry of Foreign Affairs for many years, successively as Attaché, Third Secretary, Deputy Division Director, Division Director, Counsellor and Deputy Director-General. He also served in the Chinese Embassy in the Republic of Iceland, Embassy of the People's Republic of China in the United Kingdom and Office of the Commissioner of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the People's Republic of China in the Hong Kong Special Administrative Region.

He was the General Consul of the People's Republic of China in Manchester from September of 2004 to September of 2008. He was accredited to the Republic of Ghana from August of 2010 to March of 2014.

After his retirement from diplomatic service in May of 2014, Mr. Gong became the Executive Vice President of China Public Diplomacy Association.



Zhou Yuxiao

Mr. Zhou Yuxiao was born 1954 in Kunshan County, Jiangsu Province. He pursued his further studies in international politics and international relations in University of Toronto and University of Regina in Canada from 1981 to 1983.

From August 2007 to March 2011, he was the Ambassador Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary of the People's Republic of China to the Republic of Liberia. From May 2011 to July 2014, he served as the Ambassador Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary of the People's Republic of China to the Republic of Zambia.



Li Anshan

Professor of School of International Studies at Peking University and Director of Center for African Studies at Peking University. He received PhD in history from the University of Toronto. His works include various books and journal articles, and English publications such as *A History of Overseas Chinese in Africa till 1911* (New York, 2012), *Forum on China-Africa Cooperation: The Politics of Human Resource Development* (Co-ed., Pretoria, 2013), *FOCAC Twelve Years Later* (Uppsala, 2012), *Chinese Medical Cooperation in Africa* (Uppsala, 2010), *British Rule and Rural Protest in Southern Ghana* (New York, 2002), etc. Recent years, he was invited to give lectures about Africa to top CCP leaders and speeches on Chinese-African relations and African studies in China in various African countries, Europe, America and Asia and served as AFRASO Professor in Frankfurt University last year. His interests include African history, Chinese-African relations, colonialism, overseas Chinese, and developmental studies.



Zhong Xin

Professor of School of Journalism and Communication (SJC) at Renmin University of China, Assistant to the Dean, Director of International Office of SJC, and Founding Director of International Journalism Master Program of SJC. She received PHD in Journalism and Communication Studies from SJC in 2005 and had been a visiting scholar in Denver University (1998) and University of Maryland (2007.10-2009.2). She is the author, co-author, editor, and translator of over 10 books including *Crisis Communication: An Analysis of Information Flow and Notices*, *Twitter Diplomacy: Theories and Practices*, *Radio-Television-Cable Management*, *Making a Professional Newspaper in an Emerging Economy*, and *Writing and Reporting News*. She has hosted African Journalists and organized lecture series for them at SJC.



Yao Yao

Dr. Yao Yao is currently the Director of Research at China Public Diplomacy Association. He also oversees the Center for National Soft Power Research at China Foreign Affairs University, a national-level think tank affiliated to the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, P.R.C.

As an academic author focusing on international relations and public diplomacy, Yao has published journal articles and several books (authored, co-edited and translated), such as *History of China's Public Diplomacy* and *China's Diplomatic Soft Power*. Recently he has paid more attention to relations between China and other emerging markets such as Central Asia, Middle East and Latin America.

Yao holds an L.L.B. in International Politics and a B.A. in Economics from Peking University, and a joint Ph.D. in International Communications from Tsinghua University and Harvard University. He finished his postdoctoral research at the Party School of the Central Committee of CPC. He has made research on public diplomacy as a Fulbright Research Fellow at the Kennedy Government School of Harvard University, under the guidance of Professor Joseph Nye, the founder of the soft power theory.



Zhao Yueqin

Zhao Yueqin, female, born in Hebei province in December 1968. MA in law. Member of Communist Party of China

1990-1993 Administrative commissioner, StarTimes Group

1993-1998 Manager of general department, StarTimes Group

1998-2003 Manager of administration department, StarTimes Group

2003-2009 Director of administration department, StarTimes Group

2009- Vice President of StarTimes Group

Married with a son.



Miles Nan

Born in China, Miles Nan is both the owner of a media company and a social activist based in Africa.

Mr. Miles moved to Gaborone, Botswana in 1999 and has since developed its media business from there. He founded the Global Max Media Group (GMMG), which encompasses radio broadcasting, video production, multi-media services, print media, advertisements as well as large-scale events. The several radio stations, newspapers and magazines that he owns or co-owns in Botswana, Zambia and Tanzania offer news in Chinese, English, Setswana and Kiswahili and can produce contents that best appeal to the target markets.

Miles Nan is passionate for social affairs, particularly charitable projects. He is the chairman of the Charity Association of Chinese in Botswana and the founder of Africa-China Charity and Cultural Exchange Society headquartered in Tanzania. In 2009, he was elected as Chairman of the Botswana Work Camps Association, the first Chinese to head the non-governmental volunteer organization. Over the years, Miles Nan has championed many charitable events for the poor and needy in Botswana, Tanzania and other African countries and has won respect from both the general public and governments.

Miles Nan strongly believes in the African proverb: To be fast, go alone; to go far, go together. That explains why he likes to make new friends and seek partnerships in his media and social endeavors.



Ibrahim Al Ghitany

Bachelor degree from May 2009 in Faculty of Economics & Political Sciences - Cairo University and Majored in Economics, Minored in Public Administration. Postgraduate Diploma In Business Administration from May 2013 in Faculty of Commerce, Cairo University. Received Professional Training in ICDL, AUC in July 2008, and General English courses (Level 8 up to Level 13), AUC from 2006 to 2008. Employed in Regional Center for Strategic Studies in Cairo from June 2014 until now, in Al Masry Center for Researches and Information of Al Masry AlYoun Organization as Economic Researcher from June 2012 to April 2014, in the Egyptian Company for Mobile as Customer Service Agent from Oct 2010 to Feb 2012 and in Al-Mal Newspaper as Economic Journalist from Sept 2009 to Sep 2010. His publications include The prospects for renewable energy in Egypt: Opportunities to get out of the ghost energy depletion, 2012, Assessment of monetary policy in Egypt after the January revolution, 2012, Railway in Egypt: Dilemma and development proposal, 2012, Egypt on the map of Gulf investments, 2013, Credit rating indicators of Egypt, 2013, Raising the minimum wage: a vision assessment, 2013, Deferred Dreams: a look at the conditions of workers in Egypt, 2013, Reconciliation with the business: gains and warnings, 2013, Fuel crisis in Egypt: Look from the perspective of supply and demand, 2012, The economic consequences of scarcity of water, The regional experiences of reconstruction: period after military operations in Yemen, Will the foreign aids succeed in the stimulation of the economic development in the Middle East, Did the military operations cut off the financing source of Houthis, June 2015- Is the Egyptian economy directed to the right destination, Is that time to reconsider the efforts of reconstruction of Yemen and Global view: Causes and consequences of income inequality.



Alebel Bayrau
Weldesilassie

Alebel Bayrau Weldesilassie is a Senior Research Fellow at the Ethiopian Development Research Institute (EDRI), a semi-autonomous think tank established by the Ethiopian government to conduct Economic research and policy analyses on economic development of Ethiopia. He also works for the International Growth Centre, directed by LSE and Oxford Universities, UK. He served as a member of the national technical committee on Sectoral Policy and Strategy formulation in Ethiopia. He participated in different expert groups on African Climate Change Issues. He serves as lecturer and board of examiners for graduate students in Economics in Addis Ababa University.

His research broadly focuses on micro-development economics with application of quantitative micro-econometrics and impact evaluation techniques. He has published in internationally peer reviewed economics journals including Environment and Development Economics, Journal of Agricultural and Resource Economics, and Water International. He led many research projects in the development issues of the Ethiopian Economy including, among others, agriculture, education, energy, rural and urban development, climate change, and recently on Industrial Park development. He co-authored many research reports and working papers.

He obtained his PhD in Development Economics from Hohenheim University, Germany in 2008; M.Sc. and B.Sc. in Economics in Ethiopia in 2001 and 1992. He was a Visiting Scholar at the University of California Berkeley, USA in 2014.

He is a member of the editorial board of EDRI working paper and serves as a reviewer in national and international journals in economics. He is an active member of different professional associations including Ethiopian Economics Association, African Agricultural Economics Association, and International Association of Agricultural Economics.



Peter Kagwanja

Professor Peter Kagwanja is a Kenyan scholar and expert on governance, strategic affairs and security. He is the Chief Executive of the Africa Policy Institute (API). He is also lecturer at the Institute of Diplomacy and International Studies (IDIS), University of Nairobi and the National Defence College. Kagwanja is also an expert consultant with the Government of Kenya and former adviser to President Mwai Kibaki's Government (2002-2013) on foreign policy and strategy and served as Director of the Secretariat and strategist on Kenya's New Constitution. Kagwanja's international experience include serving as Director at the International Crisis Group, Brussels, and Executive Director at the Human Science Research Council (HSRC), Pretoria. He has also served as a visiting scholar at Rhodes University, University of Pretoria, University of Illinois, Oxford University and University of Leiden among others. Kagwanja frequently serves as expert in the projects and processes of the African Union, United Nations and think tanks. He has received academic awards and honours, including the J. W. Fulbright Fellowship. He is a frequent expert analyst at the BBC, Al-Jazeera, CCTV and CNN among other channels. Kagwanja has authored many articles and books. His latest book is: *Eye on the Nation: Trials and Triumphs of Democracy in Kenya* (2015).



SHERIFF GHALI IBRAHIM

Dr. Sheriff is a prolific political scientist of international repute, who specializes in contemporary world politics. He obtained his first degree in political science (with second class upper division) from Usmanu Danfodiyo University Sokoto; Master's in Public Administration and policy analysis from the University of Abuja and; was awarded Ph.D in international politics from the College of International Cultural Exchange, Huazhong Normal University, Hubei-Wuhan, Central China, PRC. Dr. Sheriff has written about Seven Academic books in his contribution to knowledge, among them are: (1) Dynamics of Political Parties: The Communist Party of China and Peoples Democratic Party of Nigeria (2) International Economic Relations (3) Third World and Dependency (4) Citizenship and Environment in Nigeria (5) Introduction to African Politics (6) World Politics in the Post-Cold War Order (7) Focus on Political Behavior.

Dr. Sheriff has published about thirty academic articles in international journals, more than ten articles in local journals, on issues that deal with: (a) Chinese Diplomacy (b) China-Great Power Relations (c) Chinese Economy (d) Chinese Four Comprehensives (e) China Emerging as a Super Power (f) World Peace and Security (g) African Debt Crisis and Underdevelopment (h) Military Intervention in African Politics (i) The Arab Spring, and many more dealing with domestic and international issues.



Funeka, Yazini, April

Ms. Funeka Yazini April works at the Human Science Research Council as a Research Specialist. Her research focus is on infrastructure and industrialization. She has edited 2 books, the Forum on China-Africa Cooperation: The Politics of Human Resource Development with Professor LI Anshan and Perspectives on South Africa – China Relations with Professor Garth Shelton. She is currently co-editing a book on FOCAC 2015: A New Beginning of China Africa Relations? This book is due for release by November 2015. She was recently nominated as a member for the African Union (AU) Economic, Social and Cultural Council (ECOSOCC) Cluster for infrastructure development. She has also undertaken several fieldwork exercises to assess industrializations in countries such as China, Mauritius, and the Democratic Republic of Congo. Ms. April studied at Masters of Arts Graduate of the International Affairs from the University of South Carolina in Columbia, South Carolina. She also studied in the Juris Doctorate of Law program at John Marshall School of Law, Atlanta, Georgia. Ms. April also has several journal publications that include the following: Understanding an Aspect of China's Governance and Economic Growth. Africa Insight, Vol (4) March 2012, South Africa's Governance Challenges: Assessing The South Africa – China Mineral Case, Contemporary Politics Journal, Routledge: London, Vol 15, No. 4, : December, 2009, A Comparative Analysis of Industrialization in the Case of the African Union and the Association of the South East Asia Nations. Africa Insight Journal. Volume 40 (3), A Comparative Analysis of Local Governance between South Africa and China, Africa Insight, Vol 43 (4) March 2014, and Assessing One Stop Shop Best Practices for South African Investments: A Comparative Case Study of Mauritius and Egypt. Africa Insight Journal, Vol 42 (1), and Will China's Reform's Impact Africa? AISA Policy Brief



GARTH LE PERE

GARTH LE PERE is a Visiting Professor of International Relations at the University of Pretoria and a Senior Associate of the Mapungubwe Institute for Strategic Reflection based in Johannesburg. He is also the founding Executive Director of the Institute for Global Dialogue, where he served for 12 years. He received a BA (with highest honours) from Rutgers University (New Jersey) and did postgraduate work in political science at Yale University (Connecticut) from where he holds MA, MPhil, and PhD degrees.

