



# CHINA AFRICA SYMPOSIUM

## 中非关系研讨会

**REPORT OF PROCEEDINGS**

**22-24 OCTOBER 2013**

**Harare, Zimbabwe**

**Fifty Years of China-Africa Cooperation:  
Background, Progress & Significance  
–African Perspectives on China-Africa Relations and the  
China Development Experience**

**Funded by FOCAC under the  
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**Organisers: Southern African Research and Documentation Centre  
and Chinese Embassy in Zimbabwe**



## REPORT OF PROCEEDINGS

produced by

**Southern African Research and Documentation Centre (SARDC)  
Institute for China Africa Studies in Southern Africa (ICASSA)**

15 Downie Avenue, Belgravia, Harare, Zimbabwe

Telephone +263 4 791141 / 791143

Website [www.sardc.net](http://www.sardc.net) Knowledge for Development

### **Rapporteurs**

Kizito Sikuka, Admire Ndhlovu, Neto Nengomasha, Shirley Pisirai

### **Editors**

Phyllis Johnson, Munetsi Madakufamba, Joseph Ngwawi

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## ACRONYMS

AU	African Union
CICIR	China Institutes for Contemporary International Relations
COMESA	Common Market for Eastern and Southern Africa
CPC	Communist Party of China
BRICS	Brazil-Russia-India-China-South Africa
EAC	East African Community
FOCAC	Forum on China-Africa Cooperation
FTA	Free Trade Area
GDP	Gross Domestic Product
IASZNU	Institute of Africa Studies at Zhejiang Normal University
ICASSA	Institute for China Africa Studies in Southern Africa
MFA	Ministry of Foreign Affairs (Zimbabwe)
MOU	Memorandum of Understanding
NEPAD	New Partnership for Africa's Development
OAU	Organization of African Unity
PRC	People's Republic of China
RECs	Regional Economic Communities
SACU	Southern African Customs Union
SADC	Southern African Development Community
SARDC	Southern African Research and Documentation Centre
SIIS	Shanghai Institutes for International Studies
TAZARA	Tanzania Zambia Railway
TGFTA	Tripartite Grand Free Trade Area
UZ	University of Zimbabwe
UN	United Nations



Ambassador of the People's Republic of China to Zimbabwe, HE Lin Lin (seated front centre), with the Guest of Honour, Deputy Minister of Foreign Affairs of Zimbabwe, Hon. Christopher Mutsvangwa, the Executive Director of the Southern African Research and Documentation Centre (SARDC), Phyllis Johnson, SARDC Programmes Director and Deputy CEO, Munetsi Madakufamba (standing far right), and other academics, diplomats and private sector participants at the Opening Session of the China-Africa Symposium in Harare, 22 October 2013.



## INTRODUCTION

The Southern African Research and Documentation Centre (SARDC) and the Chinese Embassy in Zimbabwe jointly organized a three-day Symposium in Harare from 22-24 October 2013 with the theme

**“Fifty Years of China-Africa Cooperation: Background, Progress & Significance – African Perspectives on China-Africa Relations and the China Development Experience.”**

The China-Africa Symposium was conceived as a sequel to a similar seminar with Chinese Perspectives that was hosted in 2009 by the Institute of African Studies at Zhejiang Normal University (IASZNU) and the Shanghai Institutes for International Studies (SIIS), involving all of the major institutes of African Studies in China, with the theme “Fifty Years of Sino-Africa Cooperation: Background, Progress & Significance – Chinese Perspectives on Sino-Africa Relations.”

The objective of the China-Africa Symposium hosted by SARDC and the Chinese embassy in Zimbabwe was to contribute to strengthening development and unity in Africa through sharing experiences and perspectives of development, and through better understanding of the Chinese development experience, as well as to facilitate closer contact through people-to-people interaction. The China-Africa Symposium held in 2013 also commemorated the 50<sup>th</sup> anniversary of the Organization of African Unity (OAU)/African Union.

The participants from China and 16 African countries were invited to present some of the issues and perspectives, and discuss ways in which this strategic partnership can benefit the peoples of China and Africa and their economies, and strengthen relations between them. The Symposium, organized by SARDC through its new Institute for China Africa Studies in Southern Africa (ICASSA), also focused on the emerging issues and challenges of regional integration in Africa and how China can engage with these.

Deliberations were divided into daily sub-themes as follows:

- **Day 1: China-Africa Cooperation**, focusing on achievements of the past 50 years of development; and influence on international relations;
- **Day 2: Experience of China's Development**, focusing on policy, governance and peace; economy including agriculture, industrialisation, trade and infrastructure development; and diplomatic practice;
- **Day 3: Africa's Development Prospects**, focusing on perspectives of the relationship between China's development and Africa's development; and current challenges and the future.

More than 100 participants attended the symposium including scholars, government officials and policy-makers from China and Africa, including men, women and youth. Papers were presented by 6 professors from China, and more than 30 scholars from Africa. The African scholars came from southern, eastern and west Africa, including Botswana, Malawi, Mozambique, Namibia, South Africa, Zambia and Zimbabwe, as well as Ethiopia, Kenya, Nigeria and Senegal.

The organizers gratefully acknowledge the financial support of the Forum on China-Africa Cooperation (FOCAC) for this initiative, through the China-Africa Joint Research and Exchange Programme. FOCAC was established by Chinese and African leaders at their inaugural summit in 2000 to chart a new type of strategic partnership, and they continue to meet at regular intervals to review progress and discuss future plans.

China and Africa share many similar historical, geographical and demographic characteristics. However, for policy development and implementation, China is better able to coordinate as it is a unitary state of more than 1.3 billion people, while Africa is a continent of 1 billion people in 55 different countries with varying policy mechanisms, aspiring to the integration of fragmented economies to achieve economic development.

Cooperation between China and Africa continues to grow as does the volume of trade. The two-way trade between China and Africa has increased rapidly from about US\$10 billion in 2000 to more than US\$198 billion in 2012, according to the latest white paper on China-Africa economic and trade cooperation released in August 2013 by the Chinese government. Between 2009 and 2012 alone, China's direct investment in Africa rose from US\$1.44 billion to US\$2.52 billion at an annual growth rate of 20.5 percent.

This is despite the global financial and economic downturn that affected the world since 2008 and saw some of Africa's traditional economic partners either withdrawing or reducing their support to the continent. The development of the People's Republic of China (PRC) has been a remarkable achievement in terms of its rapid pace and global impact. What lessons can be drawn from the development experience in China to accelerate the African integration agenda?

## **BACKGROUND**

SARDC has hosted six symposia and several seminars with the Embassy of PRC in Zimbabwe and MFA Zimbabwe since 2007, aimed at strengthening mutual understanding through policy research and people-to-people exchanges. SARDC has established an Institute for China Africa Studies in Southern Africa (ICASSA) to coordinate these activities with China, which include exchanges, seminars, conferences and research. This Institute has two main objectives -- to facilitate academic and media exchanges with China; and to support local and Chinese private sector in this regard. All of these activities are knowledge-based.

In 2011 SARDC signed MOU agreements for strengthening collaboration with two of the leading Chinese research institutes/think tanks – The Shanghai Institutes for International Studies (SIIS); and the China Institute of Contemporary International Relations (CICIR). SARDC has held several exchanges and seminars with these institutions, in Zimbabwe and in China; and has also visited the Institute of African Studies at Zhejiang Normal University (IASZNU) in Jinhua, and Minzu University in Beijing.

## OPENING CEREMONY

### Welcome and Introductory Remarks by the Director of Ceremonies SARDC Programmes Director & Deputy CEO, Mr Munetsi Madakufamba



Mr Munetsi Madakufamba welcomed all to the Symposium and gave a brief background to the event, saying the main purpose was to contribute to strengthening development and unity in Africa through sharing development experiences and perspectives, and through better understanding of the Chinese development experience, as well as to facilitate closer contact through people-to-people interaction. He said the Symposium is held in 2013 to commemorate the 50<sup>th</sup> anniversary of the Organization of African Unity (OAU)/African Union.

Mr Madakufamba gave a profile of SARDC – the co-host of the event. SARDC is a regional knowledge resource centre that covers mainly 15 countries in southern Africa, the geographical space defined by the Southern African Development Community (SADC). However, SARDC's research interest goes beyond SADC to cover other regions such as the Common Market for Eastern and Southern Africa (COMESA), and the rest of Africa. SARDC also feeds into African and global processes to project the perspectives from the South.

Mr Madakufamba said SARDC has five institutes covering various thematic areas, including regional economic integration issues such as energy and infrastructure; environment, water and climate change; gender equality and equity; sustainable democracy; and China-Africa relations. SARDC has since 2007 organized and hosted six symposia and several seminars on China-Africa cooperation, and has established a new Institute for China Africa Studies in Southern Africa (ICASSA), with the twin objectives of facilitating academic research and exchange, and supporting the private sector.

SARDC is headquartered in Harare, Zimbabwe with an office in Maputo, Mozambique, and national and regional partners in most SADC member states, including universities and specialist organizations. The SARDC Board is made up of up to 12 members drawn from various countries and disciplines, and the chairperson is Hon. Ambassador Prof. Peter H. Katjavivi, MP – the Founding Vice Chancellor of the University of Namibia. The vice chairperson is Arlindo Lopes from Mozambique. The Founding Patron of SARDC was *Mwalimu* Julius Nyerere of the United Republic of Tanzania, Chairperson of the Front Line States and later Chairperson of the South Commission.

### Remarks by SARDC Executive Director, Ms Phyllis Johnson



SARDC Executive Director, Ms Phyllis Johnson acknowledged the presence of all participants, saying SARDC is very pleased to host them to this important gathering. She said China-Africa cooperation has a long history of at least a thousand years, and more recently the support for Africa's liberation from colonial rule. As a result, Africa places great importance in the partnership.

She said visionary African leaders have paid tribute to China-Africa cooperation, including President Robert Mugabe of Zimbabwe and the late former President of the United Republic of Tanzania, *Mwalimu* Julius K. Nyerere, who was the Founding Patron of SARDC.



She said China assisted Africa with military support to gain independence, and is now providing support to build a prosperous and united continent. She said the Guest of Honour – Hon. Christopher Mutsvangwa, the Deputy Minister of Foreign Affairs of Zimbabwe, and former Ambassador to China, is among those who fought in the liberation struggle which was supported by China.

She added that it is important for Africa and China to come together for the development of their economies, saying that the “relations between China and Africa have always been based on mutual trust and respect.” This is a good example of strong South-South cooperation. She cited Nyerere as saying that the South is not only a geographical description but a way of thinking. In this regard, China and Africa have great potential to achieve socio-economic development for their peoples and have a lot to learn from each other. For example, the African Union with a population of just over 1 billion people in its 54 Member States has at least 54 different and disparate national policy-making processes while China, although decentralized, has one annual national assembly that reviews the national work plan and makes policies for more than 1.3 billion people.

### **Remarks by H.E Ambassador Lin Lin, People’s Republic of China**

Ambassador Lin Lin extended a warm welcome to all participants, saying the coming together of Chinese and African scholars would strengthen relations between the two regions. He explained that the “China-Africa Joint Research and Exchange Programme” was one of the eight measures announced in November 2009 by then Chinese Premier Wen Jiabao to strengthen cooperation between the China and Africa. The purpose was to facilitate research, exchanges and cooperation by scholars, academic institutions and think tanks to provide intellectual and policy support for China-Africa cooperation. This symposium supported by the “China-Africa Joint Research and Exchange Programme” has that purpose.



He said that, as Africa marks the 50<sup>th</sup> anniversary of the formation of the OAU (now the African Union), this also marks the first year to follow-up on outcomes of the 5<sup>th</sup> FOCAC Ministerial Conference held in China in 2012. Therefore, the symposium is of “high relevance” as leading scholars from China and Africa are provided with a platform for intensive discussions on the background, progress and significance of China-Africa cooperation.

Ambassador Lin said China-Africa cooperation has made positive progress during the past 50 years, particularly since the establishment of FOCAC in 2000. For example, in 2012, China-Africa trade reached more than US\$200 billion. Over 1.5 million mutual visits between the two sides were recorded during the same year. Furthermore, China’s cumulative direct investment in Africa topped US\$15 billion in 2012, while China has sent about 18,000 medical personnel to Africa since 1963. Ambassador Lin said Africa has also given “selfless support” to China, as “our African brothers and sisters carried China into the United Nations Security Council.”

He thanked African countries for “consistently giving support to China on the Taiwan and Tibet issues.” He applauded the support rendered by African countries following a massive earthquake that hit the Chinese province of Sichuan in 2008 and killed about 70,000 people. He said these vivid examples all show that the Chinese and African peoples are “true friends who have weathered storms together and shared weal and woe.” This fruitful cooperation has allowed the two sides to reinforce their determination and confidence to expand cooperation.

Noting that there were both opportunities and challenges for China-Africa cooperation, Ambassador Lin called for greater vigilance in light of hostile reception by Western countries to the relationship between China and Africa. He criticised what he termed the “Cold War mentality” exhibited by some developed nations towards the expanding ties between China and Africa. He said it was worrying that “there are people viewing China-Africa relations through coloured glasses” and always keen to criticise the cooperation. Such practices have disturbed the sound and stable development momentum of China-Africa cooperation.

Nevertheless, the two sides should see more opportunities than challenges in the coming years as the relationship is “solidly based on trust and cooperation.” For example, he said China was pursuing two main goals, which are to double its Gross Domestic Product (GDP) and per capita income by 2020, and to turn China into a socialist modernized country by 2050. The deadlines coincide with two centenary celebrations – the centenary of the Communist Party of China (CPC) and the centenary of the People’s Republic of China (PRC).

To achieve these goals – commonly known as the “Chinese Dream” – Ambassador Lin said China is implementing the 12th Five-Year Development Plan, which aims to enhance and improve macroeconomic performance, stabilizing economic growth as well as improving the livelihoods and wellbeing of the Chinese people, and carrying out further reforms. He said the country remains committed to the concept of scientific development, accelerating the change in patterns of economic growth, and ensuring continuity and stability of macro-economic policies.

With regard to Africa, the ambassador said that the continent is entering a new period of rapid growth, and African countries have prioritised infrastructure development as well as promotion of industrialization and agriculture. He called for “business complementarities and demonstrating stronger will for mutual beneficial cooperation” between Africa and China. However, China and Africa should be wary of the profound and complicated changes faced by the globalized world. These include the global economic slowdown, which has affected the performance of Western nations and has repercussions on the rest of the world economy.

Ambassador Lin said the relationship with Africa remains top on the agenda for China. Chinese President Xi Jinping chose Africa as his first overseas destination following his election in 2012. He visited South Africa, the United Republic of Tanzania and the Republic of Congo in early 2013, pledging China’s continued support as a reliable friend and sincere partner for Africa.

In his concluding remarks, Ambassador Lin urged African and Chinese scholars to make meaningful contributions towards the strengthening of China-Africa cooperation. He thanked SARDC for organizing the symposium and said China was ready to work cooperation with SARDC and other African academic and research institutions to promote China-Africa cooperation.

### **Opening Address by the Deputy Minister, Hon Christopher Mutsvangwa, MP**

Before the Guest of Honour, Deputy Minister Christopher Mutsvangwa, took to the podium to give his keynote address, he was introduced by Ms Johnson. Hon. Mutsvangwa is a former ambassador of Zimbabwe to China, and was recently appointed Deputy Minister of Foreign Affairs.



