

**ASSESSING AFRICA'S TRANSFORMATION THROUGH  
PARTNERSHIP: THE CASE OF CHINA-AFRICA  
PARTNERSHIP**

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**This Dissertation is Submitted in Partial Fulfillment of the  
Requirements for the Degree of Masters in Political Science of the  
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**May 2017**

## **DECLARATION**

I hereby declare that the dissertation entitled “ASSESSING AFRICA’S TRANSFORMATION THROUGH PARTNERSHIP: THE CASE OF CHINA-AFRICA PARTNERSHIP” submitted by me for the partial fulfillment of the MPS to Indira Gandhi National Open University, (IGNOU) New Delhi is my own original work and has not been submitted earlier, either to IGNOU or to any other institution for the fulfillment of the requirement for any other programme of study. I also declare that no chapter of this manuscript in whole or in part is lifted and incorporated in this report from any earlier work done by me or others.

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## **CERTIFICATE**

Certified that the dissertation entitled “ASSESSING AFRICA’S TRANSFORMATION THROUGH PARTNERSHIP: THE CASE OF CHINA-AFRICA PARTNERSHIP” submitted by Gotomo Ruben Anderson is his own work and has been done under my supervision. It is recommended that this dissertation be placed before the examiner for evaluation.

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## **Dedication**

This dissertation is dedicated to my wife Mrs. Jennifer M. Anderson, and my kids, Rubena, Golda and Gotomo Ruben, Jr.

## Acronyms and Abbreviations

ACBF	African Capacity Development Foundation
ACDC	African Center for Disease Control
ACET	Africa Center for Economic Transformation
AfDB	African Development Bank
AGI	African Growth Initiative
AGI	African Governance Institute
AGOA	Africa Growth Opportunity Act
AIDA	Africa Industrial Development
APSA	Africa Peace and Security Architecture
AREI	Africa Renewable Energy Initiative
ASA	Africa-South America Cooperation Forum
ASF	African Standby Force
AU	African Union
AUC	African Union Commission
AU-EU	Africa Union – European Union
BIT s	Bilateral Investment Treaties
CTS	Critical Technical Skills
ETCZ	Economic and Trade Cooperation Zones
EU	European Union
FDI	Foreign Direct Investment
FDGs	Focus Group Discussions
FOCAC	Overview of Forum on China-Africa Cooperation
GDP	Gross Domestic Product
HIP	Hawassa Industrial Park
HRD	Human Resource Development
JAES	Joint Africa-EU Strategy
MCC	Millennium Challenge Cooperation Organization of African Unity

ODeL	Open Distance and eLearning
OECD	Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development
OFDI	Outward Foreign Direct Investment
PAU	Pan African University
PCRD	Peace Conflict Reconstruction and Development
PIDA	Program for Infrastructural Development in Africa
PoW	Panel of the Wise
PRC	Permanent Representatives' Committee
RECs	Regional Economic Communities
SCMC	Sub-Committee on Multilateral Cooperation
SDPRP	Sustainable Development and Poverty Reduction Program
SEZs	Special Economic Zones
SMEs	Small & Medium Enterprises
SOE	State Owned Enterprises
STEM	Science Technology
STI	Science Technology and Innovation
STISTA	Science and Technology and Innovation Strategy for Africa
TICAD	Tokyo International Conference on African Development
TVET	Technical Vocational Educational Training
UNCTAD	United Nations Conference on Trade and Development
UNECA	United Nations Economic Commission for Africa
UNESCO	United Nations Education, Scientific and Cultural Organization
USA	United State of America
WACIP	West African Common Industrial Policy
WTO	World Trade Organization

## ***Abstract***

*The continent indeed is endowed with abundant natural and human resources, natural habitats, magnificent landscapes and predominantly young population. Despite these endowments, Africa is usually touted as a continent that is rich but yet its people are poor. It has become imperative to change this narrative. It is perceived that one approach that can contribute to changing this grim reality is through engaging the rest of the world in constructive partnerships.*

*The main objective of this study is to assess the impact of China-Africa partnership on the enhancement of Africa's transformation. Specifically, to examine China's contributions towards Africa's industrialization and human capital development, and identify the challenges of such partnership. To attain this objective, the study employed descriptive research design with both primary and secondary sources of data while in some cases combining both quantitative and qualitative, approaches.*

*It is found that China has contributed to Africa's efforts including in the areas of industrialization, human capital development, peace and stability. However, in spite of its importance, the China-Africa partnership, like other partnerships, have yet to deliver the desired impact. Lack of collaboration and coordination between the various organs of the African Union (AU /AUC), RECs), RMs, and Member States, with respect to engaging partners, the prevalence of violent conflicts and instability in various parts of the continent and low level of economic diversification are found to be challenges to Africa's transformation. This then suggests that Africa needs to aggressively pursue mutually beneficial strategic partnerships –one in which for example, Africa accrues desired benefits as well as China-if the continent's vision for a prosperous and transformed Africa is to be achieved. While international solidarity and partnership have been and remain critical to Africa's development, much more needs to be done to accrue the desired benefits that will spur the continent's transformation.*

**Key Words:** Partnership, Africa, China, Forum on China Africa Cooperation FOCAC

# **Chapter One**

## **Introduction**

### **1.0 Overview**

The poverty and backwardness of Africa stand in stark contrast to the prosperity of the developed world. The continued marginalization of Africa from the globalization process and the social exclusion of the vast majority of its peoples constitute a serious threat. Partnership as underscored in core documents of the African Union represents the process of Africa's engagement with the rest of the world to promote mutually beneficial relations and outcomes. International solidarity and partnership have been acknowledged by African leaders as critical to spur the continent's transformation. Over the last few years, Africa has developed a number of "Strategic Partnerships" with the rest of the world, which among others, include Africa-Arab Partnership, Africa-India Partnership, Tokyo International Conference on African Development (TICAD), Forum on China-Africa Cooperation (FOCAC), Africa-Korea Forum, Africa-South America Cooperation Forum (ASA), Africa-EU Partnership, Africa-Turkey Partnership and Africa-US Partnership (AUC, 2016). Strategic partnership is designed as mechanism to enhance Africa's development. It is deemed that collaborating within a multilateral context provides the basis for initiating strategic partnerships that would buttress the implementation of Africa's transformation agenda.

This research study investigates the impact of China-Africa partnership on the enhancement of Africa's transformation. Specifically, it assesses China's contributions towards Africa's industrialization and human capital development, and identifies the challenges of such partnership. It also suggests recommendations that would bolster the partnership and by extension Africa's transformation. This chapter introduces the background, statement of the problem, research questions, objectives, literature review, significance, delimitation, and organization of the study.

## **1.1 Background of the Study**

The narrative on the African condition has been summed up in the Paradox “Rich Africa, Poor Africans” (AUC, 2016). This assertion that Africa is rich, yet its people are poor is not a new verse in the narrative, which has characterized the continent for the most part. The Pan – Africanist - Kwame Nkrumah’s inaugural speech at the OAU in Addis Ababa-1963 reflected this characterization of the continent. The Pan –Africanist asserted that the African continent is probably the richest in the world for minerals, industrial and agricultural primary materials (AUC, UNECA, 2013). He maintained that the continent certainly exceeds all the others in potential for hydroelectric power. To him the question then arises -what need is there for Africa to remain hewers of wood and drawers of water for the industrialized world? (ibid).

Since the historic gathering of the continent’s leaders in 1963, the question posed by Ghana’s Kwame Nkrumah still resonates. It was as relevant then and is ever more a rallying call for action today. Similarly, the then Chairperson of the African Union Commission Nkosazana Dlamini Zuma in her opening remarks at the Third Ministerial meeting of the Executive Council of the AU in 2016, reminded the Council and participants of Africa’s vast resources and potential. She noted: “The Africa we have, the second largest continent in the world remains one of vast and diverse resources, as well as opportunities and challenges” (AUC, 2016). Zuma recounted Africa’s rich diversity, its people, history, culture and heritage.

The continent indeed is endowed with abundant natural and human resources, natural habitats, and magnificent landscapes. Given current demographic trends, Africa’s predominantly young population can be a source of a vibrant labor force in the coming decades. (ibid).

The Charter establishing the Organization of African Unity (OAU) as well as the Constitutive Act which birthed the African Union (AU), are replete with lines which seek to promote and encourage international cooperation. They lay the foundation for the establishment of the necessary conditions that would enable the continent play its rightful role in the global economy

international negotiations, and in all fields of human activity. The end game is to raise the living standards of the African peoples (AUC, 2000).

Hence, the Constitutive Act embodies a plethora of programs, which speak to the issues of Africa's development-transformation and to how these programs can be realized. In particular, Agenda 2063, the consummation of the continent's vision for the coming decades, sets the trajectory for the continent's forward mobility. Thus, the Member States of the African Union (AU) by enlisting into the organization in principle agreed to harmonize national policies and coordinate in a multilateral context for the attainment of the continental good i.e. enhancing Africa's transformation.

International solidarity and partnership have been acknowledged by African leaders as critical to spur the continent's transformation. Partnership as underscored in core documents of the African Union represents the process of Africa's engagement with the rest of the world to promote mutually beneficial relations and outcomes. Hence, strategic partnership is designed as mechanism to enhance Africa's development. It is deemed that collaborating within a multilateral context provides the basis for initiating strategic partnerships that would buttress the implementation of Africa's transformation agenda.

Over the last few years, Africa has developed a number of "Strategic Partnerships" with the rest of the world. These partnerships include: Africa-Arab Partnership, Africa-India Partnership, Tokyo International Conference on African Development (TICAD), Forum on China-Africa Cooperation (FOCAC), Africa-Korea Forum, Africa-South America Cooperation Forum (ASA), Africa-EU Partnership, Africa-Turkey Partnership and Africa-US Partnership (AUC, 2016). The researcher emphasizes here, that underpinning these partnerships is the compelling need to derive outcomes mutually beneficial to the parties involved in a win-win context.

Within the context of this backdrop, this study focuses on China-Africa partnership. The Forum on China Africa Cooperation (FOCAC) was launched in October 2000 in Beijing as a platform for dialogue between China and Africa. It provides the opportunity for deriving practical

approaches to tackling developmental and other issues of mutual concern. At the sixth FOCAC meeting held in Johannesburg, December 2015, there was a consensus to upgrade relations between both sides with a road map to boost mutually beneficial cooperation and common development. President XI of China announced a unanimous agreement to lift the partnership to a “comprehensive strategic cooperative partnership”(FOCAC, 2016) . Cooperation plans include among others: industrialization, infrastructure, trade and investment, poverty reduction, health, and peace and security.

No doubt, partnerships with the rest of the world do impact positively or negatively on “Africa’s transformation”. Maximizing the potentials of these respective partnerships for the beneficitation of the continent and its people remains an imperative. To buttress this argument, Amoaka (2000) in his “Perspectives on Africa’s Development” underscores the vital importance of coordinated partnership arrangements to take advantage of the differing comparative advantages of the groups supporting African economic development to avoid wasteful and demoralizing duplication”. He further argues, “while there has been progress and there have been successes recently, much remains to be done if Africa is to achieve the development goals it has set for itself”.

The “What and How” is part of the task of the researcher. It is therefore the researcher’s ardent opinion that tackling the following questions are vital to the transformation agenda: How does Africa (i.e., the African Union/ Commission) utilize the China-Africa partnership to enhance Africa’s transformation? What role is expected of Member States, Regional Economic Communities (RECs), within the context of this partnership to enhance the continent’s transformation? The researcher wishes to emphasize here that relevant literature reviewed thus far have not sought to answer the questions raised. Numerous authors and commentators on China-Africa relations do provide contributions of China to Africa in many areas as will be observed in the subsequent section on “Review of Relevant Literature. It is worth mentioning that a partnership is between two or more groups of organizations seeking mutual benefits. All the partners have a role to play. In the case of Africa, the researcher concludes this assessment with possible role(s) that can be played by the AU/Commission, Member States, and Regional



Economic Communities, with the aim of fostering the partnership in general and the transformation agenda of the continent in particular.

## **1.2 Statement of the Problem**

In a Background Note for the March 2014 AU-EU Summit on Africa's Transformation, published by the United Nations Economic Commission for Africa (UNECA, 2014), the ECA posits that inadequate infrastructure is a major obstacle to unleashing the continent's development potential. It notes that empirical research indicates that Africa's infrastructure deficit is lowering the continent's per capita economic growth by 2% a year and reducing the productivity of firms by as much as 40%. The paper continues, "African countries are among the least competitive in the world as a result of the inadequacy of their infrastructure".

To change this situation, there is a need for more investment in infrastructure, i.e. financing infrastructure projects (Transportation/Roads, energy, telecommunications, etc.). The Program for Infrastructural Development in Africa (PIDA) provides a framework for engagement with Africa's development partners willing to support regional and continental infrastructure. Hence, the China –Africa partnership must endeavor to promote / support PIDA initiatives.

In August 2013, the information office of the State Council (China's Cabinet) published a white paper on "China-Africa Economic and Trade Cooperation. According to the paper, China has become Africa's largest trade partner and Africa is now China's major import source, second largest overseas construction project, contract market, and fourth largest investment destination. From 2009-2012, China's direct investment in Africa increased from \$1.44 billion to \$ 2.52 billion. China's accumulative direct investment in Africa increased from \$ 9.33 billion to \$ 21.23 billion. Currently, over 2,000 Chinese enterprises are investing and developing in more than 50 African countries.

In recent years, the white paper among others further informs, that China has signed bilateral investment treaties (BIT) with 32 African countries ,established Joint Economic Commission

Mechanisms with 45 African countries, and notes that Africa has been China's second largest overseas contract market for four successive years. Additionally, China has signed Framework Agreements on Economic and Trade Cooperation with Regional Economic Communities, (RECs) in various fields.

Atta-Mensah (2016, p. 33) argues that "Industrialization can cause rapid economic transformation that can ensure countries to move into highly productive activities, especially manufacturing and modern services". This is why Africa's industrialization goal must be given serious attention. Amoaka (2000) then goes on to suggest that rapid and sustained industrialization is an essential element in achieving Africa's goals of accelerated development and poverty reduction. He asserts, it is also the key to increasing Africa's participation in world commerce and finance.

For example, Schmieg (2016) posits that Africa plays only a marginal role in world trade. Its share of global exports is 2.4 %, with sub-Saharan Africa accounting for just 1.7%. Similarly, Africa's trade profile (2011) reveals that Africa's share of world trade has remained modest for several decades and hovers just above 3% of the world's total volume of trade. To address this situation, the Economic Report on Africa (UNECA, 2016), emphasizes the need for Africa to adopt alternative economic pathways to industrialization. The report indicates that structural transformation in Africa's economies remains the highest priority, with industrialization being the top strategy for achieving it in practice (ibid).

The question remains, how then, can the China-Africa partnership contribute to achieving Africa's transformation? How have they enhanced the continent's development agenda? What are the impediments/challenges and how they can be surmounted?

### **1.3 Research Questions**

In light of the aforementioned background and statement of the problem, the study addresses , the following:

1. What are China's contributions towards Africa's industrialization?

2. What are China's contributions towards Africa's human capital development?
3. What are the impediments/challenges confronting the partnership?
4. How can these real/potential or perceived challenges be surmounted?

#### **1.4 Objective of the Study**

Generally, the study assessed the impact of China-Africa partnership on the enhancement of Africa's transformation.

Specifically, the study:

1. Assessed China's contributions towards Africa's industrialization.
2. Examined China's role towards Africa's human capital development.
3. Investigated the constraints/challenges of the partnership.
4. Suggests recommendations that would bolster the partnership and by extension Africa's transformation.

#### **1.5. Significance of the Study**

The study reviewed and analyzed the existing mechanism i.e., approach and strategies, employed by the AU Commission (Partnerships Management Unit); Forum on China Africa Cooperation (FOCAC) initiatives; and role of Member States as well as Regional Economic Communities (RECs), with the aim of determining the extent to which Africa's partnership with China enhances the former's transformation Agenda. The study generated valuable empirical data which could be used as a springboard for further research works and enhance the body of knowledge on the role of partnership in enhancing Africa's transformation as well as identification of constraints. The study also advanced recommendations to address the research questions.

The Study and its findings also contribute to the debate on how the African Union can utilize this strategic partnership (China-Africa) by advancing recommendations for engagement with the latter and enhancement of Africa's transformation and it is anticipated, will serve as a source of documentation for policymakers of respective states, African Union and China.

## **1.6. Scope and Delimitation of the Study**

Africa's transformation is a categorical imperative. Transformation by implication means taking the continent from its current state to a point of raising the standard of living of her peoples and creating the conducive atmosphere for the holistic growth and development of the continent. It would have been better if the researcher had undertaken to investigate the role of Africa's engagement and cooperation with the rest of the world in enhancing its transformation. Instead, the research focused on the Forum on China Africa Cooperation (FOCAC) and China's engagements with the continent under the framework, Member States of the African Union, the AU Commission and Regional Economic Communities. Among other things, Africa's transformation includes enhancing the areas of industrialization, development of infrastructure, development and acquisition of technology and know-how, and development of human capital (AUC, 2013). However, the study considered Africa's transformation in the context of Industrialization, and human capital development, since the formation of the Forum on China Africa Cooperation (FOCAC) in 2000.

In conducting the study, the researcher encountered a number of challenges including the lack of sufficient time to conduct deep survey to analyze the topic under investigation and Lack of adequate finance. Despite these limitations efforts were exerted to finish the research work within the given time and available finance.