His areas of interest and publications record includes international relations theory, multilateral trade and emerging markets, South African foreign policy, the politics of Africa and the Middle East, and China's increasing role in Africa, a subject on which he has co-authored a book, China, Africa and South Africa: South-South Cooperation in a Global Era. He is completing another book, China's Global Rise: Reconfiguring Power after the Cold War.



GARTH SHELTON

Associate Professor, University of the Witwatersrand, Johannesburg, South Africa Academic and professional qualifications include: PhD, Wits University. Thesis entitled: "Nuclear Weapons, Deterrence and Non-proliferation: The Case of South Africa;" National Security Certificate, Christian Albrechts University, Kiel, Germany; MA (Distinction) Wits University, Dissertation entitled: "United States - South Africa Relations 1974-1979." Professor Shelton is a Director of the Institute for Global Dialogue (IGD); Director of the Wits University East Asia Project (EAP) and a director of the Africa-Asia Society (AAS). He has published 5 books (on China and Africa and China related themes) and 56 articles and academic papers (on East Asian topics and security related issues) in national and international journals. He has presented academic papers on East Asian and security related topics at 48 national and international conferences. Currently working as co-editor on a book focussing on China - Africa Relations and the Forum on China-Africa Co-operation (FOCAC), which includes a number of Chinese and African authors.



Madakufamba Munetsi

Madakufamba Munetsi has an academic background in development economics and political science, with a research interest in China Africa Relations with special focus on the Southern African sub-region. He is the Executive Director of the Southern African Research and Documentation Centre (SARDC) which has recently established a specialised Institute on China Africa Studies in Southern Africa (ICASSA). He is a longstanding editor of the regional development news feature magazine of the Southern African Development Community (SADC) called SADC Today. He is recognised in the region as an expert on SADC and regional integration, including infrastructure, energy and trade. He was a member of the SADC Task Force that reviewed the SADC 15-year development blueprint, the Regional Indicative Strategic Development Plan (RISDP) and was one of the technical advisors on the development of the SADC Industrialisation Strategy and Roadmap, both of which were adopted by SADC Heads of State and Government Summit in April 2015. He has conceptualized, implemented and supervised various research initiatives on Southern Africa regional development policy including tracking energy and infrastructure policy developments in the sub-region. He was a visiting scholar at the Shanghai Institute of International Studies (SIIS) in Shanghai, China, in June 2014. Recent publications and papers include "Prospects and Challenges of Industrial Development in Southern Africa: Lessons from Chinese Experience with Special Economic Zones, 2014"; "A Development Road Show? From Monterrey and Paris to Doha and Accra: is the Windhoek Declaration Improving Relations between SADC and its International Cooperating Partners?" (joint author); "SADC in the Twenty-first Century"; "Knowledge for Development: A Strategic Resource for Southern Africa"; "Survey of Basic Energy Initiatives in Southern Africa 2009" (joint author); "Regional Overview of Southern Africa" (chapter contribution); Optimising Regional Integration in Southern Africa: Assessing Informal Cross Border Trade in SADC -- A survey of five countries" (joint author); "Action on Infrastructure: Accelerating Provision of Priority Regional Infrastructure" (editor). He has also published several articles on regional integration in a number of journals and major newspapers in SADC.



About China-Africa Relations

Zhong Jianhua

Having gone through thick and thin together, China and Africa are bound by this community of shared future and interests. In the 1960s and 1970s, the two sides forged profound friendship in the fight for national independence and liberation. Today, nothing should stop the two sides from coming together to pursue common development. Africa is blessed with abundant natural and human resources and enjoys huge market and development potential. The Agenda 2063 and its first Ten Year Plan adopted at this year's AU Summit have prioritized industrialization and sustainable development, ushering Africa into a new stage of development. As for China, with more than three decades of fast growth, it now has rich experience, mature technology, cost-effective equipment and sufficient capital in the field of industrialization. More importantly, China has the strong political will to support Africa in achieving economic independence and self-reliant sustainable development. China and Africa will usher in a new phase of win-win cooperation and common development.

Since the inception of FOCAC 15 years ago, China and Africa have had fruitful cooperation across the board. Political mutual trust has grown significantly. The two sides understand and support each other on matters involving each other's core interests and major concerns, thus upholding the common interests of China, Africa and the developing world. Our practical cooperation has progressed in leaps and bounds, delivering tangible benefits to both the Chinese and African people. Statistics show that in 2014, trade between China and Africa exceeded US\$220 billion and China's investment stock in Africa surpassed US\$30 billion, an increase of 22 and 60 times respectively over the figures in 2000 when FOCAC was just established. Moreover, the share of China-Africa trade in Africa's total foreign trade has increased from 3.82% to 20.5%.

What is particularly noteworthy is China's commitment to helping Africa break the two development bottlenecks of underdeveloped infrastructure and lack of human resources. The efforts have already made a big difference. By June 2015, over 3,800 kilometers of railways and 4,334 kilometers of roads have been either built or under construction in Africa with Chinese financing. More than 200 schools of various kinds have been established with Chinese assistance or financing. The Chinese government provides Africa with more than 7,000 government scholarships each semester

and holds over 100 multilateral and bilateral technical and management training programs and senior officials workshops for Africa each year.

FOCAC has proven to be an important platform for collective dialogue between China and African countries and an effective mechanism for enhanced practical cooperation. As such, FOCAC is very much welcomed by all parties and has indeed become a banner for promoting China-Africa unity and cooperation and leading international cooperation on Africa.

As far as the African countries are concerned, they have the common desire to accelerate industrialization and agricultural modernization in a bid to realize economic independence and self-reliant, sustainable development. As for China, after over 30 years of reform, opening-up and rapid development, it now enjoys a large number of competitive industries and strong production capacities that need to go global. This means that given their respective strengths, China and Africa are each other's opportunity and need each other for cooperation and development. Convened against such a background, the FOCAC Summit, the first of its kind to be held on the African continent, will have great and far-reaching significance for boosting comprehensive transformation and upgrading of China-Africa relations and promoting more balanced, inclusive and sustainable development of the world.

China and Africa will seize this rare historical opportunity of the summit, fully leverage their advantages of political mutual trust and economic complementarity and step up mutually beneficial cooperation in the five priority areas of industrialization, agricultural modernization, health, people-to-people exchanges and peace and security. We believe that this summit, through its new plans, new blueprint and new momentum, will send to the rest of the world a strong message of China and Africa working together for win-win cooperation and common development and usher in a new prospect of development to people in China, Africa and beyond.

China, in the spirit of equal-footed consultation and joint preparation for the summit, stands ready to work with South Africa and the other 50 FOCAC members on the African side to make the summit in Johannesburg a historic gathering that will strengthen China-Africa unity and lead China-Africa cooperation to the future, thus writing a new chapter for China-Africa relations.



Black is Beautiful

Gong jianzhong

Premier Li Keqiang described the profound friendship between China and Africa by quoting a verse "You may forget the one who smiles with you, but you will never forget the one who cries with you" when he delivered a speech to the African Union in 2014.

The friendship between Chinese and African people has a long history. It can be traced back to hundreds of years. During the Ming dynasty, the famous Chinese navigator Zheng He voyaged across the Pacific Ocean and Indian Ocean to the east coast of Africa and built up friendship between Chinese and African people. After the founding of People's Republic of China, the first generation of Chinese leaders represented by Chairman Mao Zedong and Premier Zhou Enlai, together with elder statesmen of African Countries, opened a new era of China-Africa relationship. Today, the forge of "Upgrade of China-Africa Cooperation" marks that China-Africa friendship is handed down from generation to generation. As the largest developing country and the continent with the largest number of developing countries, China and Africa share similar historical experience and development tasks that will further strengthen our relationship and cooperation. By learning from each other and helping each other, China and African countries have fostered the common spiritual pursuit to develop together towards a promising future. The forge of "the Upgrade of China-Africa Cooperation" initiated by Premier Li Keqiang has enriched the content of new China-Africa Strategic Partnership and promoted China-Africa cooperation to a new height.

"Black is beautiful." Splendid African culture is a magnificent part of world civilization. Precious cultural heritage such as folk dance, music and oral culture as well as art treasures including wood carving, mask, architecture and bronze sculpture have all won international renown. A Chinese saying goes, "As soon as you arrive in Africa, you will fall in love with her. While you are away from Africa, you will always miss her."

I was Chinese Ambassador to Ghana from 2010 to 2013. During that period, I was deeply attracted by African culture and got to know many African friends. As the Executive Vice President of China Public Diplomacy Association (CPDA), a non-governmental organization, I attach great importance to the mutual understanding and friendship between Chinese and African people and try my best to promote the cooperation between China and African countries. Since its establishment three years ago, CPDA has successfully hosted events such as "Going to Africa" Investment Forum, China Culture Tours for African Diplomats and receiving African media delegations. I am sure, the friendship between China and African countries will be further deepened by people-to-people exchanges.

I wish the Round-table Conference of China-Africa Relationship co-hosted by CPDA and Independent Newspaper a great success!

A Right Moment to Transform and Upgrade China-Africa Cooperation

By Mr. Zhou Yuxiao, Former Chinese Ambassador

This year marks the 15th anniversary of the founding of the Forum on China-Africa Cooperation (FOCAC). Gratifying progress has been witnessed since its inception. FOCAC has played a significant role in promoting China-Africa solidarity, mutual trust and pragmatic cooperation and stimulating international support to Africa. For example, China-Africa trade volume reached US\$220 billion and China's accumulative investment in Africa hit US\$30 billion mark in 2014, representing a 22- and 60-fold increase over that in 2000 when FOCAC was set up. China-Africa cooperation has contributed to China's high economic growth and helped Africa to become one of the fastest growing continents in the world, thus bringing tangible benefits to the Chinese and African peoples.

As a former diplomat serving in Africa for more than a decade, I am so pleased to see all those achievements. What also makes me happy is the fact that the Sixth FOCAC Ministerial Meeting has been upgraded to a summit which is scheduled to be held in Johannesburg in early December 2015, the first of its kind ever held on African soil. It is a clear indication that both China and Africa attach great importance to FOCAC and the role played by Africa. I wish the historical summit a great success.

