

The Future of Chinese-African Strategic Relations
"Challenges and Opportunities"

Professor Dr/ Rana Mohamed Abd El Aal
rana_abdeal2021@commerce.suez.edu.eg
ranoonfeps@yahoo.com

It was not easy to institutionalize a new type of relationship in light of the world order based on a bond different from the Bretton Woods system, which is the “bond of common destiny.” This bond, which is one of the pillars of Chinese foreign policy, is one of the pillars of the new world order towards which China is taking firm steps. Perhaps Chinese-African relations are one of the foundations of this system, as new words come into it, including (win-win, growth together, growth of the South with the South), which are words that differ from the Western discourse towards the African continent, in which the Western presence has always been linked to a type of colonialism in its various forms and degrees.

Perhaps the connection of the Chinese presence with new types of diplomacy is a kind of new framing of international relations, such as development diplomacy, or sympathy diplomacy. Therefore, this paper examines the various strategic stakes of these Chinese-African relations in light of the Belt and Road, and the SWOT (mainly challenges and interests or opportunities)analysis will be followed to find out the most important opportunities. The challenges, strengths and weaknesses of the Chinese-African framework, and the most important scenarios that could clarify the future of the African continent under this framework .

Key words:

Strategic Relations, Development Diplomacy, Common Destiny, Peaceful Development, Digital Silk Road

Preface:

Chinese policy in the continent of Africa is based on the idea of linking its five regions through the launch of an interconnected network of roads, as part of the Belt and Road Initiative that Beijing launched in 2013 and a lot of African countries joined it, in an attempt to gain more political and economic influence in African countries, which is what it enhances the geopolitical importance of the African region in the Chinese perspective due to many strategic considerations that prompted Beijing to employ a number of tools to intensify its movements there.

While the economic approach is a decisive factor in the growing Chinese interest in the West Africa region, as evidenced by the intensity of Chinese investments in the countries of the region, especially infrastructure projects, Chinese loans provided to African governments also play the same role in order to fill their budget deficits and finance their various projects. Beijing is not only satisfied with this approach, but rather Beijing is strengthening its involvement in many African crises in an attempt to find a settlement for them, such as issues of development, terrorism, and poverty. This is of course reflected in the African welcome to the Chinese presence, which is distinguished from the Western presence in that it transcends the idea of political and economic conditionality, in particular interference in the internal affairs of African countries, including governance and human rights.

Such Sino- African framework is also an important point and has its own uniqueness, especially the necessity of continuing to implement the outcomes of the eighth session of the ministerial meeting of the China-Africa Cooperation Forum, especially the nine programs that were announced. President (Xi Jinping), looking forward to the success of the upcoming China-Africa Cooperation Forum summit in September 2024 .

It is the strategy of jointly building the Silk Road Economic Belt and the First Century Maritime Silk Road or commonly known as the “One Belt, One Road” strategy, is the main driver of Chinese policy internally and for Chinese diplomacy externally. The ancient Silk Road, and the initiative to establish an economic cooperation partnership between countries on the three continents: “Asia, Euro, Africa”, which it crosses along the "Belt and Road", in order to jointly build a bond of common interest and a bond a common destiny and a bond of common responsibility, which is represented by mutual political trust and economic integration.

The main Hypothesis of the study; is that while China's permanent endeavors to secure energy resources and obtain new markets for its growing economy, Beijing will push towards building many strategic alliances, and put forward many regional and global strategies with many regions in the world, especially the African continent.

The main question of the study: what are the main opportunities for Sino- African relations in the light of BRI and the differentiation between the western and Chinese contexts in dealing with Africa?

To answer such question, the study will adapt the **analytical methodological approach** with comparative part of the western versus Chinese one, and focusing on the main Chinese approach from strategic perspective to know the main interest and challenges and the main tools China adapt in its relation with the continent to reach some recommendations at the end of the study with some future scenarios describing the win-win approach for both sides.

- **Historical Back Ground of African Chinese Relations:**

Chinese African relations are at a new historic starting point owing to huge opportunities in the fast emerging continent and strong growth momentum in the world's second-largest economy, as the fundamental doctrine of Chinese cooperation with African countries is based on the formula of "**South-South**", envisaging expansion of trade between developing countries, cooperation in developing intermediate technologies, technical mutual aid.