Additionally, assessing interviewees posed some challenges. There were difficulties in conducting interviews as planned. There were also last minute cancellations without notice. Respondents were very selective in answering questions designed for the interview. The study

also did not undertake a review of other multilateral organizations relative to how they utilize strategic partnerships in a win-win context.

## **1.7 Review of Relevant Literature**

In her book, *Partnership for International Development*, Brinkerhoff (2002), describes partnership as a dynamic relationship among diverse actors, based on mutually agreed objectives, pursued through a shared understanding of the most rational division of labor, based on the respective comparative advantages of each partner. Here, the researcher emphasizes “comparative advantage” as a requisite tool for engagement. Brinkerhoff further notes that the most obvious motivation for establishing a partnership is the desire to enhance the effectiveness and efficiency of development efforts (ibid). Partnership, she asserts, contributes to effectiveness by affording actors access to crucial resources including expertise and relationships that would otherwise be inaccessible.

In view of Brinkerhoff’s perspectives, Michael (2013) emphasizes that conceptual ideas such as ‘partnership’, ‘alliance’, ‘cooperation’ and ‘special relationships’ have been used for a protracted period to describe the relationship between international political actors.. He takes it to another level by introducing the concept of “strategic partnership”, which happens to be a key focus of this research. Michael maintains that the concept is an important foreign policy orientation that provides an appropriate framework for the promotion of deep and comprehensive relationships of cooperation between a group of states across the economic, security, political, cultural and social fields. (ibid).

Although, according to him, the concept is believed to be a new idea in the field of international relations, he argues that it has begun to take shape as a new form of association and collaboration in the realm of bilateral and multilateral diplomacy. He however contends that there is still much to be done to conceptualize the idea in order to give it a strong theoretical framework. (ibid).

The European Union (EU) can be used as an example in the context of forging strategic partnerships and deriving accompanying benefits, or you may say, achieving the desired goals whether, in the area of trade, security, economics, ,military etc. Over the years, the EU has developed a series of external policy instruments in order to serve its economic, political and security interests (IGNOU, p. 112). In this context, the Union has developed a wide range of contractual relations and forged strategic partnerships with countries including China, Japan, Russia, the United States and India. (ibid). In terms of beneficiation, these partnerships have accrued dividends for the union in general and its Member States in particular.

For example, the EU and the United States account for almost 40% of world trade. The benefits accrued from trade in goods and services amounted to over 627 billion Euro in 2004, and both countries are each other's most important source of foreign direct investment (FDI) amounting to several billion Euros. (ibid).

Similarly, the researcher believes that the China-Africa partnership provides a framework for mutual benefits. Africa can generate the needed incentives to drive the development goals of the continent.

### **1.7.1 Definition of Key Terms and Concepts**

For the purpose of this study, it is important to put the following key terms into perspective: "Transformation", "Strategic Partnerships", "win-win" and "mutually beneficial relations".

Transformation: The Oxford Dictionary,(2006,p.974) defines transformation as a change in nature or condition. Considering the paradox "Rich Africa, Poor Africans", the- Nkrumah question- and other commentaries on the African condition, it has become increasingly obvious that Africa indeed is at a cross road grappling with the challenge to transform its current condition for the better.

Partnership: Multilateral Cooperation as underscored in core documents of the Union represents the process of Africa's engagement with the rest of the world to promote mutually beneficial relations and outcomes. Perhaps the researcher also needs to emphasize here that collaborating within a multilateral context provides the basis for initiating strategic partnerships that would buttress the implementation of Africa's transformation agenda.

In this context, "Strategic Partnerships" refers to relationships between Africa and other players of the global community for convenience, development partners. These partnerships are primarily aimed at enhancing cooperation and consolidating growth of the continent. How this framework –strategic partnerships-can be used as a tool or a platform to enhance Africa's transformation is the crux of this study.

In a bid to ensure that the number of partnerships entered into by the African Union do fulfill the interests of the continent, i.e., continental development, integration, and transformation agenda, several criteria have been proposed by the Union as to what qualifies as "Strategic Partnership". They include among others, the age of the partnership, the extent of its contribution(s) to the implementation of Agenda 2063, and the degree of coordination and involvement of the Union in the management of the respective partnerships (AUC. 2017).

China-Africa partnership and Forum for China-Africa Cooperation (FOCAC) are used interchangeably in the paper.

Win-Win and Mutually Beneficial Relations: At the Forum on China Africa Cooperation (FOCAC) Summit which was held in Beijing, China January 2006, The President of South Africa, Thabo Mbeki in his address to the Forum noted the following: " A winning partnership is surely one in which we encourage sustainable trade and investment while promoting a better life for all within sustainable human settlements. Peace and friendship will surely flourish when we empower and uplift the poor of the poorest from hunger and unemployment, disease, homelessness, illiteracy, and environmental degradation". The researcher believes this assertion epitomizes the African quest and the spirit of any true partnership. Hence, for the purpose of this

study, the researcher will adopt the above statement by President Mbeki as a contextual definition for a “win-win”, “mutually beneficial” partnership.

Article 21 of the Constitutive Act of the African Union birthed the Permanent Representatives’ Committee, (PRC). Among others, the PRC is charged with the responsibility of setting up such sub-committees or working groups as it may deem necessary for the advancement of the ideals of the Union. One of such sub committees is the sub-committee on “Multilateral Cooperation”. The sub-committee on Multilateral Cooperation in concert with the AU Commission, Office of Strategic Partnerships Management, under the direct supervision of the Bureau of the Chairperson of the Union, conducts the affairs of Africa’s “Strategic Partnerships”. Perhaps, this suffices for reasons why multilateral cooperation is germane to the African transformation project.

### **1.7.2 Importance of Partnerships**

Partnerships provide platforms and opportunities to pursue mutual goals as well as respective interests and visions in a “Win-Win” context. The researcher has enumerated a number of “strategic partnerships” the continent has engaged over the years. In characterizing the current status of these partnerships, the Agenda 2063 framework document (AUC, p.22) indicates that projects and activities earmarked under these partnerships are yet to be maximized.

As indicated earlier, an evaluation of Africa’s strategic partnerships was conducted by the African Union Commission with the technical and financial support of the United Nations Development Program (UNDP) Regional Service Center for Africa.

However, to the extent that projects earmarked under these partnerships are yet to be maximized, the evaluation report (AUC, 2016), raised some questions including: Is Africa benefiting in a meaningful way from these partnerships from a socio-economic transformation point of view? For FOCAC particularly, do Chinese operations in Africa promote and benefit local SMEs and ordinary citizens? The report then suggests that the Commission through the relevant bureaus



need to undertake a thorough study in order to ascertain Africa's benefits under these partnerships.

Nonetheless, to this end, Kimenyi (2014) asserts that it is incumbent upon African policymakers and members of the civil society to ensure that any engagement with external actors yield maximum possible benefits to the citizens of their respective countries and by extension, the continent.-

To ensure the smooth implementation of initiatives under FOCAC, Chinese president Xi among others, announced during the Summit of Heads of State convened in 2015 Johannesburg, South Africa, that over the coming years, China will offer 60 billion U.S. dollars of funding support, including 5 billion dollars of free aid and interest-free loans, 35 billion dollars of preferential loans and export credit on more favorable terms, 5 billion dollars of additional capital for the China-Africa Development Fund and the Special Loan for the Development of African SMEs each, and a China-Africa production capacity cooperation fund with the initial capital of 10 billion dollars. (Viswanathan, 2015).

Similarly, in an article published on the website of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Japan, April 15, 2016, titled "Looking Back at TICAD's History", the publisher notes that over the course of more than 20 years since TICAD I in 1993, the forum has a track record of improving social and economic conditions in Africa mainly through grant aids and technical assistance. The article further informs that since 2008, the government of Japan has built 1,321 elementary and middle schools, improved 4,778 healthcare and medical facilities, and provided safe water to additional 10.79 million people. (MoFA-Japan,2016)

The 4th Africa-EU Summit was convened in Brussels on April 2 and 3, 2014 under the theme, 'Investing in people, prosperity and peace'. Conversely, while the theme seemed appropriate, the African Governance Institute at the time suggested that the Summit represented a golden opportunity to address the major shortcomings and bottleneck of the Joint Africa-EU Strategy

(JAES) which seemingly tended to increase divergence between the two continents' interests and visions. This assertion was alluded to in the Framework document of Agenda 2063 (AGI, 2013).

Despite these developments, the Agenda 2063 Framework document among others provides the following overview on the current status of Africa's strategic partnerships: For Africa-South America, Africa-Arab, and Africa-Turkey partnerships, the overall implementation level of agreed action plan is low to nil. For Africa-Korea partnership, it is marginal in terms of significance. The Africa-India partnership is largely under targeted but notes the potential in technology transfer/ Technical Vocational Educational Training (TVET) which the continent can benefit from. China-Africa (FOCAC) records Chinese investment particularly in the infrastructure and resource sectors but quite limited in technology transfer. Africa-Japan partnership provides opportunity to benefit from Japan's comparative advantage in social infrastructure and agriculture but limited in terms of economic infrastructures. The document further notes that the Africa-EU partnership is particularly beneficial for social infrastructure, political governance and assistance for regional stability, private sector development, however fair in economic infrastructure and industrialization. The document concludes on the Africa-USA partnership by noting that the partnerships remains marginal although bilateral cooperation with member states is strong or potentially strong through programs like AGOA, MCC, Power Africa. This then suggest in the opinion of the researcher that much is yet to be done in so far as delivery on the part of the partners is concerned and Africa's ability to maximize the benefits of the existing partnerships which is critical to enhancing the continent's transformation.

### **1.7.3 Overview of Forum on China-Africa Cooperation (FOCAC) and Africa's Transformation**

Suffice it to indicate that there is considerable literature on China-Africa cooperation. A recapitulation of some of the interesting perspectives proffered by different commentators on the subject provides some understanding of the subject.

In his Doctoral Thesis titled: *Africa-China Relations: Neocolonialism or Strategic Partnership?- Ethiopia as a Case Study*, Michael (2013) portends that “ the development of circumstances in Africa is changing for the better, with new emerging partners from the global South taking a more important role as providers of much needed finance and know-how for Africa’s development. He continues, China has become the most important partner, and Chinese enterprises have increased their trade and investment relations with African counterparts particularly since the late 1990s” ( Michael, 2013).

In the same vein, the African Development Bank Group (AfDB, 2011) in its media brief on the topic: *China in Africa: A new Development Partner?*, asserts that Chinese foreign direct investment, (FDI) in Africa has increased by an average of 46% yearly in the past decade. FDI’s are key drivers of economic growth and transformation. The Group further asserts that China spurs infrastructure development as more than thirty five (35) African countries have benefited from China’s infrastructure financing. However, the Group indicates that the larger share of China’s trade and investments are linked to extractive industries and related infrastructure.

In an in depth study undertaken by the African Development Bank (AfDB) on *China-Africa Partnership* in 2011, the Bank revealed that about 70% of Africa’s exports to China come from Angola, South Africa, Sudan and the Democratic Republic of Congo (DRC) which are heavily dominated by raw materials (eg. Oil, copper, cobalt and cotton).

Pehnelt and Abel (2007, p. 10) seem to be corroborating the findings of the AfDB study suggesting that this situation is obtaining primarily because of the tremendous surge in China’s economy, which has created an escalating demand for energy and raw materials. They maintain that China is already the largest global consumer of raw materials. They further maintained that according to forecast predicted, China will surpass the United States as the world’s largest consumer of oil within the next ten (10) years.

Looy (2006), seemingly joins the fray indicating that a quarter of China’s oil imports come from Africa: from Algeria, Angola, Chad, Sudan, Nigeria, Gabon and Equatorial Guinea. She

contends that the thirst for oil is becoming so important that even the 'One China Principle' is being disregarded since Chad has diplomatic relations with Taiwan.

However, Chun (2016) appears to hold a different view. In his paper, *The Sino-Africa Relationship: Toward a New Strategic Partnership*, he argues that although most western analysts believe that the main driving force behind China's investment in Africa is for natural resources and thus focuses on a few resource rich countries, to the contrary, Chinese investments have actually reached 49 African countries, noting that the fraction of coverage is about 83 percent (second to Asia and much higher than the average rate of 71 percent).

He further argues that these figures also exceed those of other powers in Africa, including the US, EU, India, Brazil, Turkey and South Korea. For example, Chun asserts, in 2010, the top 10 African recipients included South Africa (31.8 percent), Nigeria (9.3 percent), Zambia (7.2 percent), Algeria (7.2 percent), The Democratic Republic of Congo (4.8 percent), Sudan (4.7 percent), Niger (2.9 percent), Ethiopia (2.8 percent), Angola (2.7 percent) and Egypt (2.6 percent), comprising 76 percent of all Chinese investment in Africa.

Of equal significance is the element of Africa's debt burden, a factor which contributes to the derailment of the continent's development agenda. Much deserved funding needed for development is used to service debt. To this end China has cancelled more than 10 billion in debt and has given 5.5 billion in development aid. (Pehnelt & Abel 2007, p. 5)

It appears from the review of the relevant literature, that there seem to be some degree of consensus that China has provided support to Africa in diverse areas whether in infrastructure financing, aid, concessional loan, debt cancellation, trade and Foreign Direct Investment. However, the issue of "motive" seem to stand out as there are those who question China's involvement in Africa. They believe it is purely for the latter's economic benefit in so far as most of her investments are linked to the extractive industry.

The researcher gathered that inspite of the arguments by some commentators that trade between Africa and China is largely in the natural resource sector and extractive industry, no arguments were presented as to how diversification can be stimulated. Michael (2013), alludes to the fact that the continent's dependency on the exportation of natural resources and primary commodities has been bluntly exposed by global financial and economic crisis. The researcher therefore endeavors to focus on identifying key drivers or determinants of diversification that can potentially reduce reliance on natural resources and encourage sustainable growth in key strategic sectors for sustainable growth and development.

Achieving the goals of transformation would remain elusive if perceived inhibitors are not equally addressed. In 2012, the highlight of FOCAC V was peace and security. This led to the establishment of the China-Africa Cooperative Partnership for Peace and Security. (Alden & Wu, 2016). The researcher believes that peace and security are fundamental prerequisites for socio-economic development on the continent. Therefore, efforts should be made to address the root causes of conflict, with emphasis on conflict prevention and peace support activities.

In their book, *Africa's Stalled Development: International Causes and Cures*, (Leornard & Straus, 2003,p. 88), the authors lament that at the moment, Africa is caught in a vicious circle. It cannot get the domestic and international investment it needs for development because the business community fears that its states are unstable and frequently predatory.

In addition to promoting diversification on the continent, the study also emphasizes the need to address issues of peace and security. Previous works reviewed were either reticent or offered minimum light on mechanisms for peaceful prevention and resolution of conflicts through China-Africa partnership.

One of the flagship programs of Africa's Agenda 2063 in its First Ten Year Implementation Plan is "Silencing the Gun by 2020 (AUC, 2015). Aspiration four (4) of the Agenda encompasses the wish of the African people for a peaceful and secure Africa (ibid).

FOCAC, launched in October 2000, started first as a bilateral partnership framework between China and African Member States with the AU/Commission as an observer. The AUC became a full member of FOCAC in 2012. The Forum presents a platform for dialogue between China and Africa. In addition to providing the opportunity for deriving practical approaches to tackling developmental and other issues of mutual concern (FOCAC, 2016), the Forum also seeks to provide China –Africa relations with a formal diplomatic mechanism for collective consultation and brings together leaders from sides (senior officials, Ministers and Heads of State and Government), the African Union/Commission, and regional organizations on the continent.

FOCAC has adopted several action plans with various activities. The latest Action Plan (FOCAC V, 2015-2017), was adopted in 2015 during the Summit of Heads of State and Government in Johannesburg, South Africa. In the Action Plan, both parties agreed among others to work together in the areas of Agriculture and Food Security, Science and Technology, Human Resource Development, Health, Support to Continental and Regional Integration, and Support to Peace and Stability. The findings of the assessment provides insights into whether Africa benefits meaningfully from this partnership.

Ellis and French I (Ellis & French, 2011), in their analyses of the partnership, provide the following findings: That China is attracted to Africa by its natural resources and export markets while African leaders hope Chinese engagement brings economic development. On the other hand, they continued, Africans' reactions to Chinese involvement have been mixed: Government officials have been overwhelmingly positive, while other elements of African societies criticize China for what they see as an exploitative, neo-colonial approach”

It has also been argued that Chinese interests on the continent encompass not only natural resources but also issues of trade, security, diplomacy and soft power (Thrall, 2015). Thrall contends that China has four overarching strategic interests in Africa: Access to natural resources particularly oil and gas to guarantee its supply; huge market for Chinese exported goods; political legitimacy, as well as mitigating security-related threats to China's economic interest on the continent.

In August 2013, the information office of the State Council (China's Cabinet) published a white paper on "China-Africa Economic and Trade Cooperation". According to the paper, China has become Africa's largest trade partner and Africa is now China's major import source, second largest overseas construction project contract market, and fourth largest investment destination. From 2009-2012, China's direct investment in Africa increased from \$1.44 billion to \$ 2.52 billion. China's accumulative direct investment in Africa increased from \$ 9.33 billion to \$ 21.23 billion. Currently, over 2,000 Chinese enterprises are investing and developing in more than 50 African countries.