According to available information, the theme of the Summit will be Win-win Cooperation and Common Development. A new plan of action covering major areas of cooperation, such as industrialization, agricultural modernization, infrastructure building, investment and trade facilitation, public health, poverty reduction, peace and security and etc., will be announced to transform and upgrade China-Africa relations. More emphases are expected to be placed on the alignment of industrial development strategies and cooperation in industrialization and agricultural modernization by way of making investments and transferring China's quality industrial and agricultural capacity to African countries in light of their conditions and readiness. It could be perceived as a major shift of focus in China-Africa cooperation and become an important milestone in the FOCAC history. Therefore, it should be duly noticed, appreciated and implemented by all stakeholders for the following reasons:

First, it is logical. Industrialization and modernization always take place in a tiered manner in which developmental capitals, matured technologies and industrial capacities move from better developed to least developed countries or regions. China accepted much of that from developed economies and benefited a great deal in its modernization drive in the last few decades since its opening-up and reform. That transfer has, to a certain extent, helped China to become the second largest economy and an exporting country in terms of products, equipment, capital and technologies and etc. Now China takes it as its responsibility to share them with others, particularly with African countries that need them most at moment when they are entering into an elementary stage of industrialization and modernization. It is only natural and logical for China



and African countries to seize the opportunity to expand their cooperation from aid and trade to investment and industrial and agricultural capacity transfer.

It is opportune. For upgrading China-Africa cooperation, there is a stronger political will from both sides. China pursues five concepts of development, namely innovative, coordinated, green, open and shared development, which will guide not only its domestic development, but also its developmental cooperation with other countries. In fact, the concepts are already embodied in the theme of the forthcoming FOCAC Summit. China stands ready to share its experience and capacity with Africa without any reservation while Africa in general is more eager to learn the useful and applicable experience and practices in our reform and development process. Listing China as one of the main cooperation partners in the AU 2063 Agenda is a case in point.

There also exists a high complementarity between China and Africa. Africa boasts with advantages like rich humane and natural resources, huge markets and accelerated economic growth while China enjoys rich development experience and relatively abundant capital, readily applicable technologies and equipment.

Furthermore, development strategies between China and Africa are highly compatible. The AU Agenda 2063 sets very ambitious development objectives, giving high priority to industrialization and agricultural modernization. China is deepening its reform to facilitate economic transformation and upgrading, making quality surplus industrial and agricultural capacity available for transfer. In addition, China will spend US\$1 trillion to import foreign goods, invest US\$500 billion overseas and facilitate 500 million tourists to travel abroad in the next 5 years.

All these favorable factors are creating a golden opportunity for China and Africa to enter into FOCAC Version 2.0, a higher and wider platform for more substantial and practical cooperation that may directly contribute to Africa's current industrialization and agricultural modernization process.

It is challenging. Capital and capacity transfer does not come automatically to any given country. It requires certain conditions, such as political stability, laws and regulations, incentive policies, necessary infrastructures, governmental services and etc. One has to admit that there are many deficiencies on the African side. Strategies and policies for attracting capacity transfer and larger scale of investment are still absent in many countries. Education is not fully geared to industrialization and modernization. Infrastructure is still very weak. On the Chinese side, there is a lack of knowledge and understanding about Africa. Competent executives to handle capacity transfer are not too many. Commonly accepted international business practices are rather new to some potential investors. Both sides need to improve and excel themselves in their new endeavors.

FOCAC is 15 years old now, and it is growing from boyhood into youth-hood. Like a youth, FOCAC is expected to be energetic, courageous, innovative and eager to learn. As long as FOCAC members can work together courageously and creatively, FOCAC will be able to overcome all difficulties and obstacles lying ahead and turn the Summit theme "Win-win Cooperation and Common Development" into a reality, lifting China-Africa relations and cooperation to a higher level.

The Foundation of China-Africa Cooperation: History, achievement and perspective of people-to-people contact

Li Anshan

Diplomatic relation is comprised of three types: official contact, semi-official contact and people-to-people contact. In the discourse of China-Africa relations, there is a neglected field, i.e., P2P contact. For any bilateral relation in international arena, indirect contact always goes before direct contact, informal contact before formal contact, non-official contact before official contact. Therefore P2P contact is the basis of bilateral relations. China and Africa have the similarity in terms of their brilliant civilisations and there is a long tradition of bilateral cultural contact. In modern times, both China and Africa have had the same experience of being colonized and humiliated, and both have witnessed the struggle for liberation, independence, development and national dignity. Obviously, P2P contact forms an important part of bilateral relations in foreign affairs. However, diplomacy is not the sole element of bilateral relations. One important aspect of P2P contact is cultural offering and cultural learning. We understand that "culture" is a very colourful yet ambiguous term, with countless interpretations. Among the various definitions, I prefer Richard A. Shweder's definition, which considers culture as "community-specific ideas about what is true, good, beautiful and efficient". In the world community of different peoples and cultures, people need to know each other, understand other cultures, and learn from each other. Cultural offering represents a concept of equality and a sense of sharing, a more important element in P2P contact, which in fact lays the foundation of better bilateral relations and would make a greater contribution to a more harmonious world.

I would like to discuss the history and achievements of China-Africa P2P contact, in order to deepen our understanding of the issue. It is divided into three parts. The first is a historical survey covering the late nineteenth century to the present. The second illustrates the achievement of P2P, with a focus on the period after 2000, the year of establishment of FOCAC, based on three types of contact, i.e. FOCAC-sponsored P2P contact, individual contact and P2P contact run by Chinese civil organizations (CCO). After the set-up of FOCAC, three types of cultural contact and exchange have played their role and each has its own characteristics. P2P contact, sponsored by FOCAC, has several advantages: large scale, guaranteed funding and big influence. Using the governmental network, various aspects are addressed. Since the activities are financed with the government budget there is no problem with funding. The government can mobilise various media to report the activities and the news is accessible to the public. Yet there are disadvantages as well. Most obviously, the contact is at an organisation level and it is difficult to get to the grass-roots level. If the government is a good one, the result is positive; if the government is bad, the effect might be negative - what's more, the



credibility is reduced because of propaganda from both sides.

As for the cultural contact through individual effort, they can be presented or performed by everybody, everyday, everywhere if there is mixing of Chinese and Africans. This type of contact is cultural offering and exchange, characterised by its natural features, spreading slowly and smoothly without intentional design, premeditated intervention or governmental plan. People come and go, exchange their language, greetings and laughter, and start to mix in an ordinary way. They do things out of own interest and willingness. There is not much immediate effect, thus no counter-effect. Penetrating into the daily life style of ordinary people, the cultural influence is usually mutual and lasts long without notice.

Cultural exchange organised by CCOs is a popular type of China-Africa interaction. The better part is more effective than individual exchange in is rather short in duration. It can also avoid the government image and is thus better perceived by ordinary people. The way of doing things can be continuous and the involvement can be very active. However, for sustainability it needs both a highly mobilised civil society and a better source of funding, in order to make the actors more effective. Since there is a process of choice of partners and participants, it has to depend on either the government, or individuals.

However different their characteristics are, P2P contacts between China and Africa are very promising, which are involved in a wide range of activities, such as cultural offering and exchange, development cooperation, experience sharing, medical assistance, poverty reduction, educational cooperation and environmental protection.

Most Chinese scholars have argued that P2P contact between should be emphasised in order to strengthen China's "soft power". This approach is problematic. It is essential to get a clear idea of the nature and purpose of P2P contact. P2P contact is neither propaganda nor what Huntington termed "soft power", but cultural interaction, cultural offering and cultural mixing. It is a means of mutual learning and mutual understanding, not a kind of "power". The process of P2P contact is equal exchange of ideas without superiority and inferiority. The purpose of P2P is two-fold, i.e. to understand the other's culture and thus to lay the basis for better relations and make yourself understood by your partners, friends and brothers. If propaganda replaces P2P contact, the result will be less effective or even negative, and the friendship may be damaged.

A popular view holds China-Africa honeymoon is over and a difficult time will come, with increasing problems regarding bilateral relations. I have the opposite view, i.e. more problems are better. Why do I say so? No contact, no problem. When relations are wider and deeper, more problems will definitely occur. In an equal relationship and with mutual respect, China and Africa can discuss problems together and find a solution. After problems are solved, the relationship will be stronger.

Tell Our Stories: Mission for China-Africa Media Cooperation

Dr. Zhong Xin

(Professor, School of Journalism and Communication, Renmin University of China)

On June 23, 2015, I organized and hosted a dialogue between the director and locally hired staff and journalists from CCTV's Africa Production Center and ten journalists from different media of ten African Countries. The African staff and journalists of CCTV stayed in China for a few days to learn about China. The ten journalists from African media stayed in China for a few months to learn about China. However, this dialogue was created for them to learn about each other and explore possible opportunities for collaboration. Director Pang Xinhua from CCTV introduced the development of Africa Production Center and various ways of collaboration with African Media. Journalists from African media shared their experiences in media cooperation. During the 3 hour dialogue, almost everybody asked questions, shared information, and discussed about possible cooperation. Together, we created a very memorable moment.

As a media and public diplomacy researcher and practitioner, I believe that such dialogues and discussion about media cooperation will benefit the media, the public, the countries and the world.

In the past few years, CCTV-News aired its programs through its own channel and many channels of its African partners. China Radio International (CRI) aired its programs from many local FM radio. China Daily Africa has been printing its newspapers in the factories of its local partners. Chinese media shared some journalists and staff with African media. Chinese media in Africa are developing with the support of African media. At the same time, Chinese media become content providers and business partners of African media. Collaboration makes both Chinese and African media stronger while stronger non-western media will contribute to new world media order with features of diversity, inclusiveness and localization.

International media cooperation benefits the public by providing them with informative and interesting information and entertainment. Dou Dou and her mother-in-law, the widely known Chinese TV series, was warmly welcomed by African audiences in 2012. Since then, CRI has translated more than 1300 episodes of TV series in different languages for African audiences. TV series help African people get closer to the life of Chinese people and will no doubt help them understand more about China. On the other hand, Chinese media has delivered much more information about African countries to Chinese audiences and internet users and developed their interest and investment in Africa. More and more organizational and personal interaction happens between Chinese and African people.



As a result, volume of trade between China and Africa saw a growth of ten times in the past ten years and hopefully reach \$ 280 billion in 2015 according to the Standard Chartered Bank. Lower production cost has attracted many Chinese entrepreneurs to move their factories to African countries. It was predicted in 2014 that 85 million factory workers' positions would be transferred from China to Africa in the future according to ifeng.com. "Made in Africa" will be more popular globally. African countries have become more attractive travel destination to Chinese tourists while South Africa, Egypt, Tanzania, Kenya and Ethiopia are most attractive in 2014. Among 59 African countries, 28 countries saw a 60% growth of tourists from September 2013 to September 2014. Chinese tourists greatly contributed to the growth in 2014 when the total number of outbound mainland Chinese tourists broke a record of 100 million. It is also recognized that the number of African people living, travelling and studying in China has been growing quickly. The sweetest part of the interaction between Chinese and African people might be the growing number of love stories and marriages.

In 1950s, Chairman Mao Zedong marked the baseline for China-Africa friendship. Tanzania-Zambia Railway is an unforgettable symbol of the friendship. In March 2013, Chairman Xi Jin Ping paid his first state visits to Tanzania, South Africa, Congo, and Russia. In his speech at an international conference center of Tanzania, Chairman Xi declared that China and Africa will be "reliable friends" and "sincere partners" forever. Chairman Xi stressed that Chinese and African people should cooperate and support each other to make our shared dream for development come true since China has Chinese Dream aiming at rejuvenation of China while African people have your own African Dream of development, which would make great contribution to world peace and development.

In a word, the accelerated flow of information, trade, and people created unprecedented and historical interaction between China and Africa. With the classical Chinese proverb "Give a man a fish and you feed him for a day. Teach a man to fish and you feed him for a lifetime" kept in mind and practiced in action, more positive interaction should be expected.

It is lucky for Chinese and African media to get the chance to witness the exciting age and record the historical interaction. It is the mission of Chinese and African media to document our stories as another part of unforgettable memories in the history of mankind and tell our stories to our children. More and effective media cooperation including co-production, co-publishing, co-broadcasting, co-hosting should be explored and practiced.

China's Soft Power and Sino-African Friendship

**(Dr. Yao Yao, Director of Center for National Soft Power
Research at China Foreign Affairs University)**

"Soft power," following Professor Joseph Nye's formulation, includes a country's culture, political values and foreign policies as essential components of national strength.