The Chinese approach go back to the Bandung Conference held in Indonesia in 1955, for a serious start of solidarity between itself and African countries, China adopted the five principles of cooperation, which are:

A - Mutual respect for territorial integrity.

B - Sovereignty and non-aggression by one country against another.

C - Non-interference of one state in the internal affairs of another state.

D - Equality and mutual benefit.

E - Peaceful coexistence.

Chinese theorists have suggested that the capacity of African countries can afford them to achieve accelerated economic growth and self-sufficiency on foodstuff. However; the roots of this relationship go back in the modern era to the common ties that with Africans, Chinese interest in Africa focused in the 1960s and 1970s on building bridges of ideological solidarity with other developing countries to promote Chinese communism. Such relation can be limited by [the principles governing China's policy in Africa](#) such as follows:

1. Loyalty, friendship, equality, and adherence to the five principles of peaceful coexistence and respect for countries' choices africa in pursuing the appropriate path of development.
2. Mutual benefit, common prosperity, and the hand of African countries in economic development and political construction, implementing cooperation in various forms in the fields of economic, commercial and social development.
3. Mutual support closes coordination, and enhanced cooperation with Africa in multilateral organizations, including United Nations, and continuing to appeal to the international community to pay more attention to peace and development in Africa.
4. Benefiting from bilateral experiences in management and development expertise, and enhancing exchange and cooperation between China and Africa in the fields of science, education, culture and health, and to participate together in exploring ways of sustainable development.
5. The one-China principle is China's political basis for establishing and developing relations with other countries

The complexity of China-Africa relations woven by the initiative Belt and Road offers a multi-faceted narrative, which is the evolving role played by African state institutions at the heart of the country's infrastructure boom Africa lies a renewed emphasis on the state as the engine for encouraging development. This renewed approach led by the state to smoothly absorb African countries into global trade and value chains. The state, in this context, it is not a homogeneous entity, rather is conceived as an extreme gathering Complexity of different levels of governance, ranging from bureaucracies to central to local administrative units

However; there are new changes that happen in such relation like [framing the Chinese African relations in the light of 2063 agenda as](#), In 2015, China and the African Union signed a memorandum of understanding for cooperation in the field of infrastructure networks, through which China will increase key infrastructure and manufacturing operations, and

within the strategic framework of the Union's Agenda 2063, and supporting cooperation with African countries in the fields of railways, highways, regional aviation and industrialization Which will help develop and advance economic integration

The year 2063 represents a shift in approach. Rather than simply liberalizing the market, emphasize economic transformation. As the cornerstone of this agenda is the African Continental Free Trade Area, which aims to create a unified market across the continent. However, it does not focus only on liberalizing exchanges, but rather sees the agreement as a tool for economic transformation aims to promote economic diversification and industrial exports. The infrastructure challenge is being addressed through multiple programs such as the infrastructure development program in Africa.

Such shift in Chinese approach has many evidences such as:

- The logic of the deal to access raw materials, China offers package deals within the agreement include a large amount of aid and support security, infrastructure projects.
- It allows broader control for the Chinese government to enforce its contracts and activating its practical role in exploiting raw materials
- Political pragmatism; as from the late 1950s until the early 1970s, China provides strong support for revolutionary movements in Africa and objected liberal ideas had an impact on African countries that was looking for an alternative after independence. Since the beginning.
- There is a growing interest on the part of China to participate in the issues of security on the continent. In order to secure exports of raw materials to reach the African market, China is deploying more ships along the coast so as not to depend on security forces.
- Employing the Chinese community in Africa; there are **three specific groups** of Chinese people in Africa: **First**, officials, such as embassy employees and company heads, State-owned, etc. And they interact in Africa in the same way as western, eastern diplomats do, **Second**, the workforce in infrastructure projects who usually live in Chinese complexes and eat Chinese food. And they know that they will return home eventually, and all that will remain a few of them are in Africa at the end of their decade and **the third**, Chinese merchants and small business owners. And they come on their own initiative, they bring Chinese products to sell in African countries with cheaper prices, and they are trying to build a business life in the continent. They are the group that has the greatest influence on society and the African economy