In recent years, the white paper (2013) further informs that China has signed bilateral investment treaties (BIT) with 32 African countries and established Joint Economic Commission Mechanisms with 45 African countries. Africa, according to the white paper, has been China's second largest overseas contract market for four successive years. China has signed Framework Agreements on Economic and Trade Cooperation with Regional Economic Communities, (RECs) in various fields. The question remains, how have these developments impacted Africa's transformation? How have they enhanced the continent's development agenda?

Africa's Industrialization: Amoaka (2000) in his perspective on Africa's Development asserts "Nowhere should the determination to industrialize be greater than in Africa". By all standards, he continues, Africa has a weak industrial base citing for example: there are only few countries where manufacturing as a share of GDP exceeds 25% the benchmark used to designate a country as having achieved the critical threshold of "Industrial take off". The export composition of African countries continues to be dominated by primary commodities rather than processed or semi-finished goods.

Mensah (201) argues that "Industrialization can cause rapid economic transformation that can ensure countries to move into highly productive activities, especially manufacturing and modern services".

This is why Africa's industrialization goal must be given serious attention. Amoaka (2000) goes on to suggest that rapid and sustained industrialization is an essential element in achieving Africa's goals of accelerated development and poverty reduction. It is also the key to increasing Africa's participation in world commerce and finance.

On Africa's Infrastructural Development, the researcher has also previously indicated that in a Background Note for the March 2014 AU-EU Summit on Africa's Transformation, published by the United Nations Economic Commission for Africa (UNECA, 2014), the ECA posited that inadequate infrastructure was a major obstacle to unleashing the continent's development potential. It noted that empirical research indicates that Africa's infrastructure deficit is lowering the continent's per capita economic growth by 2% a year and reducing the productivity of firms by as much as 40%. The paper continues, "African countries are among the least competitive in the world as a result of the inadequacy of their infrastructure" (ibid).

In order to change this situation, the ECA further argued that there is a need for more investment in infrastructure, i.e. financing infrastructure projects (Transportation/Roads, energy, telecommunications, etc.) thus reiterating support for PIDA initiatives.

Africa's Drive for Technology and Know-How: "Science and technology are the key components of modern economic development and no modern state can achieve or maintain prosperity without science and technology" (Moghalu, 2014).

The twin is considered amongst the most effective means to enhance growth and socio-economic development of nations. Technological development for example, "has a profound and long-term impact on income distribution, economic growth, employment, trade, environment and industrial structure" (Hambissa, 2015).

Hence, the Economic Commission for Africa (UNECA) and the African Union Committees of Experts have noted that "Africans must ensure that their partnerships contribute to enhancing technological capacities on the continent"(AU-UNECA, 2016).



Monghalu (2014) however, argues that no nation will willingly transfer its technological know-how to others because that knowledge is the basis of comparative advantage. If Monghalu's assertion is to be considered, then real efforts need to be exerted to overturn the continent's technological deficit. To this end, Africa needs to strive to invest in science and technology, infrastructural development, establish innovation facilities, and build technical competences. (AU-STISTA,2014).

Africa's Human Capital Development: Wikipedia (Human Capital) defines human capital as a collection of resources—all the knowledge, talents, skills, abilities, experience, intelligence, training, judgment, and wisdom possessed individually and collectively by individuals in a population. These resources are the total capacity of the people that represents a form of wealth which can be directed to accomplish the goals of the nation or state or a portion thereof.

African Union Commission Chairperson Dlamini Zuma (2013) has said, “the continent's greatest resource is its people, especially the young population, whose energy, creativity and courage must drive Africa's renaissance. Investment in their education and training, remain critical to drive Africa's modernization and development in all spheres”

Similarly, the African Development Bank (AfDB, 2014, p. 46) in its strategic paper on Human Capital Development in Africa acknowledged that the continent's billion people and largely 200 million youth are the key to unlocking the continent's economic potential.

If the goals of Agenda 2063, and by extension, Africa's transformation, are to be accomplished, then the continent's greatest resource-its people and largely young population are very crucial. Capacity building, Skills development and training, tertiary and higher education, etc. must be given the required attention. For example, the African Capacity Building Foundation (2016) in its report on the capacity needs for implementation of Agenda 2063 among others noted that Africa's stock of human capital in critical technical skills (CTS) areas are exceedingly low. This situation, the Foundation observes, leaves a growing and worrisome reliance on expatriate CTS

professionals in the execution of Africa's complex and sophisticated Industrial and technological projects.

While addressing the role for higher education in Africa's development, Amoako (2000), posits that although Africa has seen an increase in the number of universities especially in Sub-Saharan Africa, from 1.5 million students in 1980 to 3.8 million in 1995, he maintains that tertiary enrollment ratios in Africa remain the lowest among all regions. The Science and technology index (2016) reports that the African average is 7.1%, compared to 25.1% elsewhere in the world.

In their paper, "China-Africa relations: Defining New Terms of Engagement", Songwe & Moyo (2016), portend among others, "for African countries to maximize the potential benefits from this partnership, African governments must articulate their own comprehensive China policy should include strategies for engagement beyond natural resources". This in the researcher's view brings to the fold, the role of the African Union/Commission, Member States and Regional Economic Communities. This would entail expanding the scope of engagement, well defined objectives and strategies that will bolster Africa's goals-tackling unemployment, poverty reduction, industrialization, infrastructural development, technology and know-how, human capital development, and peace and security on the African continent.

## **1.8 Organization of the Study**

The Study is segmented in five (5) chapters. As presented above, the first chapter has provided an introduction of the study. It has dealt with the background of the study, statement of the problem, and objective of the study, significance, scope and delimitation of the study. It also defines key terms and presents a comprehensive review of a body of literature related to the study. The second chapter describes the design/methods of the study. Chapter three will examine strategic partnerships with an in-depth focus on China-Africa partnership. The chapter will also consider the enhancement of Africa's transformation in the context of fast tracking industrialization, and human capital development and conclude by exploring perceived

inhibitors, which have the propensity to derail Africa's transformation goals and how FOCAC can positively contribute towards mitigation such inhibitors. Chapter four presents summary of the findings, conclusion and recommendations. Accordingly, the next chapter discusses the methodology of the study.

## **Chapter Two**

### **Research Methodology**

This chapter presents the research methodology employed to attain the objective of the study, that is, to assess Africa's transformation through partnership, considering China-Africa partnership. The methodology employed during this study encompassed the research design, population and sampling size, source of data, data collection tools and data analysis. Hence, it describes the research design, the sampling size, the source and data collection methods, as well as method of data analysis.

#### **2.1 The Research Design**

The primary objective of this study was to assess the contribution of Africa-China partnership to the transformation of Africa. In order to achieve this objective, the researcher employed descriptive research design. The rationale for employing the descriptive method stems from the fact that the approach describes the state of affairs as it exists at present (Kothari, 2004). In addition, combining both qualitative and quantitative approaches provides a better and comprehensive understanding of research problems than either approach alone.

By mixing both quantitative and qualitative research and data, the researcher gained in breadth and depth of understanding and corroboration, while offsetting the weaknesses inherent to using each approach by itself (Creswell, 2008). The researcher primarily utilized the descriptive method while in some cases combined both quantitative and qualitative, approaches.

The findings are presented in the summary, conclusion and recommendation(s). The study also adopted the case-study approach with the view of conducting an in depth research on China Africa partnership (FOCAC), and how the partnership enhances Africa's transformation.

## **2.2 Sampling Size**

The study was premised on the research questions, and those raised in the general and specific objectives for undertaking the study. To these ends, a pool of twenty (20) personalities were considered including experts, academicians, staff of the African Union Commission, the Diplomatic community and representatives of Regional Economic Communities in Addis Ababa, Ethiopia. The researcher organized three (3) focus group discussions of mainly four to five knowledgeable participants, interviewed a number of the personalities considered, and analyzed relevant documents in line with the objectives of the study.

The selected respondents and focus group participants have experience on the topics and issues highlighted in the study. Some are practically involved with partnership matters especially at the African Union Commission. Additionally, they pool of participants were readily accessible.

However, the researcher notes a number of challenges encountered during the research including the lack of sufficient time to conduct deep survey to analyze the topic under investigation. Despite these limitations efforts were exerted to finish the research work within the given time and available finance.

The researcher interviewed about 70% of proposed interviewees. 30% of proposed interviewees were not interviewed largely due to the fact that the proposed interviewees could not be accessed for various reasons including travels. Additionally, there were last minute cancellations, some without prior notification. Three (3) focus group discussions were held.

Five (5) personalities participated in the first focus group discussion including staffs of the African Union Commission, specifically, the Division of Partnerships, and the Strategic Planning Unit at the Commission. The discussion centered around partnerships in general and the China-Africa relations (FOCAC).

Key questions considered during the discussions included among others the following: Is partnership a desirable mechanism to propel Africa's development/transformation? Africa has developed a number of partnerships over the years to enhance the continent's development/transformation drive, what is your view on the impact of those partnerships vis-à-vis the continent's development goals? Do you agree that those partnerships contribute to the continent's transformation?

Similarly, five (5) personalities including from the African Union Commission-Human Resources, Science and Technology, Strategic Planning Division and the Liaison Offices of Regional Economic Communities (RECs) to the African Union/Commission including ECOWAS, also participated in the second focus group discussion.

The discussion focused mainly on China-Africa partnership and China's contributions towards Africa's industrialization, Human Capital Development, and Peace and stability on the continent. Among others, the following questions were considered during the discussion: What is your assessment of the current status of China-Africa partnership? How has the partnership contributed to achieving the continent's aspirations of transformation? What could you say constitutes China's contribution towards industrialization, human capital development and peace and security on the continent, including its support for regional programs?

Additionally, four (4) personalities from the African Union Commission, Department of Peace and Security and the RECs, participated in the third (3rd) focus group discussion. The discussion focused mainly on challenges that have the potential to derail Africa's quest for transformation especially peace and security.

The discussion was held in the context of one of the flagship programs of Africa's Agenda 2063 and its first ten (10) Year Implementation Plan-"Silencing the Gun by 2020". The discussants considered China's contribution(s) in respect of prevention, resolution and peacekeeping.

Additionally, the researcher benefited from the contribution(s) of Members of the Permanent Representatives' Committee (PRC) of the African Union, during a dedicated session on Africa's Strategic Partnerships which was held in January, 2017. The PRC comprises Permanent Representatives (Ambassadors) of AU Member States. The Permanent Representatives among others considered the evaluation report on Africa's strategic partnerships. The evaluation was undertaken by the Sub-Committee on Multilateral Cooperation (A sub-committee of the PRC). All the partnerships were evaluated with key recommendations, some of which have been highlighted in the session on review of partnerships.

Also useful to mention, the researcher was opportune to participate as a delegate in the 6th Tana High Level Forum on Security in Africa held in Bahir Dar, Ethiopia from 21-23 April 2017. The Forum focused on "Natural Resource Governance in Africa". Issues such as the "state of Peace and Security in Africa", "Unlocking the potentials for conflict Prevention and Sustainable Development" among others were up for discussions.

The discussions aimed at forging an understanding and explanation of why the exploitation of natural resources is increasingly becoming a source of tension and violence in ways that profoundly disturb peace and stability on the continent. This situation have created inequality, poverty, corruption, unemployment, environmental degradation, violent conflicts and the elusive quest to realize Africa's full development potential.

Discussants included High Level personalities including current and former African Heads of State, Academics, practitioners and professionals from related backgrounds.

### **2.3 Source and Collection of Data**

Data for the study were gathered from both primary and secondary sources. Primary data were obtained through questionnaires and interviews conducted from a range of respondents including experts, academicians, staff of the AU Commission, diplomats, Member States of the AU and Regional Organizations resident in Addis Ababa, Ethiopia.

Secondary data were also obtained from documents, official reports, periodicals, articles, publications, and policy briefs, working papers on China-Africa relations, the internet, and related books by various authors on the subject.

It is however also important to note some limitations in respect of gathering data, useful information during the research. For example, as highlighted in the study, evaluation of the various commitments and achievements of FOCAC over the years in terms of stock taking proved difficult. This is also true in attempt to quantify achievements of the FOCAC process in terms of socio-economic transformational impact, as a strategic partnership.

## **2.4 Method of Data Analysis**

An in-depth analysis of the data collected from respondents through questionnaires and interviews (primary data) and (secondary data), was conducted. The data are presented, analyzed and interpreted both quantitatively and qualitatively. The qualitative data are analyzed and presented through narrating and interpreting the situations deeply and contextually in order to show how Africa-China partnership contributes to the process of enhancing Africa's transformation. Similarly, quantitative data were also analyzed and presented using tables, figures percentages, bar graph and pie chart to give clear understanding of the issue quantitatively.

The next chapter presents data, analyzes, and discusses the data collected through quantitative and qualitative methods that assess the impact of China-Africa partnership on the enhancement of Africa's transformation.



## **Chapter Three**

### **The Impact of China-Africa Partnership on the Enhancement of Africa's Transformation**

This chapter deals with the presentation and analysis of data gathered from the respondents, including experts, academicians, staff of the AU Commission, diplomats, Member States of the AU and Regional Organizations resident in Addis Ababa, Ethiopia. The data was obtained through closed and open-ended questionnaires, FGDs and interviews. Mix of both quantitative data analysis and qualitative data analysis method were used.

The chapter thus presents findings of interaction(s) with respondents, interviewees and focus group participants on Africa's transformation and partnerships as key drivers. The respondents were expected to react to the following pertinent questions among others, designed by the researcher: It is an incontestable fact that "Africa's Transformation has become an imperative, what does the term "Africa's transformation means to you? How can you describe the current state of Africa's development? What can you consider as the drivers of Africa's transformation and how might they contribute to achieving transformation? Similarly, as it relates to partnerships, the researcher endeavored to ascertain the following from the respondents: Is partnership a desirable mechanism to propel Africa's development/ transformation? Is there any other mechanism(s) that can be alternatively proposed? What are your views on the impact of partnerships on the continent's development/ transformation?

The chapter is categorized into five sections in line with the objectives of the study. The first section deals with the respondents' perspectives on partnerships and Africa's transformation. The second section examines China's contributions towards Africa's industrialization. The third section investigates China's contributions towards Africa's human capital development. The fourth section assesses the challenges confronting the partnership, and the last section discusses the role AU in ensuring that Africa's quest for transformation. The researcher begins the discussion with the respondents' perspectives on partnerships and Africa's transformation.

### **3.1 Perspectives on Partnerships and Africa's Transformation**

Respondents were asked to proffer their views on what the term Africa's transformation means to them. In their reactions, all the respondents were of the view that to begin with, it was necessary to define key terms such as partnership, development and or transformation, before delving into the specifics. Ms. Valentine Atonde (personal communication, April 7, 2017), Program Officer at the ECOWAS Liaison Office to the African Union, defined partnership as a relationship between two or more parties for the attainment of common goals and objectives.

However, Ms. Raheemat Momodu (personal communication, April 9, 2017), the Head of the ECOWAS liaison office to the AU thinks that for the purpose of Africa's own goals and objectives, the term "strategic partnership" must be adopted. She believes that a strategic partnership is one in which carefully thought out goals and objectives are well crafted and pursued within a framework with partners that are proven to have the competences and ability to deliver. This view was further elevated to include Africa's contribution in such relationship given that partnership means collaboration between two or more parties with each having comparative advantages.

Dr. Levi Madueke (personal communication, April 7, 2017), Head of Partnership division at the African Union accentuates this view by adding that partnership is actually building synergies to advance common objectives, noting that "No man is an Island". While the terms development and transformation were considered to be similar in nature, he also added that transformation is a process of moving from one level to the other in a positive direction. This may sink in with the Oxford Dictionary's definition of transformation as a change in nature or condition (2006, p.974). Considering the paradox "Rich Africa, Poor Africans", it would suggest changing Africa's current condition for the better. It was considered that both terms can be used interchangeably.

Brinkerhoff (2002), in her book, somewhat alludes to these views. She describes partnership as a dynamic relationship among diverse actors, based on mutually agreed objectives, pursued through a shared understanding of the most rational division of labor, based on the respective comparative advantages of each partner. Additionally, core documents of the African Union regard partnerships in a multilateral context-as the process of Africa's engagement with the rest of the world to promote mutually beneficial relations and outcomes.

On the question of whether or not Africa's transformation has become an imperative, one striking response in the researcher's view came from Ms. Momodu (personal communication, April 9, 2017). She noted that concerns regarding Africa's development and transformation has always been there. It is only being heightened. She referenced efforts made in the past to address Africa's development and transformation citing the Lagos Plan of Action and the Abuja Treaty.

Addressing the question on the current state of Africa's development, it is widely held that the continent's current state of development is not so good. This is evident in most narratives on the continent's development which is for the most part summed up in the Paradox "Rich Africa, Poor Africans".

For example, Amoaka (2000) in his perspective on Africa's Development lamented Africa's weak industrial base. This situation apparently has a negative consequence on Africa's participation in world commerce and finance. Atta-Mensah (2016, p. 33) as well as its marginal role in world trade Schmieg (2016). Africa's infrastructure deficit also presents a challenge for the continent. African countries are touted as being among the least competitive in the world as a result of the inadequacy of their infrastructure.(UNECA, 2014).