What is China's soft power?

China will never forget the brothers in Asia, Africa and Latin America. This is actually the biggest soft power of China's foreign policy. Just as Chinese President Xi Jinping addresses the annual high-level general debate of the 70th session of the UN General Assembly on September 28, 2015: China will always vote for developing countries in the United Nations!

The unique features of China's diplomacy as a major country originate from the rich and profound Chinese civilization. In its five thousand-year history, the Chinese nation has developed the political philosophy of valuing virtue and balance, the peaceful approach of love, non-offense and good-neighborliness, the idea of peace being of paramount importance and harmony without uniformity as well as the personal conduct of treating others in a way that you would like to be treated and helping others succeed if you want to succeed yourself. These traditional values with a unique oriental touch provide an endless source of invaluable cultural asset for China's diplomacy and soft power.

Johannesburg Summit of the Forum on China-Africa Cooperation (FOCAC) to be held in South Africa in December, 2015 will be a boost to carry out China's Africa policy of "sincerity, real results, affinity and good faith" which was put forward by President Xi Jinping, to further promote the "Six Major Projects" and "Three Major Networks" proposals on cooperation with Africa raised by Premier Li Keqiang during his visit to the continent last year in line with the overall direction, to specifically implement a series of consensus and important agreements in the exchange of visits between the leaders of the two sides.

In history, China and Africa have always been in a community of common destiny. In the future, China will enhance cooperation with African countries on three pressing issues, namely industrialization, sanitation and safeguarding security and peace. Chinese are willing to work with African brothers and convert traditional Sino-African friendship into fruit of mutual benefit and cooperation, and help African countries turn their development potential into real strength.

Chinese Premier Li Keqiang, in his visit to Africa last year, had raised such initiatives as six major cooperation projects and three major transport networks, which won extensive endorsement from African countries. China will further promote China-Africa comprehensive cooperative partnership which is characterized by equality, mutual trust, mutual



benefit and win-win outcomes, and to continue to firmly support each other on major issues bearing on respective core interests. China is ready to transform the friendly tradition between the two sides into the motive force of the development and cooperation and hopes to help African brothers transform manpower and resources potential into the advantage of economic development as soon as possible. In the future, China proposes to focus on expanding cooperation in several fields, namely, agricultural modernization, infrastructure construction, industrial transfer, renewable energy, ecological environmental protection, cultural tourism and the maintenance of peace and security. China's plans above consider both the development demand of Africa and China's own ability and conditions.

Actually, the strength of China's African relations and the source of much of its soft power stems from more than just the relatively recent growth in trade and investment. Different from many western countries, China has always committed to contributing to the development of human resources in Africa by establishing funds jointly administered and used by various Chinese ministries (Foreign Affairs, Commerce, Education, Science and Technology, Agriculture, Health) in order to train African personnel. So far, thousands of Africans have been trained as part of the program. Many African students are annually awarded by China, while many Chinese universities have established relationships with African institutions.

China has also promoted "health diplomacy" with African partners, establishing a relationship between Chinese doctors and millions of ordinary Africans, and saving many African's lives. Last year, in the face of the Ebola epidemic, China had sent more than 1,000 epidemic control experts and medical workers to Africa and built in a timely fashion treatment centers in the affected areas. Early this year, the last Ebola patient in Liberia was discharged from a treatment center which China helped to build. In all, China had also provided four batches of assistance worth a total of 750 million yuan (\$122 million) to the affected countries and their neighbors in Africa.

Moreover, China's model of a strong government and its focus on economic growth is looked upon by many African leaders and ordinary people, as an example to follow. Frustrated with decades of instability and corruption, which many African people tend to blame on the West and its liberal democratic model, the continent's elites are fast embracing the Chinese model. China has always been willing to help African countries build major infrastructure projects such as mega dams, high-speed railways and telecommunications in the continent which no Western country was willing to fund in history.

Of course, as China continues to develop, many friends from Africa and other developing countries may ask, will an ever stronger China still be part of us? Will it still work together with us hand in hand just like before?

China will always remember where its root is. When our brothers in Africa who fought together with us for national independence have not yet been lifted out of poverty, China shares their feelings; when our friends in Africa who once carried China to the United Nations are still beset by wars and turbulence, China shares their feelings. China has never separated itself from other developing countries and will never do so. In the future, China will do its best to establish a community of shared destinies with other developing countries. Brothers and sisters from Africa and other developing countries can always believe that whenever you need China, China will always be there, ready to help!



China-African Relationship Ushered in a New Era with the Accompany of Starshine

Zhao yueqin

Africa is an important polar for both world civilization and international political landscape, as well as an emerging power in global economic growth. As a developing country like most African countries, China shares similar experience of development with Africa and features strong complementarity with Africa. Therefore China-Africa relationship is incomparably crucial for global political and economic development as well as cultural exchange.

As long-standing and well-established as it is, China-African friendship is full of vitality and thus has great potential of development. In the 1950s' and 1960s', the first generation of Chinese leadership, such as Chairman Mao Zedong and Premier Zhou Enlai, collaborated with their African counterparts to open a new era of China-African relationship. Ever since then, Chinese and African people have worked hand in hand to fight against colonialism and imperialism and strive for national independence and economic revitalization, leading to close and sincere friendship. In recent years, China and Africa continuously forge ahead its political trust and witness frequent high-level contact between Chinese and African leadership, making remarkable progress in friendly cooperation and thus becoming an outstanding model for South-South cooperation. China-African relationship is ushered into the fast track of all-around development with joint efforts. China has been the largest trade partner for Africa for many years successively. In 2015, China-African trade volume is expected to approach \$300 billion. In the first half of 2015, China's direct investment in Africa registered as high as \$1.19 billion. In addition, China attaches particular attention to China-African relationship in recent years. During President Xi Jinping's visit to Tanzania in 2013, he described this relationship with four phrases: sincerity, real results, affinity and good faith. Premier Li Keqiang proposed to upgrade China-African industrial cooperation in a thorough way and promote the construction of the networks for African high-speed railway, expressway and regional aviation as well as the industrialization of infrastructure, when he visited the headquarter of Africa Union in 2014. The leaders on both sides proposed the directions and specific measures for China-Africa cooperation, which has yielded primary results in the past two years. While the Forum on China-Africa cooperation marks its 15th anniversary, the 6th Ministerial Conference will be held in South Africa to plan the cooperation in the coming three years and see the presence of President Xi once again. This is bound to be a new milestone for China-Africa friendship and forge ahead China-Africa cooperation.

This is significant for Chinese enterprises operating in Africa. The strengthening of China and African economic and trade ties is conducive to Chinese enterprises' going abroad and accumulating the experience of participating in globalization. The practices of Chinese enterprises' being deeply involved in investment, trade and engineering construction in Africa under the model of PPP is not only the way to fulfill China's commitment of supporting Africa's development and achieving mutual benefits, but a shortcut for enterprises' own development, industrial capacity cooperation and industrial transfer.

As one of pioneers in Africa, the StarTimes' achievements in recent years are closely tied up with Africa's development. Founded in 1988, the StarTimes entered Africa's radio and digital TV market in 2002 and then officially started business in 2007 by establishing StarTimes Media (Rwanda) Co., Ltd.. Currently it has registered companies and obtained license and frequent points in 30 countries including Rwanda, Nigeria, Guinea, Tanzania, Kenya and Uganda and operated in 16 countries with over 200 brand halls, 3000 plus convenient stores, over 5000 distributors and 3200 local employers, creating over 100,000 jobs indirectly. By combining DTT and DTH networks, it covers over 700 million African people, and becomes the fastest-growing and most influential DDT operator. We have strived to achieve our vision of "enabling every African household to have access to, afford and enjoy the beauty of Digital TV". Therefore, we manage to break the monopoly of high price by traditional African DDT operators with persistent efforts, win the support and trust of customers by our outstanding service, rake in market share with the help of localized team and TV programs, and create a Chinese brand geared to average African people with the operational mode in line with market discipline as well as local laws and regulations. Thanks to increasingly stable political landscape and favorable environment of fast-growing economy in Africa in recent years, StarTimes makes notable progress in its African business. In 2015, its subscribers approach six million and its market share exceeds 30%. Except for economic benefits, StarTimes also wins many awards in Africa. For instance, in Nigeria, it is rated as the most popular pay-TV operator by the third party for three years in a row. In Uganda, it is awarded the prize of "Most Popular Investor" and "Best Digital TV Operator" by the government. In Tanzania, the government awards StarTimes Certificate of Appreciation for its notable efforts of helping Tanzania to be the first African country completing digital migration. In October 25, StarTimes was awarded the Gold Star by the World Quality Commitment based in Paris. It is fair to say that StarTimes could not have made these achievements without the progress of Africa's radio and TV market. Far beyond entering Africa, StarTimes has integrated and got deep rooted in Africa.



Both China and African countries are faced with the task of marching towards modernization. Africa has passed its 2063 long-term planning which embodies their aspiration for development, prosperity and well-being and depicts its development roadmap for Africa full of vigor and dynamism. This planning requires perseverant efforts of African people and will surely lead Africa to the fast track of development. Likewise, China will deepen its reforms in an all-around manner and strive to make its dream of revitalization come true. Africa and China have their requirement, advantage and opportunity perfectly complemented in terms of industrial tie-in and industrial capacity cooperation. It is expected that China and Africa will promote more balanced, stable and prosperous world economy through win-win cooperation and mutual development and benefit both Chinese and African people and world people.

Taking advantage of the remarkable momentum of mutual political trust, mutual economic benefit and cultural exchange between China and Africa, StarTimes plans to expand its digital TV service to over 40 African countries with over 30 million subscribers. As a humble company as StarTimes is, we believe that following the principle of cooperating with Africa based on its requirement, agreement and participation and with the support and trust of African people, StarTimes will welcome new development opportunities in its exploration in Africa. We will continuously strive to close the ties between China-African exchange and cultural communication, forge ahead the comprehensive upgrading of China-African friendly cooperation and make humble contribution to traditional China-Africa friendship.

GMMG: A Complete Picture of Africa

Miles Nan

Asked what emerges at the mention of Africa, most people would likely say poverty, war, AIDS, corruption, and crime. But it is not a complete picture of the continent. This is what I feel the most after I have lived here for up to 20 years.

Africa is home to more than 50 countries. There are as many commonalities as differences between them. While some countries experience instability, most countries are concentrating on development. Many are facing economic difficulties, but the continent as a whole is moving on the right economic track. Africa is blessed with rich resources and is a potentially big market, therefore it is attracting huge overseas investment.

Based in Africa, Global Max Media Group (GMMG) is poised to present a real Africa to the rest of the world.

Brief Introduction to GMMG

GMMG is an Africa-based company with more than 10 media outlets in the continent. Headquartered in Gaborone, Botswana, it aims to develop three regional centers in southern, eastern and western Africa

GMMG's major businesses encompass multi-lingual radio broadcasting, video production, websites and multi-media services, print media such as newspapers and magazines, advertisement, public relations as well as planning and organizing of large-scale cultural and charitable events.

Specifically, we run several radio stations, newspapers and magazines in Botswana, Zambia, Tanzania and other countries. They offer news and information in such languages as Chinese, English, Setswana and Kiswahili to Chinese in and out of Africa, foreign people living in Africa, as well as local African residents. Most of the staff are locally recruited and can produce contents that best appeal to the target markets.

How Does GMMG Report on Africa?

Take Chinese newspaper Oriental Post as an example of how GMMG introduces Africa to the outside world.