He is a Member of Parliament and an ex-combatant who fought in the liberation struggle for the independence of Zimbabwe from colonial rule and the return of the land to its African owners. Hon. Mutsvangwa informed the symposium that he had not prepared a speech but prefers to speak from notes and share some personal experiences with Chinese and African scholars since China-Africa cooperation is a subject close to his heart after spending many years in Beijing, China as Ambassador of Zimbabwe.

Hon. Mutsvangwa chronicled the history of cooperation between Africa and Asia, saying “the history of Africa with Asia has been very positive compared to that with Europe or America. For example, Africa’s highest point of ascendancy in world trade is associated with the Indian Ocean through its trade with Asian countries such as China and India. On the other hand trade through the Atlantic Ocean with countries in the west has not been that positive for Africa.”

He said that “with the emergence of China, Africa’s prospects have brightened, and the continent is now on its way to restore its lost glory” and rewrite the “the story of African Renaissance.” In the last 10 years or so, Africa continues to experience socio-economic growth at a faster rate than some other continents. He said it is important for China to find its way back onto the global socio-political scene so that there is competition with the contending powers of the world.

“Such competition is good for Africa as the continent is now able to choose who to deal with, and in most cases the one who gives a better deal.” He said that he firmly believes that the best moment for Africa came with the reforms made by the then Chinese leaders in the late 1970s, describing Deng Xiaoping as one of the he greatest leaders in the 21st century. Premier Deng’s reforms allowed him to lift the country from abject poverty to become one of the biggest players in world economics in less than 30 years.

This development is very important for the African narrative because the techniques employed by the Chinese leaders are not only dynamic, but also game-changing tactics, particularly when one compares them to the 90 years of Africa’s engagement with Europe during the colonial period. In fact Africa was often described as a hopeless, no-good continent, and every academic was working on how to assist “poor” Africa. With the emergence of China, the opportunity has once again come for Africa to take charge of its destiny. However, he said this opportunity does not come on a silver platter, as Africa had to wage a struggle for independence.

Independence has now allowed Africa to negotiate contrary to the days when Europe would just “take things away” from Africa without paying a single sent. Hon Mutsvangwa said the coming of China has allowed Africa to sign contracts and choose who to deal with, adding that this is most exciting thing to ever happen to Africa. He said some people may complain about Africa failing to negotiate effectively, but “the main thing is that they are now negotiating for their resources”, which where it one point taken for free or at gun point, or even signed at different places where Africa was never represented.

He said some western countries are not too happy to see China investing in Africa. He gave an example of his time in China when he invited Chinese companies to invest in Zimbabwe, but the companies were told by western countries operating in Zimbabwe not to waste their time and resources investing in Zimbabwe, but rather to go and invest in Europe. He urged Africans to cherish the improving relations with China, adding that in the last 10 years or so, China was mainly concerned with its engagement with the west so that it learns new technology to improve its own growth. China-Africa cooperation was something only known in “office corridors” and limited to the Ministry of Foreign Affairs.

Therefore, it took so much work to translate this friendship to what it is today, and as such Africans must take maximum advantage of this cooperation. It was after the 2<sup>nd</sup> FOCAC meeting in Ethiopia in 2003, that China developed a specific African policy to strengthen relations. At that historic meeting they invited their major economic institutions and banks to join the political their force and support development in Africa. So this was a major move because if “you do not have capital, it is difficult to grow.”

He said the emergence of China on the economic scene was critical for Africa’s development because in the past allocation of capital was made on the number of white people in that country. Therefore, with China, African countries were now able to access unlimited capital for their socio-economic development. With the establishment of BRICS (Brazil, Russia, India, China, South Africa), he said Africa now has a wide choice to access capital. However, he believes that BRICS would be a stronger grouping if another African power such as Nigeria joins the grouping. He said BRICS gives the African narrative another new sense of dynamism, and says “this is Africa’s hour. We have 1 billion people eager to embrace new technology for socio-economic growth, and do what other people are doing.”

Hon. Mutsvangwa said this Symposium should allow scholars to dig deeper into these issues as Africa needs academics to move forward. He said sound advice from scholars would allow governments to improve their negotiation skills hence allowing them to get more value from their resources. He said even if some Africans may “love Europe, there is not much they can change except sentimental attachment.” He said because times have changed, Africa and the rest of the world need to embrace China as a new partner. He said Africa also wants to have good relations with the west and others and the underlying factor is that “no one should take Africa for granted.”

On the view that China is here to recolonize Africa, he said such utterances are misplaced. He said “Africa fought for this independence and we will not be colonized by anyone again.” He said China is coming here as a partner, and Africa had more to gain from working with China. Hon. Mutsvangwa said Africa has a lot of treasures ranging from land to minerals, and the continent should be vigilant in ensuring that these are defended for future generations and the good of the continent. Therefore, no foreigner should just come and take what belongs to Africa for free or at a bargain. Instead, any dealing with Africa must be mutual and benefit both parties.

Another aspect of the China-Africa cooperation that Mutsvangwa explained is that the Asian nation would soon become an economic reference point for the world. Everyone including America and Europe was already looking to the Chinese Yuan to benchmark their own currency. In this regard, Africa must take advantage of its cordial relations with China to use the Yuan as a common international trading currency. South Africa was already doing so, and the rest of Africa should follow suit. This move will not only boost relations but also help Africa access the huge Chinese market.

Mutsvangwa said Africa has a lot of potential for growth, and must aspire to learn from China and become a dominant player in world politics. This can be only achieved if Africa fully exploits its human resources base and natural resources. Furthermore, Africa needs to speak with one voice in the international arena. He also highlighted about the measurable relationship between China and Africa giving an example of 6 to 7 billion capital injected by China. The Deputy Minister encouraged African business to also focus on research for their brands saying that Chinese companies “are putting a lot of money in research and development, they are putting a lot of money in technology, they are putting a lot of money in brand development.”

In his concluding remarks, he said this Symposium should interrogate these issues and provide concrete solutions as to how China and Africa may improve their cooperation. He said that in the last 20 years or so, the west “was taken by surprise” as China and Africa have strengthened cooperation and reduced western influence on African politics. He also challenged fellow Africans to unpack the continent’s potential saying that, “The resources we have, the human capital we have, all young people who are dynamic, what we need is to carve out relationships with others, which will propel Africa’s development so quickly so that we can fit on the tables of international discourse with our heads lifted high and talk so that everybody listens.”

Hon Mutsvangwa ended by wishing the scholars a fruitful discussion, saying “there is need for Africa to have access to capital,” because without capital there will be little development. He thanked SARDC and the Chinese Embassy in Zimbabwe for hosting such an important Symposium which brings together distinguished scholars from across Africa and China.

Hon. Mutsvangwa called upon academics to develop pathways intellectually and to give practical advice to governments on how Africa can chart a path of economic growth which then releases the necessary soft power for Africa to be recognized on the global stage. This is your challenge.

**THE UNIVERSITY OF ZIMBABWE CONFUCIUS INSTITUTE CHOIR PERFORMED TWO SONGS IN THE CHINESE MANDARIN LANGUAGE.**

## **DAY 1 CHINA-AFRICA COOPERATION**

The Moderator, Ambassador Hasu Patel, Professor Emeritus and Prof of Political Science, Department of Political and Administrative Studies, University of Zimbabwe, introduced the important subject of China-Africa Cooperation and the participants.

### **TOPIC 1 ACHIEVEMENTS OF PAST 50 YEARS OF DEVELOPMENT**

#### **Fifty Years of China-Africa Relations: A Landmark Study**

**By Prof Zhao Baisheng, Deputy Director, Centre for African Studies, Peking University**



Prof Zhao Baisheng’s presentation focused on the five main achievements in China-Africa cooperation. He said these are China’s support for national liberation in Africa; deployment of Chinese medical teams in Africa; construction of the Tanzania-Zambia Railway; booming economic cooperation between China and Africa; and the establishment of the Forum on China Africa Cooperation (FOCAC) by the two sides.

On Chinese support for national liberation in Africa, Prof Zhao said China’s military cooperation with Africa began in the late 1950s, with assistance rendered to the Algeria’s Front de Liberation Nationale (FLN) as it fought for independence from France. Chinese training for rebels from Guinea-Bissau followed in 1960 as the rebels tried to end Portuguese rule. China significantly expanded its military assistance to liberation movements in Africa in the 1960s. Some of the liberation movements are now the ruling governments and this may help explain the cordial relationship between these countries and China up to this day.

From 1963 to 1965, the then Chinese Premier Zhou Enlai visited Africa three times and his visit included countries such as Egypt, Morocco, United Republic of Tanzania, Sudan and the then Zaire, now the Democratic Republic of Congo. In addition to this, Africa has supported China in different ways. Such support includes African support in the elevation of China into the UN Security Council where it is one of the five countries with permanent seats. Most African countries also support the One-China Policy, and are in support of the war against imperialism.

With regard to the deployment of Chinese medical team in Africa, Prof Zhao said the first Chinese medical team made up of 13 members was deployed in Algeria in 1963. Since then more than 48 African countries have benefited from this initiative. He said by the end of 2010, China had sent more than 17,000 medical workers, treating over 200 million patients. He said care for the people was, in fact, the overriding theme of the Chinese crusade. This approach had two advantages. By devoting themselves to the welfare of common people whose gratitude could bring Beijing no obvious political dividends, the Chinese aim to demonstrate that they had Africa's interests at heart. At the same time it gave them a unique opportunity to expose the limitations of China's opponents, and to prove that they could support Africans as no Europeans of any political complexion had ever been able to do.

However, China has encountered its own challenges in this health agenda. These include the selection of doctors. For example, as living standards in China rose, doctors enjoyed better lifestyles than before. This created serious problems for the selection of specialists for deployment to Africa. On the African side, most Chinese doctors are often not recognized as fully qualified "doctors" in Africa, and therefore find it difficult to get acceptance at hospitals. Therefore, he said, future medical cooperation will require a joint effort by both China and Africa to find more effective strategies and to establish law enforcement and quality control systems for the medical sector and guarantee healthy working conditions for both parties.

On the Tanzania Zambia Railway (TAZARA) project, which he described as "a landmark without shadows", Prof Zhao said the surveying and designing started in May 1968, and its construction began in October 1970. The whole project was completed and handed over in July 1976. The Chinese Government provided an interest-free loan of 988 million RMB (Yuan) and shipped about 1 million tonnes of equipment and materials.

President Nyerere described the Chinese assistance as a "great contribution to the African people", adding that "in past history, construction of railways by foreigners in Africa was for the purpose of plundering the wealth of Africa, while the Chinese did it just the opposite, to help us in developing our national economy." His Zambian counterpart, Kenneth Kaunda praised the project and said that "a friend in need is a friend in deed. When we were in most difficult times, it was China who rendered assistance to us. The people of Tanzania and Zambia and even the whole of Africa praised this railway as "the road to freedom" and a "model for south-south cooperation".

With respect to economic cooperation, Prof Zhao said China's trade with Africa has ballooned from US\$10 billion in 2000 to an estimated US\$200 billion this year -- four years after it overtook the United States as the continent's largest partner. The China Import-Export Bank is the continent's largest creditor and Beijing has promised US\$20 billion more in loans over the next three years. China has built bridges, railroads, and conference centres for Africa, showing that the China is "spreading its wings around the world via commercial, rather than military means."



On FOCAC, Prof Zhao said this marked the strengthening of relations between China and Africa. The inaugural meeting took place in Beijing in 2000 with more 80 ministers from China and 44 African states and representatives of 17 regional and international organizations and leaders from business communities of China and Africa. The 2<sup>nd</sup> FOCAC was held from in December in Addis Ababa while the third, fourth and fifth were held in November 2006 in Beijing, Sharm el-Sheikh in Egypt in November 2009 and in Beijing 2012, respectively.

Prof Zhao said there are some people in Africa and other parts of the world who are not happy with the relations. For example, he noted that one Nigerian commentator considers China's involvement in Africa as an “insult to the AU and to every African that in 2012 a building as symbolic as the AU headquarters is designed, built and maintained by a foreign country.” Prof Zhao proposed a five-point roadmap to strengthen China-Africa relations, focusing on:

- Transition from friendship to partnership;
- Dynamics of high-level strategy and grassroots service;
- Balance between “hardware” infrastructure and “software” infrastructure
- Contextualization of bilateral China-Africa relations;
- One-way ticket or two-way traffic.

Prof Zhao ended his presentation by saying the bond between China and Africa is very strong and unshakeable, adding that no amount of outside interference could destabilize the cooperation as “China will always stand ready to assist Africa in any way possible.”

### **Assessing China-Africa Relations: Evidence and Way Forward**

**By Dr Barassou Diawara, Knowledge Management and Learning Officer, Africa Capacity Building Foundation**

Dr Barassou Diawara said China and Africa are geographically far apart and share neither language nor culture. However, there are various initiatives and real desires, as well as a strong willingness to make the two sides closer.



These initiatives include the establishment of FOCAC, China's Africa Policy and the recent visit to Africa by the new Chinese President Xi Jinping. He posed a question on, “Why China needs Africa and Why Africa needs China?” For China, the Asian nation needs Africa for its resources to fuel its development goals, as well as access new markets to sustain its growing economy, and political alliances to make emerging and developing countries stronger.

In the case of Africa, the continent needs China to improve its poor infrastructure base, raise its global status, create promising choices in external partnerships, and strengthen African capacities in health care and economic growth. Dr Diawara traced the development of China-Africa relations from 1949 to date, noting that the specific needs of each period shaped the type of relationship that existed between the two sides. He said China-Africa relations have developed in three stages – the first being during the period 1949-1979 when most Africa countries were fighting for their independence from colonialists.

During this period, China provided assistance to liberation movements and established diplomatic relations with 44 newly independent African countries. The second phase was between 1979 and 1999, characterised by a cultural revolution in China and the introduction of structural adjustment programmes in most African countries. This period saw greater emphasis

being placed by both China and Africa on economic and political cooperation. The final phase covers the period from 2000 to-date where the cooperation has focused on producing a win-win basis and strengthening mutual trust, political equality and cultural exchanges.

Dr Diawara also talked about the improving trade between China and Africa. He said China's main exports to Africa include footwear, machinery and transport equipment. While China's main imports from Africa are base metal and minerals products. With regard to China's largest trading partners, South Africa topped the list followed by Angola. He identified some of the challenges in the China-Africa relations as follows:

- *Africa's policy toward China* – The failure by Africa to have a clear and common position.
- *China labour practices and market strategies* -- Challenges by Africa to accept foreign labour practices by China, as well as China's failure to remodel its labour practices to suit the African market.
- *Sustainability of development* – Lack of a proper plan to cement China-Africa cooperation.
- *Technology transfer and capacity building* – Limited action on promoting the transfer of technology and capacity building
- *Civil society organizations* – Lack of civil society engagement in China-Africa cooperation.

In summing up his presentation, Dr Diawara said China-Africa relations are too strong for anyone to ignore and let alone misrepresent. As a result, cooperation between China and Africa will “last for very long time to come.” However, the two should come up with more innovative ways to sustain the relationship. China and Africa should have objectives, targets, and accountability clearly defined.