Momodu (personal communication, April 9, 2017), asserted that in her view, the continent is not there yet noting that tremendous progress has been made but stressed the continent's potential to do better. Levi (personal communication, April 7, 2017) described the current state of Africa's transformation as a process that is evolving and has genuinely sprouted with the crafting of Agenda 2063. Not relegating documents such as the Lagos Plan and Abuja Treaty, he

emphasized that Agenda 2063 unlike the crafting of those documents, addresses the basic needs and aspirations of the people.

The Agenda contains aspirations, targets and goals derived from continent wide consultations. Levi (personal communication, April 7, 2017) likened the processes leading to the formulation and consummation of the Agenda to Abraham Maslow's "Basic needs" theory. Similarly, as Jallow (personal communication, April 10, 2017) observed, it represents a notable divorce from the past. He asserts that Agenda 2063 provides the base for engagements with partners as it identifies continental objectives, goals, priorities, projects and targets which can now be aligned with the various partnership frameworks.

There appeared to be a convergence on the question of what might be considered as drivers of Africa's transformation. Respondents enumerated a number of elements which in their views, are considered as drivers. The researcher segmented these elements into three categories, namely: socio-economic, political and general. They include among others: Promoting industrialization, infrastructure development, supporting regional and continental programs, investment financing, attracting foreign direct investments (FDIs), accelerating human capital development and stability on the continent. Others include- identifying and concentrating on key priorities-for example as covered in Agenda 2063, allocating resources judiciously, applying prudence in decision-making, commitment on the part of the continent's leaders, promoting integration, seed investments from the African side (self-financing and sufficiency), the need for introspection and looking inward. They also stressed the role of stakeholders including Member States, the African Union (AU) and Regional Economic Communities (RECs) as being very paramount to the successful achievement of these objectives. It is generally believed that Africa stands to accrue immense benefits if these potential drivers are given the attention they deserve.

Mr. Michael Gonquoi (personal communication, April 9, 2017), a Policy Officer Strategic Planning Department of the AUC asserts that Africa's transformation can be induced among other factors through investment in industrialization, infrastructure development, and acquisition of technology. He argues that for example, there is an emerging paradigm which promotes the

development of Special Economic Zones (SEZs) which can be utilized to the advantage of the continent. He further argues that SEZs can attract industries of various kinds which in turn have a kind of multiplier effect, ie., increased productivity, creation of job opportunities, development of skills and also allows for technology transfer.

Mr. Shiferaw Solomon (personal communication, March 27, 2017), Deputy Chief Executive Officer at the Industrial Parks Development Corporation of Ethiopia corroborates these assertions. He posits for example, that industrial parks development do present enormous benefits including those alluded to by Gonquoi (personal communication, April 9, 2017) . From the Ethiopian experience, about twelve industrial parks are being established across the country to foster industrialization, create employment opportunities and promote economic diversification and skills development. Solomon (personal communication, March 27, 2017) also emphasized the need to invest in infrastructure development which he notes is the bedrock for development. According to him, the lack of core infrastructure including transportation, communication and energy, are among the many challenges that are needed to be addressed.

Mensah (2010) argued that “Industrialization can cause rapid economic transformation that can ensure countries to move into highly productive activities, especially manufacturing and modern services”. Similarly, Amoaka (2000) have suggested that rapid and sustained industrialization is an essential element in achieving Africa’s goals of accelerated development and poverty reduction.

Levi (personal communication, April 7, 2017) posits that partnership is a desirable mechanism that if utilized to its full potential, can contribute significantly to Africa’s transformation. The researcher has stressed the importance of partnerships contending that they do provide platforms and opportunities to pursue mutual goals as well as respective interests.

Using the case of the European Union (EU) one can say that strategic partnerships are desirable mechanisms that can derive accompanying benefits, or you may say, achieving the desired goals whether, in the area of trade, security, economics, ,military etc. Over the years, the EU has

developed a series of external policy instruments in order to serve its economic, political and security interests (IGNOU, p. 112). In this context, the Union has developed a wide range of contractual relations and forged strategic partnerships with countries including China, Japan, Russia, the United States and India. (ibid). In terms of beneficitation, these partnerships have accrued dividends for the union in general and its Member States in particular. For example, the EU and the United States account for almost 40% of world trade. The benefits accrued from trade in goods and services amounted to over 627 billion Euro in 2004, and both countries are each other's most important source of foreign direct investment (FDI) amounting to several billion Euros. (ibid).

In spite of its importance as have been noted, there were mixed reactions from the respondents on the real impact of partnerships in so far as the continent's development goals are concerned. 60% of respondents believe that partnerships have not yet delivered the desired impact. According to this school of thought, the current state of affairs can attest to this assertion. For example, they point to the overview provided by the Sub-Committee on Multilateral Cooperation following the committee's evaluation of the strategic partnerships. The evaluation was necessitated by overwhelming concerns that these partnerships were not contributing much to the continent's aspirations. The contents of the overview are provided in the section on the "Importance of Partnership". 80% of respondents indicated that partnerships have marginally contributed to the continent's transformation goals. Participants in the focus group discussions also shared the view that the partnerships have not been mutually beneficial. Here, the researcher wishes to emphasize that a conclusion can only be reached following analysis of the findings to follow in the sections ahead.

On the other hand, 70% of respondents and participants of the first focus group discussions believe that the evaluation was necessary to take stock of where we are so as to begin anew by adopting the necessary measures that would make the partnerships viable. Although they agree that expectations were not met, they remain positive that the continent stands to benefit from these partnerships.

Hence, Levi (personal communication, April 7, 2017) argues that in addition to forging strategic partnerships, Africa needs to pursue alternative ways and means to foster its agenda. He contends that the continent needs to look inward and utilize its assets including natural, financial, and human resource capabilities. He noted that self-sufficiency and sustainability are elements that can add the necessary impetus to boosting the continent's transformation goals.

Momodu (personal communication, April 9, 2017), also weighs in and proposes that Africa cannot afford to wait for others to do for it what the continent can do for itself. She contends that it is high time for Africa and African leaders, to project leadership that can galvanize inwardly all that it takes to propel its own development and transformation.

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Commenting specifically of the China-Africa partnership (FOCAC), Levi (personal communication, April 7, 2017) averred that on the bilateral basis, one can argue that progress has been made in some respects in so far as Member States have benefited from engagements with China. However, he noted that the same cannot be said at the continental level. He is upbeat that the situation could change with the crafting of the continental Agenda 2063, the evaluation of the partnership, and the leadership the continent brings to the fold.

The following section takes a closer look at China's contributions to Africa's transformation in consideration of the drivers highlighted by the respondents, i.e., assessing China's contributions to Africa's industrialization, human capital development, challenges confronting the partnership as well as the role of stakeholders including Member States, the African Union (AU) and Regional Economic Communities (RECs).

### **3.2 Does the China-Africa partnership contribute to Africa's Industrialization drive?**

From interaction(s) with the respondents, it became evident and widely held that much is needed to be done in the area of bolstering industrialization on the continent. The respondents in reaction to the following key questions provided very illuminating responses: How do you evaluate

Africa's current state of industrialization? How has China contributed towards industrial take-off on the continent? Are there concrete examples that can be provided in support of China's contributions towards Africa's Industrialization?

Three schools of thought emerged. The first school maintains, that Africa in comparison to other regions lacks far behind in terms of industrialization. They believe that among others, efforts have to be made to attract foreign direct investments (FDIs) that can positively change the narrative. This view seems to be validated by the African Development Bank. For example, the Bank (2010) reported that road access rate in Africa is only 34%, compared with 50% in other parts of the developing world, while transport costs are 100% higher. Only 30% of Africa's population has access to electricity, compared to 70-90% in other parts of the developing world. Water resources are underused with only 5% of agriculture under irrigation. Internet penetration rate is a mere 6%, compared to an average of 40% elsewhere in the developing world".

The second view posits that as a result of the current state, the continent is missing out on the numerous benefits industrialization has to offer including the creation of job opportunities, transfer of technology, value addition, skills development, and manufacturing competences.

The third group argues that China has made contributions towards industrialization on bilateral basis. This school of thought believes that a lot more is needed to be done at the continental level. Respondents cite for example, support for regional and continental initiatives such as PIDA, AIDA, AREI, and flagship projects under the first ten (10) year implementation plan of Agenda 2063.

Further, to assess China's contributions to Africa's development and transformation, Jallow (personal communication, April 10, 2017) contends that it has to be considered from various angles including consideration of commitments made by China under FOCAC framework agreements, as well as bilateral engagements with African countries. In his perspective, the trajectory has been set with the adoption of Agenda 2063. He maintains that to assess China's contributions, it would be relevant to map-out the ten key areas of cooperation spelled out in the Johannesburg Action Plan (2016-2018), and match them against for example, the first ten year



implementation plan of Agenda 2063. He also emphasized the need to revisit commitments made by China to ascertain whether or not those commitments were actualized.

Gonquoi (personal communication, April 9, 2017) had asserted that Africa's transformation can be induced among other factors through investment in industrialization, infrastructure development, and acquisition of technology. He argued in favor of the promotion of Special Economic Zones (SEZs) which can be utilized to the advantage of the continent. He reinforced his proposition by further arguing that SEZs attract industries of various kinds which in turn have a kind of multiplier effect, that can increase productivity, create job opportunities, lead to skills development and also allows for technology transfer.

Mr. Aschalew Tadesse (personal communication, April 16, 2017), Investment Promotion Team Leader at the Ethiopian Investment Commission (EIC), corroborated these assertions, positing that industrial parks development do present enormous benefits including those alluded to by Gonquoi (personal communication, April 9, 2017). From the Ethiopian experience, about twelve industrial parks are being established across the country over the next five years, to foster industrialization, create employment opportunities and promote economic diversification and skills development.

Considering the view of the school of thought espousing the sentiments that Africa lacks far behind in industrialization in comparison to other regions, Amoaka (2000) in his perspective on Africa's Development asserted that "nowhere should the determination to industrialize be greater than in Africa". He averred that by all standards, Africa has a weak industrial base citing for example that "there are only few countries where manufacturing as a share of GDP exceeds 25% the benchmark used to designate a country as having achieved the critical threshold of "Industrial take off".

Similarly, Mensah's (2010) argument which suggests that "Industrialization can cause rapid economic transformation that can enable countries move into highly productive activities, especially manufacturing and modern services", seem to be in concert with the views of the

school of thought which says that the continent is missing out on the numerous benefits industrialization has to offer. Beji (2016) also points out that industrialization has several advantages, especially in the long run such as economic diversification, reduction of unemployment, technology transfer and poverty reduction. East and South Asian countries as well as some Latin American countries have experienced remarkable growth linked notably to a switch in their industrial strategy. He also notes that rarely has a country evolved from poor to rich without sustained structural transformation from an agrarian or resource-based economy towards an industrial or service-based economy. These are strong arguments which suggest that Africa's industrialization goal must be given serious attention.

In light of these views, the researcher endeavored to take a closer glance at commitments made by China under FOCAC framework agreements, as well as bilateral engagements with African countries. The researcher considered commitments under the framework predating FOCAC 2015, and the ten key areas of cooperation spelled out in the Johannesburg Action Plan (2016-2018), which are intended to facilitate the continent's industrialization.

Three key areas of commitments were identified under the FOCAC framework predating 2015, which relate to the perspectives of the respondents in the fields of investment, economic and trade cooperation, scientific and technological cooperation.

In the field of investment, China had committed to establish Special Funds of Joint Venture to support and encourage strong and reputable Chinese enterprises to invest in Africa and to promote local economic development. In furtherance of this commitment, the "China-Africa Development Fund" with a capital of US 5 billion and Special Loans for SME Investment in Africa, with the amount of US \$ 1 billion were set up. Additionally, in the field of economic and trade cooperation, China had committed to building at least three (3) to five (5) Economic Cooperation Zones in Africa. The challenge however, as expressed by 75% of the respondents is a determination as to whether these commitments were actualized.

This observation was also highlighted by Handlowa (2016), in her paper "China and Africa, Cooperation Outlook. Handlowa asserted " attempt to evaluate the activities carried out within

the framework of FOCAC is extremely difficult, because there are no reports of execution of commitments undertaken by China” she further asserted that “ all one can do is analyze the media information, some reports published by international think tanks, or scarce information from the Chinese Government bodies”.

Be that as it may, the researcher recounts the argument of Gonquoi (personal communication, April 9, 2017) relative to his proposition on the establishment of SEZs in order to spur Africa’s development. Relevant literature provide some insights on key Chinese initiatives under the FOCAC framework especially at bilateral levels. For example, the Chinese government in 2006, committed to support the establishment of economic and trade cooperation zones (ETCZ) in Africa. Research findings suggest that at present, a number of zones are at different stages of construction on the continent including in Ethiopia, Mauritius, Nigeria, Zambia and Egypt.

The table below provides an overview of China’s official African trade and economic cooperation zones, indicating the country/zone, total investment, developers and industry focus.

**Table 3-1: The country/zone, total investment, developers and industry (data as at 2013)**

<b>Country/Zone</b>	<b>Total investment</b>	<b>Industry focus</b>	<b>Developers</b>
Zambia Chambishi	US \$ 410 million	Copper and copper mining related industries	China Non-ferrous Mining Group.
Zambia, Lusaka	Sub zone	Garments, food appliances, tobacco, electronics.	China-Non-ferrous Metals Corporation.
Nigeria, Lekki	US \$ 391 million	Transport equipment, textile and light industries, home appliances, and telecommunications.	China Civil Engineering Construction, Jiangning Development Corporation, Nanjing Beyond, China Railway
Nigeria, Ogun	US \$ 500 million for the first phase	Construction materials and ceramics, ironware, furniture, wood processing, medicine, computers, lighting.	Guang Xinguang, South China Development Group.

Mauritius, Jin Fei (originally Tianli)	US \$ 940 million	Property development, services (tourism, education, finance), manufacturing (textile, and apparel, machinery, high tech industries).	Shanxi-Tianli Group, Shanxi Coking Coal Group, Taiyuan Iron and Steel Company.
Ethiopia, Oriental (Eastern)	US \$ 101 million	Electric machinery, steel, metal-lurgy, construction materials.	Jiangsu Yongyuan Investment Co. Ltd.
Egypt, Suez	US \$ 524 million	Textiles and clothing, petroleum equipment, automobiles and parts, fiberglass, electrical equipment.	Tianjin TEAD Investment Holding Ltd., China-Africa Development Fund.

Through the SEZs, it is anticipated that a number of benefits- alluded to earlier- would be accrued which can impact the continent's industrialization drive. Hence, while this is a notable development, when one considers the urgency and enormity of the challenges posed by the unfavorable state of Africa's industrialization, there is still room for more of such undertakings whether at the bilateral, regional or continental levels. For example, Bridges Africa (2013) points out in its paper on structural transformation in Africa, that the number of SEZs in Africa is too small to spark an effective industrial push at the continental level. The number of SEZs reflected in the table can speak to that.

Another argument raised by 60% of respondents was that historically, SEZs take years (if not decades) to generate significant operations. Thrall (2011.p.43) seems to support this argument. However, the Ethiopian experience proves this argument otherwise. For example, the researcher was opportune to visit the Hawassa Industrial Park (HIP) in Southern Ethiopia. The HIP is a flagship project of the Ethiopian Government. The construction of the park started in mid-2015 and was scheduled for completion by July 2016. Currently operational, it has attracted a host of external investors including from the USA, India, China, Sri-Lanka and Indonesia. The park attracts key industries including Light manufacturing- (textile, leather, Agro-processing,

electronics), Basic & Import substitution-(Steel, equipment, chemical and pharmaceutical), Strategic-(ICT and bio-technology).

A striking feature worth mentioning is that the Park is producing for external/export markets. This will boost the country's export earnings and foreign currency basket. According to the Deputy Chief Executive Officer of the Industrial Park Development Corporation of Ethiopia (Solomon, personal communication, March 27, 2017), it is anticipated that When the park/zone matures, ( over the next two years), it is expected to create up to \$ 1 billion export earnings and Up to 60,000 local employment. (Selected photos of visit to HIP on the following pages).

Additionally, on 27 March 2017, the researcher was also privileged to visit the Eastern Industry Zone (SEZ-Industrial Park) where first hand information on the status of the zone and its operation(s) was acquired. The zone was established in 2011. Now fully operational, the Eastern Industry Zone is China's only overseas economic and trade cooperation zone in Ethiopia (see Table 3-1). Mr. Mulugeta Tiruneh (personal communication, March 27, 2017), Branch Manager of the Ethiopian Investment Commission (EIC) at the Eastern Industrial Park informed that the zone is a key component of the "sustainable Development and Poverty Reduction Strategy (SDPRP) of Ethiopia, listed as the priority development project of the national industrial development plan of the country. It has attracted a number of companies/manufacturers in the areas of cement production, footwear, automobile assembly, steel rolling, textile, and garment production. Additionally it houses enterprises in the pharmaceuticals, building materials, leather, home appliances, agricultural and related products.

According to Mr. Adugna Asnake (personal communication, March 27, 2017), Public Relations Officer at the Park, the Eastern Industry Zone also offers approximately eleven thousand job opportunities, attracts requisite technology, and major infrastructures to facilitate its operations.