Oriental Post is available in Botswana, Zambia and Tanzania. The three national editions have African pages in common and are differentiated by their national



contents. The newspaper also has its WeChat social media account, which is updated every day and subscribed by more than 20,000 Chinese in Africa and China. In addition to the full-time editorial team, the Oriental Post has a contingent of free-lance reporters in South Africa, Mozambique, Malawi and other African countries. Since its birth, the newspaper has aimed to provide readers with first-hand information. Its principle in reporting Africa is three-fold.

1.To erase the impression of an all-too negative Africa

It is commonly believed by international media that negative stories easily catch the attention of readers and audiences and they tend to focus on the bad sides of Africa in order to sell. This is unfair to the people in Africa.

While Western media play the role of a watchdog, Chinese media, with Oriental Post being included, like to engage in constructive reporting as coined by some Chinese journalism specialists.

We do not shy away from problems in Africa, but we study the reasons why the problems exist historically, economically and culturally, and most importantly, we talk with people concerned who can offer possible solutions. This is what we did when we reported on the life of Shan people, an ethnic group that lives on the edge of Kalahari Desert of Botswana and that had friction with the government.

It is very important for media people to be positive in its reporting, not to lose hope, not to marginalize and certainly not the least to demonize Africa.

2.To construct the image of a promising Africa

Africa is ushering in a new era and it has taken a big step forward.

The Oriental Post measures African success with African values, and therefore we bring to light the achievements African countries have made in terms of infrastructure construction, medical care, cultural and educational fields. From southern Africa, to eastern Africa, and to western Africa, the Oriental Post also concentrates on China-Africa cooperation in various spheres.

The voices of Africa are diverse. Any voice reported does not represent the whole of Africa and may risk generating bias, hatred and violence. With our editorial team based in Africa, we try our best to transmit the different voices of Africans which will be heard by Chinese and non-Chinese alike.

Before the presidential election of Tanzania in late October, it was rumored that the

tense competition between the two major parties may end up in national turmoil and many foreigners left the country for safety. But our reporters fared through the voting process and proved that the people of Tanzania were able to conduct a peaceful election, albeit some disturbances were seen in some limited areas.

3.To bridge the cultural gap between Chinese and African people

There is a big difference between Chinese culture and African culture, which is one of the reasons for misunderstandings that occur in the interaction between Chinese and African people.

Misunderstanding is unavoidable, but it's important that we get to face and solve it head-on. Among others, our job is to explain why the difference and misunderstanding exist and how we can seek common ground so that Chinese and African people can work together in a productive and respectful way.

In addition to publishing common knowledge like local festivals, etiquette and code of conducts that are commonly followed, the Oriental Post also carries timely stories on new laws and amendments of laws so that they can be best observed by Chinese individuals and businesses in Africa.

In a nutshell, this is the principle that we comply with at the Oriental Post in Africa reporting. In fact the same editorial guidelines are applied in other media outlets of GMMG. We are showcasing a new Africa on our multi-lingual and multi-media platform. We hope we all will come to love Africa and to help Africa.

Thank you !



Outlines speech of Mr. Ibrahim Al Ghitany
Round Table Conference for Sino-African relations,
Johannesburg- South Africa
30 November-2 December 2015

Title: Evaluating Sino-African relations

Name: Ibrahim Ibrahim Al Ghitany

General Purpose: Opinion

A- Introduction:

- 1.China's relationship with Africa goes back at least 50 years. Once the connection was ideological in 60s and 70s during 20th Century. At this time, Africa became a battleground between China and Taiwan on issue of sovereignty and who is entitled to represent China as a whole in international forums.
- 2.On Contrast, Since "Reform and opening" Implementation in 1978. China redirected its Relations to use diplomacy to serve the economy.
- 3.Now, China is both a long-established diplomatic partner and a large investor in Africa. Chinese interests on the continent encompass not only natural resources but also issues of trade, security, diplomacy, and soft power. Also, China is a major donor of aid to Africa.
- 4.China and Africa have taken another step to strengthen relations with the launch of Forum on China-Africa Cooperation in 2000.
- 5.Sino-African relations have witnessed great notable growth since 2006, when Beijing government released an important white paper, China's African Policy, to clarify Africa's strategic importance to China.
- 6.China tended to cooperate with major powers such as France to facilitate its partnership with Africa.
- 7.The Chinese engagement in Africa is characterized by its principle of non-interference and friendly. China believes are based on a paternalistic interference in political affairs, China promotes its presence in Africa as based on equality, mutual respect, and mutual benefit.

B- Chinese Economic Interest

- 8.Figures show that Africa's economic importance to China has risen dramatically.
- 9.China Seeks strategic interests in Africa: Access to natural resources, particularly oil and gas and Markets for Chinese exports.
- 10.In 2014, China's trade with Africa reached \$202.7 billion, while U.S.-African trade in 2012 was \$63.9 billion (IMF Estimates)

11.Energy and mineral resources attract the most Chinese FDI, but the activities of China's construction companies and service providers in developing Africa's physical infrastructure are underestimated.

12.According to a white paper on China-Africa economic and trade cooperation published by China's State Council in 2013, cumulative FDI to Africa amounted to \$21.23bn by 2012, mostly in the energy and mineral resources sectors, and Chinese enterprises had completed construction contracts worth \$40.83bn in the continent.

13.Chinese aid to Africa has been increasing, and is intentionally distinct from other 'traditional' (Western) donors due to its 'non-interference policy.

14.China's "no-conditionality" aid provides possible way of developing self-driven agency for Africa countries (strategic for aid effectiveness)

15.The billions of dollars that China commits to Africa are repayable, long-term loans. From 2009 to 2012, China provided USD 10 billion in financing to Africa in the form of "concessional loans

16.In 2014, Chinese Prime Minister Li Keqiang unveiled additional assistance to Africa of \$ 12 billion at least.

c- Seizing the Opportunities and Confronting the Challenges

17.Overall, African citizens and governments hold positive views of Chinese engagement in Africa. African officials overwhelmingly view China's role in Africa as a positive development.

18.Many Africans praise China's contributions to their nations' infrastructure, highlighting visible improvements that contribute to expanded economic activity, job creation.

19.To promote Africa's Chinese relations, suggest encouragement of partnerships facilitating technology transfer, adding value to African exports, ensuring environmental protection and sustainable development, and training of legal and expertise personnel.

20.Despite this progress, there remain challenges hinder relations between both, related to security issues and Lack of the macroeconomic stability in African countries. From Another Angle, Slow of Chinese economy may reduce momentum gained.

D- Conclusion:

21.Despite many challenges, I think that Sino-African relations will continue its momentum, as both relations deepening gradually to include many fields. Milestone point that partnership based on mutual respect, and mutual benefit.



Towards Promoting and Realizing 'Mutual Benefit' from China – Africa Cooperation¹

¹ This op-ed is prepared for the 6th forum on China – Africa Cooperation to be held in South Africa, 2015. The opinions are of the author and do not necessarily reflect that of EDRI's, or supporting organizations. I believe that this op-ed will contribute to formulate and realize socially optimal 'mutual benefits', which each party values most from the cooperation. It can also be an input to set areas of priority for the Cooperation.

² Such benefits and costs may be economic, social, cultural or politics. But this op-ed focuses more on the economic benefits of the Cooperation.

Alebel Bayrau Weldesilassie (PhD)
alebel.bw@gmail.com
Ethiopian Development Research Institute

During the last decade, China's economic engagement with Africa has been increasing. Evidences show that China became the largest trading and investment partners of Africa. In this regard, an important milestone is the China – Africa cooperation. Mutual benefit is the foundation for the sustainability of this cooperation. However, such cooperation entails each party to do 'good' for the other partner to gain something 'equivalent' to it. That is, each part is required to formulate its objective function with the principle of 'give and take'. The cooperation may fail in the absence of 'mutual benefits'. To avoid this, each side is expected to have clear understanding on their expected benefits that they value most from such cooperation both in terms of its contents and realization. Accordingly, formulating the 'right' benefit that each party aims to gain for what each party is willing to 'give up' is most important for the sustainability of the cooperation. In addition, given this benefit, it is expected that the realization of the benefit requires not only cooperative efforts from both sides but also efficiency and effectiveness in goods and service delivery.

While the 'impact' of such economic Cooperation in Africa or 'who benefits' more from it is open for discussions, my aim is not to outline/comment on 'what should constitute the potential benefits'. Neither is to contribute to the discussion on the impact of the Cooperation on Africa. My aim is to contribute on 'how to promote and realize mutual benefit from the cooperation'. More specifically, I focus on the conceptual issues that I think are fundamental in formulating and realization of the 'mutual benefits²', with particular focus from Africa side.

Despite its good economic performance in the last decade, structural transformation is still limited in Africa. Thus, Africa needs to work towards transforming its economy to an economic model based on high productivity and value addition sectors, especially

the manufacturing and modern agriculture and services so that it can benefit from the Cooperation in the years to come.

On the other hand, the development of Industrial Zones (IZs) is a central platform in China's announced strategy of engagement in Africa as 'mutual benefit'. IZs have been and are key policy instruments in enhancing economic transformation by attracting investment, promoting technological learning, upgrading and innovation and generating stable and decent employment.

However, the challenge is that IZs Development requires setting realistic goals and designing feasible pathways towards the effective achievement of their goals. In this regard, Chinese experience in the development of Special Economic Zones (SEZs), a variant name of IZs in China, is exceptionally rich to draw relevant lessons for Africa.

Based on a field level primary data, expert interviews and review of relevant literature, this op-ed, therefore, aims to draw some important lessons that African countries can learn from the successful and remarkable contributions of SEZs to China's structural transformation. I believe the lessons can help African countries in formulating their benefits and work to realize the same from the Cooperation. The lessons, if adapted well to suit to each country's specific feature, will not only help to improve and strengthen the mutual benefits of the cooperation but also benefit African countries in enhancing the process of economic transformation.

The first lesson originates from the fact that Africa should have clear answer for 'What should be the basic concept of IZs in Africa? The success story from China's experience shows that the concept of IZs should fundamentally originate from the overall development thinking of each African country. First, African governments should have clear understanding of the development problems and challenges of their continent. Second, this concept helps to formulate the development path that effectively addresses the identified development problems. While China's development path was 'a gradualist approach towards reform', it is important that African countries consider approach that is pragmatic so that they are able to identify problems, sort out issues, develop measures, and test and evaluate results before they incur huge costs as a result of their policy decisions. Third, it is essential that the expected benefits from the Cooperation to be directed by a policy/strategy formulated based on 'Problem – and Development - oriented strategy', rather than an 'ideological-based policy'. Finally, such development thinking can be the foundation to set clear objectives and roles of the development of IZs in Africa so that it can benefit from the Cooperation if IZs are used as a policy instrument.

The second lesson from China's SEZs development is that African countries need to



have clear understanding on 'What should be the institutional arrangement for the effective implementation and realization of IZs' pre-defined goals?. In this regard, five key lessons can be drawn from SEZs implementation mechanisms. First, Africa should give due consideration to its internal political economy features and comparative advantages in designing IZs implementation mechanisms though the international opportunities including China should also be considered. Second, it is also advisable to use IZs to experiment some policy reforms that Africa did not experience before. Third, the efficacy of IZs requires committed leadership and inclusive institutional arrangement to experiment and quickly learn from both its-own and the other partner's successes and failures. Fourth, while other factors (resource, labor, domestic market, etc) play important role in attracting China's investment, Africa should also use targeted preferential policies to promote the development of its IZs. Fifth, if Africa targets long terms benefit & costs, then, it is essential to design institutional arrangement capable of strengthening the linkage between IZs and the domestic economy.

The third lesson from China's experience is that African countries need to have clear idea on 'how IZs should be governed? The experience of China SEZs revealed that a special administrative system was established to administer and manage the SEZs by the central government³. It was designed with core management concept of efficiency and effectiveness in service delivery and decision making. Its main central idea is to simplify procedure of examination and approval, as well as improve administrative efficiency and to provide flexible measures to facilitate investment and trade according to the principle of efficiency and convenience.