## DISCUSSION

After the two presentations, there was a lively debate on various issues raised by the presenters. One participant asked if it was possible for Africa to come up with a common policy on China given that there are more than 50 countries in Africa, each with its own approach to cooperation with China. In response to this, it was indicated that while it is good for Africa to have a common policy on China, it would prove difficult to do since Africa is made up of 54 different countries. As a result, coming up with a common policy will provide its own challenges.

On Chinese exports to Africa, a participant said what China exports to Africa is of different quality to what it exports to other markets in America or Europe, adding that “whoever pays more gets the best.” On China's interest in African infrastructure, it was suggested that it was China's way of solving its own problem of unemployment back in Beijing. Since China has an intensive labour force, it may be wise for China to bring its labour force to work in infrastructure development in Africa. It was also suggested that by bringing its people into Africa, the Chinese government was opening up new markets for its companies.

In his response, Prof Zhao said China is not trying to solve its own challenges of unemployment by investing more in infrastructure development in Africa. Instead it is assisting Africa to achieve socio-economic growth since it believes that Africa is a key strategic partner in global development. He said that each year the Chinese government creates millions of jobs for its people.

## **The Study of the Comparison and Mutual Enlightenment of Chinese and African Ethnic Experiences**

**By Prof Shi Lin, Director of World Ethnology Teaching and Research Section Faculty, Minzu University of China**

Prof Shi Lin began by giving a historical background on the pluralistic integration of the Chinese ethnic groups. She said China has been a united multi-ethnic country since ancient times, endowed with rich and diversified ethnic cultures and various patterns of ethnic economies, now represented as 56 ethnic groups.



The relations between different ethnic groups are complicated, and there have been several models of ethnic governance. Since the founding of the new China in 1949, with the guidance of Marxist ethnic theory, China drew on the ethnic experiences of the former Soviet Union, and on the basis of its specific ethnic situation, developed its ethnic policy with distinctive characteristics of China.

This focused on protecting ethnic cultures, promoting economic development, and fostering harmonious ethnic relations. On the other hand, Africa is the cradle of humankind with numerous ethnic groups. The complexity, uniqueness, and the changing nature of African ethnic issues are not seen in the rest of the world. She said according to findings of her research project in Africa, the continent is made up of 600-700 ethnic groups. The ethnic groups are different in nature but have a lot in common. Prof Shi said several similarities existed between China and African culture. For instance, all ethnic groups treat each other as equals, and respect one another. The ethnic groups also enjoy stable relations and have their own geographical location.

Furthermore, the groups have been colonized by foreigners. For example, Zimbabwe was colonized by the British, while China used to be a semi-colonized country. Against the backdrop of the rapid and comprehensive development of China-Africa friendly relations of cooperation, it is imperative to study the Chinese and African ethnic experiences systematically and comparatively. She said China adopted a system of “regional national autonomy” with ethnic groups being their own masters.

The law has sincerely helped ethnic groups to develop their economy. It has also allowed for the creation of special system of ethnic schools such the Minzu University, South-Central University for Nationalities and the Southwest University for Nationalities. Prof Shi also spoke about her case study on Zimbabwe and Ethiopia saying Africa and China have a lot to learn from each other to improve people-to-people exchange. Foremost, she said, Chinese scholars should reconsider the special value of African ethnic studies in order to make new breakthrough in the research of ethnic theories.

Secondly, conducting the comparative study of ethnic experiences of China and Africa will help to enhance the cultural understanding between the two, and will play an important role of consolidating the cultural sector of China-African friendly relations for cooperation. In the era of globalization, there is also need for China and Africa to keep each other's cultural consciousness and cultural confidence, while increasing mutual understanding, mutual learning and mutual cooperation, with a view to pursue the long-term objective of promoting the diversity of world cultures.

She encouraged the China Africa relationship to consider the value of ethnic studies to make a new breakthrough in China-Africa relations.

## Teaching Chinese as a Vehicle for Socio-Economic Development



By Mr Musona Muchinei, Lecturer, Confucius Institute, University of Zimbabwe

Mr Musona Muchinei gave a brief background of the Confucius Institute at the University of Zimbabwe (UZ). He said its mandate is to teach Chinese language and culture to Zimbabweans at a degree level and also offers part-time courses to external students.

Its services have extended to some secondary and primary schools and colleges in Harare and the Chinhoyi University of Science and Technology. He said the UZ Confucius Institute is at the forefront of teaching Chinese language, which can be viewed as a language of development.

He said some of the activities the centre has taken part in include participation in summer schools in China and exchange programmes that allow local students to attend university in the same country. Between 2009 and 2011, more than 10 students from the Confucius Institute attended the summer school each year. The number rose to 19 students in 2012 while 14 students are currently in China for the same studies. He said all this shows how China places importance on China-Africa relations.

He noted that due to the expanding ties between China and Africa, there is need for Africans to learn Chinese and vice versa. This is important because, by learning the language, both sides are able to better understand each other's culture and perspectives. He said one of his key observations while studying in China was that most Chinese are industrious, law-abiding, peaceful and humble people who believe in learning and respected their parents. He also stressed the importance of teaching Chinese saying that this brings encouragement to both local and international communities.

## DISCUSSION

There was a varying debate on the two presentations. One participant said there is a major distortion in the way people understand ethnicity. This is because the current ethnic groups are not original as they have been interfered with and transformed over the years due to various factors, chief among them colonization. Africa's challenge has never been on the many and different ethnic groups but rather an ideological problem. In this regard, there is need for Africans to come together and rewrite their own story because "history is written by winners."

Africa must also take advantage of other emerging economies such as the BRICS group involving Brazil, Russia, India, China and South Africa to boost relations and socio-economic development. Hon. Mutsvangwa also made some key interventions, saying Africa must strive towards developing a middle class. This would help the continent to overcome some of the "small things" such as ethnicity, which may hinder development. He also urged Africa to "refuse to accept a Chinese stereotype," in the same way Africa refuses to be stereotyped.

Mutsvangwa said China has used its different ethnic groups in a positive way. For example, while Chinese are united by one goal, they also compete with each other. Cities compete against cities, towns against towns and villages against villages. This way, each city, town or village aims to be better than the others, thus developing at a faster rate. He said if Africa has a problem with China, the two should address their challenges amicably without any outside interference. Therefore, the West should let Africa engage with China and not pretend to be siding with Africa in its relations with China, as the West has never shared a positive history with Africa.

## TOPIC 2

## INFLUENCE ON INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS



### **China and Africa's Diplomatic Capital**

**By Dr Siphamandla Zondi, Director of the Institute for Global Dialogue**

Dr Siphamandla Zondi said his paper will focus on the current argument that China has become an economic superpower house, and therefore China's rise has a bearing on the structure of development in Africa and the rest of the world.

He said the rise of China has brought with it immense political influence and opportunities that countries in the periphery can take advantage of and boost their economic standing on the global stage. At the same time, the end of the Cold War, which is credited with winds of change in Africa's political and economic conditions, has a positive bearing on the continent's diplomatic role in international affairs.

Dr Zondi quoted one scholar whom he credited for saying the world is organized like a social system with two parts. The first is made up of co-states that are more powerful and prosperous. The other second consists of periphery states, which are less powerful and less prosperous. He said the rise of China happens in this age. Most importantly, its rise causes some profound changes in this system with countries in the periphery beginning to also rise and achieved prosperity. Therefore any emergence of countries in the periphery to be able to do deals, make concessions has a great impact on world affairs, and is positive for Africa.

He said the rise of China has brought winds of change for Africa, and opportunities are now many for Africa. Another major part of international diplomacy has to do with Africa's adoption of common negotiating positions in international negotiations, thus enabling otherwise diplomatically small and weak countries to pool their strengths in order to punch above their weight. He said Africa is beginning to have its mark on the international stage as countries now speak with a single voice. While this has also enabled Africa to increase its influence with stronger countries such as China and regions such as Europe, it still remains to be seen if Africa has fully harnessed the benefits of establishing such strategic partnerships with other groupings.

Dr Zondi said establishing such strategic partnerships with other groupings had benefits in terms of trade, investment and cooperation opportunities. It also had the potential to increase Africa's diplomatic capital on the international scene. As a result, there is room for Africa to use its new-found diplomatic capital to further enhance its global stature to win concessions in international negotiations and to rebalance its relations with key partners such as China. China's willingness to explore an equal partnership based on mutual benefit is a huge opportunity for Africa, as is its willingness to support Africa's agenda in various international fora.

He said the cordial relations between China and Africa have enhanced the status of Africa in the international arena because the cooperation between the two sides has given the latter some clout in political and economic matters. In his concluding remarks, Dr Zondi encouraged African countries to deepen relations and continue to work together as a united Africa is stronger to address any challenges that may hinder socio-economic development.



**Africa: Lost Opportunities for Asserting its Influence in Global Affairs**  
**By Mr Edward Chitsulo, Managing Editor, Nation**  
**Publications Limited**

Mr Edward Chitsulo said China and Africa form a large geographic block on the globe, and have an abundance of wealth such as land and manpower – which are key factors of production. However, a snap scan of various contemporary documentations that includes the electronic and print media reveal key factors hindering the two from fully benefiting from their cooperation.



These factors range from poor or weak public information flow systems, and continued weak or adversarial governance structures, to irrelevant, Eurocentric educational systems.

On poor and weak public information-flow systems, he said limited access to information has hindered the active participation of general public in national building; hence the cooperation is not fully benefiting the majority. Furthermore, it was noted that unlike China, most African governments withhold information from its citizens, yet it is the very same information the citizens need to improve their livelihoods and contribution to the overall socio-economic development agenda. Mr Chitsulo said Africa needs to address this and use information for development.

He said another challenge hindering the cooperation is that most African countries have poor governance structures and players, resulting in countries being at “war” with each other, instead of being united to fully harness the opportunities being presented by China. He added that rarely do political parties in Africa work together for national development. Instead the ruling parties and opposition parties are always at “war” with each other. The same applies to African governments shape their foreign policies as they rarely consult other stakeholders such as civil society, faith and traditional structures.

The euro-centric educational systems has also played a negative part since most Africans still think the West is better than the East and anything that comes and originates from Africa. For example, most universities on the continent have to be linked to tertiary institutions from the West for their output to be deemed credible and acceptable. This is in contrast with the Chinese educational system, which has gone through its own evolution with little Western influence. As such, Mr Chitsulo said, there is need for Africa to have confidence in itself, and stop being suspicion of anything that originates from the East.

Mr Chitsulo said it was time for African governments to open up to the general public by providing adequate information so that all the people actively participate in national development. National governments should also embrace effective governance structures and systems and be ready to review their educational systems to improve local skills and decolonize the mind. He ended by saying that Africa has all the necessary resources to be an important player in world affairs, and it deepening cooperation with China would help unlock the opportunities. He said that Africa should break the linguistic barrier and embrace entrepreneurship for its development.



## **Intervention by Chinese Representative**

**By H.E Ambassador Lin Lin, Chinese Ambassador to Zimbabwe**

Ambassador Lin gave some brief interventions on the two presentations. His intervention focused on the Chinese experience since the two presenters were from Africa. Ambassador Lin talked about Chinese foreign policy, saying that China's policy is very simple – never to interfere in the internal affairs of another country. However, he said this does not mean “we do not care about African problems. Instead we do help countries to find lasting and peaceful solutions to some of their problems.”



As an example, he said China is currently involved in addressing the conflict between Ethiopia and Eritrea. He said both governments are free to get support from the Chinese government while China is ready to “listen to their needs.” However, China would not impose its interference on another country without the request of that particular country.

He said democracy cannot solely be achieved from international relations. The good relations between China and Africa have helped both sides enhance their status in the international arena because they have achieved development in the past decade. He warned that whoever ignores the continent of Africa will never enjoy the opportunities that are in abundance in Africa.

## **DISCUSSION**

When the floor was opened for discussions, one participant said Africa is faced by numerous challenges, some of them internal while others are external. As a result, the continent needs to address these challenges amicably. It was also noted that most African countries tend not to recognize their leaders, yet the same leaders are regarded as role models in other countries. The plenary also said Africa has the capacity to address its own challenges without too much reliance on outside interference.

Another participant raised some pertinent issues saying a number of frustrations exist in China-Africa relations. In this regard, questions were raised about the need to improve the capacity of African officials to negotiate with their counterpart from China to discuss these frustrations in order to address them. The need for Africa to revive its ethnic identity was also raised. And there were calls for Africa to emulate China, because China had shown that development is possible using a different path to that of the west. Doing this, will allow Africa to address its own domestic challenges in the same way China had been able to solve its domestic problems.

African countries were urged to embrace opportunities brought about by the BRICS group of emerging economies. It is Africa's responsibilities to develop and explore other opportunities across the global. African government must also actively engage the media to break the barriers and educate its general public about the benefits of China-Africa cooperation. To close the discussion, Dr Zondi gave a powerful expression saying “Africa should not stereotype China, the same way it does not want to be stereotyped.”

## **Conclusion Day 1**

Having expressed gratitude to the participants for their active participation, the facilitator, Prof Patel, cautioned against making a blanket comparison between a country (China) and a continent (Africa) without putting issues into proper context. He noted that, as highlighted during the symposium deliberations, the two were quite different in terms of policy perspectives and priorities.

In addition, Prof Patel quoted a report by Xinhua News Agency in which it spoke of a de-Americanised world. He said pertinent questions needed to be considered, including whether such a world is a possibility now or in the next decade. Equally important, is whether such a de-Americanised world would be “a Chinese world” or “an African world”. He noted that the jury was still out in terms of finding answers to these questions. The facilitator, however, cautioned against predicting when such a world would eventually become a reality. He cited the response by late Chinese Premier Zhou Enlai when asked about what he thought about the French Revolution. His answer was that it is too early to judge even though the French revolution which took place 200 years ago and before his time. Prof Patel called for restraint by academics in their projections, urging them not to “get carried away as if somehow the world will end tomorrow”.

### *End of Day 1*

## **DAY 2**

### **EXPERIENCE OF CHINA’S DEVELOPMENT AND LESSONS FOR AFRICA**

Dr Heather Chingono was unable to attend, and moderators were selected on a session bases.

#### **TOPIC 1 POLICY, GOVERNANCE AND PEACE**

##### **Drawing Lessons for African Integration from Accelerated Development in China**

**By Mr Clayton Vhumbunu, SARDC ICASSA**

**Theme Research Paper**



The presentation focussed on China-Africa Cooperation, the state of regional integration in Africa, prospects and challenges for African regional integration and China’s development experience. The main vectors of China’s accelerated development trajectory and key lessons for African integration were discussed.

Mr Clayton Vhumbunu first highlighted that Africa is made up of 55 countries with over 1000 languages and ethnic groups and over 900 million people. China on the other hand is a unitary state with 56 ethnic groups, a population of 1.3 billion and 23 provinces with five autonomous regions.

He mentioned that China-Africa relations date back to the African liberation struggle and relations have evolved since the first FOCAC Summit in 2000. He stated that regional integration in Africa is rooted in the Pan-African vision of African unity, solidarity and cooperation which started in the late 1950s. A number of Regional Economic Communities (RECs) have been created in Africa and to date a total of eight are recognized by the AU as building blocks for continental integration. In terms of progress in Africa regional integration, RECs have recorded varying progress in attaining their integration milestones.