**Photo 3-1: The Entry /Welcome sign at the HIP**



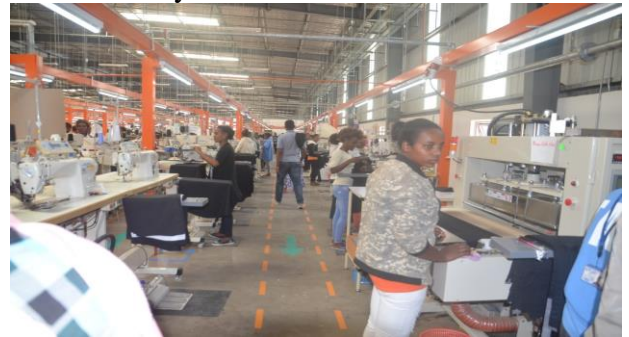
**Photo 3-2: A partial view of the HIP**



**Photo 3-3 Job creation: The textile Industry within the HIP**



**Photo 3-4: A partial view of the textile Industry at the HIP**



In addition to China's commitments predating 2015, the Johannesburg Action Plan reinforces the mutual need for cooperation and partnering together to enhance Africa's industrial development. President Xi, reiterated in his speech at the FOCAC Summit (2015): "We will implement China-Africa Industrialization Plan". "We will implement the China-Africa infrastructure Plan". The China -Africa industrialization program is first of ten (10) new initiatives designed to boost cooperation between the two sides. Through this plan China commits to support industrialization on the continent by supporting the creation of industrial parks and economic and trade cooperation zones. To this end, China pledged US\$ 10 billion to support China-Africa industrial capacity corporation, and has expressed its desire to transmit to Africa lessons from its own development experience as well as transfer through foreign direct investment (FDI) and aid much needed knowledge and technology (FOCAC Action Plan 2016-2018, 2015).

Jallow (personal communication, April 10, 2017) had earlier maintained that to assess China's contributions, it would be relevant to map-out the ten key areas of cooperation spelled out in the Johannesburg Action Plan (2016-2018), and match them against for example, the first ten year implementation plan of Agenda 2063.

It is indisputable that industrial development cannot be achieved in isolation of elements that have already been alluded to by respondents. These elements have also been considered as drivers of transformation. One of the elements is infrastructure development. Industrial development cannot occur in the absence of adequate and state of the art infrastructures.

One school of thought had earlier raised the issue of Africa's infrastructure deficit. In their paper: *China's growing Role as Infrastructure Financier for Sub-Saharan Africa* (2009), Foster et al averred that Sub-Saharan Africa lags behind other developing regions on most standard indicators of infrastructure development. This situation according to them prompts African leaders to call for greater international support in this sphere. They also indicate that the largest gaps arise in the energy sector.

However, in the face of this deficit, another school of thought had interjected that China has made contributions especially on the bilateral level with various African Countries. Available data indicate that Chinese financial commitments to African infrastructure projects increased from around US \$ .5 billion per year in 2001-2003, to around US \$ 1.5 billion per year in 2004-2005, and reached US \$ 7 billion in 2006. It further shows that at least 35 African countries are engaging with China on infrastructure finance deals with the biggest recipients being Nigeria, Angola, Ethiopia and Sudan. (Foster et al, 2009).

The writers revealed that by the end of 2007, China had provided at least US\$ 3.3 billion toward the construction of ten (10) major hydropower projects amounting to more than 6,000 megawatts of installed capacity and note that if completed, these schemes would increase the total available hydropower generation capacity in Sub-Saharan Africa by around 30%. According to them, China has committed about US \$4 billion in the rails sector. The funds would facilitate the

rehabilitation of more than 1,350 kilometers of existing railway lines and the construction of more than 1,600 kilometers of new railroad, with the largest deals being in Nigeria, Gabon and Mauritania. The data also shows that in the ICT (telecommunication) sector, between 2001-2007, Chinese telecom firms supplied almost US\$ 3 million worth of ICT equipment, mainly in Ethiopia, Sudan and Ghana. (Building Bridges, 2009).

Respondents also cited for example, support for regional and continental initiatives such as PIDA, AIDA, AREI, and flagship projects under the first ten (10) year implementation plan of Agenda 2063, including the Integrated High Speed Train Network, the Single Africa Air Transport Market and the construction of the Grand Inga Dam. It is anticipated that the high speed train network will connect all African capitals and commercial centers, facilitate movement of goods, services and people, and reduce the problem of congestion on current and future systems, while the single air transport market aims to facilitate transportation in Africa. In the case of the Grand Inga Dam, when completed the dam will have the capacity to generate 43,200MW of power to support current regional power pools and their combined service to transform Africa from traditional to modern sources of energy and ensure access of all Africans to clean and affordable electricity. This view was largely expressed by members of the Permanent Representatives' Committee (PRC) of the African Union (AU). The PRC comprises Ambassadors of Member States accredited to the African Union.

The Head of the Partnership Division (personal communication, April 7, 2017) and the Director of Strategic Planning at the African Union Commission (personal communication, April 9, 2017), respectively further accentuated the argument. The researcher benefited from insights gained during a PRC dedicated session on Africa's strategic partnerships, which was held in January of 2017. It is highly likely that this trend cuts across all the RECs. The Head of the ECOWAS Liaison Office to the AU/C asserted that the RECs do share experience on a host of issues and one of those cross cutting issues is the concern of attracting the needed support for regional programs.



Under the Johannesburg Plan, China has committed to provide technical assistance in the planning, designing, construction and maintenance, of infrastructure on the continent including railways, roads ports, electricity and telecommunications, and to set up five (5) transportation universities. These commitments have direct links with Africa's goal to build "world class infrastructure across the continent" and its emphasis on communications and infrastructure connectivity. The researcher is of the view as highlighted by members of the PRC and representatives of RECs that continental and regional programs require concrete support beyond mere commitments.

The Program for Infrastructure Development (PIDA) was approved by African Heads of State and Government at their 18<sup>th</sup> Summit held in Addis Ababa, Ethiopia in January 2012. As a continental initiative, the program is aimed at establishing a common agenda for mobilizing resources for the expansion and maintenance of infrastructure in Africa. Closing the gap is vital for Africa's economic prosperity and sustainable development.

PIDA's Study synthesis (2014) showed that improved infrastructure would facilitate increased intra-regional and international trade, reduce the cost of doing business and enhance Africa's competitiveness both within the continent and in the global economy, and act as catalyst to Africa's economic transformation. A number of projects have been identified under the PIDA Priority Action Plan (PAP) to address the infrastructure needs of the continent. The estimated cost of implementing the projects by 2040 is put at US \$ 360 billion. Investment in energy accounts for 60% (US\$ 40.03), followed by transport at 37% (US\$ 25.4), and water at 2.5% (US\$1.7), and ICT accounting for less than 1% (US\$ 0.5), (ibid).

In the area of energy, it should also be highlighted that the continent launched the African Renewable Energy Initiative (AREI) in 2015, directed at effort to harness Africa's huge renewable energy potential for universal energy access and sustainable development. The AREI seeks to stimulate the development of energy infrastructure at all levels on the continent. Chinese assistance will buttress the continent's efforts aimed at addressing Africa's energy

needs. The project seeks to deliver at least 10 GW of new and additional renewable energy by 2020.

Additionally, the Action Plan for the accelerated industrial development of Africa (AIDA), provides a continental framework for addressing the root causes of Africa's low industrial development. The Plan identifies priorities that can potentially propel Africa's industrialization if addressed including among others, human capital development, innovation, science and technology, and resource mobilization. It is also important to highlight cardinal initiatives at the level of the RECs as mentioned by respondents. The East African Community (EAC) industrial Strategy (2012-2032) and Industrialization policy (2012-2032), promote structural change of the manufacturing sector through value addition and product diversification based on comparative and competitive advantages of the region (UNECA-EAC, 2012).

The Southern Africa Development Community (SADC) industrial Development Policy Framework (2013-2018) provides a blueprint for the industrial development of its fifteen (15) member states. The goal is to promote development of an integrated industrial base within SADC through the exploitation of regional synergies (UNECA-SADC, 2013). The Economic Community of West African States (ECOWAS) launched the West African Common Industrial Policy (WACIP) in 2010. Its vision is to maintain a solid industrial structure capable of significantly improving the living standard of the people by 2030 and to accelerate industrialization of the region through the transformation of local raw materials, develop and diversify industrial productive capacity, and strengthen regional integration and export of manufactured goods (UNECA-ECOWAS, 2010). Together, these regional initiatives aim to promote structural change of various sectors, manufacturing being prominent, product diversification, export competitiveness, strengthen regional integration and overall acceleration of industrialization.

The researcher wishes to emphasize that while respondents were keen on requesting support for these regional initiatives, not much information was forthcoming as to whether these programs are benefiting currently in terms of assistance from China. Although they indicated collaboration

with China, concrete data on level of support was not provided. However, available data show that China, through its EXIM Bank provides credit lines to State Owned Enterprises (SOEs) that focus on infrastructure including roads, power plants, oil and gas pipelines, telecommunications and water projects, targeting the energy, mining and industrial sectors. For example, in 2007, the Bank's CEO, Li Ruogu asserted that 40% of the bank's loan is held in Africa. Key countries in Africa that have been recipients of China EXIM Banks concessional financing include Angola, Equatorial Guinea, Congo Brazzaville, Ethiopia, Guinea, Nigeria, Sudan and Zimbabwe (OECD, 2010). Additionally, in 2004-2007, the bank provided a total of US\$ 4.5 billion loan package to Angola to finance construction of Angolan infrastructure in the areas of energy, water, health, education, fisheries, road, rail and airport projects (ibid). The OECD further reveals that whilst Africa specific data have not been supplied, the Chinese Ministry of Commerce reported that its international construction projects stood at a value of US \$ 7.96 billion in 2009, representing 24.8 % increase from 2007. The OECD further reveals that whilst Africa specific data have not been supplied, the China's Ministry of Commerce reported that its international construction projects stood at a value of US \$ 7.96 billion in 2009, representing 24.8 % increase from 2007.

Sandrey R, et al, (2009), reveal that in terms of the power sector, Chinese financing in Africa was mainly directed towards hydropower projects, with approximately US \$ 5.3 billion being invested in the sector. According to them, it is estimated that almost two-thirds of Africa states have received finance from China-mostly through China EXIM Bank, for thermal and hydro power projects in Africa. It is expected that Chinese funded projects will generate a power capacity of more than 6000 megawatts. For example, China EXIM Bank has financed the construction of the large-scale Bui Dam project in Ghana, valued at US \$ 660 million, to provide 400MW of power for national consumption and export to neighboring countries (ibid).

It is noteworthy to mention that China has also committed to infuse more concessional loans in the coming years as stipulated in the FOCAC Action Plan (2016-2018). Beijing has said it will offer African countries US \$ 35 billion of concessional loans on more favorable terms and support China-Africa industrial capacity cooperation, infrastructure, development of energy

resources and manufacturing in Africa. This is a matter of commitment versus implementation and achievement.

Another key element highlighted by respondents is foreign direct investments (FDIs). 100% of the respondents strongly believe that attracting FDIs is certainly critical to the transformation process. However, some commentators assert that the driving force behind China's investments in Africa. Reacting to this assertion as posed by the researcher, respondents were somehow divided on this. 60% affirm this notion. They genuinely believe that the motive behind China's FDIs in Africa has to do with its quest for natural resources. They argue that the sectoral and geographical distribution of China's FDIs on the continent buttress their argument.

On the other hand, 70% expressed the view that nobody enters a partnership without a motive. Each partner needs something in every relationship or partnership. They assert that if this is true of China, then Africa also has a motive or you may say wants something from the partnership, in this case,- investments, financial resources, technology, infrastructure among others. Another 40% argue that there is evidence of China's contribution in terms of its foreign direct investment on the continent especially in the bilateral context. However, they note that there is still need for more Chinese investment on the continent given the enormity of what is required to propel Africa's industrialization and developmental goals.

On the question of the motive, as argued by some of the respondents, the African Development Bank (AfDB) on China-Africa Partnership in 2011, revealed that about 70% of Africa's exports to China come from Angola, South Africa, Sudan and the Democratic Republic of Congo (DRC) which are heavily dominated by raw materials (e.g. Oil, copper, cobalt and cotton).

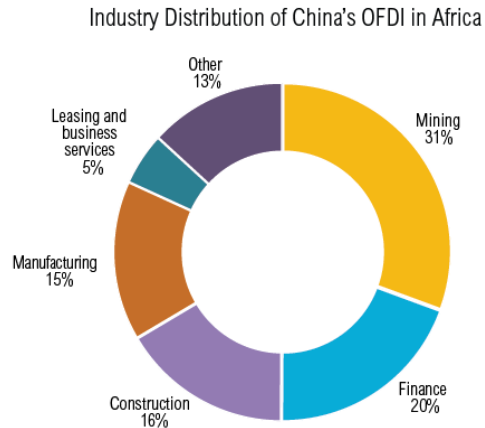
Pehnelt and Abel (2007, p. 10) seem to be corroborating the findings of the AfDB study suggesting that this situation is obtaining primarily because of the tremendous surge in China's economy, which has created an escalating demand for energy and raw materials. They maintain that China is already the largest global consumer of raw materials. They further maintained that according to forecast predicted, China will surpass the United States as the world's largest

consumer of oil within the next ten (10) years. Looy (2006), seemingly joins the fray indicating that a quarter of China's oil imports come from Africa: Algeria, Angola, Chad, Sudan, Nigeria, Gabon and Equatorial Guinea.

In view of the above analysis, the researcher believes that in order to significantly impact the transformation process, FDIs need to be directed to sectors with relatively high potentials to fast track industrialization, i.e., facilitating technology transfer, promoting innovation, manufacturing, and diversification of African economies. Sectors such as energy, manufacturing and infrastructure need to be given due attention. More FDIs in these areas would also mean direct benefits in terms of training opportunities for skills and manpower development.

Figure 3-1 on the next page depicts the sectoral distribution of Chinese foreign direct investment on the continent. The figure clearly reveals that the mining industry gets the largest share (31%) of FDI as compared to 20% for Finance, 16% for Construction, 15% for manufacturing, 13% other sectors and 5% for leasing and business services. This is clearly seem to be not the case as proffered by the researcher's views on the need to direct FDIs to sectors with relatively high potentials to fast track industrialization, ie., facilitating technology transfer, promoting innovation, manufacturing, and diversification of African economies.

Seemingly, in disagreement with the argument that China's main interest is natural resources, Chun (2016) appears to hold a different view.



Source: <http://bit.ly/1Jvef5J>

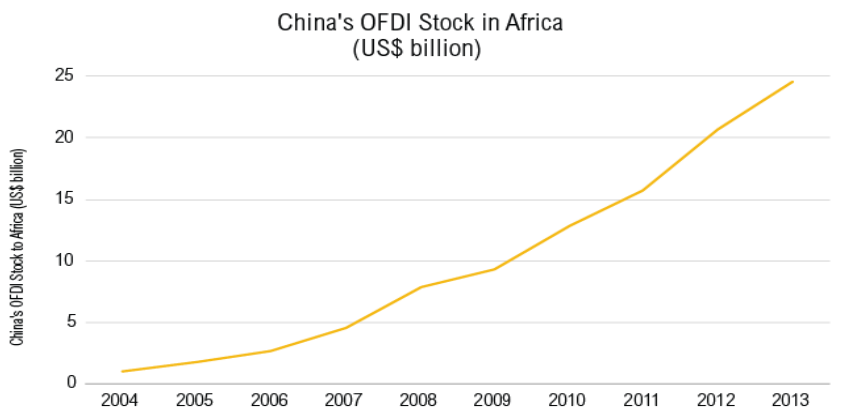
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In his paper, *The Sino-Africa Relationship: Toward a New Strategic Partnership*, he argues Chinese investments have actually reached 49 African countries, noting that the fraction of coverage is about 83 percent (second to Asia and much higher than the average rate of 71 percent). Chun's argument also sinks with those suggesting that there is evidence of China's contribution in terms of its foreign direct investment on the continent. He further argues that these figures also exceed those of other powers in Africa, including the US, EU, India, Brazil, Turkey and South Korea. For example, Chun asserts, in 2010, the top 10 African recipients included South Africa (31.8 percent), Nigeria (9.3 percent), Zambia (7.2 percent), Algeria (7.2 percent), The Democratic Republic of Congo (4.8 percent), Sudan (4.7 percent), Niger (2.9 percent), Ethiopia (2.8 percent), Angola (2.7 percent) and Egypt (2.6 percent), comprising 76 percent of all Chinese investment in Africa.

China has committed to scale up its investment in Africa and plan to increase its stock of direct investment on the continent to US \$ 100 billion in 2020 from US \$32.4 billion in 2014 (FOCAC Action Plan-2016-2017). The funding is expected to support efforts to build industrial park zones

and special economic zones (SEZs), help African countries and attract investment and technology transfer.

This is good news in the researcher's perspective, however, the issue of sectoral and geographical distribution needs to be given keen attention when attracting or directing FDIs on the continent. Additionally, investments in continental programs must also be given due consideration. For example, it has been already noted that energy is the backbone of industrialization. According to PIDA projections, the estimated cost of implementing continental projects by 2040 is put at US \$ 360 billion. Investment in energy accounts for 60% (US\$ 40.03), followed by transport at 37% (US\$ 25.4). Adequate state of the art infrastructure (transport infrastructure including roads, railways, telecommunications-ICT) facilitates industrialization and development whereas manufacturing adds value and would increase our volume of trade as well as competitiveness. This then suggests to the researcher that foreign direct investments is required in these areas if Africa's goals of industrialization must be actualized. Figure (3-2) below, depicts China's OFDI in Africa increasing from \$1 billion in 2004 to nearly \$25 billion in 2013.