3 More specifically, the governance system of SEZs was designed based on the principle of government led and market operating.

Finally, Africa should also give due attention to minimize the potential negative outcomes from the Cooperation. This requires a careful formulation of its institutional and organizational arrangements. The above suggested concepts help to design such arrangements that enable Africa to identify fundamental development constraints and the potential benefit and costs of the Cooperative actions. Besides, it will help to effectively deliver the required 'exchanges of goods and services' from the Cooperation with cooperative efforts and minimize the negative outcomes so that it is possible to realize the mutual benefits from the Cooperation.

ANCIENT TIES, NEW DREAMS: CHINA'S "SILK ROAD" STRATEGY AND AFRICA'S POST-2015 DEVELOPMENT AGENDA

PROF PETER KAGWANJA

Africa cannot ignore China. With its 1.3 billion people, the world's second most powerful economy, the world's fastest expanding naval fleet, a nuclear stock, a seat in the United Nations Security Council and drawing on the ethos of one of the world's ancient civilisations, China is a superpower. In the 21st century, China has effectively returned to the centre of the world system, itself changing rapidly. And China's leaders are not concealing their new muscles. On September 3, 2015, Chinese President Xi Jinping dramatized China's new power during the military parade at Tiananmen Square in Beijing. China's re-entry into the world stage is re-defining the future of global power. Most importantly, it is a game changer for Africa, altering the fortunes of the continent's economy, people and global power and influence. At the dawn of the 21st century, China formed the Forum on China-Africa Cooperation (FOCAC) in October 2000 as an official platform to strengthen relations with a continent fabulously rich in natural resources and potentially the world's fastest growing market. President Jinping will attend the second summit of the Forum on China-Africa Co-operation (FOCAC) in South Africa on December 4 and 5, the first to be held on the continent. Africa expects China to unveil a new strategy and vision of engaging the continent in the post-2015 era.

Conceptually, scholarship and policy debates on China's involvement in Africa are the proverbial tower of Babel. On the one hand are the China-bashers who depict Beijing as a neo-colonial power extracting and siphoning African resources to fuel its rise. They are fretting the "new 21st century scramble for Africa". On the other hand are the China-philiacs everywhere exalting the coming of China's as a redemptive force in Africa. However, a more sober middle-of-the-road approach has focused on the real opportunities and challenges facing the two partners in forging mutually beneficial relations. Currently, China's African strategy rests on two planks.

"Developmental Peace"

The first plank on which China's African policy rests is the idea of "developmental peace". Chinese scholars are contrasting the West's largely political "liberal peace" with their own "developmental peace", captured by what Chinese President Xi Jing Ping describes as China's "peaceful rise" to the superpower status. Ideologically and globally, China's "peaceful rise" is seeking to replace the current hard-power and West-centric world with a soft power, multi-polar global order. The idea of developmen-



tal peace is manifested in China's increased involvement in peace-keeping, conflict resolution and humanitarian interventions in Africa. In the wake of the Ebola virus menace in West Africa, China dispatched a powerful medical team that operated units to contain the epidemic and treat its victims. This is part of its medical diplomacy.

Old Ties, New Dreams

Related to the above, is the cultural software of China's "developmental peace" described by Beijing's pundits as "people-to-people" diplomacy. At the heart of this people-centered diplomacy is the conception of the China-Africa relations as a "dialogue of civilizations" or "alliance of civilization" — a conscious negation of the "clash of civilization" thesis.

China's people-to-people diplomacy is hoisted on the cultural pillar of its long historical and cultural tied with Africa which dates back to ancient times when African scholars and travelers visited parts of China and Chinese sailors made voyages to many parts of Africa. These early China-Africa interactions were facilitated by the "Silk Road." However, Sino-African ties in the modern era started in the 1960s during the era of Mao Zedong, the first leader of the Communist Party. In forging Sino-Africa relations, Africa was not passive. Former Zambian President Kenneth Kaunda Visited China in June 1967. Today, China has established no less than 30 Confucian institutes across Africa to promote cultural understanding and exchanges.

Despite great strides in consolidating Sino-Africa relations, logistical and policy challenges remained. While China is a country, Africa is a continent of 54 countries. The formation of FOCAC in 2000, however, provided a broad-based platform for the engagement of China and Africa as two equal partners. FOCAC has held five meetings at the Ministerial levels and one Summit at the Heads of State level. President Jacob Zuma visited China in September 2-4, 2015. During the visit to China, it was agreed that the 6th FOCAC meeting be upgraded to a full the forum Summit of Heads of State. FOCAC has provided the platform for China-Africa development cooperation. But the Chinese dream meets the African dream in "Agenda 2063" adopted by African leaders and nations in May 2013. Agenda 2063 encapsulate the African dream of drawing from the lessons of the past and building on the progress being made to strategically exploit all possible opportunities available in the new multi-polar world system to ensure positive socioeconomic transformation of the continent in the next 50 years. This

blueprint is defining the vision and priorities to guide Africa's engagement with the world, including China. With colonialism, apartheid and racism now out of the way, Africa's agenda 2063 turns the spotlight to economic emancipation and empowerment. Development Cooperation

The second plank of China-Africa strategic engagement is development co-operation. The backdrop to the FOCAC summit in Johannesburg is provided by the debate on the "Post-2015 Development Agenda", a UN-led consultative process seeking to define a future global development agenda and framework to replace the Millennium Development Goals that ends this year. But setting the contours of China's new Africa development strategy is the grand "Silk Road Economic Belt" and the "21st-century Maritime Silk Road" framework that President Xi Jinping revealed in September and October 2013, respectively.

In a nutshell, China's 21st century "Silk Road" strategy is inspired by the ancient network of trade and cultural transmission routes dating back to 200 AD that linked its various parts with the continents of Asia, Africa and Europe and that placed China at the center of a nascent world system as a non-hegemonic superpower. Africa is a key focus of China's post-2015 development strategy in the Indian Ocean rim. In its modern form, the "Silk Road" also includes on-line trading as the newest frontier in Africa-China commercial ties.

FOCAC seek to deepen Sino-Africa cooperation in trade and investment. During the 1990s, Sino-Africa trade increased by 700 per cent. The trade volume jumped from a low of \$1 billion in 1980 to a high of \$163.9 billion in 2012, making China Africa's largest trading partner after surpassing the United States in 2009. China's trade with Africa stood at \$222 billion last year. During his visit to Africa in 2014, Chinese Premier Li Keqiang promised to double bilateral trade with Africa to \$400 billion by 2020. Africa is the source of more than one-third of China's oil supplies.

China is providing low-cost financing to Africa with less restrictions and conditions than the West, which has enabled Africa to undertake infrastructure projects. China's investment has also witnessed a tremendous expansion of private enterprise. Today, an estimated 800 Chinese corporations are doing business in Africa investing mainly in the infrastructure, energy and banking sectors.

China's development cooperation with Africa has been a game changer for the continent's economic fortunes. In the last decades, the continent's economy has grown steadily at an estimated rate of 5.3 per cent in 2011 and 5.8 per cent in 2012 and is projected to grow by 5 per cent by 2016. Over the last 15 years, Beijing has also cancelled more than \$10 billion in debt that African nations owe China.

Aiding Africa's Industrialization

Africa's taking off will remain a pipedream as long as there is not industrialization. China is not a newcomer to Africa's industrialization and infrastructure development. In the 1970s, Beijing sponsored the building of the 1,860 kilometer "Tazara Railway"

¹Peter Kagwanja, "China using knowledge to consolidate its influence in Africa", Daily Nation (Nairobi), September 12, 2015.



linking Tanzania and Zambia and completed in 1976, with 47 bridges and 18 tunnels made by 50,000 Chinese workers.

However, China has realized that its continued importation of unprocessed and low-cost raw materials from Africa while exporting high-cost manufactured goods to the continent will perpetually feed the embers of criticism that it is not different from other powers plundering African resources, and largely blamed for its underdevelopment.

As such, the adoption of the “Silk Road” strategy is expected to deepen China’s role in Africa’s industrialization. While the strategy is calibrated to enable China to take a bigger role in global affairs, it will pave the way for Beijing to export its production capacity in areas such as steel manufacturing. This has great potential for accelerating the industrialization of countries within the “Silk Road” ambit, including Africa.

Five African countries—Kenya, Ethiopia, Tanzania, Egypt and South Africa—are earmarked as Beijing targets for the exportation of its production capacity and industrialization in the next decade and beyond. After the completion of the ongoing refurbishing of the ports of Mombasa and Lamu and the construction of a modern standard-gauge railway (SGR) linking Nairobi and Mombasa, Kenya will firmly form part of the “21st Century Maritime Silk Road”. Ethiopia is firmly in the loop. Here, Chinese technology and low-cost finance have helped build the first city ring road, the first expressway, the first city light rail, the first electrified railway, and the first wind power generation project.

China’s sharpest instrument in supporting Africa’s industrialization and infrastructure is the New Development Bank, formerly referred to as the BRICS Development Bank, a multilateral development bank operated by the five BRICS states (Brazil, Russia, India, China and South Africa). With its headquarters in Shanghai, China, and a regional office in Johannesburg, the bank is poised to radically change global relations of power by providing an alternative — and a rival — to the West-led World Bank and International Monetary Fund.

In conclusion, the 2nd FOCAC summit provides Africa with an opportunity to articulate a common and clear policy to get Beijing to commit to new development strategies and approaches to correct the unequal relation. This, in turn, will boost Africa’s industrialization and push the continent up the value chain in the global economy.

-End-

²This policy approach is exemplified by the United Nations Alliance of Civilizations (UNAOC) initiative, proposed by the Spanish President José Luis Rodríguez Zapatero at the 59th United Nations General Assembly in 2005, which seeks to galvanize international action against extremism and to defuse tensions between the Western and Islamic worlds.

See, Samuel P. Huntington, *The Clash of Civilizations and the Remaking of World Order*, Simon & Schuster, 1996.

MY OPINION ON THE FORUM ON CHINA-AFRICA COOPERATION: A POSITIVIST PERCEPTION

BY

SHERIFF GHALI IBRAHIM

DEPARTMENT OF POLITICAL SCIENCE AND INTERNATIONAL
RELATIONS, UNIVERSITY OF ABUJA, ABUJA-NIGERIA

With the decolonization and liberation of Africa from colonial domination, Africa has been struggling to plan for the development of the continent. In this post-independence struggle, Africa has been on its own without fruitful aid that would pave a way for its educational expansion, industrialization, science and technological breakthrough. The foreign aid hitherto given to Africa was not geared towards meaningful development as the donors were not ready for African development and the African leaders were nothing but stooges for perpetual economic imperialism.

With the emergence of China as a new global economic power (being the second largest economy in the world), African countries come to have confidence in China as a new partner in political, economic and socio-cultural relations in contemporary global order.

China and Africa share many things in common- hence- for further cooperation and representation of the developing countries of the world, China has taken the lead to establishing this promising forum on China-Africa cooperation.

The 2000 Beijing declaration on China-Africa cooperation has been a vital foundation for this cooperation. What has been established in the areas of: respect to the interest, sovereignty of member states; cooperation in the fields of education, health, energy and seeking African representation in the UN Security council among others are significant in the pursuit of China-Africa cooperation.

It is unequivocal that the presence of China in Africa and cooperation between the two parties has improved agriculture, education, energy, infrastructure and health in Africa and even boosted the African economy. Educationally speaking I am also a Chinese scholar who benefited from Chinese scholarship between 2008 and 2011. I studied Chinese language at Central China Normal University, Hubei Wuhan and also studied for my Ph.D degree in the same institution.

We all saw what happened with the recent outbreak of Ebola in Africa where Chinese government deployed a team of medical professionals to contribute in seeing the end of the epidemic. China is indeed a party to cooperate with in all times, for their humanitarian gesture in Africa against a deadly virus that would have swept the whole continent.