However, most RECs are on track to realizing deeper integration when measured against the six stages/phases set out in the Abuja Treaty and have attained the first and second stage for the strengthening of RECs, especially on coordination and harmonization of activities. He said Africa has a huge potential of promoting integration as the continent has an abundance of human capital and mineral resources, as well as a rising middle class majority which the African Development Bank projected that by 2030 consumer spending will increase from US\$680 billion in 2008 to US\$2.2 trillion in 2030.

Mr Vhumbunu said Africa also has about 60 percent of the world's uncultivated land, huge water reserves for energy and in addition has the opportunity to learn from success and failure of others. Mr Vhumbunu discussed at length on the prospects of African integration and development. He cited a number of factors which explain why Africa has a huge potential of promoting integration. One of the factors is that the continent has an abundance of human capital, rising middle class majority and the largest mineral deposits in the world, uncultivated land and huge water reserves for energy generation and agriculture.

Mr Vhumbunu said that Africa has an opportunity to learn from the success and failure of others highlighting that the continent has the opportunity to learn from success and failures of others has to leverage on the renewed growth momentum and accelerate integration process. However, he said Africa continues to face challenges in its bid for socio-economic growth. These include limited capacity both technical and financial, inadequate and disjointed infrastructure, over-ambitious, unrealistic timeframes and goals, different and conflicting ideologies and development paradigms, and overlapping membership conundrum.

The presenter highlighted the Chinese development experience saying that China's economy before 1978 was characterised by poor growth, low income per capita and widespread poverty. However, China has since witnessed a significant economic growth at an average annual rate of over 10 percent for the past three decades since its reforms in 1978. This has resulted in China becoming the second largest economy in the world.

He said there is need for Africa to draw lessons from the Chinese experience on how it accelerated its integration process, achieved its successful policy planning, coordination and implementation throughout the various administrative regions which resulted in accelerated development, industrialization and poverty reduction. The main vectors for Chinese growth were identified as effective policy planning, policy coordination and policy discipline; agriculture, rural development and poverty reduction; infrastructural development; industrial development and export-oriented growth; and science and technology, education, research and development.

Mr Vhumbunu said the contribution of Think Tanks equally is critical in promoting development in China. Think tanks are considered as the internal brain of government in bridging the gap between knowledge and policy through extensive research and analytical work. The government of China acknowledges the role and input of Think Tanks in the public policy formulation process and trade negotiations. Official think tanks report directly to government and are hosted by state universities or independent institutes.

He noted among other issues, the need in Africa to harmonize and align continental, regional and national policy governance structures at regional level and create and capacitate uniform regional integration policy planning and coordination authorities. He said that it's important to align National Development Plans with Regional and Continental Plans, for example, the Botswana Vision 2016, Kenya Vision 2030, thereby aligning national debates and addressing fragmentation and dislocation.

Mr Vhumbunu summed up his presentation by acknowledging that the Chinese experience is inspirational in that it proves that integration and development is possible and attainable. He said that the success of African integration will be dependent upon the nature of policy interaction between RECs, government institutions and national governments to translate summit resolutions, council decisions, conference action plans, and protocol provisions into practical action. He said that visionary and strong-willed leadership remains a prerequisite for integration and development on the African continent.

## **Experience of China's Development and Lessons for Africa, including the Role of BRICS** **By Dr Sehlare Makgetlaneng, Chief Research Analyst,** **Africa Institute of South Africa**



Dr Sehlare Makgetlaneng began by saying there is need for scholars to be a bit cautious in comparing Africa with China, as Africa is a continent, while China is a unitary state. He stated that political governance is important in providing any society with direction in its development agenda, adding that relationships between African countries can be sustained and consolidated.

Key features of the relationship between Africa and the rest of the world include the dominance of external exploitation of resources and their dominance in national economies. He said that Africa provides the rest of the world with resources since it cannot convert them into finished products, thereby creating more jobs outside the continent instead of providing jobs for its people. He said this explains why the level of development on the continent is low. He noted that economic development has a variety of aspects as it can increase people's choices which can change over time and affords security against crime and cultural freedom.

Agriculture and mining are key sectors in Africa. However, mining has been dominated by conflicts and that is highly penetrated by external actors. There is, therefore, need for Africa to address these challenges and ensure that its minerals benefit the African continent. Dr Makgetlaneng said that China is coming to Africa as an ally. This shows that Africa's interest on the global scene is no longer taken for granted. He said cooperation between Africa and China is an opportunity for Africa to benefit from its natural resources, "giving the continent a chance to choose from a pool of investors" rather than only dealing with a few selected partners.

The lesson Africa should learn is that economic development can take place in any poor rural country if there are conditions of economic development and once there is a well organised independent plan for economic development. He said for the national plan to be successful in China, the Chinese political leadership superseded the Chinese people as social agents for national development.

He said the political leaders in China made sure that the national plan on development became a national product which the Chinese people could identify with and in the process managed to correctly handle contradictions. He stated that the fact that Africa seems fragmented and consisting of 55 countries is not an obstacle to economic development. He urged African countries to have an effective foreign policy which has proved successful for China. He concluded by saying that development is a learning process and Africa does not need anyone to develop a model for the continent, but rather Africa must develop its own model.

### **DISCUSSION**

During discussions it was observed that political leaders played a key role in shaping the Chinese policy. Participants also highlighted the need to improve on software infrastructure which plays a crucial role in development. In terms of education, it was agreed that the profile of African universities needs to be raised. One scholar said culture and values play a critical role in development, emphasising that the Chinese development model may not necessarily work in Africa. In this regard, Africa must apply its own model taking into consideration the African context and realities.

The plenary said Africa still needs a strong political will from its leaders to learn how to root out corruption which is undermining development. Challenges of barriers to trade, particularly at the borders needed to be addressed as evidence shows that it is more expensive to trade with another country within Africa than to doing business with a country outside Africa. A suggestion was that African countries need to do more in terms of research that spurs development.

On the comparison between Africa and China, it was noted that African interests are diversified as each of the 55 countries represented wants its interests to be heard and addressed. In addition to this, Dr Makgetlaneng indicated that although it is a bit ambitious to make a comparison between China and Africa, China does indeed provide Africa with some important experiences which can be adopted for the development of the continent.

Another participant said there is need for Africa to first focus on integration among member states before investing in cooperation with other outside partners. Such an arrangement would ensure that the continent is more united and speaks with one voice on any cooperation issues. The scholars also noted that learning is mutual and as such China could also learn a lot from Africa and that Africa has the capacity to have a united vision and foreign policy.

### **China-Africa Relations: Negotiation for Building African Developmental States**

**By Ato Fana Gebresenbet, Lecturer, Addis Ababa University, Institute for Peace and Security Studies**

Ato Fana Gebresenbet started by giving an insight of the China-Africa Think Tanks Forum which aims to promote academic research, exchange and dialogue as well as boosting of mutual understanding; and expanding Sino-African consensus.



He indicated that the forum has identified priority areas for future work particularly to enhance joint knowledge generation and exchange and gearing the relationship towards “value creation” and interdependence. He then said that building developmental states will contribute to transformation of Africa into a global economic giant.

He noted that African governments need to create favorable political conditions for economic development and be able to deal with market failures. He mentioned that most African states are to blame for their weak capacity to address challenges hindering development in the continent. Some of the pre-conditions for development states include the need for meritocracy in African states which requires giving political positions based on merit, having a capable and autonomous leadership, encouragement of the manufacturing sector and the greater need for technological and institutional upgrading.

Ideally, Africa needs to reduce the risk of violent conflicts, ensure socio-economic transformation and create a large middle-class and a more favorable climate for democratic governance. He urged China to support Africa to revamp its political economy. African officials need to be capacitated to negotiate, particularly on issues such as technology and skills transfer, processing of raw materials in Africa. Negotiations should be conducted on extending loans and grants to projects which augment “value creating” sectors such as roads, telecommunications and power generation. He said development is a political question first and then becomes an economic one.



## DISCUSSIONS

The Ethiopian Ambassador to Zimbabwe, H.E. Koang Dung, made some remarks on the role of the private sector saying that it plays a key role in development. He said the Ethiopian government is working hard to improve its infrastructure, such as roads and rail. He said efforts are being extended to the education sector, adding that the country now has a total of 31 universities. However, Africa should reject the neo-liberal thinking that government should do everything. It is the responsibility of all Africans to promote socio-economic development.

Another participant said the notion that China is only bringing its capital is not totally right as China is also doing a lot in terms of technology and skills transfer to Africa. A lot of skilled personnel from China are engaged in various works in infrastructure development. He said it is the responsibility of Africa to include technology and skills transfer during the negotiations.

Another participant added that African countries are supposed to have policies that deal with labour laws and export restrictions and must include the issue of transfer of skills in their contracts. Africa should have policies that are based on reality rather than emotions.

### **New Dimensions for African Unity, Integration and Development: Sharing the Chinese Experience**

**By Phyllis Johnson, Executive Director, SARDC**



Phyllis Johnson first gave some related comments on earlier discussions. She said that her paper is not intended to compare a continent with a country but talks about changing mindsets from immediate post-colonial, stretching minds to new dimensions and building on that to move forward to the future. She said that part of her forward-looking perspective comes from living in Zimbabwe during the transformation of the society just after independence when the education sector was given top priority, thus explaining why the country now has the highest literacy rate in Africa.

She said that most conflicts in Africa are resource-based, but these resources also represent the future as the continent has the potential to become the next emerging economy if such challenges are addressed. She said the continental structures for Africa need stronger focus especially the AU commission, the Pan African Parliament, and the Peace and Security Council.

Ms Johnson said that her paper is about the current stage of African integration and development through the African Union (AU) and Regional Economic Communities (RECs), and the experiences that can be shared from China in developing and strengthening systems of management, development and governance with African characteristics. She noted that China has built part of its development strategy on learning from others, and Africa can do that too. She said many Chinese graduates have attained higher education in different countries and returned home to contribute to national development, and have “adapted ideas with Chinese characteristics.” For Africa, due to the colonial experience, the continent is still accustomed to accepting things as they are, with systems often inherited from the colonial power, and learning from the colonial power rather than taking best ideas from different place and adapting them to their own situation, the way China does.

She said that Chinese scholars always ask to learn about the many things that China can learn from Africa, but that her paper is focusing on the theme of what Africa can learn from China at this stage of its development.



She gave an overview of various developments on integration in Africa. These include the Tripartite “Grand” Free Trade Area involving the Common Market for Eastern and Southern Africa (COMESA), Southern African Development Community (SADC), and the East African Community (EAC). The three RECS aim to establish a larger Free Trade Area covering 26 countries, half of the AU member states, with a combined population of 600 million people. Such an arrangement provides numerous opportunities to boost China-Africa cooperation.

She said China has very clear policy-making structures at national level in which consultations, plans and policies are reviewed once a year within long-term development strategies, for 1.3 billion people of 56 ethnic groups in a system with strong central policy guidance but local administration and consultation. While in Africa, the decisions for more than 1 billion people take place in many disparate ways in 55 different countries, with lengthy debate, and most often with external interference.

Another lesson that she noted for African governance, peace and security is that while the recent Chinese leadership transition was planned several years in advance according to an agreed method, Africa has more than 55 different ways of doing this, yet most Chinese provinces are bigger than most African countries and all of those provinces participate in national decisions. She said it is important for Africa to learn a few things from the Chinese decision-making model and adapt this with a traditional African approach, rather than continuing to rely on colonial systems. She said the AU Commission agenda can be advanced or disrupted by individuals as shown in recent experience, while the Chinese leadership is more unified and proactive after discussing and reaching decisions.

Ms Johnson said that the context of the discussion on peace and security can be drawn from both Africa and China through the declaration of the 5<sup>th</sup> meeting of the Forum on China Africa Cooperation (FOCAC), which for the first time commits clearly and strongly to regional integration as a priority. She said the 5<sup>th</sup> FOCAC also agreed to further strengthen political and strategic dialogue, increase high-level visits, enhance the sharing of experience in governance, and respect and support each other’s core issues such as sovereignty, independence, security, unity, territorial integrity and national development so as to increase the political trust and strategic consensus between Africa and China.

She said this is an important topic for African and Chinese scholars and researchers to pursue -- to study, develop, expand and explore, and seek an understanding of challenges and opportunities and the solutions that can be addressed together for greater benefit of both parties. She said that FOCAC 2012 formally recognises that African integration and regional trading blocs are a priority for support within four themes of development, highlighting diversification, innovation and sustainability through collaboration at all levels of society.

As a new measure for deepening practical cooperation, China and Africa will focus on transnational and trans-regional infrastructure development and China will prioritise demands of African countries on Africa regional organisations in the planning and construction of transboundary infrastructure, noting that this is the first time these structures have been formally mentioned as previous relations were solely bilateral. Yet Africa has begun a process of gradually reducing the impact of national boundaries through greater integration in economic, political and military spheres.

On the role of military in socio-economic development, Ms Johnson said that the common agenda of the military to maintain peace and security also has a growing regional and continental dimension as shown by the SADC standby brigade launched in 2007, as a part of the African standby brigade. She also noted that in China, the military structures have a place in public decision-making as citizens of the country, which is different to the colonial experience in Africa. When the annual plans are scrutinised publicly in China and the various sectors, provinces, political parties and ethnic groups are represented in the planning processes, the People's Liberation Army is also represented, and this is something that Africa could learn from China

She added that the way Think Tanks work in China is another lesson to be learned in Africa, as the research institutes and think tanks in China are effective and play a key role in advising government on policy issues, while this is not the case in most African countries. She urged the academia in Africa to take the first necessary steps to engage with government rather than waiting to be approached, and governments should do the same in establishing and supporting think tanks to do policy research for discussion.

She concluded by reminding participants of the wisdom of the late *Mwalimu* Julius Nyerere who used to say that “South” is not only a geographical definition but a way of thinking, and this is the thinking that needs to be developed in Africa -- to emerge from colonial strictures and encompass the rich experiences of the South and the East, as well as the North and the est.

## **TOPIC 2 ECONOMY: AGRICULTURE, INDUSTRIALISATION, TRADE AND INFRASTRUCTURE DEVELOPMENT**

### **Experience of China's Development and Lessons for the East African Community By Monicah Nthiga, Project Manager, Africa Peace Forum**

Ms Monicah Nthiga first mentioned that China is an important development partner for Africa as evidenced by the increase in cooperation among both parties across economic, political, international affairs and social development sectors.



The China–Africa relations have been strengthened in the last 13 years following the establishment of the FOCAC in 2000. She said that the declarations emanating from the deliberations mainly the Beijing Action plan 2007–2009 and Beijing Action Plan 2013-2015 demonstrate and predict the nature of long-term future relations between Chinese and African States within various sectors based on growing needs for partnership. Speaking on the policies and plans which China employed, she said that in 1978, China embarked on an economic reform process that transformed the economy from a centrally-planned system to a market-oriented economy.

In so doing, a number of policies were employed including the “go-out and learn policy” which encouraged foreign investment and allowed China’s technocrats and decision makers to learn from the best practices of other economies around the world. The “within and without” production policy decentralized the state economy by replacing central planning by the government enterprises with market forces and neutralizing the power of state-run enterprises

She said that the educational policies were key to China’s economic transition as education was geared towards reduction of illiteracy levels in the country. Education policies helped to expand its education system to incorporate specialized training in both formal and non-formal sectors

and cater for the country's growing needs. Ms Nthiga said that leadership in both China and countries in Africa face a similar challenge of continuously coming up with innovative ways in dealing with modern social unrest and conflicts in the society, corruption and environmental challenges, urbanization and population growth.