Source: <http://bit.ly/1Jvef5J>

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Similarly, Africa's dependency on the exportation of natural resources and primary commodities could be a hindrance to the continent's industrialization and transformation goals. As have been indicated elsewhere in this study, this dependency was exposed by global financial and economic crisis. It was in consideration of this situation among others, that the researcher proposed to highlight the issue of diversification of African economies in the section under inhibitors/challenges.

### **3.3 Assessing China's contribution(s) towards Human Capital Development in Africa.**

In this section, respondents were asked to react to the following as it relates to China's contribution(s) towards human capital development on the continent including their: individual perspectives on the status of Africa's human capital and assessment of China's contribution(s) in the sector; In what specific ways has China contributed to human capital development on the continent; and investment in the education and training of the continent's greatest resource-its people, especially the youth.

On the status of Africa's human capital development, 80% of the respondents and participants of the second focus group discussion viewed Africa's human capital development from a holistic perspective. They contend that more needs to be done on the continent in terms of higher /tertiary education, ensuring a decent standard of living, quality of life, health and well-being of all Africans.

In addition, they particularly emphasized the need to develop skills needed to facilitate the actualization of the goals and objectives covered under the Agenda 2063 framework. The respondents also called for the prioritization of Africa's flagship projects that have been designed to boost human capital development on the continent.



Of course, the Agenda has aspirations, goals and targets as well as projects that have been identified to be undertaken. They contend that in order to achieve these noble objectives, certain “skills set” are needed. These skills to include technical and vocational education and training (TVET), critical, technical and sector-specific skills as well as emphasis on science, technology and innovation (STI), which have direct implications for the continent’s industrialization and overall transformation drive.

Available literature do point to the wanting state of Africa’s human capital. For example, in the area of education/training, tertiary enrollment ratios in Africa remain the lowest among all regions. The Science and technology index (2016), reports that the African average is 7.1%, compared to 25.1% elsewhere in the world, Amoako (2000). Similarly, the “State of Education in Africa Report 2015”, revealed that technical and vocational education and training have not been a top priority for many African countries. The report indicates for example in 2012 that technical and vocational programs accounted for only 6% of total secondary enrollment in the region.

The researcher notes that about 90% of the respondents agree with the assertion that the continent’s greatest resource is its people especially the youth. The Head of the Partnership division at the African Union Commission averred that it was in consideration of this fact and the youth bulge on the continent, that the Union decided to adopt as a theme for the year 2017 : “Harnessing the Demographic Dividend through Investment in the youth”. It is estimated that Africa is the world’s most youthful continent with some 200 million young people between the ages 15-24 (Africa-America-Institute, 2015).

African Union Commission Chairperson Dlamini Zuma (2013) posited that “the continent’s greatest resource is its people, especially the young population, whose energy, creativity and courage must drive Africa’s renaissance. She noted that investment in their education and training, remain critical to drive Africa’s modernization and development in all spheres.

Additionally, the African Development Bank (AfDB, 2014, p. 46) in its strategic paper on Human Capital Development in Africa acknowledged that the continent's billion people and largely 200 million youth are the key to unlocking the continent's economic potential.

These factors as mentioned do necessitate a holistic development of human capital on the continent especially the youth. It is no denying that Africa aspires to secure a continent whose development is people-driven, relying on the potential of its people, especially its women, youth and children. The researcher is of the view that it is also incontestable that a skilled workforce creates an attractive economic environment for investors, while a healthy population serves as an incentive for increased productivity.

This view further accentuates the argument that Africa needs to exert more efforts towards developing the potentials of its young people who no doubt are the future of the continent. The African Development Bank (AfDB, 2014, p. 46) in its strategic paper on Human Capital Development in Africa acknowledged that the continent's billion people and largely 200 million youth are the key to unlocking the continent's economic potential.

The Deputy Chairperson of the African Union Commission, Thomas Kwesi Quartey asserted during the 6<sup>th</sup> Tana High Level Forum on Security in Africa held from 21-23 in Bahir Dar, Ethiopia that education is the key to Africa's development and transformation. He emphasized the need for joint efforts to developing the continent's human capital in a holistic context.

On the question of China's contribution(s) to human capital development on the continent, there were mixed reactions. 60% expressed the view that keen attention needs to be given to developing critical skills which are paramount to achieving Agenda 2063 as well as science, technology and innovation, with 40% of respondents acknowledging that China has contributed in a number of ways to human capital development in Africa including among others through Human Resource Development (HRD) programs, scholarships and training, and health programs.

The African Capacity Building Foundation (2016) in its report on the capacity needs for implementation of Agenda 2063 among others, indicated that Africa's stock of human capital in

critical technical skills (CTS) areas are exceedingly low. This situation deserves attention given the bearing it has on the achievement of Agenda 2063. In the face of these deficits, some respondents as have indicated earlier have acknowledged China's contribution(s) towards addressing capacity issues on the continent.

Hence, available literature and data provide relevant information on China's assistance in addressing the continent's human capital development through various platforms/frameworks including among others the establishment of the African Human Resources Development Fund, the China-Africa Science and Technology Partnership, China-Africa poverty reduction plan-200 "Happy Life" projects and poverty reduction programs, the provision of scholarships and training opportunities, and security related Human Resource Development (HRD) programs.

Under these frameworks, China made a number of commitments. For example, through the African Human Resources Development Fund, China committed to training professionals in various fields.

More than 30,000 professionals, 1500 principals/ teachers, and African students, are beneficiaries of Chinese scholarships and trainings. To promote technical vocational education and training (TVET), China also pledge to assist African countries to renovate existing as well as to build more vocational and technical training facilities, a number of regional vocational education centers and colleges for capacity building in Africa, provide training opportunities for 200,000 local African vocational and technical personnel and 40,000 training opportunities in China.

Additionally, through China-Africa Science and Technology Partnership, China has committed to undertake 100 joint demonstration projects on science and technology and exchange opportunities for 100 African Post-doctoral fellows in China. It is particularly important to mention that partnering in the area of science and technology is very critical in that it underpins Africa's desire to achieve industrialization. Transforming African economies largely depends on the transfer of technology as well as innovation. Economic diversification, value addition, manufacturing, sustainable and inclusive economic growth can be propelled or driven by science, technology and innovation (STI).

In the area of medical health, China committed in 2006, to build 30 hospitals, 30 anti-malaria centers, provide RMB 300 million as free aid for preventing and treatment of malaria. In 2009, China pledge to provide 500 million RMB for medical equipment and anti-malaria supplies and train 3000 health care workers.

Similarly, under the China-Africa poverty reduction plan, China has committed to increase aid to Africa, and roll out what it calls, 200 “Happy Life” projects and poverty reduction programs with emphasis on women and children.

Under the plan, China also committed to cancelling outstanding debts of some member states, strengthen public health, support the establishment of the African Center for Disease Control (ACDC), among others.

The researcher maintains that these commitments do sink with Africa’s Agenda 2063 vision of a prosperous Africa, based on inclusive growth, sustainable development, and a well-educated citizenry. Verifying the implementation of these commitments proved to be a challenge. Efforts were made to ascertain the implementation of these commitments. While there may abound in many African countries Chinese sponsored projects including health facilities, and increasing number of scholarships awarded to African students to pursue higher education in China, evaluation and stock taking is extremely difficult because there are no reports of execution of commitments made by China. However, useful to note that on 29 July, 2016, a coordinators’ meeting was held to assess progress in the implementation of FOCAC Action Plan (2016-2018). This is a welcomed development in that it may address the situation described relative to challenges in evaluating and taking stock of commitments.

Consistent with the views of respondents calling for the prioritization of continental programs, is the establishment of the Pan African University (PAU). The PAU is a clear manifestation of Africa’s commitment to promote higher education on the continent. The University is hosted by existing African institutions operating at graduate level and serves as a continental academic and

research institution. One of the key objectives of the university is to develop continent-wide and world-class graduate programmes in science, technology, innovation.

As a continental institution, the university operates across the five (5) regions of the continent (Southern, Northern, Western, Eastern and Central) in five (5) thematic areas including: Space Sciences, water and energy (including climate change), Life and Earth Sciences (including health and agriculture), Basis Sciences, Technology and Innovation, Governance, Humanities and Social Sciences.

Of similar importance is the establishment of the Africa E-University. Like the PAU, the E-University is intended to increase access to tertiary and continuing education on the continent by reaching large numbers of students and professionals in multiple sites simultaneously. In particular, the E-University also seeks to develop relevant and high quality Open Distance and eLearning (ODEL) resources. It is anticipated that through ODeL, prospective students can be guaranteed access to the University from anywhere and anytime in the world. (AU/C, 2014).

Like the respondents, the researcher maintains that these projects deserve all the support that can be garnered whether financial, technical and other resources. For example, funding the PAU will be a great leap towards the promotion of STI in particular and the university's programs in general. It is however, not clear as to whether the PAU or the African Virtual and E University are direct or indirect beneficiaries of China's support either under the African Human Resources Development Fund or the China-Africa Science and Technology Partnership.

### **3.4 China-Africa partnership: Identifying and Addressing Challenges**

This section presents challenges identified by respondents which they contend affect the AU strategic partnerships in general and China-Africa partnership in particular. It also highlights inhibitors/challenges that may threaten or have the potential to derail Africa's quest for transformation. The researcher posed the following questions to the respondents: What are the potential/perceived or real challenges facing partnerships in general and the China-Africa

partnership in particular? How could they be surmounted? Respondents were also asked to react to the following assertion: Peace and security are fundamental prerequisites for socio-economic development. Some contend that Africa is caught in a vicious circle. It cannot get the domestic and international investment it needs for development because the business community fears that its states are unstable and frequently predatory. Achieving the goals of transformation would remain elusive if perceived inhibitors are not addressed. One of the flagship programs of Africa's Agenda 2063 in its First ten (10) year implementation Plan is "Silencing the Gun by 2020". How can China contribute towards peace and security on the continent?

### **3.4.1 Partnership Related challenges: AU Strategic Partnerships-FOCAC**

On the question of potential/perceived or real challenges facing the partnership(s), in general, the respondents among others made the following observations: the lack of collaboration and coordination between the various organs of the African Union (AU /AUC), Regional Economic Communities (RECs), Regional Mechanisms (RMs), and Member States, with respect to engaging partners. The lack of focus and specialization on the part of the AU/C with respect to identifying projects and programs for support and implementation, given the comparative advantages of the various partnerships; and the challenge of adopting a common front, i.e. Common African positions on key issues;

Levi (personal communication, April 7, 2017) and other respondents maintain that the lack of collaboration and coordination between the various organs of the African Union (AU), Regional Economic Communities (RECs), Regional Mechanisms (RMs), and Member States, with respect to engaging partners remains a concern. They asserted that often time there is an obvious disconnect which accounts for the lack of information, duplication of efforts and double standards applied by partners at various levels of the partnerships.

Momodu (personal communication, April 9, 2017), and other respondents shared the view that specialization is very important in terms of identifying the right partners for the right projects.

They contend that all the partners have comparative advantages in different fields of cooperation that can be utilized as opposed engaging all the partners in all fields.

The Kagame Report on Institutional Reform of the AU (AU/C, 2017) indicates that the African Union is currently involved in almost every area related to the continent's development. As a result, the report notes that it lacks clear focus, making it difficult to channel resources strategically, and results in a fragmented and ineffective organization.

In the researcher's view, while specialization may be necessary, partners cannot be limited especially when considering issues/projects that have global, continental dimensions, for example, peace and security, socio-economic fields. Additionally some partners may have competence in diverse areas which the continent stands to benefit from.

Another challenge identified by the respondents is the failure of the AU/C, Member States to adopting a common front, i.e. Common African positions on key issues relative to fields of cooperation with partners. Building consensus is very strategic. Members of the Permanent Representatives' Committee (PRC) have on numerous occasions expressed this deficiency which according to them, have a negative impact on bargaining from a position of strength. The African side often times engages its partners ill- prepared in terms of a clear direction as to Africa's interest. This results into one-sided agreements, limited or no impact on the continent, leaving partners with the latitude to project themselves at the expense of Africa's interests.

On the China-Africa partnership-FOCAC, many challenges were identified by the respondents including among others the following: The limited involvement of the African side (AU/C and African Countries) in the management of the partnership; The challenge of who represents the AU at FOCAC meetings-the leadership/management of AU/C or Member States? Accessing, monitoring and evaluating the implementation of FOCAC projects; Managing China's multiple and concomitant relations/partnerships with the AU/C Member States, RECs, and RMs. The non-participation of the AU/C in decision making and minimum consultations by the Chinese side on key partnership outcomes was identified as one of key challenges under the China-Africa

partnership. A staff member of the Partnership Division of the African Union Commission noted that this was not unique to FOCAC but cuts across all of the partnerships. For example, he maintained that partners have not been forthcoming in terms of allowing the AU/C to play an active role, or project itself as is expected in a mutual partnership. He asserts that since most of the partners are bent on retaining the bilateral nature of these partnerships, the AU/C is usually not seen as a partner but relegated to an observer status. It should be noted that in the case of FOCAC, the AU/C was granted observer status in 2008 and became a member in 2012.

The view was buttressed by the evaluation report of the sub-committee on Multilateral Cooperation (2016) of strategic partnerships. The report (FOCAC specific), maintained that FOCAC action plans are inspired and defined by the Chinese side with no or little African contribution. The evaluation report also revealed that the role of the AU varies between being a mere observer and a full partner. There also appears to be some confusion regarding who represents the AU in the relationship with the partners, whether the AU Leadership or the AUC or both. As note earlier, it was only in 2012 that the AUC became a full member of FOCAC.

Another challenge identified was the difficulty in accessing, monitoring and evaluating the implementation of FOCAC projects. The PRC in its consideration of the evaluation report on strategic partnerships acknowledged this challenge. Quantifying the achievements of the FOCAC process in terms of socio-economic transformational impact remains a challenge. This observation was also highlighted by Handlowa (2016), in her paper “China and Africa, Cooperation Outlook after the 6<sup>th</sup> FOCAC Summit in Johannesburg, South Africa”. She asserted “ attempt to evaluate the activities carried out within the framework of FOCAC is extremely difficult, because there are no reports of execution of commitments undertaken by China” she further asserts that “ all one can do is analyze the media information, some reports published by international think tanks, or scarce information from the Chinese Government bodies”. Suggestions from respondents on how these challenges may be surmounted are contained in section 4.3 (recommendations).



### **3.4.2 Tackling inhibitors of Africa's Transformation: Conflict(s) and Instability**

Respondents expressed diverse views in their reactions to the question of China's contribution(s) towards peace and security and the assertion concerning the fundamental nature of Peace and security as perquisites for socio-economic development. And the contention that Africa is caught in a vicious circle which makes it difficult to get the domestic and international investment it needs for development, against the background that the business community fears that its states are unstable and frequently predatory.

On the question of Africa being caught up in a vicious circle, 90% of respondents generally expressed the view that violent conflicts and all forms of instability are inimical to the growth and development of the continent. They maintain that conflicts and instability are root causes for Africa's stalled development, hence the need to address the situation in terms of prevention and containment and reduction in the incidence of violent conflicts. They further argue that peace and security are fundamental to the attainment of the continent's transformation goals. In their views, the goals of transformation would remain a dream if these menaces are not addressed.

(Leornard & Straus, 2003,p. 88), lamented in their book *Africa's Stalled Development: International Causes and Cures*, that Africa is caught in a vicious circle. This situation they argue serves as a disincentive for the attraction of the much needed investment to propel the continent's mobility.

The researcher notes the incidence of violence and instability in various parts of the continent; However it is also useful to note that the past decade has recorded a decline in the levels of conflict on the continent. Notwithstanding, a host of factors continue to challenge both the security of African states and their citizens, ranging from insurrections to politically motivated violence, piracy, armed crime, terrorism and all kinds of extremism. It is estimated that the between 1990 and 2005, conflict cost African countries almost US\$ 300 billion –roughly the same amount African countries received in aid during the same period (Saferworld, 2011).

On the other hand, 80% of respondents interjected that the root causes of instability can be found in the daunting socio-economic conditions on the continent, they believe that more development

is the foundation for peace, hence, the need to address unfavorable socio-economic conditions on the continent, i.e., speeding up economic and social development. The researcher is of the view that improvement of the living conditions of the poor may take the form of creating more jobs, reducing poverty and implementing more development projects.

Benabdallah (2016), for example, quotes Chinese Foreign Minister Yang Jeichi as commenting “We believe that development is the foundation for peace in Africa”, asserting that many African Leaders including AU Commission Chairperson Dlamini Zuma, also agree that the root causes of instability can be found in socio-economic conditions and that more development will lead to more security (ibid).

While 60% of respondents believe that the vicious circle of conflict and violence is self-inflated, 30% of respondents asserted that the illegal sales of arms on the continent is also a contributing factor to violent conflicts and instability. They contend that more cooperation is needed on this front to curb illegal arm sales. Similarly, they call for more support to peacekeeping operations in Africa as well as the continent's peace and security architecture (APSA).

While it is true that conflicts on the continent can be viewed as self-inflicted in some respects, that the sales of arms whether legal or illegal is a contributing factor remains debatable. However, considering that the focus of this study is China-Africa partnership, the researcher endeavored to ascertain the extent of China's involvement as it relates to arms sale on the continent. It was gathered that these concerns were flagged by Thrall (2015, p. 44), in “China's Expanding Africa Relations: Implications for U.S. National Security”. Thrall made the following observation: “China is likely the single supplier of small arms and light weapons to Africa, with exports accounting for more than 25% of the total arms market in 2011, and 17% of China's total arms exports that year. He quotes the Stockholm International Peace Research Institute citing China's provision of more than \$2.5 billion in arms to Africa from 2002-2010, selling to at least 16 African countries.