The Chinese Interests in the continent can be presented in the following points:

- The main driver is the search for Raw materials; where a large portion - nearly a third - comes from China's oil imports from the continent so for **Economic and commercial interests**: China seeks to strengthen its economic influence in Africa, through its attempt to export a Chinese development model to the countries of the region, and presents itself as an economic model suitable for them, which is met with African welcome in light of the need of African countries for more Chinese investments and infrastructure projects, most of which are undertaken by Chinese companies, in a way that makes Beijing the most influential among the international powers active in West Africa on the economic level, in light of its dominance over most investments in a number of important sectors. Such as infrastructure, communications, minerals and oil
- Aside from oil, Africa's vast reserves of minerals fueled exports to China; It witnessed an increase of eleven doubled since the beginning of this century. This flow of resources is not working. Not only does it feed industrial machinery in China, but it also works to strengthen the position of the Chinese Communist Party at home.
- At the same time, with the rise in industrial output in China, It is looking to new markets to absorb its production, and Africa, which it showed a nine-fold increase in imports from China
- Beyond economics, political and strategic factors contribute, it also plays a pivotal role; Where China seeks support all 54 African countries are in institutions globally, especially within the Security Council and the Human Rights Council of the United Nations. In return, China gives its weight to countries Africa during the deliberations and conflicts of the World Trade Organization.
- So **Political and strategic interests**: Beijing harnesses its diplomacy to strengthen political relations, which in turn contributes to consolidating economic and security cooperation relations with West African countries, within the framework of the open-door policy that Beijing has adopted in Africa during the past years.
- Chinese interests in Africa are linked to a number of motives. They seek African support to support them and defend their issues in international forums such as Taiwan, Hong Kong, and the South China Sea, especially since Africa enjoys a large voting bloc in the United Nations, where about 28 votes % of the total members of the General Assembly there, and the West Africa region alone includes 16 African countries, making it a significant voting bloc; China can employ it to protect its strategic interests in the international system.

- Beijing also targets African support for the “one China” policy.
- China is also looking to benefit from the density of the number of consumers in African markets, which exceeds one billion people, by providing export markets for Chinese goods that include a portion of Chinese labor, to maximize Chinese economic interests in the region. It is also pushing towards creating a favorable environment for business between China and Africa through the Forum for China-Africa Cooperation (FOCAC), which enhances its efforts to control many ports on the West African coast with the aim of facilitating trade exchanges with African countries
- Since the founding of the Forum on China-Africa Cooperation (FOCAC), Chinese companies - numbering more than 10,000 with revenues amounting to \$180 billion annually - have helped many African countries, including West Africa, build and modernize more than 10,000 kilometers of railways, and nearly Of the 100,000 kilometers of highways, approximately 1,000 bridges, 100 seaports, 66,000 kilometers of transportation and energy distribution network, 120,000 megawatts of power, and 150,000 kilometers of communications network to serve about 700 million users.
- **Regarding Military interests:** Beijing sees the turmoil in the regional security context in the African region, including the Sahel and the Sahara, due to the escalation in the activity of terrorist organizations there, as a good opportunity for it to become involved in addressing security issues, which represent an important gateway to the growing Chinese influence in the region, and the growing positive perception of it in societies. Local African countries because of their contribution to building a greater role in achieving regional stability and reducing the risks of security threats there, which was evident in the participation of some Chinese forces within the United Nations peacekeeping missions in West Africa and the provision of military support to the countries of the region and the African Union.

✓ **For China implementing such interests it adopt some tools that is different from western context as:**