Looking at peace and security within the EAC, she mentioned that at the 5<sup>th</sup> FOCAC, issues of peace and security received significant attention in light of China's engagement in peace and security in the region, particularly through support of regional bodies on peace and security. She said that China is involved in decisions of peace and security in the region as it is a permanent member of the UN Security Council. She said that the choices and preferences that governments make determine the efficiency of reforms on matters of peace and security, noting that economic growth post-conflict cannot be overlooked since economic development addresses some of the key causes to conflict.

She mentioned that sustainable economic growth can help to address the root causes of instability and conflict in the region such as those policies on Poverty reduction, Corruption and Unemployment. She said that EAC members should play an active role in strengthening and contributing positively to regional institutional frameworks on peace and security, saying that the security challenges particularly border insecurity require a multilateral approach for long term impact. Although the region has tremendous potential for economic growth, and maintains peace and stability, there is a need to review current economic policies if EAC is to achieve great leverage in becoming a self-sustaining economy.

Ms Nthiga concluded that, while countries in the EAC have made notable progress towards economic growth and development, the pace of development is still slow. Key lessons which EAC can learn from China are that development has to be planned for and cannot be sporadic, that a bottom-up approach to leadership is key rather than from top to bottom. Education systems should be diverse and focus on skills and technical training, particularly for technicians and engineers, and to address the need to invest in technology and Infrastructure.

## **DISCUSSION**

During discussions, participants wanted to know whether the time is ripe to call for a particular approach towards integration to which members of the AU should subscribe to. Ms Nthiga said that it is important to engage with government as political leaders do not often pay enough attention to the issues raised by the people. She said that the civil society including private sector and policy-oriented think tanks should be able to reach government when people raise ideas.

She highlighted the need to shift from handouts as every region has something it can exploit and benefit from. She said that it is important to check if the right documents are there with governments giving an example of Kenya, which did not have a policy on peace building until recently. She stressed that in the process of decentralisation it is important to check which services can be decentralised and in which area as some communities do not have enough resources to accommodate such a move.

Participants noted that the issue of national service was heavily politicised when it was introduced in Africa yet it is important in that it helps people to realise their aspirations and translate that into national vision and missions, thereby encouraging people to respect each other's views. Ms Johnson said that she agrees with the critique of AU but added that the contradictions are between member states and these issues have to be discussed.

She also stressed again that in China, the research institutions and Think Tanks work together positively governments and contribute to policy-making, while in Africa this is not the case. Participants noted that many countries have resources but the issue is that they do not know how much resources they have.

**Chinese Private Enterprises in Africa: Realities and Opportunities**  
**By Prof Liu Qinghai, Lecturer, Zhejiang Normal University,**  
**Institute of African Studies**

Professor Liu Qinghai revealed that Chinese enterprises in Africa are increasing rapidly, adding that China's direct investment in Africa has increased from about US\$1.44 billion to more than US\$2.52 billion in 2009 to 2012.



She said that over 2,000 Chinese enterprises are investing in more than 50 African countries and regions, according to three surveys done from November 2011 to July 2012 which sought to establish the Chinese enterprises operating in Africa. The survey revealed that if Chinese enterprises were to invest more in African countries, about 45 percent would go to the manufacturing industry and 17 percent to the property market, among others.

The survey also revealed that 33 percent of the enterprises are actually investing in manufacturing industry, 41 percent in catering industry and 13 percent in infrastructure. Using the information gathered it was found out that there is a huge gap between the industries that enterprises intend to invest in and those they have actually invested in. This also points to the fact that Chinese enterprises still lack reliable information and detailed feasibility analysis concerning investment in Africa, indicating that information is critical to African investment decision-making.

The second survey revealed that 37 percent of Africans think Chinese enterprises are doing a good job of protecting the environment, while 27 percent believe they do not. It however, revealed that although Chinese enterprises have their deficiencies, they do bring benefits to African countries and local communities. Professor Qinghai noted that Chinese private enterprises still face a number of challenges in Africa some of them which include insufficient knowledge of the local language, culture and market information, making it difficult to spot market opportunities.

African governments should make efforts to reform their domestic economic systems, improve investment policies and legal frameworks. There is ample room for Chinese companies to improve the working conditions and provide more training to local workers and to better understand and respect local cultures and religions. She also argued that while Chinese companies have their own deficiencies, they bring benefits to African countries and local communities, which make a strong case against neo-colonialism and strengthens China-Africa relations.

**Industrialisation Trade and Policy**  
**By Kadibonye Sekakela, Programme Office, Botswana Institute**  
**for Development Policy Analysis**

Ms Kadibonye Sekakela began by saying that for the past decade China has become a significant partner with Africa and in 2009 China was ranked as the largest trading partner with Africa.



She presented a graph showing that between 2001 and 2011 Africa had a trade surplus with China, as African countries were importing less than they were exporting to China. She went on to look at the perceived opportunities and perceived threats of trading with China. Some of the perceived opportunities from trading with China include the increased commodity price as a result of China's increased demand for commodities from Africa which tend to benefit the continent because of better terms of trade. Trade results in the availability of cheaper inputs and commodities for the industries in Africa, for example, the construction industry in Botswana imports inputs from China at a competitive price. Perceived threats are that, this trade will tend to displace existing and potential producers in Africa and result in loss of employment due to increased Chinese import penetration.

She then gave a case study of Botswana's relations with China over the last decades. Ms Sekakela said that the Sino-Botswana diplomatic relations date back to 1975 and this has been strengthened greatly by trade and service provision. She added that the Chinese demand for commodity exports has benefited Botswana in many ways which include sourcing inputs from China for infrastructure development.

## DISCUSSION

It was noted that African countries should extend incentives to companies that they feel have potential to compete effectively at international markets. Participants mentioned that though policies to support progress of industries exist in Africa, implementation of such policies is poor. The issue of imposing restrictions on other trade was discussed but emphasised the importance of coming up with support programmes which will make African products to compete on the international market. On technology transfer it was agreed that China and African governments should give incentives so that technology transfer is made possible.

*Frederico Benedito Congolo, Mozambique, Lecturer Asian Studies and Diplomatic Practices, Higher Institute of International Relations (ISRI), Centre for Strategic and International Studies (CEEI)*

## TOPIC 3 DIPLOMATIC PRACTICE



### **A Chance for Peace: Chinese Diplomatic Practice and Its Contributions to Conventional Wisdom**

**by Frederico Benedito Congolo, Mozambique  
Lecturer in Asian Studies and Diplomatic Practices,  
Higher Institute of International Relations (ISRI),  
Centre for Strategic and International Studies (CEEI)**

Frederico Congolo's presentation focused on how the Chinese government can use its diplomacy to promote development and what lessons African states can learn from China. He said the emergence of a new world order has been mostly marked by major conflicts. But the current emergence of a New World Order seems to be taking a different path towards interdependence and multi-polarity. On domestic policy, he said the African local political elite is generally educated in western countries and import western socio-economic policies at the expense of domestic norms and culture.

On the other hand, Chinese leadership is constructing socialism with Chinese characteristics. In Africa, state preferences are based on their own national interests and organizational culture is what dictates rational choice. He mentioned that China is a country or a civilization that was dominated not colonized before it became an empire. He said that territorial boundaries for China were set centuries ago and the centralized political decision entity makes it much easier for government to implement its policies.

The African continent is made up of a huge multicultural and ethnic diversity and the local borders were imposed by the Berlin Conference in 1884/5. China normally uses soft power and its economic diplomacy is seen through providing loans and debt relief to other developing countries. For China, both multilateral and bilateral mechanisms are relevant, depending on the counterpart, for example China-Africa vs. China-USA.

China considers military as a dissuasive tool, not a persuasive one, citing examples of the South China Sea Disputes and the Piracy in the horn of Africa. On the lessons which Africa should learn from China it was noted that the continent should understand that:

- Diplomacy works
- A different path exists
- Development is possible
- No partner is perfect
- African development lies on Africans themselves.

He said that Africa has to deepen economic integration and come up with pragmatic education policies which will spur development. He said that the power shifts are not necessarily a result of military confrontation stating that there is room for a peaceful shift. He concluded by saying that the world history is now facing a war of narratives with the rise of BRICS as a unique engine for it and that African states need to take advantages of the current opportunities and forge their own way to development. Again China's current performance offers a new development opportunity which African states need to make good use of it.

### **China's Infrastructural Diplomacy in Africa: Gaps, Lessons and Options**

**By Dr Bonnie Ayodele, Nigeria**  
**Lecturer, Ekiti State University**

The first part of the presentation focussed on the forces driving China's diplomatic relations in Africa and the history of its engagement. The second part of the presentation was conceptualised on infrastructural diplomacy and China's foreign policy objectives within the context of comparative diplomatic advantage relations of infrastructure.



The third part interrogated the contending issues in China's infrastructural needs in Africa and resources needs in China-Africa relations. The last part assessed the gaps, challenges and options in what he described as infrastructural diplomacy of China and drawing lessons for future China-Africa engagements. From the study it was revealed that Africa's infrastructure investment was estimated at about US\$52 billion as of 2008. He said that 75 percent of China's investment in Africa is going to infrastructure development.

On gaps that exist in China's diplomacy, he said, that China needs to be more transparent in dealings and need to improve on its foreign policy objectives moving from non-intervention to constructive engagement. China needs to also look at capacity building for infrastructure investment and promote favourable terms in its financing and assisting African countries. Most importantly China would need to construct positive dialogue with the West on African issues and juggle its infrastructural diplomacy manoeuvring with peace-making diplomacy in Africa. Dr Ayodele said that there are things that Africa can learn from China's infrastructural diplomacy, and that the African economy can grow with good infrastructure.



China can help African countries on how it successfully managed aid and foreign investment and their infrastructure. China can assist on how the learning model of development can work to build Africa infrastructural development taking into consideration the African environment. Some of the available options sighted in China's infrastructural diplomacy include the need to develop a paradigm shift on maintenance of the infrastructure, interacting with the emerging youth bulge of African populations, designing a more global diplomacy that makes China attractive to the world and improving the domain of trade and cooperation.

## **DISCUSSION**

During discussions, participants noted that the government of China works with think tanks before making political decisions. On education participants mentioned that one does not necessarily need to be a professor to become a president. Participants also alluded to the fact that democracy exists in Africa though it is not everywhere due to various challenges. It was mentioned that the USA and China respond to their own histories and that is why they have developed to where they are now. Africans were told through the colonial experience to hate their own history, and only now is history pride emerging again. Development of infrastructure has a key role in Africa as this will make it easier for companies to operate in the continent.

## **TOUR OF SARDC OFFICES**

After Day 2 of the symposium, participants had an opportunity to tour SARDC Offices.



*End of Day 2*

## DAY 3 PROSPECTS FOR AFRICA'S DEVELOPMENT

### TOPIC 1 PERSPECTIVE OF RELATION BETWEEN CHINA'S DEVELOPMENT AND AFRICA'S DEVELOPMENT

#### **China's Development Experience and the Relation between China's Development and Africa's Development By Dr Zeng Aiping, Assistant Research Fellow, China Institute of International Studies**

Dr Zeng thanked SARDC and the Chinese Embassy for inviting him to the Symposium, noting that this was his first time to visit Zimbabwe. His presentation built on those made in the previous days, and focused more on China's perspective.



Dr Zeng noted that since the reform and opening-up in 1978, China has been witnessing rapid and sustaining growth and development. Its economy became the second largest entity in the world, resulting in the improvement of Chinese people's living standard and enhancement of China's international status. Many domestic and international scholars have been exploring and discussing China's economic myth, with the concept of Beijing Consensus and Chinese Model once becoming a hot topic for academia. He argued that although it is debatable in terms of the pertinence of these concepts, summarizing some reasons of China's rapid rise is fairly feasible. Many factors, with different degree, contribute to the economic success of China. Some of them probably could be used as the reference for the development of African countries. His presentation identified some key factors which contribute to the China's economic development.

Dr Zeng noted that the strong political leadership of Communist Party of China (CPC) guarantees long-term social stability, which provides a very good environment for China's development. Political and societal stability is a precondition for the economic development, which has been a common sense for the ordinary Chinese people and also a consensus for the political elite. The CPC strong leadership is reflected in the making and design of national plans.

Up to now, China has 12 five-year national plans, most of which are wise, correct, and consistent with its national conditions and international circumstances. With regard to good balance between receiving foreign aid and adhering to the principle of national independence, he noted that China used to be an aid-recipient country, but always insisted on the political independence and self-reliance. China makes the best use of foreign aid, but never allows outside powers to interfere with its internal affairs.

When the Chinese natural resources and domestic markets were open to the western countries, the country paid much attention to absorbing and importing their investment, technology and management experiences. To improve its industrial manufacturing capacity, China follows the path of imitation, assimilation and innovation. It has managed to establish a comprehensive industrial system, without marginalizing its agriculture and service sector. The Chinese national economy is comprehensive and open to the world. In respect to the great importance attached to infrastructure construction, he said infrastructure includes not only the economical and physical one, such as road, railway, port, bridge, airport, telecommunication and IT sector, but also consists of the social and soft one, such as education and health care. China's strategy for building infrastructure is all round, involving all the above-mentioned sectors. The improvement of the infrastructure provided the foundation of China's economic take-off.

On identification and development of sectors with comparative advantage, he said China's huge population attracted foreign investment in labor-intensive industry. With the growth of export-oriented labor-intensive industry, the country accumulated foreign currency to import the advanced equipment and technology. In addition, this enabled China to upgrade its economic structure and complete the transformation from the labour-intensive industry to the capital-intensive and technology-intensive industry. This process is still under way.

On hard work and sacrifice of the Chinese people, Dr Zeng noted that strong leadership alone is not sufficient for the economic take-off, adding that the compliance and sacrifice of the Chinese people is a key contributor to the Chinese success story. The Chinese people are world-wide famous for their hardworking spirit and entrepreneurship. Most of the Chinese labour forces are usually overworked. He said since the establishment of FOCAC in 2000, the trade and economic relations between China and Africa have undergone robust growth, with the trade volume between both sides getting close to 200 billion US dollars in 2012. Since 2009, China has become the largest trade partner of Africa for four consecutive years.

The development of China is becoming more and more related with the development of Africa. Common development and co-destiny have become the consensus of the wise politicians and industrialists from both sides. In 2013, the Chinese new leadership put forward the conception of "China Dream," which pursues the prosperity of the country, the rejuvenation of the nation and the happiness of the people. On the African side, the ideas of Africa Rejuvenation and NEPAD (the New Partnership for Africa's Development) also show the political will of African countries to realize the goals of self-reliant development through Union and Solidarity, which is called "Africa Dream."

In the path of achieving their respective dream, China and Africa should and could work together, help each other, consider other side's development as its own opportunity, and become mutual stakeholders. Dr Zeng highlighted that there are 54 independent African countries, with diverse national conditions and different developmental levels. On the other hand, China has a huge population, with very imbalanced regional and provincial development.

