# The Forum on China-Africa Cooperation: From a Sustainable Perspective

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## **Acronyms and Abbreviations**

ACWF	All China Women's Federation
ADB	African Development Bank
ADCs	African Diplomatic Corps
AHRDF	African Human Resources Development Fund
AIDS	Acquired Immune Deficiency Syndrome
AU	African Union
BOAD	West Africa Development Bank
BOC	Bank of China
CADF	China-Africa Development Fund
CAJCCI	China-Africa Joint Chamber of Commerce and Industry
CPC	Communist Party of China
CCTV	China Central Television
CDB	China Development Bank
DRC	Democratic Republic of Congo
ECOWAS	Economic Community of West African States
Ex-Im Bank	Export and Import Bank of China
FAO	Food and Agriculture Organization
FOCAC	Forum on China-Africa Cooperation
HIPC	Heavily Indebted Poor Countries
ICAO	International Civil Aviation Organization
ICBC	Industrial and Commercial Bank of China
IMF	International Monetary Fund
LDCs	Least Developed Countries
MDGs	Millennium Development Goals
MFA	Ministry of Foreign Affairs of China
MOF	Ministry of Finance of China

MOFCOM	Ministry of Commerce of China
NDRC	National Development and Reform Commission of China
NEPAD	New Partnership for Africa's Development
NGOs	Non-Government Organizations
NPC	National People's Congress of China
OAU	Organization of African Unity
PBC	People's Bank of China
PRC	People's Republic of China
SADC	Southern Africa Development Community
SPFS	Special Program for Food Security
TICAD	Tokyo International Conference on African Development
UN	United Nations
UNDP	United Nations Development Programme
UNECA	United Nations Economic Commission for Africa
UNEP	United Nations Environment Programme
USA	United States of America

## **Executive Summary**

The purpose of this report is to identify the origin, procedures, participating institutions, operating mechanisms, impacts and shortcomings of the Forum on China-Africa Cooperation (FOCAC). Data for the report was gathered via literature reviews, in-person or telephone interviews, field research and lectures, collected between October 2010 and December 2010. Stakeholders from China and Africa were interviewed, including from ministries, banks corporations, and research institutions.

FOCAC was established in 2000 to create a platform for equal dialogue based on realistic and pragmatic principles between China and African countries. It has evolved to become a flexible yet strategic mechanism through which China and Africa can cooperate, however in many ways it lacks transparency and, despite growing and developing, needs to further develop in order to take full advantage of the changing world situation and the Africa-China relationship.

The development of FOCAC capitalised on a lengthy China-Africa relationship, which saw political support, financial aid and infrastructure assistance, even during times of economic hardship. After the 1990s, the relationship began to evolve in response to changing needs and an altered world situation, including the implementation of the United Nations' consolidation measures, redevelopment of China's aid mechanisms and an increase of Chinese investment in and trade with Africa.

At the same time, mechanisms were established for high-level contact between Africa and the United States of America, France and Japan, but China was not considered. This led to separate suggestions from African leaders, Chinese scholars, and Chinese financial institutions for the development of a multilateral forum for China and Africa.

There are 28 members of the Chinese Follow-Up Committee, comprised of various Chinese ministries and departments and headed by the Ministry of Foreign Affairs and the Ministry of Commerce. The African Union became a member of FOCAC in 2010; but as yet African states have not come to a consensus on the AU's role in FOCAC. Due to the absence of an overarching body for coordination and follow up of African countries, each African country has developed its own processes for dealing with follow up actions, and for communication with China and other FOCAC members. South Africa and Ethiopia are the only African countries with follow-up committees.

FOCAC's operating mechanism sees interaction and decision-making at three levels: Chinese and African State Heads, Senior Officials, and diplomats and host countries. The Chinese embassies and the Chinese Follow-Up Committee take a main role of taking initiatives and fulfilling commitments, including convening meetings, collecting opinions and suggestions.

Consideration of the environment has evolved since the first FOCAC Ministerial

Conference, from a handful of words to concrete requirements. The Sharm el Sheikh Action

Plan (2010-2012) saw a more comprehensive approach to environmental action, highlighting
a need for environmental cooperation, and placing emphasis on the '100 Clean Energy

Projects' that China would implement in Africa. However despite this emphasis, there is still a lack of scientific rigor and professional participation in this area.

There are a number of areas of opportunity and challenge within FOCAC. Limitations within FOCAC's current system include the lack of real high-level coordination within the Chinese Follow-Up Committee and the need for further involvement of the AU and regional organizations in Africa in FOCAC.