The Addis Ababa action plan for 2004-2006 is also a paramount development for China-Africa cooperation. The second Beijing summit of 2006 has been a wonderful one where Hu Jintao rolled out \$ 5 billion as concessionary loans to Africa. President Hu also declared the formation of China-Africa development fund, to aid Chinese investment in Africa, with initial provision of \$1 billion which later increased to \$5 billion in future.

With the above development, China-Africa cooperation has perpetuated itself in a waxing nature which ushered the Sharm el-Sheikh summit of 2009 in Egypt, where loans to Africa increased to \$10 billion from the implemented \$5 billion of the Beijing summit of 2006. The FOCAC during the Sharm el-Sheikh summit has also established more areas of cooperation and assistance between China and Africa especially in the areas of energy, scientific research, agriculture, health and education. More agricultural professionals were sent from China to Africa in order to aid in ensuring food security; more schools were built in Africa by the Chinese government and more scholarships for post-doctoral, masters and under-graduate students were provided for Africa.

China in its cooperation with Africa has succeeded in transforming Ethiopia by constructing the first city ring road, the first express way, the first city light rail, the first electrified railway and the first power generating project. Schools have been built in Nigeria by the Chinese government; airports remodeling, construction of railways, refineries, bridges and other related potential services. The identified areas of cooperation between Africa and China are numerous and not limited to: oil and gas, power, manufacturing, health, transportation, aviation, trading, construction, ICT, education, hospitality, textile and defense. These are strategic areas that the two parties must continue to cooperate and explore mutual benefits. As a result of such cooperation, China customs recorded a significant increase in the volume of trade between Nigeria and China in 2014, which reached about 18.1 billion dollars (38.01 trillion naira) as a positive increment from 2013.

In its attempt to foster economic and diplomatic cooperation on the basis of mutual benefit with Africa, China has built 39 hospitals in Angola, 78 schools, 14 power transformation stations, 20 water processing factories, 7,500 hectares of agricultural irrigation projects, upgraded 223 community networks, constructed 1,343 kilometers of railway, 892 kilometers of roads, 736 kilometers of power transmission lines for the betterment of the people of Angola.

It is without doubt that the future of world peace and security is hinged in the foreign policy and diplomatic principles of China, which are both peaceful and inclusive. The Chinese approach to global politics is peaceful in nature, non-interference in the affairs of independent states, respect to the sovereignty of others and peaceful resolutions to all existing conflicts.

With the concurrent cooperation between China and Africa, it is believed that an era has come in which Africa will be freed from the lingering problems of poverty, unemployment, diseases and lack of infrastructural development. It is also believed that, China in its capacity as a permanent member of the UN Security Council will continue to support global peace and security with its principle of peaceful co-existence and dialogue.

The cooperation between China and Africa is one that will continue to take Africa to greater heights, and China will be in favor of Africa in any discussion on north-south divide and in finding a more reasonable position of the south. Industrialization is one area where China has to consolidate effort for Africa and the area of scientific and technological research and development.

One major issue that is bedeviling Africa is the issue of terrorism: instability in Libya; uncertainties in Northern Mali; war between factions in South Sudan; terrorism in Somalia and Kenya; Boko Haram in Nigeria among others. China must deepen cooperation with Africa to finding lasting solutions to these problems. With hope that, the sixth FOCAC meeting will strategize on these lingering problems of Africa, because with the absence of peace and security, there will be no educational, economic and political activities.

i Shweder, R.A., 2000, Moral Maps, 'First World' Conceits, and the New Evangelists, in Lawrence E. Harrison and Samuel P. Huntington, eds., Culture Matters, How Values Shape Human Progress, Basic Books, London, p.163.

ii Author unknown. 2014. The Chinese-African honeymoon is over, <http://www.chinaafricaproject.com/chinese-african-honeymoon/>. [Accessed on 18 March, 2015].



China's Governance and Industrial Growth: Strategic Lessons for the Continent

By: Yazini April, Human Sciences Research Council

The rise of China is no doubt one of the most important events in world economic history since the Industrial Revolution. China has transformed from a vastly impoverished agrarian nation into the world's largest and most vigorous manufacturing powerhouse. According to the International Monetary Fund 2015 ratings, United States and China both occupy the first two economic positions. The US is the largest economy in the world with a GDP nominal ranking of 18125, while China is the largest on GDP PPP basis of 18976. These high economic figures are largely credited to China's reforms.

China's most successful industrial plan was engineered by Deng Xiaoping who is considered the Chief Designer of China's reform and opening-up policies which emphasize market reform and the stages of socialism.. Deng created a series of special economic zones for foreign investment that were relatively free of the bureaucratic regulations and interventions that hampered economic growth. China has become one of the world's most successful industrialized economies

Africa's industrialization process on the other hand, has been slow. There are several challenges facing industrial development on the continent that this paper cannot cover in this short space. One of the key challenges the continent faces is that it relies too much on extractive industries and on exporting natural resources in their raw forms. The current industrial patterns also promote continued continental dependency on technology and dependent on markets of former colonial masters. In fact, Africa is more dependent on the global community today than it was during the pre-colonial and colonial times. Infrastructure development is another key challenge the continent faces regarding industrialization. Sub-Saharan Africa has the highest cost of doing business in the world with cost of infrastructure services making up a disproportionately large part of production and trade costs.

This paper asserts that some of the key lessons to be learnt from China are how to implement an economic model tailored with the country's characteristics, the 4 modernizations, and strategic plans such as special economic zones. Deng Xiaoping led Chinese reforms through tailor made Socialism with Chinese characteristics. Furthermore, according to Zhang, China declined to adopt Western practices such as structural adjustment policies, and the original and extended framework of the Washington Consensus which is based on market-friendly policies. Basically, China's non-interference in its growth plan facilitated industrial development which has leaped in volumes over the years. Deng Xiaoping's reforms were also backed by performance legitimacy and political will and commitment towards ensuring that economic reform works. Political will is required especially in regards to bureaucracy and legislative implementation.

The goals of Deng's reforms were summed up by the Four Modernizations, which are agriculture, industry, science and technology and the military. The Four Modernizations were designed to make China a great economic power by the early 21st century. These reforms essentially stressed economic self-reliance. Through the Four Modernizations strategy, China was able to speed up its economic development through foreign investment, a more open market, access to advanced technologies, and management experience.

Finally, as indicated earlier through reform and opening up, Deng Xiaoping established SEZs which are development tools designed to help stimulate economic development by attracting local and foreign investment, enhancing competitiveness, and facilitating export-led growth. By August 1980, Shenzhen, Zhuhai, and Shantou in Guangdong Province were designated as special economic zones, followed by Xiamen in Fujian Province in October 1980. The four SEZs were quite similar in that they comprised large areas within which the objective was to facilitate broadly based, comprehensive economic development, and they all enjoyed special financial, investment, and trade privileges. Due to the SEZ's China is now the world's biggest producer of concrete, steel, ships and textiles, and has the world's largest automobile market. Chinese steel output quadrupled between 1980 and 2000, and from 2000 to 2006 rose from 128.5 million tons to 418.8 million tons, one-third of global production. By 2014 China, accounted for 49.4% of world steel production in the world. Light industries such as textiles saw an even greater increase, due to reduced government interference. Chinese textile exports increased from 4.6% of world exports in 1980 to 24.1% in 2005. These regions became engines of growth for the national economy. By 2004, there were nearly 7,000 industrial parks in China.

This paper argues that while the continent cannot follow China's industrialization path, there is a lot that Africa can learn from the Chinese industrialization experience. The issue is whether the continent has the governance capacity and political will to implement essential economic reforms. It must be noted that the continent has demonstrated through Agenda 2063 its intent to industrialize which is at an opportune time as China is considering the flying Geese theory of moving some of its manufacturing to Africa. Moreover, in January 2015, China and the African Union signed an MOU for infrastructure development. Based on the Africa-China MOU, the key focus of infrastructural development will be on transport, high speed railway, aviation, and road highways. China has already developed a major industrial footprint on the continent through its various infrastructure projects worth billions. Recently, China's also expressed its commitment to continental industrialization by pledging \$50bn towards industrial projects. The key issues this paper would then seek to address are strategies the continent should consider to effectively implement industrial plans with China. Moreover, given the continent's background with various economic policies and ideologies, can African countries effectively learn from China's reforms? Finally, what are the political and economic repercussions for African manufacturing and industrialization through FOCAC?



China's Economic Engagement in Africa

Garth L le Pere, Visiting Professor at the University of Pretoria

A proper assessment of China's role in Africa should not be the realpolitik or sterile shibboleths of the "China threat" or the "Yellow Peril". It should rather be its normative ambition coupled with Beijing's pragmatic posture in crafting a different calculus of development and economic cooperation with Africa. The threat perception, grim tableaux, and near hysteria about China's growing role in Africa have in large measure been a product of Western-inspired hypocrisy and arrogance. The historical record has shown that European and American policies, while clothed as a "civilising mission", were characterised by a volatile mixture of exploitation, aggression, hubris, and injustice. China by contrast has demonstrated its ability to adapt to Africa's social and political environment in a manner where it does not have to labour under typical Western sentiments of atavistic guilt when it comes to Africa.

This helps to explain why China's economic engagements—especially trade—have provided a strategic vector for Africa's growth and development, and indeed, has generated the gravitational pull for closer cooperation in other areas and sectors under the umbrella of the Forum on China-Africa Cooperation (FOCAC). In 1995, China's total trade with Africa accounted for only 1 per cent of its total world trade. By 2006, it had grown to 3 per cent and is currently about 6 per cent. This is indicative of the extent to which trade has accelerated: between 2001 and 2006, Africa's exports to China rose at an annual rate of over 40 per cent, increasing from \$4.8 billion to \$28.8 billion. During the same period, there was a quadrupling of Africa's imports from China to \$26.7 billion.

The compound growth rate shows that total trade between China and Africa increased by 26 per cent between 1995 and 2012. Notwithstanding the effects of the global financial meltdown during the 2011-2012 period, the value of total trade increased by 19 per cent from \$166 billion to \$200 billion; and is expected to be close to \$300 billion by the end of 2016. On a country-to-country basis, China is now Africa's largest trading partner. The same trading pattern has been replicated in China's trading relationship with South Africa which has grown at an average rate of 30 per cent a year to reach \$75 billion in 2013, thereby also making China South Africa's largest country trading partner despite South Africa not being an oil producing country. South African firms also represent the largest African presence in the Chinese market with over \$500 million invested in 200 projects that include mining, breweries, banking, construction, oil and zinc refineries, and consumer goods. Located in South Africa, the China-Africa Development Fund established in 2007 with \$5 billion seed capital provided by China, stands to make significant contributions to private sector expansion and joint entrepreneurial activity between Chinese and African firms.

Two state-owned financial institutions, China's Export-Import Bank (Exim Bank) and China's Development Bank (CDB) drive China's economic relations with African countries: the Exim Bank manages the preferential credit component and the government's concessional loan arrangement while the CDB handles and directs investments. In the area of direct investment, there has been significant growth. From \$320 million in 2004, investment has increased to almost \$10 billion in 2013, representing some 800 Chinese enterprises of which about 100 are state-owned. They are involved in mining, manufacturing and processing, construction and engineering, financial services, telecommunications, social infrastructure, transportation, and agro-processing. By the end of 2013, China's direct investment stock was worth \$25 billion.

China's development aid is also a critical underpinning of the normative logic behind its style of cooperation: aid provides a positive branding profile for China and is a useful instrument in countering the sceptical perceptions that increasingly accompany Western assessments of China's economic activities in Africa. According to the Chinese State Council's first White Paper on foreign aid, between 2004 and 2009, China provided a total of US\$38 billion in aid to foreign countries, and during this period Africa received 46.7 per cent (or \$17.6 billion) of the total. Compared to the intrusive conditionalities that come with Western aid, China's does not attach any conditions to its aid other than recognition of the "One China" policy.