Both Africa and China have vast territory, which symbolizes the same vast space and huge potentials in terms of the mutual-beneficial and win-win cooperation. Based on the mutual needs and under the framework of FOCAC, both sides could identify some key areas for cooperation. The goal of the cooperation should boost the independent and self-reliant development. Both Africa and China should take the driver's seat when it comes to their countries' development.

This can be achieved as stated below.

- *China could share its experience with African countries in the area of keeping political stability as political stability lays the foundation for economic growth.*
- *In the area of agricultural development, Sino-African cooperation could help African countries to deal well with food security through cooperation in agricultural development as many lands in Africa are very fertile but have low exploitation and utilization.*
- *China's active engagement in the infrastructure area could help reducing infrastructure gap in Africa as China has significant experience in the construction of roads, railways, bridges, airports, power stations and logistics.*

- *China's demand for Africa's natural resources and raw materials helps improve the international trade conditions for Africa due to its natural endowment in petroleum and mineral resources.*
- *The China-Africa cooperation in the area of education and health care would help training the talents which both needs, and guarantee the well-being of the people's health.*

Dr Zeng said that under the framework and guide of FOCAC, the China-African cooperation will unleash a long-term prospect for the common development. The Beijing Action Plan approved in July of 2012 by the Fifth FOCAC has drawn up a very detailed and ambitious blueprint for cooperation from the year of 2013 to 2015. In his conclusion, Dr Zeng said the development of African continent is becoming more interconnected with the development of China, and vice versa. China's peaceful rise and consistent prosperity will offer a once-in-a-century historical opportunity for Africa to break away from its economic underdevelopment and materialize the self-directed growth.

China and Africa have huge potentials to cooperate in the numerous areas such as infrastructure, manufacturing, energy and mining, trade and investment, education and health care. In his first state visit to Africa in March 2013, President Xi Jinping elaborated the concept of China-African common destiny. The materialization of this concept will help Africa and China to stay for a long time on the right track of mutual beneficial and win-win cooperation.

### **Urbanization in Namibia: Causes and Consequences, views from semi-formal and informal urban settlements**

**By Dr Nelago Indongo, Namibia, Director of Multidisciplinary Research Centre, University of Namibia**

Dr Nelago Indongo presented a case study for Namibia on lessons and experiences that can be shared with other countries that have gone through the same process.

The presentation was based on views of people interviewed from informal and semi-formal settlements as well as key informants both in rural and urban areas regarding urbanisation. In 2004, the government of Namibia launched a National Development Blueprint Vision 2030. Under the blueprint, it is envisaged that by that time Namibia would have become an industrialised and knowledge based economy. This development plan highlights things that should be done and what should be done if the vision is to be realised.

Some of the things considered important for Namibia's industrialisation include improved quality of life of the people, infrastructure development, a sustainable resource base, and creating an enabling environment. The Vision 2030 Document also highlights how Namibia should be involved in development cooperation. The country seeks to collaborate with other countries and establish strong development cooperation with friendly nations on issues that include trade to quicken its development process.

Namibia needs to involve others and appreciate opportunities offered by other countries. If one country cannot train its own engineers, for example, it should seek assistance and opportunities offered by countries that have the capacity to train. In Namibia, urbanisation has been highlighted as one of the components that need to be carefully monitored and controlled if the country is to transform into an industrial and knowledge based economy.





A number of countries in Africa have gone through urbanisation process. Outside Africa, China and India are some of the countries that have experienced the same process; hence there are lessons to be learnt from these nations. There could be some similarities on the causes and consequences of urbanisation. Although the way the challenges and consequences are addressed could differ from country to country. The facts presented are from a study carried out in Windhoek and in other three towns where urbanisation was found to be high.

In 1991 soon after independence only 27 per cent of Namibia's population was considered to be urbanised. By 2001 the proportion of population living in urban areas had increased to 33 per cent and to 42 per cent in 2011. At the current rate of population growth it is estimated that by 2030 about 75 per cent of Namibia's population will be urban. For China, urbanisation increased from 18 per cent in 1978 to 47 per cent in 2009, and by 2012 half of China's population were urban dwellers. According to projections, one billion will live in urban areas over the next 30 years. In Namibia, urbanisation occurred rapidly after independence when apartheid restrictions on movement were abolished. The major factor promoting urbanisation is search for better social and economic opportunities in town.

The study showed that people living in rural areas are attracted to towns due to lack of opportunities in rural areas. Often they believe that standard of living in urban areas is better. Other specific reasons given are education, employment opportunities. Climatic conditions such as floods have also influenced migration. Other causes include availability of easy transportation and emergence of large manufacturing industries.

The reasons are not only unique to Namibia. Respondents noted that urbanisation is good for the country, socially and economically and also in terms of human development. It enables access to modern technology. Urbanisation also enables those remaining in rural areas to receive remittances in the form of money and food. They expressed opinion that urbanisation allows youths to accumulate wealth and in turn support the community where they grew up. Other benefits of urbanisation include growth of commercial activities, social and cultural integration.

However, a number of challenges are being experienced in the process. Rural areas where agricultural activities are taking place are now dominated by older persons and children. It is feared that this will have an effect on food production. Other challenges experienced include demand for serviced land in peri-urban areas, increased informal settlements in cities, high number of unemployed, pressure on capacity of existing infrastructure, e.g. roads, water and sewage supplies, schools, clinics, increased crime, loss of culture, environmental degradation.

These challenges can be addressed through preparedness. Authorities must put facilities in place to cater for people, wherever they are living. The study recommends that implementation of the decentralisation programme should be strengthened and supported with proper measures put in place. For Vision 2030 to be realised, the study recommends that, Namibia needs to promote development of rural population through diversification of economic activities, develop and improve infrastructure, provide adequate social services, improve security of urban life, as well as create employment in both urban and rural areas. Some recommendations are not specific to Namibia. They might have worked in other countries in Africa or else. Hence the purpose of the presentation is to present best practices.

## **DISCUSSION**

One participant asked about China's policy of self-reliance, whether it's consistent with the external trade that has been growing over the years, which has made China the second largest economy in the world. Commenting on urbanisation, a participant from Nigeria noted that



putting good infrastructure in rural areas can address rural urban migration. Such infrastructure includes good roads, internet services, as well as other social services such as schools, clinics and hospitals. One participant asked how far China has gone in the area of renewable energy. Developing countries are in the process of coming up with alternative sources. This is an area that cooperation can be made.

Another participant expressed appreciation at the two presentations noting that some public officials from Namibia believe that the country is becoming a knowledge based economy. They noted that this is very crucial as Namibia is exporting its natural products as raw materials to Europe. These products are then processed into finished goods and then sent back to Namibia.

The natural resources create more employment opportunities outside of the country than in Namibia. If Namibia becomes a knowledge-based economy, it will be able to transform its raw natural resources into finished goods. This will help Namibia to generate and sustain employment and help solve challenges it is having with China.

One scholar wanted to know when will China reach a peak or special phase in terms of development, and up to when should urbanisation occur. The scholar wanted to know how the “urbanisation disease” can be solved, and also how Africa can develop an alternative urbanisation model. It was noted that urbanisation is the main goal for most African countries, because a high percentage of people living in urban areas is still very low. Another participant wanted to know Chinese prospects in the mining sector.

In her response, Dr Indongo noted that urbanisation is a complex process. On what alternative urbanisation model, she added that proper planning should be made to prevent challenges associated with urbanisation. This includes taking development to rural areas. In Namibia, there is a programme known as rural reclassification, where the government is expanding villages into small towns and cities, where special services may be found, including government offices.

Prof Zeng from China noted that with regard to the question of China’s self-reliance, no country can development in isolation, without cooperation with others. With regard to renewable energy in China, he noted that China is not a leader at the moment on renewable energy, adding the country still depend largely on traditional energy sources such as oil and coal. Efforts are being made to make progress on renewable energy, including solar and wind. On urbanisation, he noted that China as well faces many challenges associated with urbanisation such as pollution and overcrowding and the government is addressing these challenges.

Dr Indongo further added that it’s not a problem that by 2030, about 70 per cent of Namibian population will be urbanised because life is better in urban areas. She noted that what is need is preparedness by responsible authorities, as movement of people to urban areas put pressure on agriculture as only older people remain in rural areas. The government of Namibia is also putting interventions in place to address challenges agricultural challenges by putting farming projects in rural areas where land is fertile, in an attempt to ensure food security.

## **Zambia-China Relations in the Era of Changing Socio-Economic and Political Developments in Zambia**



**By Prof Bizeck Jube Phiri, Zambia, Head Humanities & Social Sciences, University of Zambia**

The presentation by Professor Bizeck Jube Phiri analysed Zambia - China relations through three main periods of Zambia's history, namely First Republic (1964-1972), Second Republic (1973-1990), as well as Third Republic (1991 to present).

As a way of introduction, Professor Phiri noted that Zambia attained independence from British colonial rule on 24 October 1964. On October 1965 China formally recognised Zambia as a sovereign state. This development signalled the start of a long relationship between the countries.

***First Republic (1964-1972).*** The Zambian economy was heavily dependent on commodity exports, mainly of copper and other metals, and the level of diversification was low. Following the oil crisis of 1973, Zambia, like many other African countries, was hit by a decline in commodity prices worldwide. The Chinese Cultural Revolution which led to the internal upheaval within China did not seriously interrupt the development of Sino-Zambian relations.

Following the Unilateral Declaration of Independence (UDI) in Rhodesia (Zimbabwe) in 1965, Zambia need a new route away from the southern route which was now firmly under the control of White regimes in the south. Consequently, a tripartite agreement between Tanzania, Zambia, and China was signed in September 1967 under which the Chinese undertook to finance and build the Tanzania-Zambia Railway (TAZARA). This was China's largest aid project in the Third World and the third most expensive in Africa (after the Aswan and Volta Dams).

***The Second Republic (1973-1990).*** The relations between Zambia and China were defined by this project. During the Cold War period China was the major cooperating partner for Zambia in terms of support for the liberation wars as well as military hardware provision. Throughout this period, Zambia-China relations were not only talked about positively, but were memorialized by Zambians through songs of praise and admiration.

TAZARA was the epitome of this happy and proud relationship between the two countries. The dawn of multi-party politics in Zambia in the late 1980s brought new challenges regarding Zambia-China relations. Relations between leaders were very cordial, but on the ground the ordinary Zambians hardly had much interaction with Chinese people. Relations and investments were largely government to government, e.g. Mulungushi Textiles in Kabwe.

***Third Republic (1991-2013: MMD Period, 1991-2011).*** UNIP lost the 1991 elections and the MMD came to power and one of its major changes was the liberalization of the economy. This brought visible Chinese investment in the Zambian economy in the mines, construction, agriculture and trading. This development led to an "all-weather" friend becoming the most criticized by Zambian workers while the government continued to look to China for major construction works in the country. While there was tension between Chinese investors and workers, relations between Zambia and China continued to grow from strength to strength. Political campaigns leading to the 2011 presidential and parliamentary elections raised issues on the one China policy and the future of the relationship between Zambia and China. The PF sent shivers regarding the future of China Zambia relations if the PF won the elections.

While the tensions soon died down after the 2011 elections, new challenges emerged. This time it was in the area of different work ethics between Chinese investors and Zambian employees.

Cancellation of more than US\$ 6.6 billion as well as a new demand for copper, particularly by the Chinese, has spurred the economy which has been picking up steadily for the last 6 years. Yet, during the last presidential elections, anti-Chinese sentiments surged among Zambians in urban areas and the presence of the Chinese in Zambia is controversial and widely discussed in the Zambian media.

On Zambia China Relations, he said many observers talk about China as a new actor on the African and Zambian scene. This view is quite misleading. The historical ties between China and Zambia date back to the pre-independence period when the present-day Zambia was then a colony of Great Britain as already observed. At that time the relationship was in the form of Chinese assistance to the nationalists fighting for independence. It would appear that there are serious challenges in the area of cultural differences worsened by language barrier. Government openly expresses confidence in the way the Chinese execute projects within the contact periods. This is despite conflicts which resulted in the closure of the coal mine because of poor working relationship and failure to follow labour laws by the Chinese investor.

In conclusion, he said the relationship between China and Zambia is, to say the least, punctuated with contradictions, adding that the view is that the Zambian government needs to ensure that the labour laws are followed and respected. There is need for a transition from the current government to government relations to people to people relations. While individuals are taking initiatives to do businesses with the Chinese, there is need for clear policy and direction to minimize areas of conflict and create harmony among the two communities? Governments should not deliberately ignore challenges faced by the ordinary citizens under the pretext that all is well.

### **The Role of Academics in Foreign Policy Making in Zimbabwe: Lessons from China** **By Mr Mude Torque, Lecturer, Department of Politics and Public Management, Midlands State University**

Mr Mude Torque began his presentation by wishing Zambia a happy Independence Day. The country attained its independence from Britain on 24 October 1964.



He talked about marginalisation of academics in foreign policy making in Zimbabwe, roots of continued marginalisation, and suggestions for dealing with marginalisation, taking lessons from China. He said academics have a key role to play in foreign policy making. However in Zimbabwe, role of academics in foreign policy making is too limited. In Zimbabwe, academics are neither consulted, nor given platform to give their input in foreign policy making.

He gave a background of foreign policy in Zimbabwe saying foreign policy is a government strategy in dealing with other nations. Foreign policy making is a complex process. A number of actors are involved and they range from government departments, civil society groups, academia and political parties. There is a general assumption that Zimbabwe's foreign policy making process is formulated at the highest level of the state apparatus with the President being the sole articulator of the foreign making process. It is ascertained that this is attributed to the fact that different dimensions of foreign policy convey in one person, who is the head of government and the administrative structure controlled by the secretary of the President. The head of government becomes the focal point for decision making and overseeing the implementation of foreign policy in Zimbabwe.

One can note that Zimbabwe is a monopolist society with foreign policy making process centred at the highest level of the state apparatus. In understanding every country's foreign policy making process, it is vital to outline the essential actors, their role as well as over historical, geographical and strategic factors that are at play. According to Dr. Stan Mudenge, former Zimbabwe Foreign Affairs Minister, Zimbabwe's foreign policy objective is fundamentally to enhance and safeguard the prestige and prosperity of the country. Academics as researchers, analysts and reviewers of foreign policy are acquainted with the epistemological underpinnings of foreign policy hence they should be involved in the making of foreign policy. To analyse, review and research on the objectives as well as geographical issues involved in foreign policy.

He said the role of academics in foreign policy making in Zimbabwe is still minimum. The government of Zimbabwe has often tended to side-line academics in foreign policy making processes. This marginalisation has its roots in the period after independence when the ZANU PF government made a move to side-line members of the academia due to fears of infiltration and interference by the pro-Smith forces. Sensitivity of issues involved in foreign policy making in one of the reasons for side-lining academics. Issues involved are of high politics as they concern the survival of the nation. The point of concern however, is that the government is inviting foreign or independent think tanks instead of involving local academics. The trustworthiness of academics by the Zimbabwean government is questionable. It seems the government does not trust the members of the academia in the same way it trusts politicians.

Lack of trust for academics emanate from the thinking that they might sell out important state information to forces from the outside world. Some academics seem to advance the agenda of other agents and actors from the outside world as they are always seen attaching certain government policies, such as the look east policy. He said not all academics however lack maturity to the extent of selling out. The government should develop trust for the academia, hence the need to remove private or independent think-tanks and make a move to engage academic think-tanks.