In response to climate change concerns, China and Africa agreed to strengthen environmental cooperation at the Fourth Ministerial Conference in 2009, leading to implementation of a number of initiatives. China-Africa cooperation in environmental protection can be strengthened through FOCAC. The primary challenge in this area is a lack of institutionalized involvement of environmental experts.

A number of recommendations can be made to enhance the potential of FOCAC across four main areas.

- Strengthen the Mechanism: establish a Chinese inter-ministerial coordinating committee led by a vice Premier; reform the time frame of the Ministerial Conference; increase the transparency of the Forum and participation by civil society organisations;
- Strengthen Interactions within Africa: increase the interaction between China and Africa through active engagement of African countries and regional organisations; enhance the functions of the African Union; increase the contribution of regional African organisations;
- Improvement of Chinese International Cooperation: establish a coordinating committee at ministry level for foreign assistance; speed up the legislation of foreign assistance;
- Implement the principles of sustainable development: ensure that full risk-assessments
  are conducted on infrastructure and natural resource projects; open further
  dialogue with stakeholders; Chinese government to develop mining, oil and gas, and
  infrastructure guidelines to regulate Chinese companies in Africa; take advantage
  of existing economic and trade cooperation zones to encourage local entrepreneurs;
  strengthen environmental considerations within FOCAC decisions; increase
  participation of professionals at decision-making levels.

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## 1. Introduction

The Forum on China-Africa Cooperation (hereafter known as FOCAC) was established in 2000, as a multilateral platform for exchange and cooperation between China and African countries that have formal diplomatic relationships with China. The forum straddles various fields of cooperation including politics, economics, social issues, culture and the environment. Since 2000 there have been four ministerial conferences, held every three years, alternatively in China and a host African country. The ministerial conferences and follow-up actions have led to a deepening of the cooperation between China and African countries and development of the FOCAC mechanism.

#### 1.1 Purpose

The purpose of this project is to study the different aspects of FOCAC, including its origin, procedures, participating institutions, operating mechanisms, impacts and shortcomings. It is the intention that this report will increase understanding of FOCAC and identify areas of opportunity.

Since its establishment in 2000, the Forum has evolved as a method of influencing the development of China-Africa relations and South-South cooperation mechanisms, and has made a number of achievements. However, despite these, a number of questions exist about the role of FOCAC. These questions cover a wide area, including intention for establishment, the participants and operation of the Forum. Other questions are around the processes on Africa's involvement; the successful aspects of FOCAC from the perspective of sustainable development; and the opportunities and problems with FOCAC.

#### 1.2 Methodology

Data for this report was gathered via literature review, in-person interviews, telephone interviews, field research and lectures. The literature review took place from October to December 2010 in Beijing. The main purpose of this was to analyze the history, impacts and problems of the FOCAC as noted in existing literature and FOCAC documents. Relevant stakeholders from China were interviewed, including the Ministry of Foreign Affairs (MFA), the Ministry of Commerce (MOFCOM) and China-Africa Development Fund, as well as African diplomats from Nigeria, Democratic Republic of Congo (DRC), Sudan, Zimbabwe, Tunisia and Morocco. Representatives from the African Union (AU) in China and the New Partnership for Africa's Development (NEPAD) in South Africa were also interviewed.

In-person interviews, telephone interviews, and lectures were mainly conducted in Beijing, while project members also made several visits to African countries including South Africa, Ethiopia and Zambia. The interviewees included incumbent and former officials from Chinese and African governments, staff of financial institutions, researchers and entrepreneurs. The project group has three members from Africa, who interviewed most of the African diplomats, and interviews with Chinese representatives were conducted mostly

by Chinese members. The majority of the information was gathered through in-person and telephone interviews, with lectures and written questionnaires where appropriate.

The interviews were conducted in Chinese, English, French and Arabic. Project members designed four sets of question lists for different interviewees. The brief for the questionnaires is attached as Appendix 3. The content of the questions covered the participants, operating mechanism, and decision-making process of FOCAC, involvement of African countries and responses to the suggestions of improvement for FOCAC.

The members of the task force are mainly Chinese. Although the group members have been to Africa as part of the research, there was minimal opportunity to gather information specifically on the FOCAC locally. As a result a significant amount of the information presented in this report was conducted in China, with the main sources of data being mostly Chinese and Western. Available reference information from African sources was limited. To compensate for this, three African graduate students were invited to participate in the research; however this does not negate that the report is missing a comprehensive African perspective.