The final area of economic engagement is infrastructure financing which is a unique element of China-Africa cooperation for its impact and scope. This type of financing has increased from US\$500 million in 2001 to US\$18 billion in 2013, two-thirds of which has gone to the energy and transportation sectors and most of which is financed by the Exim Bank. Other than direct financing, between 2001 and 2010 US\$67 billion of Exim's loan portfolio was for African projects compared to the World Bank's US\$55 billion for the same period. China's competitive and comparative advantages in civil works and construction play themselves out with good effect in a general African environment with serious deficits in telecommunications, power, and transportation networks. This helps to explain why more than 35 African countries have entered into infrastructure financing deals with China. It is estimated that African firms suffer losses of as much as 8 per cent due to power outages and that poor transportation accounts for about 4 per cent of sales losses. China thus brings economic complementarities to infrastructure development, considering that Africa requires investments of \$20 billion a year in this sector and another \$10 billion a year to address associated infrastructure funding gaps.

These levels of engagement demonstrate that at a time when Africa was experiencing a retrenchment of commitments from the European Union and the United States, China has extended and entrenched the scope and scale of its cooperation across the African landscape. African countries thus find the China model of cooperation particularly attractive and straightforward because the principles of "non-interference", mutual benefit, and respect for sovereignty constitute the quintessential cornerstones of China's approach to Africa. Quite crucially, the nature of African countries' engagement with China allows them to pursue an alternate growth and development trajectory through trade, aid, investment, and infrastructure.



The China Dream and the African Dream

Professor Garth Shelton
Wits University

Soon after being elected the Communist Party of China's (CPC) general secretary, President Xi Jinping outlined the concept of the Chinese Dream, describing his wish to promote a Chinese renaissance and a new awakening. In his first speech at the National People's Congress, after being declared the President of the People's Republic of China (PRC), President Xi indicated that the objective of the Chinese Dream was to achieve the great rejuvenation of the Chinese nation. The core of the Chinese dream is national prosperity and rejuvenation along with a better standard of living for the Chinese people. Following 30 years of continuous economic growth, averaging almost 10 percent annually, citizen's incomes have seen a 30-fold increase, while China accounts for over 70 percent of global poverty alleviation since 1980. Driven by rapid industrialisation and modernisation, China has overcome the difficulties of the past and opened a new and compelling chapter in its history. The specific target for China's national dream is to double annual per capita income within 10 years and create a prosperous middle income country by 2050. The conclusion for the dream will be the complete elimination of poverty and a moderate standard of living for all citizens. To make the dream come true, China will have to maintain its current high growth rate and continue to address poverty in rural and low-income communities.

At a national level, realisation of the Chinese dream would mean international respect for modern China as a key player in the international community. Moreover, China would be able to regain international status and forget past humiliations. At the same time, the China Dream is intended to expand convergence with the interests of other countries and to construct a community of common interests. China is strongly promoting the concept of a common human destiny and encouraging broader co-operation within the global community, especially with Africa. This implies the establishment of innovative global development partnerships to advance mutual economic and political interests. The FOCAC VI Summit will give expression to a new China-Africa partnership within the context of the Chinese Dream and the concept of a common human destiny.

President Xi has suggested that China and Africa now have a community of shared destinies, based on similar historical experiences, common development tasks and shared long-term strategies, and geo-political interests. A common destiny grounded on a collective desire to overcome poverty now unites both China and Africa, while

increased commercial interaction, based on equality and mutual respect, is seen as the mechanism for promoting economic growth and long-term prosperity. The China-Africa common destiny has become more evident over the last ten years, as increased trade with China has transformed Africa into the last great frontier for economic development. Riding the China wave of industrialisation and modernisation, Africa has witnessed significant growth and increased prosperity.

In 2014, former Nigerian President, Olusegun Obasanjo, suggested that Africa, like China needed a dream to identify its priorities and to mobilise its efforts towards a common goal. The voices of the African people are now contained in the African Union's (AU) Agenda 2063, the manifestation of an "African Dream", through which the goals and aspirations of the African people are clearly expressed and articulated. The objectives outlined in the AU document are in many ways similar to the aims of the Chinese Dream. Both China and Africa are striving for a better future, for a reduction of poverty and for the improved material well-being of their people in a highly competitive globalized world.

China and Africa share the same dream of sustainable development, poverty relief and long-term prosperity. After 30 years of opening and economic reform, China is already more than halfway to achieving this dream, while Africa has made good progress, but has a long way to go. Increased China-Africa interaction will provide both sides with fresh opportunities and new options to advance a win-win outcome promoting common economic and social development. China's success in reducing poverty is a particular inspiration to Africa, thus a China-Africa consultative partnership to share experiences and ideas to combat poverty would be very helpful in advancing the common dream of economic growth and prosperity. Poverty relief remains Africa's key issue and requires new policies and creative economic solutions. China's success in this context offers Africa encouragement and a possible model for addressing this challenge.

The AU's Agenda 2063 suggests a framework for a broader and more co-operative China-Africa relationship. China's commitment to Africa over the last thirty years has been extensive, constructive and has made a positive overall contribution to Africa's economic development. Broadening and deepening the co-operation process can strengthen relations and build a foundation for a long-term comprehensive development partnership. The successful implementation of Agenda 2063 will largely depend on Africa building and advancing a more positive and constructive business environment. Advancing business-friendly policies in Africa is also the key to enhancing the China-Africa relationship and lifting the African continent from poverty. China's post-Mao business-friendly policies, especially in the coastal special economic zones (SEZ's), were the initial catalysts which ignited new industrialisation and growth for the Chinese people. Following the China development model, means good planning, offering creating investment opportunities and leveraging advantages. Attracting foreign direct invest-



ment (FDI) is the key to skills enhancement, technology transfers, job creation and long-term economic growth.

Africa should fully support the China Dream and should shape its future in co-operation with Chinese Dream, through a process of policy synergy, committed co-operation and positive, goal-orientated interaction. The new challenge at the FOCAC VI Summit in Johannesburg is thus to build a sustainable, long-term relationship which produces specific and quantifiable benefits for both sides in accordance with mutual dreams and objectives. The AU's Agenda 2063 offers China and Africa an exciting new opportunity to identify and craft a collaborative agenda which could bring significant benefits to both sides, while reinforcing a long-term development partnership. Given the growing interest in Africa by China and other external actors, the continent has a unique chance to exploit new options and possibilities. Africa's leadership has an opportunity to broaden engagement with the world, take advantage of globalization and craft a road map out of poverty towards prosperity and social stability. The challenge at the Johannesburg Summit will be for the leaders of both sides to articulate a FOCAC declaration and action plan which advances both the Chinese Dream and the African Dream towards a common destiny of continued economic growth and prosperity.

Reflections on Development of Cross Border Infrastructure Networks in Defining China's Engagement with African Regional Economic Communities

By Munetsi Madakufamba
final draft 18112015

Introduction

China Africa relations go back a long way with the inception of the Forum on China Africa Cooperation (FOCAC) 15 years ago having provided a more structured platform and practical direction for advancing cooperation. Even with the enunciation of FOCAC, practical economic and political engagement between the two parties has largely remained a bilateral affair until 2012 when the African regional integration dimension was added to the scope of multilateral cooperation. It therefore comes as no surprise that China's engagement with African sub-regional groupings is yet to be more clearly defined. With both Africa and China acknowledging that weak economic infrastructure is hindering development of the African continent, what could be a better rallying point for defining and shaping economic and trade cooperation between China and Africa's regional economic communities?

FOCAC has strengthened since inception

Since its inception in 2000, FOCAC as a multilateral platform has provided two main functions. Firstly, it has provided a platform to "strengthen consultation and expand cooperation within a pragmatic framework", and secondly, to "promote political dialogue and economic cooperation with a view to seeking mutual reinforcement and cooperation". It is a partnership that has been mutually reviewed and strengthened over time, bringing about many notable advantages. For example, in 2014, China-Africa trade reached more than US\$220 billion while China's direct investment in Africa topped US\$30 billion. According to the China-Africa Economic and Trade Cooperation (2013) white paper, Chinese enterprises completed construction contracts worth US\$40.83 billion in Africa in 2012, representing 35 percent of China's overseas contract work completed. The paper further states that Africa has been China's second largest overseas contract market for four successive years.

African RECs Provide Opportunities for Upgrading Relations

Staggering as these figures may appear, they have mostly been achieved through bilateral efforts, limiting the scale and scope, and potentially leading some countries to be in competition with one another where cooperation through RECs would have



been the optimal strategy. This is particularly so for infrastructure projects that could potentially be developed as cross border investments spanning more than one country such as the road, rail and power projects along the North South Corridor, as a development priority. The North-South Corridor is already a development priority initiated by three African RECs namely the Common Market for Eastern and Southern Africa (COMESA), the East African Community (EAC) and the Southern African Development Community (SADC). The North-South Corridor stretches between Durban (South Africa) and Dar es Salaam (Tanzania) involving eight countries in eastern and southern Africa, namely Botswana, the Democratic Republic of Congo, Malawi, Mozambique, South Africa, United Republic of Tanzania, Zambia and Zimbabwe.

There is greater scope for Africa to optimize and utilize partnership with China to the fullest by expanding the cooperation at the regional and sub-regional levels. While some of the infrastructure projects that are being or are to be developed by Chinese enterprises are already part of the expansive North South Corridor, they have hitherto been presented and costed as fragmented investments, thus no doubt increasing the risk per unit project and ultimately diminishing the value for money. Herein comes the potential role for RECs; for example, wherein the tripartite arrangement involving COMESA-EAC-SADC could coordinate, facilitate and where necessary mediate over the resource mobilization and development of the North South Corridor.

Advantages abound

There are many more advantages and of course challenges that come with upgrading China Africa cooperation to the sub regional level particularly as regards infrastructure development. Some of the advantages can be summarised as follows:

1. Better coordination, harmonisation and standardization. Standardization is particularly important to allow for seamless infrastructure networks, for example, where building of rail is concerned which would allow smooth flow of locomotives across borders;
2. Economies of scale that can also allow for spreading of the investment risk;
3. Strengthening African regional integration as a regional approach would provide obvious opportunities for upscaling into, for example, the African Union's Programme for Infrastructure Development for Africa (PIDA).
4. Alignment with China's vision and actions on jointly building "Silk Road Economic Belt and 21st Century Maritime Silk Road"; and with Africa's vision of development through "Agenda 2063".

5. A regional approach would provide better platform to draw from China's development experience. China successfully administers development policy over a very expansive area, which is similar to Africa by historical, geographical and demographic comparison.

Potential Challenges

Some potential challenges that would have to be grappled with in upgrading China Africa cooperation at the RECs level would mirror some of the same challenges that Africa is facing vis-à-vis regional integration. For example, none of the RECs in Africa, while at different stages of integration, have advanced enough to have supra-national status with legal mandate to act on behalf of their member states. What that means is while the RECs such as SADC can facilitate the marketing of infrastructure projects, contractual matters would still have to be dealt with at an individual member state level. Further, many African countries, like active members of RECs, are still struggling to shake off the influence of their former colonisers.

Conclusion

Going forward, Africa should push an agenda for the development of cross border infrastructure to attract new industries as the centre-piece of its relations with China at the regional and sub-regional levels as it brings about many advantages including attracting large-scale Chinese investment while at the same time pushing closer to reality the longstanding aspirations of integrating the African continent. The multilateral cooperation at the RECs level is not meant to replace but rather augment bilateral cooperation.

CPDA

中国公共外交协会
China Public Diplomacy Association

汇世界智慧 聚中外精英



INDEPENDENT