Whether foreign policy making can be democratised or not remain a challenge, but closing up has not helped Zimbabwe as there has been emergence of counter-policies by those that have been left out, which often contradict government policy. On lessons from China, he said according to Zhu (2006), China's political system and the process of foreign policy making has become more dynamic with more policy input from different sources. Although political elites still enjoy dominance in foreign policy decision making, there has been a growing pluralistic trend of policy input, most notable from international relations think-tanks in china.

Drawing lessons from China, he said that Zimbabwe should take this pluralistic approach in foreign policy making to allow input from various sources. Chinese foreign policy making changed from centralised elitism under Mao Tse Tang to pluralistic elitism under Deng Xiaoping and Jiang Zemin. Such paradigm shift is needed in Zimbabwe to accommodate academics in the making of foreign policy. Academics in the country should also be utilised as innovators. As researchers and scholars, they can bring in new knowledge and ideas which encourage innovation in Zimbabwe's international relations and foreign policy.

In China, for example, scholars close to the late Wang Dewan were used to influence Jiang's policies in the 1990s. They were consulted on state and foreign affairs. Even today China is relying on policy input by academia, where academic institutions collaborate with government institutions. In china, government and academic think-tanks have collaborative relationship, for example, the Centre for International Studies is affiliated with the State Council. There are also specialised academic think-tanks which fall under the Chinese Academy of Social Sciences.

Using these platforms, academics in China are given an opportunity to give their input in foreign policy making, although they are less influential than government think-tanks. Furthermore Zimbabwe should seek to integrate foreign policy making actors for the benefit of the nation. In China there are three categories of foreign policy making which are integrated. These are government think-tanks, academic specialised think-tanks and university think-tanks. They work hand in hand and have a collaborative relationship in foreign policy making. For example there is the Institute of International relations which works with the Ministry of Foreign Affairs.

Taking lessons from China, Zimbabwe government should facilitate and fund centres and institutes for foreign policy research and affiliate with them. Academics can bridge a gap between states and can be utilised as good office in conflict times. Although less influential than government think-tanks, they at times serve as a bridge between Chinese and foreign governments during crisis times, when official channels of communication are not so good. For example the Institute of American Studies under the Chinese Academy of Social Sciences acted as a messenger between the Chinese and American governments after the NATO bombing of the Chinese Embassy in Yugoslavia in 1999.

The Chinese Academy of Social Sciences think-tanks and university affiliated think -tanks such as the Institute of International Relations and Fudan University Centre for American Studies have also been involved in China and United States relations. Taking lessons from China, Zimbabwe should provide incentives for academic to do review and analysis of foreign policy issues. Lack of incentives will impact on academics' ability to research and analysis. He concluded by saying there is much that can be learnt from the Chinese and the interaction with their academia. Zimbabwe government should make effort to engage the academia in the making of foreign policy.

## **DISCUSSION**

One participant said after listening to most contributions during the symposium, he noted that there seems to be a feeling that China will do everything for Africa. He sounded a warning that China has its own interests, and "therefore its interests are not necessarily tied to our own." The plenary noted that it was important for Africa come up with strategies so can benefit from relations with China, instead of complaining that China is not doing enough for Africa.

On the role of think tanks, Ms Johnson said that it is very important for African academics to learn how this is done in China because government and academics work together to refine the research topic and carry out the research. She added that African academics need to take initiative and not wait for government to come to them. Sometimes it works and something it depends on individuals but it's vital to take initiative. Universities can first discuss internally how they can assess policy and how they can establish think tanks to work with government. She noted that academics need to take a positive critical approach, and at times it's the language used and it depends on individuals as well.

Giving an example of SARDC as a regional policy institute, she noted that it has managed to engage and do research that influences policy, and also act as a think tank. She added that SARDC has now established the Institute for China Africa Studies in Southern Africa (ICASSA) as a think tank on that subject. She emphasised that we should always take initiative to engage. Another participant wanted to know how China rose so fast in short period of time. The participant suggested that Africans should also work hard like the Chinese, so as to be able to build their countries. This can be done if Africans change their mindset.



One participant enquired why academics want to be involved in foreign policy making, since this is usually done by top government officials. There were some disagreements on an assessment that there were good relations between the Chinese and the Zambians, adding that a lot of Zambian workers are complaining over pathetic working conditions. However, a question was asked whether the challenges between workers and Chinese investors are not an entrenched problem of a capitalist in nature, since workers and their employers from Europe or any other continent or country also face the same problems. It was further noted that what is lacking in Africa is national service. In Africa it was politicised. National service should start with a mission and vision where everyone is bound by same the principles, regardless of political affiliation, race, tribe or class. In Africa there is no such thing as national service policy.

Mr Mude added that policy formulation in Africa takes long time. He said that academia in Zimbabwe participate in policy formulation, however, the challenge is that “we are not adequately prepared to articulate foreign policy issues.” He further added that academics need to mind the way they present themselves, and not be too offensive, especially to politicians. It was also noted that academics tend to be too negative, and end up working against national interests, and departing from national identity. Most academia need to criticise, but not depart from having national interests. Concerns were raised that many scholars use western sources and theories, when discussing challenges and issues in Africa. It was also agreed that there is need national governments to interact with its various stakeholders including academia, culture groups and other institutions in the formulation of policies.

Dr Makgetlaneng cautioned African scholars not to mislead their Chinese counterparts by saying academia in Africa are not consulted in decision-making, saying that South Africa and other countries do consult academia. He added that the world scholar is too wide and also includes ambassador and senior officials as well as cabinet ministers. Another academic noted that challenges facing the academia are that it is often divided along political party lines, and this makes it difficult to contribute to foreign policy.

Prof Baisheng said that China has progressed because they were open to foreign countries and was able to learn from them. He added that China invites scholars and academics from different countries so as to learn from them.

In his response, Professor Phiri said China-Africa relations are at different levels in Africa with relations between governments being cordial while those among people need strengthening. He gave an example of Zambia, saying the relationship has evolved with times with successive governments having their won different relations with China. As a recommendation, he said there is need for African countries to draft enduring foreign policy that will be independent of changing leaderships and governments.

Mr Mude responded by saying that the role of academics in policy making in the country is still limited, despite involvement by certain individuals in the process. He said what the country needs are established platform and institutions to facilitate engagement by the academia.

## TOPIC 2: STATUS QUO, CURRENT CHALLENGES AND THE FUTURE

### Sustainability of China-Africa Relations

**By Ms Meryl Burgess, South Africa, Research Analyst,  
Centre for Chinese Studies, Stellenbosch University**

In her introduction, Ms Meryl Burgess noted that China and many African countries have development challenges. And African governments face a number challenges in addressing these challenges due to various factors.



One important lesson for Africa from China is that environmental damage comes at a price to be paid later. This includes loss of biodiversity and environmental degradation. Ms. Burgess noted that the main challenge in Africa is to balance conflicting demands of nature conservation and the promotion of economic development. Sustainable development issues have thus become an important topic for China, Africa and China Africa relations. She said China is known as one of the 17 mega diverse nations in the world. Similar to other biodiversity-rich countries, threats to China's biodiversity has been on a steep increase. Threats include development, industrialisation, urbanisation, agriculture, population growth and pollution.

The African continent is well-endowed with biodiversity, much of it in a comparatively better state than many other parts of the world. This, however, has been rapidly changing in the last decades with major human population growth, economic growth and changing climates on the continent. According to UNEP, approximately half of Africa's terrestrial eco-regions have lost more than 50 per cent of their area to cultivation, degradation and or urbanization.

Biological resources are fundamental to human well-being. Agriculture, livestock, logging, and fisheries account for most subsistence survival, employment, and economic output. With a loss in biodiversity, few alternative species for crop growth or husbandry are available in the event of declining productivity due to environmental degradation. Much of the focus of African states is directed towards poverty alleviation and development often at the expense of longer term sustainability.

A particular area where Africa has begun to see increasing environmental and sustainable development challenges has been the timber sector. As a global natural resource, forests contribute to African societies' and economies' in numerous ways such as providing an export product, energy, food and shelter. Forests have a diverse range of economic, social and environmental benefits. By providing energy, food, timber and non-timber forest products (NTFPs), forests contribute significantly to the wealth and health of households, communities and nations. African forests also are globally important with regard to climate stabilization, both for carbon storage and for regulating impacts on the local climate. They are also important natural habitats home to endemic and endangered species such as elephants and gorillas.

In many African countries forests contribute to the economy through forestry, tourism, agriculture and energy. In Central and Western Africa, it was estimated that the forest sector contributed more than 60 per cent of GDP through export of timber products in the early 2000s. The timber industry represents a major portion of the economies of the Congo Basin, especially those of Gabon and Cameroon. In Gabon, timber and wood industries are the second-largest source of export earnings after petroleum. The Gabonese forest sector is also the primary employer in the (formal) private sector with about 13 000 employees.

African forests are necessary for aspects such as poverty alleviation, employment and livelihood as well as for providing fuel, timber, food and medicine. National regulations in Gabon and Mozambique, for instance, aspire to promote national benefits of forest resources. Given the importance of forests, it is not surprising that most African countries have environmental and economic regulation for their forests. Implementation, however, is a weak point.

She said China is currently the biggest importer, consumer and exporter of timber and wood products in the world. Rapid economic growth, a booming middle class and urbanization in the last three decades led to the huge growth of the timber industry in China. In 1997, China imported 35 million cubic meters of wood products; the amount had risen to 113 million in 2009 and 180 million in 2011. The demand for timber in China, especially domestic consumption, had risen dramatically during the past three decades. In the later 1990s, China imported most of its timber from the Asia-Pacific region, Southeast Asia and Russia. At the same time, African countries have increased their exports to China. 2006 data showed that China imported 2.6 million cubic meters of wood products from Africa worth US\$737 million and by 2010, this value had risen to US\$1.3 billion.

Globally, Africa is not the top supplier of forest products to China, yet measured by African timber exports, China is a massive consumer. Mozambique's timber exports only account for about two per cent of Africa's total timber exports, yet, during 2000-05, China received 85 per cent of the 43, 000 cubic meters of the documented logs shipped from Mozambique. Timber trade and forest management has thus become a topic in the relationship with China, including in the framework of the Forum on China-Africa Cooperation – FOCAC.

In Gabon and Mozambique, timber is an important foreign exchange earning product. However it is important to note that there are imbalances between China and African countries regarding timber trade, as China is a major importer of timber in the world. To protect its forests, China introduced a ban on logging. Inconsistencies between legislation and customary practices, however, have led to obstacles in implementation. High government officials have been beneficiaries of concession allocations without paying due taxes and subcontracting concessions (reserved to Gabonese nationals) to foreigners including Chinese.

In Mozambique, the 1999 Forest and Wildlife Act of Mozambique (No. 10/1999) established the basic principles and norms for the protection, conservation and sustainable utilization of forest and wildlife resources under an integrated management framework. Mozambique law defines two 'regimes' for forest harvesting: simple licenses and concessions. Simple licenses, available only to Mozambican nationals, are intended for 'commercial, industrial and energetic uses' and are valid for up to one year. Concession licenses, available also to foreigners, are intended to supply the wood-processing industry and are valid for up to 50 years. Currently, most harvesting is carried out through simple licenses. Mozambique has a log export ban in place for most of the commercial timbers to promote the development of domestic wood processing, however, weak government structures and capacity lead to a lack of law enforcement and implementation of policy. Also, Chinese companies have been involved in illegal timber trade through the 'simple licenses' process and partnerships created with local communities.

In these settings, the cost of the license is covered by the Chinese side, allowing for the locals to transport the logs to ports, from where they are smuggled to China. Infringements in the forestry sector are not one-sided however: the illegal trade includes Mozambican officials. Since 2007, there have been numerous reports of illegal timber being apprehended and officials involved in the illegal trade have been removed. These records do however convey the huge volume of illegal logs being smuggled to China in defiance of export regulations.

In China, the government has introduced a comprehensive legal framework for the forest industry; including tariffs, import licensing and quota limitations to regulate timber import, export, tax rebate reductions and new trade policies. The government has taken measures to protect China's own forests, and has also formulated guidelines for Chinese enterprises regarding investment and sustainable utilization of forests abroad.

China's import and export regulations for timber demand "clear evidence of license or permit" of companies involved. Companies in the timber industry are subject to further laws and regulations, including, for instance, rules relating to CITES-listed species and tree species under state protection, along with their products and or derivatives. The required documents provide for numerous interactions with state authorities when importing timber to China. Import regulations for timber into China, however, do not consider export bans by other countries. China has implemented a free import tariff policy for certain products traded with Africa, including timber. The Chinese government's policy of no tax on imported raw logs promotes the import of raw materials rather than finished wood products. This secures China's logging industry, yet diminishes Africa's potential for value-added exports.

She said there a number of opportunities for mutual lessons for China and Africa in conservation of Biodiversity and Protected Areas. National parks viewed as most important protected area for ecosystem protection. Used firstly, to protect biodiversity and secondly, for recreation and education. National parks are regulated in order to protect ecological processes and managed properly so that it upholds that regulation.

In China, regulation of protected areas includes nature reserves, scenic landscapes and historical landscapes. There is no national regulation for national parks developed yet. In South Africa, regulation and management of parks is undertaken by SANParks and the Department of Environmental Affairs.

In conclusion, she said "develop first, repair the damage later" is not sustainable for China or African states. Environmental protection is an immediate topic for China-Africa relations. Increase in threats on China's biodiversity, especially through the impacts of development. This could be the same for African countries in the near future. More protected areas and national parks (where primary objective is protecting biodiversity) should be established for conservation.

### **New Trends of Economic Globalisation and New Opportunities for China-Africa Relations**

**by Prof Zhang Haibing, Executive Director, Institute of World Economic Studies, Shanghai Institutes for International Studies**

Prof Zhang Haibing noted that global financial crisis has caused great impact on the world economic development trend. This has seen rebalancing of major economic powers and emerging countries' increasing influence in global economy. She said that the world economy is fast changing.



Advanced economies are strengthening, while emerging market economies are growing slower. The main challenges to the global economy include weak growth and persistently high unemployment, financial market fragmentation in Europe and the decisive implementation of banking union; slower growth in some emerging market economies, insufficient levels of private investment in many countries, high public debt and its sustainability in some countries, volatility of capital flows as growth, as well as continued uncertainties about fiscal policy deliberations.

Prof Haibing said that the BRICS economy is experiencing a slowdown and the reasons for this are complicated. They include developed countries' monetary policies and sovereign debt of developed countries. She noted that new opportunities for China-Africa cooperation exist, which include continued growth of China economy, as well as growth in political and security cooperation.

On growth of China's economy, the OECD Economic Survey of March 2013 notes that China's high growth can be sustained over the medium term. In addition, the China (Shanghai) Pilot Free Trade Zone is a significant measure to boost China's reform and opening up under the new circumstances. It comprises of four customs supervision areas, namely Shanghai Waigaoqiao Bonded Zone, Waigaoqiao Bonded Logistics Zone, Yangshan Bonded Port, and Shanghai Pudong Airport Free Trade Zone. Prof Haibing noted challenges and suggestions in China's economic growth. These include decline in economies of developed countries, flexibility and diversity of global economic governance, as well as China acting as balancer in world economy.