- China has mastered the use of **soft power (including all types of diplomacy; development diplomacy, popular diplomacy, informal diplomacy...)**, which China share with Africa through multilateral organizations, such as the United Nations, the International Monetary Fund and the Bank and G20. Multilateral organizations attach great importance to the mechanism of cooperation between countries such as the South, the China+G7, the Non-Aligned Movement and BRICS. For example The BRICS group has great potential in terms of its ability to support African development, The BRICS group "BRICS and Africa" was held in March 2013. It is considered the most important factor that contributed to the progress of the Chinese-African relationship relates to its transition from a one-dimensional relationship to a “multi-dimensional” relationship with the support of institutional character, especially the Forum on China-Africa Cooperation
- **Respecting cultural identity:** China's respect for African cultural identity has had a positive impact on relations between the two parties, as there is convergence and harmony between Chinese cultural identity and African cultural identity, which has led to the development of relations between China and Africa.
- Chinese-African relations were essentially based on similar suffering and difficult days in the past. The roots of this relationship in the modern era go back to the common ties that brought together China with Africans in the 1960s and 1970s. China’s interest is focused on building bridges of ideological solidarity with other developing countries to enhance Chinese communism, and to repel the Western colonial tide.
- It also respected the customs and traditions of African countries, and held African exhibitions in China to introduce African cultures. It also opened many Chinese language teaching institutes such as the Confucius Institute, raised the level of scientific exchange and educational missions between them, focused on cultural diplomacy, and emphasized respect for the cultural identity of African countries. And provided support to them in international conferences.
- African countries have come to view the Chinese political and economic system as an example to emulate. To achieve prosperity and development, so that it can be used to create an African system that is compatible with its characteristics, due to the strong economy that China represents, and the similarity in some of the historical characteristics of the African continent and the People’s Republic of China

- **However; There are some challenges that face the Sino-African relations as follows:**

***Internationally;** With the spread of the phenomenon of international terrorism, piracy, and organized crime, as well as conflicts, hotspots of tension, and the lack of Stability in many countries and regions , a lot of challenges emerged like:

(1) **Security threats** will continue to pose a major and dangerous challenge to the protection of Oil, Gas, and Railways and marine lines, and will require a lot of investment

(2) **politically**, the rules of the game is changing, and the western concepts are no longer trusted that, it stands out clearly through the difference of the standard for Chinese aid and how it differs?

(3) **Economically**, on neoliberal economic policies. For this reason, no longer western donors have the dominant power to dictate terms of development for African countries. And through the adoption of development as, China can provide African countries with industrial development Gradual,

***Internally or Challenged linked to the African Continent:**

1- Employment and employment of local workers and ways of communicating with each other.

2- Continuing, preserving and sustaining development in infrastructure projects.

3- Challenges related to the African interaction with the Chinese initiative due to the link between the process of establishing infrastructure and environmental protection.

4-Security risks: murder and kidnapping.

5-How to increase the amount of benefit from the economic benefits of infrastructure works in relation to social goals, such as generating and creating jobs, improving the conditions and level of education, as well as improving the situation of Health (explore the job opportunities it creates for infrastructure programs)

6-Sustainability of infrastructure programs “related to local capabilities for construction, the effectiveness of programs and projects.

7-The Chinese economy is lagging behind, as some Chinese companies compete with their African counterparts in producing some products that were specific to Africa.

8- Doubt and apprehension about the nature of the Chinese presence in Africa. Is it a partner or a new colonizer? (What can be called the trust crisis issue made by the west?)

9-Geographical distance between the two sides; It is true that there are Chinese reinforcements to facilitate connectivity with the countries of the African continent Within its BRI project, it is also true that the focus is on the East and South, Mainly East Africa, taking into account that this does not mean ignoring the center and west of the continent, although Interest in it is less compared to the eastern and southeastern regions. This geographical distance may represent a limiting factor expected rapprochement between the two sides.

10- International and regional competition on the continent, as China faces strong international and regional competition on the African continent .Such competition that may reach the point of competition between many parties, some of which seek to maintain the balance of their existence, On that continent, and some others seek to gain areas of presence and influence by strengthening their relations with leaders of countries.

11-Weak cultural and linguistic ties between the two sides, which are reflected in the language barrier, as most regions of the continent Due to ancient colonialism, she speaks alongside the local languages, either English or French, which makes it very difficult to communicate between the two sides. It is true that China is trying through those present in development projects, they must be familiar with the languages spread in those regions to facilitate communication with their citizens.

12- Western Media is also another challenge due to the knowledge gap between China and Africa, the one that gives the picture on china is not always China itself, but with western Media which makes great gap between the two sides and of course, put some double standard image that made by the west for both sides.