It should be noted that China is not the only country involved in arms sales /transfer on the continent. Thrall suggests however, that other countries are also involved including western

countries. The researcher emphasizes arms sales and transfers whether legal or illegal, in particular, because of the devastating consequences including stimulating violence and facilitating vast human rights violations when these arms fall into the hands of irresponsible and illegitimate persons.

Concerning the question of China's contribution(s) towards peace and security in Africa, with emphasis on silencing the gun by 2020, 40% of the respondents alluded to the participation of China in UN peace keeping operations on the continent. There was also an acknowledgement of China's assistance to the AU/C for the operationalization of the African Peace and Security Architecture (APSA) as well as China's investment in security related Human Resource Development (HRD) programs.

In concert with the views of respondents on China's contributions to peace and security in Africa, available literature indicate that China's contribution(s) to the continent are visible in the areas of peacekeeping, peace building, mediation, combating piracy, trainings, military exchanges, logistical support, investments in human resource development and capacity building programs.

Additionally, the partnership has a number of existing frameworks that enhance cooperation in the field of peace and security. For example, Security cooperation between China and Africa can be traced to 2006 during the FOCAC III summit when China introduced its first "Africa Policy White Paper". The paper highlighted among other things, the need for an expansion of peace and security cooperation. The cooperation was enhanced during FOCAC V Summit in 2012, with the establishment of the China Africa Cooperative Partnership for Peace and Security, to provide financial assistance, capacity building and other forms of institutionalized support for Africa's efforts at fostering peace and security on the continent. Security cooperation between China and Africa also features in a number of official agreements such as the Addis Ababa Action Plan 2003 and the 2009 Sharm El-Sheikh Action Plan. Mr. Melvin Joseph (personal communication, April 8, 2017) of the Peace and Security Department of the African Union Commission lauded China's participation in UN Peace keeping Operations in Africa. He asserts that China's contributes both through its participation in UN Peacekeeping Operations as well as financially.

China's participation in UN Peacekeeping operations can be traced back to April 1989, when it dispatched 20 electoral monitors to the United Nations Transition Assistance Group (UNTAG) in Namibia. Since 1991, China has dispatched military observers or staff officers to serve in fifteen (15) other UN peacekeeping operations in Africa (see table below). By the end of 2015, China had dispatched approximately thirty (30) thousand peacekeeping troops under the UN Framework- the largest among the Permanent Members (P5) of the Security Council (Liangxiang, 2016). Liangxian also notes in his paper that China's financial contribution over the same period amounted to 6.6% of the total budget of UN Peacekeeping missions, making it the sixth largest contributor. Efforts were made to ascertain the accurate statistics but as Liangxian himself acknowledged, information is scanty and in some cases unavailable.

It should be mentioned that before 2012, China's participation in peacekeeping missions were limited to providing logistical support. 2013 was a turning point when it provided security forces to the UN Multidimensional Integrated Stabilizing Mission in Mali. Additionally, in 2014, China dispatched for the first time, infantry troops for the UN Mission in South Sudan. (ibid). Table 3-2 below, depicts China's contribution to UN peacekeeping operations in Africa.

**Table 3-2: China's contribution to UN peacekeeping operations in Africa**

No.	Mission	Type of Personnel	Remark
1.	United Nations Transition Assistance Group (in Namibia) (UNITAG)	Civilian Experts	
2.	United Nations Mission for the Referendum in Western Sahara (MINURSO)	Military Personnel	Ongoing
3.	United Nations Operation in Mozambique	Military Personnel	
4.	United Nations Observer Mission in Liberia (UNOMIL)	Military Personnel	
5.	United Nations Observer Mission in Sierra Leone (UNOMSIL)	Military Personnel	
6.	United Nations Mission in Sierra Leone (UNAMSIL)	Military Personnel	
7.	United Nations Mission in Ethiopia and Eritrea (UNMEE)	Military Personnel	
8.	United Nations Organization Mission in the Democratic Republic of Congo (MONUC)	Military Personnel	

9.	United Nations Mission in Liberia (UNMIL)	Military Personnel Civilian Police	On going
10.	United Nations Operations in Burundi (ONUB)	Military Personnel	
11.	United Nations Operations in Cote d'Ivoire (UNOCI)	Military Personnel	On going
12.	United Nations Mission in the Republic of the Sudan (UNMIS)	Military Personnel Military Police	
13.	AU/UN Hybrid Operation in Dafur (UNAMID)	Military Personnel	On going
14.	United Nations Stabilization operation in the Democratic Republic of the Congo (MONUSCO)	Military Personnel	On going
15.	United Nations Mission in the Republic of South Sudan (UNMISS)	Military Personnel Civilian Police	On going

Source: Mulugeta Gebrehiwot Berhe and Lui Hongwu (2013, p. 63)

Similarly, Mr. Ernest Dolo (personal communication, April 5, 2017) of the Peace and Security Department-Early Warning Unit, posited that China's contribution to continental programs such as the African Peace and Security Architecture (APSA) and its various components has a positive impact on peace and security on the continent. He acknowledged China's financial commitments towards the operationalization of the APSA. It can be recalled that during the FOCAC VI summit held in Johannesburg, 2015, China's President Xi pledged US \$ 60 million over a three year period to support the operationalization of the African Peace and Security Architecture (APSA) including the African Standby Force (ASF) and the African Capacity for Immediate Response to Crises (ACIRC). China has also further committed to build Africa's capacity in defense, counter-terrorism, riot prevention, customs and immigration control. In addition to support for APSA, the Johannesburg Action Plan (FOCAC VI-2016-2018), enlisted China's support to the African Union, Regional Economic Communities (RECs), and other sub-regional institutions with stakes in addressing peace and security issues on the continent.

The researcher views these developments as cardinal and plausible not only because they seek to address the host of factors that continue to challenge both the security of African states and their citizens, ranging from insurrections to politically motivated violence, piracy, armed crime,

terrorism and extremism, but also because they sink in with the continent's flagship program "Silencing the guns by 2020" which aims at ending all wars, civil conflicts, gender based violence and violent conflicts on the continent.

### **3.4.3 Low level of Economic Diversification**

In this section, respondents among others provided valuable insights and comments on the following questions as it relates to the lack of diversification of African economies: What are elements that could be considered as key drivers or determinants of diversification? How can Africa utilize the partnership to promote and stimulate diversification? These questions were posed from the backdrop that trade between China and Africa is largely in the natural resource/ extractive industry. It has been argued that the continent's dependency on the exploitation of natural resources and primary commodities is not sustainable. This dependency contributes to the low levels of economic diversification on the continent. 80% of respondents acknowledge the low level of diversification of African economies and argue that diversification is a pre-requisite to achieving development on the continent. They assert that on the average, the economies of most African countries are natural resource dependent. This according to them, to a large extent accounts for the low levels of economic diversification on the continent. They also observed that China's trade and investments are linked to extractive industries and related infrastructure in most parts of the continent. This situation potentially contributes to Africa's stifled growth and development.

The findings of a survey on the trend of economic diversification undertaken by the United Nations Economic Commission for Africa (UNECA, 2007), gave a not so good picture of the status of diversification on the continent. The survey assessed the trend on the continental, sub-regional, and country levels. At the regional/continental level, it found that African economies exhibit very low levels of diversification and have registered minimal progress. Similarly, the Africa Center for Transformation (ACET) undertook an assessment of diversification on the continent between 2000 and 2010, using a number of indicators including technological

upgrading (medium and high technology in manufacturing and export), productivity, share of export in the manufacturing and service sectors, and export competitiveness. Mauritius, South Africa, Madagascar, Cameroon, Senegal Kenya and Cote d'Ivoire were said to be in the top tier of the diversification ranking. Ethiopia, Zambia, Ghana, Burkina Faso, Gabon, Botswana and Nigeria in the bottom third, while Rwanda and Benin were ranked in tier four and five respectively.

Michael (2013) alludes to the fact that the continent's dependency on the exportation of natural resources and primary commodities has been bluntly exposed by global financial and economic crisis. For example, the decline in demand and prices of oil and minerals largely contributed to the reduction of Africa's growth rate from 5.7% in 2008 to 1.9% in 2009. As a result, many of the continent's economies suffered setbacks in their efforts to meet the Millennium Development Goals by 2015 (OECD, 2010).

In the same vein, the African Development Bank Group (AfDB, 2011) indicated that the larger share of China's trade and investments are linked to extractive industries and related infrastructure. In an in depth study undertaken by the Group on China-Africa Partnership in 2011, the Bank revealed that about 70% of Africa's exports to China come from Angola, South Africa, Sudan and the Democratic Republic of Congo (DRC) which are heavily dominated by raw materials (e.g. Oil, copper, cobalt and cotton).

The researcher believes that economic diversification could reduce Africa's vulnerability to external shocks. This, the OECD (2010) notes, can contribute to achieving and sustaining long term economic growth and development in the continent. The (UNECA) argues in its Economic Report on Africa (2007) that the diversification of African economies is one way through which economic growth can be achieved and sustained. In light of this significance, the UNECA in the report, presented "diversification" as a new paradigm for Africa's development and considers it as a pre-requisite to achieving development on the continent.

Similarly, 80% of the respondents in their reactions to what could be considered as drivers of diversification listed among others, technology, infrastructure, skilled workforce, industrialization and manufacturing. They were also keen in observing the linkages between diversification, and the drivers that have been mentioned. They noted that China-Africa partnership can be used as a vehicle to improve and facilitate the diversification of African economies through various mechanisms including but not limited to: attracting China's investment in the requisite infrastructure, attracting finance and investing in sectors, boosting manufacturing, attracting requisite technology and training of Africa's labor force in specialized areas. Levi (personal communication, April 7, 2017) contends that these will improve the utilization of the continent's vast agriculture and mineral resources, engender the production and export of non-traditional agricultural and industrial products, further the development of the service sector, as well as stimulate value addition,

China's commitments to support Africa's industrialization and fund infrastructure development on the continent offer opportunities for African countries to pursue economic diversification and promote regional integration. Infrastructure, especially transport, is a key factor that supports economic diversification. Technology transfer whether medium or high- tech, can expand manufacturing activities that can boost the production and export of non-traditional (agricultural/extractive based) products, and further the development of services sectors, thus improving Africa's economic prospects.

China's commitments should prioritize major drivers that can promote sustainable growth and development including support/financing strategic sectors (energy for example), infrastructural projects, and building human resource capacity especially skills development. However, the researcher believes that beyond commitments, much more is needed to be done to promote economic diversification through the partnership in so far as the extractive industry continues to be the focus of China's investments.



### **3.5 Reviewing the Role of the AU/C, Member States, RECs**

This section focuses on the role of the African side i.e. the African Union (AU)/ African Union Commission (AUC), Member States, and Regional Economic Communities (RECs), in fostering the partnerships and most importantly, their role in ensuring that Africa's quest for transformation is a resounding success. The researcher recounted the importance of the institutions referenced above and sought to ascertain respondents' views on what role they expect these institutions and actors to assume in furtherance of the partnership(s) vis, achievement of Africa's transformation goals. 75% of the respondents reacted in the affirmative, acknowledging that all the actors including Member States, the African Union/Commission, partners, and relevant stakeholders, have a significant role to play. Of particular reference, the researcher wishes to highlight the reaction of the Head of the Partnership Division at the AU Commission who emphasized the crucial role that is expected of the AU/C. Among others, he asserted that the AU/ Commission has the responsibility of providing continental direction and technical support to Member States and Regional Economic Communities (RECs). The Commission is also expected to play an advocacy and advisory role especially as it relates to Africa's strategic partnerships. At the same time, he maintained that such roles also entail planning, facilitating and coordination continental and regional initiatives. This means that the AU/C needs to get more involved in the management of partnerships , decision making, and implementation of projects under the various partnership(s) frameworks.

The Head of the ECOWAS Liaison Office to the AU/C stressed that the Regional Economic Communities are required to play a pivotal role especially in the design, harmonization and implementation of regional policies and strategies including the galvanization of support for various regional initiatives.

In terms of harmonization of continental and regional initiatives, Madam Momodu (personal communication, April 9, 2017), pointed out the obvious disconnect between Member States, RECs and the AU/C. She observed that Member States engage bilaterally with partners and finalize BITS and other projects while the AU/C and RECs are also engaging the same partners

for example China, without harmonizing their engagements. This allows the partners to apply different standards across the continent. Similarly, Member States and RECs are expected not only to harmonize but to incorporate or domesticate continental programs into their regional and national programs.

On the role of Member States, respondents argued strongly that Member States, i.e. national governments should prioritize the designing of appropriate frameworks, policies, guidelines and regulations to for example, attract foreign direct investments, and a clear path towards engagement with partners. The researcher believes that this is a very important role it is incumbent on national governments to create the requisite conditions that would attract the needed foreign direct investments, to induce growth, development and diversification of their respective economies. Further, at the national level, Member States (National governments) are expected to play a leading role in setting the trajectory for implementation of agreed projects under the various partnership frameworks, whether within the bilateral or multilateral contexts. Hence, without diminishing the sovereign rights of Member States to seek benefits on a bilateral basis, it is more beneficial for Member States to work in concert under the umbrella of the AU/C as opposed to competing with each other for benefits/projects under the partnership frameworks.

Additionally, while leveraging strategic partnerships for the financing and implementation of Agenda 2063 and other regional and continental initiatives, Jallow (personal communication, April 10, 2017) also argued that Member States should play a leading role in domestic resource mobilization, promote national, regional, continental stability and security, and invest in human capital development-meaning-investment in health, technical education and training, science and technology, research and development (R&D) and entrepreneur development. In light of the respondents' views, the researcher endeavored to review efforts being exerted by Member States, the African Union/Commission and Regional Economic Communities (RECs) in so far as it relates to their role(s) in promoting partnerships, national, regional and continental initiatives.

As part of its expected role, the AU/C has set the trajectory and the basis for engagement with partners through the crafting of Agenda 2063. The Agenda represents the blue print of

development goals and aspirations of the continent over the next decades. Consistent with Agenda 2063, the AU/C has earmarked flagship projects which have continental dimensions. It has initiated a number of programs to facilitate the holistic development and transformation of the continent including in the areas of human development, trade, economic transformation, peace and security, infrastructural development, industrialization, among others. The AU/C continues to play a facilitating role between Member States and partners, working with RECs and harmonizing development and integration initiatives.

It is also worth noting that Member States, AU/C, and RECs are contributing to the attainment of the transformation agenda in general and in particular, undertaking steps in key areas that have the potential to positively impact the continent's upward mobility. For example, in the area of infrastructure development, (Member States) and institutions are implementing regional and continental initiatives to accelerate infrastructure development, including the PIDA (Programme for Infrastructure Development in Africa) priority action plan.

In terms of continental integration and connectivity they have established frameworks, including for maritime transport and a single African aviation market. The AU/C and Member States are adopting and implementing policies and strategic frameworks to expand access to affordable energy. The AUC is facilitating the accelerated development and use of renewable energy- the African Renewable Energy Initiative (AREI), is one of such initiatives aimed at addressing the continent's energy problems.

On facilitating the continent's industrialization drive, the AU/C conference of Ministers of Industry in 2007, developed an Action Plan to accelerate industrial development on the continent. The plan provides a continental framework for addressing the root causes of Africa's low industrial development. In this area, the researcher believes that Africa/Member States need to invest in critical areas for example, energy, communications, transport, to promote and sustain industrial development in their respective countries and by extension, the continent. Dependence on partners is not sustainable.

Additionally, the researcher emphasizes that Africa's industrialization development must also be anchored on human capital development-meaning-investment in health, technical education and training, science and technology, research and development as well as entrepreneur development. It is also important to stress the importance of Regional Economic Communities (RECs) playing a pivotal role in the promotion of industrialization at the regional level, while the AU/C and its relevant institutions play similar role at the continental level.

Joseph (personal communication, April 8, 2017) acknowledged the strides the AU/C and Regional Economic Communities (RECs) continue to make in the field of peace and security to promote regional stability and security. He noted that concrete strides are being made towards the full operationalization and implementation of the APSA, the African Governance Architecture (AGA), including the African Standby Force (ASF), Post-Conflict Reconstruction and Development (PCRD) Programme, the Panel of Wise (PoW), the Pan-African Parliament (PAP), and the African Peer Review Mechanism (APRM). He further asserted that the AU/C has also taken measures to further enhance cooperation by mutually establishing Liaison Offices within the AU and the RECs. The AU/C also sustains the operations of various African peacekeeping missions under the ambit of the Union. International partners, such as the United Nations (UN) system, including UN-OSAA and UNDP, as well as the European Union (EU), bilateral partners including Japan, and other international organizations, do provide a wide-range of support for these various programs.

Suggestions from respondents on how these challenges may be surmounted are contained in the following chapter. The next chapter presents the main findings of the study, conclusion and recommendation(s).

## **Chapter Four**

### **Summary, Conclusion and Recommendations**

This research study aimed at assessing the impact of China-Africa partnership on the enhancement of Africa's transformation. Specifically, it has attempted to examine China's contributions towards Africa's industrialization and human capital development, and identified the challenges of such partnership. This chapter presents the summary, conclusion of the study and advances recommendations to enhance Africa's strategic partnerships and China-Africa partnership in particular going forward. It considers views expressed by respondents and focus group participants on improving China-Africa relations as well as the enhancement of Africa's transformation agenda.