### **An Analysis of the Impact of China-Africa Economic Relations on Human Security in the 21<sup>st</sup> Century: A Case Study of Zimbabwe**



**By Ronald Chipaike, Lecturer, Department of Peace and Governance, Bindura University of Science Education**

Mr Ronald Chipaike explained that most of the issues that he wanted to talk about had been discussed during the three days. As such his presentation focused on human security, as this has not been addressed by any presentations. He noted that human security is focused at individual level, for example, access to education, health, accommodation, water and sanitation.

Mr Chipaike emphasised that there is need to look at interest of the individual in the China-Africa cooperation, especially when establishing business deals and signing contracts. In Zimbabwe, lack of access to safe drinking water poses a serious human security challenge. As a result, there is need to give priority over these issues because they are issues that matter. To address food shortage, he said Zimbabwe embarked on land reform to ensure everyone had access to land – a critical factor in production.

He noted that there is need to focus on supporting irrigation to ensure food security. On China-Africa cooperation, he added that now is the time for Africa to benefit. He noted that the question to be asked was what Africa should do to fully benefit from the cooperation. He added that the country has numerous resources which may be exchanged with China for technological and industrial developments. In conclusion, Mr Chipaike noted that what is important is that the country negotiates fair deals which have direct impact to the person on the street.

### **DISCUSSION**

It was noted that there is a need to pay attention to environmental costs of development, as well as the need for stricter regulations. One participant raised concern that human security is often not prioritised, resulting in challenges such as water shortages. It was also noted that there is need to revise laws to enable people to benefit from their resources, and also re-align them according to the country's aspirations.



One participant asked why China is regarded as second economy in the world, yet it's still classified as a developing country, and what criterion is used to classify China as a developing country. One participant noted that China, despite being a member of Security Council still shares the same aspirations with developing countries, particularly Africa. It does not pride itself but is humble and does not impose on world decisions. It was noted that there is need to strengthen trust between the Chinese and Africans.

Another participant noted that a lot of products are manufactured in Africa and exported to Europe, and then imported back to Africa with foreign labels, and asked what can be done to address this. It was also noted further noted that there is need for student exchanges at an early stage to build and promote mutual and long-lasting relations.

On sustainability of China development, it was noted that it's not sustainable. However, no studies comparison studies have been done. It was noted that the success of the country's foreign policy is determined by its impact locally. The foreign policy of a country should result in improvement of people standard of living. On China being a developing country, five criteria are used, and these are GDP per capita, urbanisation and industrialisation, global ODA map receipt, BRICS membership, as well as the government position that China is a developing country.

## **CLOSING CEREMONY**

### **Closing Remarks by Munetsi Madakufamba, SARDC**

Mr Madakufamba noted that the discussions in the past three days have been very fruitful, adding that "we could have gone on and on because the discussions were very interesting." He thanked the Chinese Ambassador to Zimbabwe, H.E. Lin Lin for being very supportive in making sure this event was a great success. He thanked the moderators and session chairpersons and speakers who generated discussions during the course of the programme.

Most important, he thanked the participants for finding time to attend the Symposium and share their ideas. Mr Madakufamba expressed gratitude to the SARDC staff for working hard to ensure the Symposium was a success. He then asked a representative of the participants to give an impression on the Symposium.

### **Vote of Thanks**

#### **Dr. Siphamandla Zondi on behalf of the African Scholars**

Dr Zondi gave a vote of thanks on behalf of African participants. He began by recognising the presence of Chinese Ambassador Lin Lin and all ambassadors present, as well as SARDC Executive Director Ms Phyllis Johnson. He thanked the participants for making time to attend the event, as well as the staff of the Chinese Embassy and SARDC who made it a success.

He said the event had given some exposure to different things – from data to knowledge and approaches to new things, especially on China-Africa relations. Dr Zondi noted that meetings of this nature should accomplish four objectives.

The first objective is to provide a platform for a rich discussion, knowledge and insight into China-Africa relations, especially if the subject at hand is about complex entities. China which is country that looks like a continent, and Africa which is a continent with 54 countries with distinct identities but sharing the same geography.

The challenges and opportunities presented by the two entities must benefit from sound understanding of what is fundamental between the two countries. He said the meeting fulfilled the objective because there was a lot of data and knowledge shared with regard to social, political and economic situations.

Second, meetings of this nature must balance between history and a look into the future. The meeting fulfilled this objective in that there was a lot of history discussed at the beginning.

Third, the meeting must be captivating and entertaining enough to keep high levels of concentration, especially for the academics. The meeting was exciting and captivating, covering several key issues.

Fourth, the meeting should be an open space for conversation. Dr Zondi observed that participants were able to express their views and opinions. Finally, meetings of this nature demand lots of logistical preparations. The team from SARDC showed a lot of professionalism in preparing for the meeting. He said SARDC “got us going in starting the discussions on China Africa relations.” Dr Zondi hoped that such discussions would be continued. He noted that he looks forward to receiving the final report and the podcasts for the meeting.

#### **Vote of Thanks by Professor Zhao Baisheng on behalf of the Chinese Scholars**

Professor Zhao gave a vote of thanks on behalf of Chinese scholars. He said his remarks would focus on three letters, SAC -- with S for *Sino* –A for *Africa* and C for *Cooperation*. He said that S also stands for the sacrifice made by SARDC in preparing for the meeting. He gave thanks to Ms Phyllis Johnson for giving an explanation on the history of SARDC.

On *Africa* he gave a story about when he woke up very early and told his daughter that he is going to Zimbabwe. She asked, Why? He explained that he was going to Africa to seek hope and wisdom. On *Cooperation*, he presented some gifts to SARDC, from the Centre of African Studies at Peking University.

#### **Closing Remarks by Ms Phyllis Johnson, SARDC**

Ms Johnson thanked Ambassador Lin for the support in organising the symposium. She also thanked SARDC and Chinese embassy staff, as well as participants and media present for contributing to the meeting. She noted that networking will continue to happen as people now know each other. This is part of the process to build trust and understanding between people. She explained that SARDC is a regional policy institution focusing on SADC region and different building blocks of the African Union.

She noted that SARDC started holding seminars on China Africa in 2007, and in 2009 a platform was created for scholars to have exchange visits and gatherings. Every year there have been exchanges between China and southern Africa. Though this, SARDC has established ICASSA. She said SARDC hopes to publish the papers presented in the form of a book, and can try to put a podcast online. She noted that it will be useful to continue the discussion and take it further.

#### **Closing Remarks by Ambassador Lin Lin**

Ambassador Lin expressed congratulations for the success of the programme, particularly to SARDC. He thanked participants for coming, many of them who travelled from very far, particularly for five Chinese scholars who travelled more than 20 hours just a day before the seminar and made contributions for the success of the Symposium. They made a lot of efforts to study the great continent to increase understand links between China and Africa. Many of them have not travelled to many countries, but for Prof Zhao, this was his second time to Africa.

Ambassador Lin noted that he has already spent 15 months in the country. He started his diplomatic career on Africa in 1985. He wondered if he knew Africa better than the professors from China. He noted that they bought more books about Zimbabwe than he had done in the last 13 months, adding that many people in China want to learn more about Africa. He noted that there are also more African scholars and academics who want to learn about China and this will strengthen relations between the two countries. He noted that if we can have more of these opportunities it will clear misunderstandings we have about each other.

Thus discussions and meetings will enable more people on each side to have better understanding of each other. He added that there is need to keep the momentum by having future meetings and China embassy will be proud to be a co-host. He said that it's a pity that he was not sitting here for the three days, but was told that the discussions went very well. He believed that many came to the symposium with many questions but now have many answers. This will go a long way in strengthening Africa-China Cooperation. The future is in our hands.

*End of Day 3*

## TOUR OF THE GREAT ZIMBABWE

On the day after the Symposium, SARDC organized a historical tour of Great Zimbabwe.







*ANNEX Programme*



## PROGRAMME

### CHINA AFRICA SYMPOSIUM

Fifty Years of China-Africa Cooperation:

Background, Progress & Significance

–African Perspectives on China-Africa Relations and the  
China Development Experience

22-24 October 2013

Crowne Plaza Monomotapa Hotel

Great Indaba Room

Organised by SARDC and the Chinese Embassy in Zimbabwe

Funded by the Forum on China-Africa Cooperation (FOCAC)  
China-Africa Joint Research and Exchange Programme



## **TOPICS**

### **Day 1 China-Africa Cooperation**

Topic 1 Achievements of Past 50 Years of Development

Topic 2 Influence on International Relations

### **Day 2 Experience of China's Development and Lessons for Africa**

Topic 1 Policy, Governance and Peace

Topic 2 Economy: Agriculture, industrialisation, trade and infrastructure development

Topic 3 Diplomatic Practice

### **Day 3 Prospects for Africa's Development**

Topic 1 Perspective of Relation between China's Development and Africa's Development

Topic 2 Status Quo, Current Challenges and the Future

### **Day 4 25 October Visitors to Great Zimbabwe Monument**

**Day 1 Tuesday 22 October****China-Africa Cooperation**

0830-0900 Registration

0900-1015 Opening Session  
Welcome and Introductory remarks by  
Chair of Session Munetsi Madakufamba, Programme Director, SARDC  
Remarks by Phyllis Johnson, Executive Director, SARDC  
Remarks by HE Lin Lin, Ambassador of People's Republic of China  
Opening Address by Hon C. Mutsvangwa, MP, Deputy Minister of Foreign  
Affairs and former Ambassador of Zimbabwe to China

University of Zimbabwe Confucius Institute choir

1015-1045 GROUP PHOTO TEA BREAK

Moderator *Ambassador Prof Hasu Patel, Professor Emeritus and Prof of Political Science,  
Department of Political and Administrative Studies, University of Zimbabwe*

**Topic 1 Achievements of Past 50 Years of Development**

1045 Fifty Years of China-Africa Relations: A Landmark Study  
*Prof Zhao Baisheng, Deputy Director, Centre for African Studies of Peking University*

Assessing the Past 50 Years' Development in the China-Africa Relations: Evidence and Forward  
*Dr. Barassou Diawara, Senegal, African Capacity Building Foundation*

1145 Open Discussion

1230-1400 LUNCH AND BREAK

1400 Study of the Comparison and Mutual Enlightenment of Chinese and African Ethnic Experiences  
*Prof Shi Lin, Director of World Ethnology Teaching and Research Section Faculty, Minzu University of China*

Chinese Language as a Vehicle for Socio-Economic Development  
*Masona Muchine, Confucius Institute, University of Zimbabwe*

1500 Open Discussion

1530-1600 TEA BREAK

**Topic 2 Influence on International Relations**

1600 China and Africa's Diplomatic Capital  
*Dr Siphamandla Zondi, South Africa, Director of Institute for Global Dialogue*

Africa and the Lost Opportunities for Asserting its Influence in Global Affairs  
*Edward Chitsulo, Malawi*

Intervention by Chinese Representative

1700 Open Discussion

**1730 End of Day One**

## Day 2 Wednesday 23 October

### Experience of China's Development and Lessons for Africa

Moderator *Dr Heather Chingono, Lecturer, Department of Political and Administrative Studies, University of Zimbabwe*

0900 Drawing Lessons for African Integration from Accelerated Development in China  
*Clayton Vhumbunu, SARDC ICASSA, Theme Research Paper*

Experience of China's Development and Lessons for Africa, including the Role of BRICS  
*Dr Seblare Makgetlaneng, South Africa, Chief Research Specialist, Africa Institute of South Africa*

1000 Open Discussion

1030-1100 TEA BREAK

### Topic 1 Policy, Governance and Peace

1100 Peace and Security  
*Ato Fana Gebresenbet, Ethiopia, Lecturer, Addis Ababa University, Institute for Peace and Security Studies*

New Dimensions for African Unity, Integration and Development: Sharing the Chinese Experience  
*Phyllis Johnson, Executive Director, Southern African Research and Documentation Centre*

1200 Open Discussion

1230-1400 LUNCH AND BREAK

### Topic 2

#### Economy: Agriculture, industrialisation, trade and infrastructure development

1400 Chinese Private Enterprises in Africa: Realities and Opportunities  
*Prof Liu Qinghai, Lecturer, Zhejiang Normal University, Institute of African Studies,*

Industrialisation, Trade and Infrastructure  
*Ms Kedibonye Sekakela, Botswana, Botswana Institute for Development Policy Analysis*

Experience of China's Development and Lessons for East African Community  
*Monica Nthiga, Kenya, Africa Peace Forum*

1500 Open Discussion

1520-1540 TEA BREAK

### Topic 3 Diplomatic Practice

1540 A Chance for Peace: Chinese Diplomatic Practice and its Contributions to Conventional Wisdom  
*Frederico Benedito Congolo, Mozambique, Lecturer Asian Studies and Diplomatic Practices, Higher Institute of International Relations (ISRI), Centre for Strategic and International Studies (CEEI)*

Infrastructural Diplomacy between China and Africa: Lessons, Gaps and Options  
*Dr Bonnie Ayodele, Nigeria, Lecturer, Ekiti State University*

1630 Open Discussion

1700 **End of Day Two**

1700-1800 **Short Tour of SARDC for Visitors**

**Day 3 Thursday 24 October**

**Prospects for Africa's Development**

Moderator *Edward Chitsulo, Managing Editor, Nation Publications Ltd, Malawi*

0900 Prospects of Africa's Development

*Dr Heather Chingono, Zimbabwe, Lecturer, Dept. Political & Administrative Studies, University of Zimbabwe*

Urbanisation in Namibia: Causes and Consequences, views from semi-formal and informal urban settlements

*Dr Nelago Indongo, Namibia, Director of Multidisciplinary Research Centre, University of Namibia*

1000 Open Discussion

1030-1100 TEA BREAK

**Topic 1**

**Perspective of Relation between China's Development and Africa's Development**

1100 New Trends of World Economy and New Opportunities for China-Africa Cooperation

*Dr Zeng Aiping, Assistant Research Fellow, China Institute of International Studies*

Zambia-China Relations in the Era of Changing Socio-Economic and Political Developments in Zambia

*Prof Bizeck Jube Phiri, Zambia, University of Zambia, Head Humanities & Social Sciences*

The Role of Academics in Foreign Policy Making in Zimbabwe: Lessons from China

*Mude Torque, Zimbabwe, Lecturer, and Associate Prof Percyslage Chigora, Department of Politics and Public Management, Midlands State University*

1200 Open Discussion

1230-1400 LUNCH AND BREAK

**Topic 2**

**Status Quo, Current Challenges and the Future**

1400 New trends of Economic Globalisation and New Opportunities for China-Africa Relations

*Prof Zhang Haibing, Executive Director, Institute of World Economic Studies, Shanghai Institutes for International Studies*

Sustainability of China-Africa Relations

*Meryl Burgess, South Africa, Research Analyst, Centre for Chinese Studies, Stellenbosch University*

An Analysis of the Impact of China-Africa Economic Relations on Human Security in the 21<sup>st</sup> Century: A Case Study of Zimbabwe

*Ronald Chipaike, Zimbabwe, Lecturer, Department of Peace and Governance, Bindura University of Science Education*

1530-1600` TEA BREAK

1600-1730 Conclusion and Closing Session

**1730 End of Symposium**

**Day 4 Friday 25 October**

**Visitors to Great Zimbabwe Monument**

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