- **Difference between Chinese and Western context of relations with Africa:**

- There is a difference between the western approach and the Chinese one as, China did not link its aid to Africa with any political purposes, as Chinese aid included many developmental aspects of the continent, although the main fear is the excessive dependence of African governments on Chinese loans. The International Monetary Fund classifies more than 20 African countries as being at high risk.

- West-African relations arose within the framework of **power relations**, especially military power, which is the first tool of hard power. The relations of Western countries with African countries were based on an exploitative pattern, whether during the colonial periods, or during the periods after the African countries obtained control. Its independence, and after the fall of the Soviet Union, and the dominance of the pattern of hegemony in international relations, while China entered Africa through soft power, so African-Chinese relations were established on the basis that China did not have a colonial history in Africa, as it was not a colonial empire that lived on the plunder of wealth. Or sell people and destroy other countries, as the Western colonialists did.

- **On the contrary**, China focused on the common historical suffering of both China and Africa, and that it is one of the countries of the developing world, and therefore it faces the same problems and issues, and has the same fate, and then China entered Africa quietly, relying on the means of soft power.

- The West provided a lot of aid to African countries, but that aid was characterized by:

A - Most of it is military aid, in the form of arms sales, training or consultations, which helped increase the intensity of conflicts on the African continent.

B- Support for some regimes, whether material or political, which hindered the process of democracy on the continent.

C- Providing conditional loans and financial and economic assistance, which hindered the development process in the countries of the continent.

D - The Western media presented a distorted image of the African individual, and viewed the continent as a single geographical bloc, dominated by a single culture.

E- It deals with pivotal countries with regional influence on the continent.

- While China's aid to African countries was characterized by:

- A- Non-interference in the internal affairs or governance systems of African countries. They do not interfere in the policies followed by African governments.
 - B- Providing aid without/ with small conditions.
 - C- Raising the slogans of “friendship and partnership without exploitation.”
- Cooperation based on the principle of “exchange of interests”, which is based on providing aid as a deposit for commercial exchange, and according to economic logic, it concludes commercial deals where it buys oil and raw materials in exchange for developing dilapidated or non-existent infrastructure.
 - In addition to providing soft loans to establish infrastructure; It established one hundred electricity and energy generating stations, built thirty hospitals, sent more than one thousand five hundred doctors to work in them, established fifty schools, and paved more than three thousand kilometers of roads in forty countries. In confirmation of this policy, the Chinese President announced that “China must and Africa to work together to translate the advantage of their friendship into an impetus for cooperation based on equal gains, common development, and the translation of the continent’s rich natural and human resources into economic strength and well-being for the people.”
 - Very important difference is that China respects African culture, so it holds African exhibitions in China to introduce African culture and adopting the means of continuous dialogue with African countries through forums and conferences, For China also, it deals with all countries of the continent, both small and large.

Findings and Concluding Remarks:

- China and Africa are complementary to each other in economic development, and they still have development projects in common like giants projects such as the Silk Road within the Belt and Road Initiative, and the free trade zone in Djibouti as a platform for implementation
- The neoliberal world order is changing gradually in international power dynamics; China's relationship with Africa challenges the status quo, and tends the pendulum of force moves gradually from west to east. In the future, the international system also begins to appear multipolar with other countries, such as India and Brazil, especially begin to expand BRICS Group, is playing an increasingly important role in affairs

- For win-win approach to bear fruit, effectiveness must be increased ; Where African leaders must look closely Proactively look for ways to take advantage of the opportunities you have presented to them by China for their own gain and exploit these opportunities. Also, to increase their economic influence and power in the international system.
- One way in which this can be done is by, the study and learn from China's economic development, and get good training in disciplines
- Hence African countries need to start realizing this truth and begin formulating strategies and policies which enables it to reap benefits from these different competitors in international trade and economic development. And by doing so, they must ensure that their policies will never allow them to do mutual winning approach.
- Returning to the position of dependency imposed on them by the global western system, the necessity of disengaging from the capitalist economy, it is the global one that should support all of Africa's interactions with China, ensuring the continent's exit from the dependency relationship with the west
- Such strong relationship between the Chinese Communist Party and African governments on mutual recognition of potential benefits, indicating commitment that long lasting on both sides. And away from economic relations, Politically, Beijing has actively sought to address some concerns which Africans show by re-adjusting their approach towards African countries. This is evidenced by China's practical response for evolving dynamics, and emphasizing sustainability in trade relationships and enhancing soft power through cultural exchange, popularity, and playing a proactive role in ensuring security and stability in conflict-prone African regions
- This reflects Beijing's awareness of the potential repercussions caused by China's growing influence on the continent. And through focus to build on these context-specific strategies, China does not aim to mitigate negative perceptions to have an environment is likely to work, which promote close cultural relations and communication from humanitarian approach, to generate broader public support for China.