#### **4.1 Summary**

The continent's current state of development remains one of concern. 90 % of respondents and focus group participants posited that the Paradox "Rich Africa, Poor Africans" sums up the dire need to change this narrative. Hence, respondents acknowledged that partnership is a desirable mechanism that can contribute significantly to Africa's transformation if utilized to its full potential. However, considering the continent's comparative advantages, Africa can pursue alternative ways and means to foster its agenda. i.e. utilizing its assets including natural, financial, and human resource capabilities. Agenda 2063 provides the base for engagements with partners as it identifies continental objectives, goals, priorities, projects and targets which can now be aligned with the various partnership frameworks.

The respondents identified key drivers of transformation. Among others, they included promoting industrialization, infrastructure development, supporting regional and continental programs, investment financing, attracting foreign direct investments (FDIs), accelerating human capital development and stability on the continent. These drivers are in tandem with objectives of the study: To assess China's contributions towards Africa's industrialization, to examine China's

role towards Africa's human capital development, to investigate the constraints/challenges of the China-Africa partnership, and to proffer recommendations that would enhance the partnership and by extension Africa's transformation.

Available literature and data obtained during research as well as views of the respondents and focus group participants indicated that China has contributed to Africa's efforts including in the areas of industrialization, human capital development, peace and stability. Additionally, China has made commitments under the Johannesburg Action Plan (2016-2018) which have the potential to enhance Africa's transformation goals.

On Industrialization, it was asserted by respondents and backed by available literature that Africa in comparison to other regions lags far behind in terms of industrialization. Respondents argued that the continent is missing out on the numerous benefits that industrialization provides, i.e., creation of job opportunities, transfer of technology, value addition, skills development, and manufacturing competences. It was also gathered that China has made contributions towards industrialization on bilateral basis but that lot more is needed to be done at the continental level.

Africa's human capital development was viewed from a holistic perspective: higher /tertiary education, ensuring a decent standard of living, quality of life, health and well being of all Africans, and the actualization of the goals and objectives covered under the Agenda 2063 framework.

A number of challenges were identified including among others, the wanting state of Africa's human capital, the low ratio of tertiary enrollment in Africa, indications that technical and vocational education and training have not been given priority by many African countries, and the low levels of critical technical skills (CTS).

In view of these challenges, respondents and focus group participants emphasized that keen attention be given to developing critical skills which are paramount to achieving Agenda 2063 as well as science, technology and innovation.

Additionally, there were calls for the prioritization of continental programs- Pan African University (PAU- the Africa E-University - high quality Open Distance and eLearning (ODEL) i.e. support in the form of financial, technical and other resources.

China's assistance in addressing the continent's human capital development challenges has been forthcoming in various areas including, education-, the provision of scholarships and training opportunities, and health. Available literature point to the establishment of platforms such as the African Human Resources Development Fund, the China-Africa Science and Technology Partnership, security related Human Resource Development (HRD) programs, and the China-Africa poverty reduction plan (200 "Happy Life" projects and poverty reduction programs).

A number of challenges confronting Africa's strategic partnerships were observed by respondents and focus group participants among which included: The lack of collaboration and coordination between the various organs of the African Union (AU /AUC), Regional Economic Communities (RECs), Regional Mechanisms (RMs), and Member States, with respect to engaging partners; difficulty in identifying projects and programs for support and implementation as well as the lack of clear focus, making it difficult to channel resources strategically; the failure of the AU/C , Member States to adopt a common front, i.e. Common African positions on key issues relative to fields of cooperation with partners.

On FOCAC, challenges observed included among others, the limited involvement of the African side (AU/C and African Countries) in the management of the partnership, respondents maintained that FOCAC action plans are largely inspired and defined by the Chinese side with little or no contribution from the African side. This view was supported by the PRC Subcommittee on Multilateral Cooperation of the partnerships in its evaluation report on the partnerships. Additionally, the challenge of accessing, monitoring and evaluating the implementation of FOCAC projects was highlighted.

It remains incontestable that peace and security are fundamental to the attainment of the continent's transformation goals. Respondents and focus group participants asserted that violent

conflicts and all forms of instability are inimical to the growth and development of the continent. They maintained that conflicts and instability are among the root causes for Africa's stalled development, and serves as disincentives for the attraction of the much needed investment to propel the continent's mobility.

While the argument that violent conflicts give rise to instability holds water, it was also argued by some that the root causes of instability can be found in the daunting socio-economic conditions on the continent, they believe that more development-socio-economic, human resources, et al, is the foundation for peace. The respondents and focus group participants called for more support to peacekeeping operations in Africa as well as the continent's peace and security architecture (APSA), other regional mechanisms.

It is worth noting that in 2015, China's President Xi pledged US \$ 60 million over a three year period to support the operationalization of the African Peace and Security Architecture (APSA) including the African Standby Force (ASF). Additionally, within the context of the Partnership for Peace and Security framework and the Johannesburg Action Plan (FOCAC VI-2016-2018), China has committed to support the African Union, Regional Economic Communities (RECs), and other sub-regional institutions with stakes in addressing peace and security issues on the continent.

Respondents and focus group participants acknowledged that diversification is a pre-requisite to achieving development on the continent. Elements such as requisite/ improved technology, adequate infrastructure, skilled workforce, industrialization and manufacturing, were considered as key drivers or determinants of diversification.

The continent's dependency on the exploitation of natural resources and primary commodities was also highlighted. Respondents argued that this is not sustainable and that it contributes to the low levels of economic diversification on the continent. They maintained that diversification of African economies is one way through which economic growth can be achieved and sustained. They argue that economic diversification could reduce Africa's vulnerability to external shocks



and that the China-Africa partnership can be used as a vehicle to improve and facilitate the diversification of African economies.

On the role of Role of AU/C Member States and RECs, the respondents and focus group participants noted that all the actors including Member States, the African Union/Commission, partners, and relevant stakeholders, have a significant role to play in fostering the partnerships and most importantly, in ensuring that Africa's quest for transformation is a resounding success. It is however important to mention that these roles that have been highlighted are in no way exhaustive. They contend that the AU/C: has the responsibility of providing continental direction and technical support to Member States and Regional Economic Communities (RECs). It is also expected to play an advocacy and advisory role, planning, facilitating and coordination continental and regional initiatives.

National governments on the other hand should prioritize the designing of appropriate frameworks, policies, guidelines and regulations , create the requisite conditions that would attract the needed foreign direct investments, to induce growth, development and diversification of their respective economies and play a leading role in setting the trajectory for implementation of agreed projects under the various partnership frameworks, whether within the bilateral or multilateral contexts.

Regional Economic Communities (RECs) are required to play a pivotal role especially in the design, harmonization and implementation of regional policies and strategies including the galvanization of support for various regional initiatives.

## **4.2 Conclusion**

Africa desires to transform the continent for the beneficiation of its people. It is this desire for transformation that motivated the forging of partnerships. African leaders had agreed that international solidarity and partnership are essential to spur the transformation of the continent. Hence, the importance of partnership as a vehicle for transformation was emphasized.

On the question of whether the partnership is a “Win-Win”, respondents expressed varying views. Some suggested that the Chinese side is exploitative and only targets mineral rich countries to secure its energy and other interests. On the other hand, some acknowledged the contributions of China to African countries and support to the African Union as a positive step in the partnership. Some stressed the need to take stock of the partnership with the view of addressing perceived or real challenges including limited participation of the African side in decision-making, minimum consultations on key partnership outcomes among others.

However, it is useful to point out as have been noted by some respondents and focus group participants that, Africa seem to be well positioned to contribute to China’s growing resource demand. For example, the continent has more than 10% of global oil reserves and 75% of global natural gas reserves (Thrall, 2011. P. 10). To realize the development of these resources, many African States seek affordable foreign investment capital and infrastructure development. The Chinese side has been forthcoming in this area. In the same vein, in the area of peace and security, China seeks to protect its economic interest on the continent including its investments, Chinese companies and its citizens, whereas Africa needs to address its peace and development challenges.

Some commentators and respondents alike noted the difficulty in taking stock of and quantifying the achievements of the FOCAC process in terms of socio-economic transformational impact. However, these difficulties, it was determined that China has and continues to lend support to African countries and the continent at large in various respects. China has contributed to the continents industrialization drive, human capital development, potentially contributed to facilitating diversification of African economies, provided development and humanitarian assistance, aid and concessional loans, debt cancellation, participate in UN-led peace operations in Africa, finance infrastructural projects, Foreign Direct investments (FDIs).

While there may yet be challenges as noted in section 3.4, the China-Africa partnership (FOCAC) has contributed in many ways to the continent’s development Agenda, i.e.,

industrialization human capital development, peace and security, and also offers opportunities for addressing the low levels of diversification of African economies.

There is by and large the view that Partnerships do enhance continental development. However, partnerships should be a complimentary mechanism and that the continent should adopt homegrown approaches to propel its development and transformation drive.

### **4.3 Recommendations**

The following are among recommendations proffered by respondents, focus group participants as well as the researcher's perspective(s), which it is anticipated, can contribute towards addressing the challenges highlighted, foster Africa's strategic partnerships in general, the China-Africa partnership (FOCAC), the overarching goals of Africa's transformation, and to the specific objectives of this study which includes bolstering industrialization, accelerating human capital development:

On Strategic partnerships/ China-Africa partnership:

- Referenced was made to the Kagame Report on Institutional reform of the African Union (January 29, 2017-p.11) suggesting that the African Union is currently involved in almost every area related to the continent's development.  
The report notes that the AU's work lacks clear focus, which makes it difficult to channel resources strategically, resulting in a fragmented and ineffective organization. In tandem with the report, respondents and focus group participants recommended that the AU should focus on a fewer number of priority areas which are continental in scope.
- As argued by some that China-Africa relations have for the most part been conducted on a bilateral basis. There is a need to increase the participation of the AU/C in the Framework. This would mean increased participation in terms of decision making consultations and mutual undertakings.
- In view of the difficulties in accessing information on the general frameworks of partnerships, value addition to the continent, implementation of projects, statistical data,

and the impact of partnerships on the socio economic development of the continent, it is recommended that a “Research Think Tank” on partnerships be established at the AU/C, to address these concerns. Alternatively, the Partnership division at the AU/C can be strengthened to perform this role.

- Africa to train, rooster, and maintain a pool of professionals in the art of negotiating Bilateral Investment Treaties (BITS) and partnerships engagements. Skilled professionals will provide expertise, advise and transfer knowledge to RECs, other Regional Mechanisms, Member States and other AU institutions. The AU/C Legal Department and Division of Partnerships must take the lead in this effort.

On Industrialization:

- African governments must develop investment policies that are tailored to maximize Member States’ comparative sector-specific advantages. Public-private partnerships (PPPs) should be encouraged in order to stimulate massive investments in infrastructure. Funding to facilitate the implementation of continental industrialization programs such as AIDA, PIDA, and AREI should be prioritized. Additionally, mutual beneficial economic undertakings should be encouraged between and amongst African countries. This will promote regional integration, reduce the regulatory burden facing African industries by harmonizing policies and restraining unfavorable domestic programs, boost inter- and intra-African trade and accelerate industrialization.
- Number of Chinese sponsored SEZs seem inadequate to engender the boom required to propel industrialization across the continent. It is therefore recommended that the SEZs be expanded in term of size and distribution consistent with Agenda 2063 framework.

On Human capital development:

- National Governments should invest in vocational training, skills development, higher education, which are essential to Africa’s transformation. More attention needs to be given to Science, Technology, Engineering and Maths (STEM).
- A number of commentaries have been made that Africa is the world’s youngest continent and is currently undergoing a powerful demographic transition. This demographic

dividend can be cashed in to stimulate industrial production and by extension, development and transformation of the continent, if harnessed properly.

On Peace and Security:

- African Governments must ensure inclusive development, strengthen the rule of law and respect for human rights which are considered pillars of all successful societies.
- The most urgent challenge is the creation of jobs for the continent's youth. This can be surmounted by harnessing the demographic dividend through investing in the youths. The likelihood is high that young people resort to violence and joining armed groups if they cannot find jobs or have reasons not to believe in the future.
- The quality of our national security forces matters. Need to invest in more training and capacity building to enable them perform their duties.
- Enhanced coordination between the AU/PSC and the African Regional Economic Communities (RECs)/Regional Mechanisms for conflict prevention, Management and Resolution (RMs), and Increase support to Regional mechanisms for conflict prevention, management and resolution. RECs/RMs are the first responders to conflicts in their regions. Logistical and financial support is essential.

On the role of all actors and stakeholders:

- Propose the setting up of a "Clearing House" to facilitate effective collaboration between the African Union/Commission, Regional Economic Communities, Regional Mechanisms, Member States and other continental institutions. The clearing house will enhance coordination and promote common and practical approaches on dealing with partnerships.

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## **Appendix: Questionnaire and Interview Guide**

Dear respondent:

The researcher is undertaking a Study on the topic: “**Assessing Africa’s Transformation through Partnership: The Case of China-Africa Partnership**”. The Study is in partial fulfillment for the Degree of Master of Arts (Political Science) from the Indira Gandhi National Open University, School of Social Science.

This questionnaire is designed to generate your kind response(s) which will provide valuable insights that will facilitate the researcher’s task of assessing Africa’s transformation through partnership with focus on the China-Africa partnership with emphasis on Africa’s transformation in the context of Industrialization, and human capital development, since the formation of the Forum on China Africa Cooperation (FOCAC) in 2000.

Respondents are assured that the responses/ answers are purely for the purpose of this study.

### **Africa’s Transformation**

**1. It is an incontestable fact that “Africa’s Transformation” has become an imperative.**

- A) What does the term “Africa’s Transformation” mean to you?
- B) How can you describe the current state of Africa’s development?
- C) What can you consider as the drivers of Africa’s transformation and how might they contribute to achieving transformation?

### **Partnership**

**2. Is partnership a desirable mechanism to propel Africa’s development/transformation?**

- A) If your answer is Yes, how?
- B) If your response is No, what better mechanism(s) can you propose?

**3. Africa has developed a number of partnerships over the years to enhance the continent’s development/transformation drive.**

- A) what is your view on the impact of those partnerships vis-à-vis the continent’s development goals?
- B) Do you agree that those partnerships contribute to the continent’s transformation?
- C) If yes, how:
- D) If No, why?

### **China-Africa Partnership**

**4). Partnerships provide platforms and opportunities to pursue mutual goals as well as respective interests and visions in a “Win-Win” context.**

**The Forum on China Africa Cooperation (FOCAC) was launched in October 2000. The Forum serves as a platform for dialogue between China and Africa. It is intended to provide the opportunity for deriving practical approaches to tackling developmental and other issues of mutual concern.**

- A) How can you describe the partnership? Win-Win?
- B) How has the partnership contributed to achieving the continent's aspirations of transformation?
- C) Are there real/potential challenges facing the partnership? If yes, how might they be addressed?
- D) How do you think African countries / African Union, can maximize the potential benefits from the partnership?

**5. The African Union Commission, Member States and Regional Economic Communities are key in Africa's transformation.**

- A) What role do you think they are expected to assume in this partnership?

**6. Some analysts believe that the main driving force behind China's investment in Africa is for natural resources.**

- A) Do you agree? What is your perspective?

**7. Some commentators have noted that Africa has a weak industrial base citing for example: that there are only few countries where manufacturing as a share of GDP exceeds 25% the benchmark used to designate a country as having achieved the critical threshold of "Industrial take off".**

**They posit that Industrialization can cause rapid economic transformation that can ensure countries to move into highly productive activities, especially manufacturing and modern services"**

- A) What is your take on China's contribution towards Africa's industrialization?

**8. The continent's greatest resource is its people, especially the young population, whose energy, creativity and courage must drive Africa's renaissance. Investment in their education and training, remain critical to drive Africa's modernization and development in all spheres"**

- A) What in your opinion has been China's contribution(s) as it relates to Human Capital Development on the continent?

**Perceived Challenges to achieving Transformation**

**9. Peace and security are fundamental prerequisites for socio-economic development. Some contend that Africa is caught in a vicious circle. It cannot get the domestic and international investment it needs for development because the business community fears that its states are unstable and frequently predatory.**

**Achieving the goals of transformation would remain elusive if perceived inhibitors are not equally addressed.**

A) Do you agree to this assertion? **If yes Comment.**

B) If no, what do you perceive as challenges that may have the propensity to derail the achievement of Africa's transformation?

C) How can they be surmounted?

**10. One of the flagship programs of Africa's Agenda 2063 in its First Ten Year Implementation Plan is "Silencing the Gun by 2020.**

A) How do you think China can contribute towards peace and security on the continent? i.e., prevention and resolution of conflicts?

**11. It has been observed that trade between Africa and China is largely in the natural resource sector and extractive industry. Further, it has been argued that the continent's dependency on the exportation of natural resources and primary commodities is not sustainable.**

A) How can we utilize the partnership to promote and stimulate diversification?

B) What in your opinion are some key drivers or determinants of diversification?

### **Recommendations**

12. What recommendation(s) can you propose to improve and or enrich this paper?

**A set of Interview Guide Questions to guide the researcher in conducting the various kinds of interviews, which are designed in structuring the kind of information that the researcher hopes to, receive. Pertinent questions were asked to each interviewee.**