Recommendations

The study reached a number of recommendations that would enhance Sino- African relations on mutual winning approach, the most important of which are:

- In the Sino-African case, China has comparative advantages in technology, capital and technical expertise, Africa has superior natural resources, development potential and markets, and Africa must focus on how to benefit from Chinese capabilities in a way that maximizes their economies and raises their competitiveness
- Africa must set conditions for Chinese investors related to the employment of African workers, as it usually does, Chinese investments include employing Chinese workers in existing projects in Africa, and hence there must be a plan for African investments through which the developmental role of Chinese investments can be strengthened to qualify the African human resource and transfer experiences to him. With the need to keep a portion of the profits generated to reinvest them in vital projects that primarily serve the African citizen.
- Raising the negotiating capabilities of African governments, so that the maximum benefit can be made from the Chinese economic presence in Africa, there is a need for African countries to establish an equal partnership that enables them to localize technology and building productive economies.
- Developing African development plans through which Chinese capabilities can be benefited in specific sectors, such as the field Infrastructure and also its experience in agriculture and rural development.
- Africans shall learn from past experiences, especially unequal partnerships with the West, which has left behind woes, this requires establishing an African partnership based on a win-win basis. The “Belt and Road” initiative launched by China with the aim of enhancing connectivity and cooperation remains one of the most important initiatives that would bring about tremendous changes at the level of the African economy and geopolitical balances, which Africa needs to take advantage of it and move forward.
- China’s engagement with African countries should not be seen in isolation of configurations of global politics of development. There is a need for a comparative lens to understand China’s modalities of engagement with other regions and countries, developed or undeveloped. At the same time, it is important to draw comparisons between what the West is doing in Africa and how unique or similar is it to Chinese approaches.
- Enhancing the role of Chinese media in Africa as the image shall be made by national side not by western media.

- Adapting Sino-African Conference that under the BRI that is calling for and under the slogan of (**world absent of terrorism and racism**) as to put new pillars for the international transitional world recently.

- **Culturally;**

a- Employing the mechanisms of cultural work in its various forms and direct public communication.

b- A mechanism to broadcast a number of Arabic programs broadcast on CCTV and CGTN and develop a media map for them to reduce the knowledge gap.

c- The mechanism for signing a protocol for exchanging visits and delegations of popular diplomacy to create a state of solidarity between the two sides.

d- A mechanism to support distance education between Africa and Chinese universities and research centers

- **Politically and Security level;**

a- Enhancing Mechanism for strategic political dialogue.

b- A mechanism for resolving conflicts and achieving security and stability in the region through dialogue and negotiations, Security architecture rules which are (common-comprehensive- sustainable- cooperative)

- **Economically;**

a- An economic mechanism to establish an economic forum that includes the government and private sectors and create an institutional framework specific to the economic dimensions.

b- A mechanism to localize technology and industries on African lands.

c- A mechanism to digitize African economies with the establishment of African-Chinese electronic trade platforms under the supervision of the ministries of commerce.

d- Establishing a main branch for economic and technological information to be a detailed database.

e- Activating the concessional lending mechanism, while developing a mechanism to support small and micro enterprises

- **Technologically and cyber level;**
- Expanding the concept of common destiny from real life to virtual life and building (a bond of common destiny in cyberspace), a mechanism to benefit from the Belt and Road Initiative in non-economic fields (such as implementing cyber , Green, Medical, digital BRI)

Hence, these relations demonstrate their development to become vital evidence of solidarity, cooperation, mutual benefit, and common victory between China and Africa. It also serves as the institutionalization of a new type of relationship based on **common gain and common destiny**, and it lays new foundations for a transitional phase that may produce a transformation in the system. The entire world, and replacing the Bretton Woods system with a more just and effective system .

Accordingly; Achieving balance in light of the serious equations of the different balances of powers, which have now had different considerations in light of the injustice, duplication, and proxy wars that the global system and the regional system are witnessing. Therefore, these relations are a building block for establishing a more equitable and prosperous global system with values different from the Western values that have long been dividing the world, to a more advanced north, and more exhausted south. This Sino- African relation is very important in regard making new regime with new pillars of justice, equality based on mutual gain and mutual respect, for common destination world community.

▪ **List of references :**

1. China-Africa Economic and Trade Cooperation (2013) Information Office of the State Council The People's Republic of China August 2013 Beijing [Electronic resource] – 2013-http://www.chinafrica.cn/english/china_report/txt/201308/29/content_564303.htm
2. China Daily Africa Weekly [Electronic resource] –November 8, 2013 - Access mode: http://africa.chinadaily.com.cn/weekly/2013-11/08/content_17090971.htm
3. Donald Gerard Gayou, China's Economic Engagement with West Africa: Present Realities, Problems, and Prospects, American Journal of Chinese Studies, Vol. 24, No. 1, April 2017, pp. 13-28.
4. Shaohui Jiang and David Li, China's pivotal role in supporting post-COVID growth in Africa, White & Case, 26 May 2022, available at: <https://bit.ly/3QN2HIS>
5. David Vergun, General Says China Is Seeking a Naval Base in West Africa, U.S. Department of Defense, 12 March 2022, available at: <https://bit.ly/3LeSgXe>
6. YiweiWang:." The Belt And The Road Initiative ".(China: New World Press.2016).
7. Forum on china . Africa Cooperation. China's African Policy, (2006/01/12.) <http://www.focac.org/eng/zt/zgdfzccwj/t230479>
8. Adem, S. (2016). (ed.). China's Diplomacy in Eastern and Southern Africa (pp. 27–87). London: Routledge.
9. Ademola, O.T., Bankole, A.S., Adewuyi, A.O. (2016). China-Africa Trade Relations: Insights from AERC Scoping Studies. In: The Power of the Chinese Dragon (pp. 69–97).London: Palgrave Macmillan.
10. Ayodele, T., Sotola, O. (2014). China in Africa: An Evaluation of Chinese Investment. Initiative for Public Policy Analysis, 1–20.

11. Bhagawati, J. (2018). China's Growing Influence in Africa: Lessons for India (pp. 2–6). Retrieved from: <http://www.maritimeindia.org/View%20Profile/636554768556884329.pdf>.
- 12- Cornelissen, S., Cheru, F., Shaw, T. (2015). (eds.). Africa and International Relations in the 21st Century (pp. 21–51). Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan
- 13- Calabrese, L. & Xiaoyang, T. (2022). 'Economic transformation in Africa: What is the role of Chinese firms?', Journal of International Development, <https://onlinelibrary.wiley.com/doi/full/10.1002/jid.3664>
- 14- China Africa Research Institute, 2022 <http://www.sais-cari.org/>
- 15- Chiyemura, F. (2019). The Winds of Change in Africa-China Relations? Contextualising African Agency in Ethiopia-China Engagement in Wind Energy Infrastructure Financing and Development. The Open University. PhD thesis.
- 16- Chiyemura, F. (2021). Chinese Firms—And African Labor—Are Building Africa's Infrastructure. The Washington Post, available at <https://www.washingtonpost.com/politics/2021/04/02/chinese-firms-african-labor-are-building-africas-infrastructure/>
- 17- Chiyemura, F., Gambino, E. & Zajontz, T. (2022). 'Infrastructure and the Politics of African State Agency: Shaping the Belt and Road Initiative in East Africa, Chinese Political Science Review, <https://doi.org/10.1007/s41111-022-00214-8>
- 18- Edwards, L., & Jenkins, R. (2015). 'The Impact of Chinese Import Penetration on the South African Manufacturing Sector, The Journal of Development Studies, 51(4)447-463.