The presentation of personal perspectives may also have had a bearing on the report. In the research process, it was revealed that the results of some departments were formulated through personal interviews within the organisation. For example, it is the understanding of the researchers that the information on aid and investment provided by the Export-Import Bank was based entirely on the experiences of one employee. A similar situation is applicable to the MFA, MOFCOM and a number of other research institutions that participated in the interviews. This results in a certain one-sidedness of opinion. At the same time, only official feedback provided an African perspective; where a number of African diplomats were interviewed and, as representatives of their governments, they reflected the official view.

#### 1.3 Structure of the Report

This project seeks to conduct an investigation across five main areas. Chapter Two reveals the origins of the Forum. Chapter Three outlines the participatory structure of FOCAC. Chapter Four discusses its operating mechanism, including the decision-making and implementation processes, as well as the way environmental protection is addressed within FOCAC. Chapter Five analyses the principles and impact of FOCAC. Chapter Six looks at the role of FOCAC in sustainable development and the possibility of improvements, putting forward appropriate policy recommendations.

The Appendices include the history of FOCAC, references, the survey questionnaires, and list of interviewees.

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# 2. Origin of the Forum on China-Africa Cooperation

FOCAC was established to create a platform for dialogue based on respectful, equal, mutually beneficial, realistic and pragmatic principles. The Forum has evolved from a loosely organised structure into a flexible but more strategic mechanism that can impact the China-Africa relationship and South-South cooperation.

A number of questions exist around its participation and decision-making mechanisms, as well as the history and creation of the Forum itself. Based on literature review and information from first-hand interviews, some factors contributed to the establishment of the Forum. Since the 1990s, the rapid development of the existing relationship between China and Africa necessitated the establishment of the Forum. Other factors included international economic globalisation; increased awareness by senior African officials of the benefits of a close working mechanism between China and Africa; and the desire by Chinese policy makers to establish a China-Africa strategic partnership.

#### 2.1 Solid Foundation

The relationship between China and Africa is long-standing, stable and friendly. This has resulted in the solid foundation on which FOCAC was built. The history of China-Africa relations is structured within a framework of equal treatment, respect for sovereignty, and mutual development, and China and Africa have long offered support for one another.

In 1971, with the support of other developing countries, China returned to the United Nations (UN). Among the 76 countries that supported and voted for China, 26 were African countries.<sup>3</sup> This led Chairman Mao to famously declare that it was China's African friends who "carried us back in." <sup>4</sup>

In the 1980s, there were 51 visits by African Heads of State to China, an increase from 33 visits in the 1970s. From 1990 to 1998, 53 African Heads of State, 15 African Prime Ministers and many African senior officials visited China. These high-level visits indicated the friendly relationship between China and Africa. Over many years, Africa has supported China in many political issues.

China supported African independence efforts and provided political support in international forums.  $^6\,$ 

China has offered several different kinds of economic and political support to Africa,

'Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the People's Republic of China, "A Long-term Stable China-Africa Relationship Of All-round Cooperation", 17 November 2000, available at http://www.fnprc.gov.cn/eng/ziliao/3602/3604/t18036.htm accessed 2012/04/08 China-South Africa Cooperation under BRICS Framework," FOCAC Website, 2011/04/19, available at http://www.focac.org/eng/mtsy/t816478.htm accessed 2012/04/08

even in times of domestic economic hardship.<sup>7</sup> In addition to industrial and agricultural projects, the Chinese government also helped to construct landmark buildings. These large projects played an important role in the process of the nation-building of African countries.<sup>6</sup>

China's assistance to African countries has always been without any political conditions. From 1956 to 1996, through the framework of its assistance to African countries, China supported nearly 800 projects throughout Africa, involving farming, fisheries, textiles, energy, transportation, broadcasting, hydropower, machinery, construction, education, health, technology, and food processing. 9 10

#### 2.2 Emerging changes

The rapid development of China-Africa relations since the 1990s has required a more systematic method for maintaining momentum and further developing the partnership.

Africa suffered economic decline in the 1980s, seeing a decrease in foreign investment where 43 out of 139 British companies withdrew, and in Kenya, Japanese companies dropped from 15 to 2. Debt issues compounded the problem, with the debt of Sub-Saharan Africa reaching US\$84.3 billion in 1980. Africa experienced strict measures and structural adjustment programs following marginalization by the world's economy, and internal conflicts within and between many African countries stimulated regional conflicts. Affected by these factors, Africa became entangled in an economic recession and debt increased to US\$210.7 billion in 1994. According to the 1995 World Bank report, until the end of 1994, the proportion between debt and export in 28 African countries was higher than 200:1. Page 1990 for the 1995 was higher than 200:1.

China's African policy also changed. From 1982 to 1985, 29 African Heads of State visited China, Chairman Li Xiannian visited 3 African countries in 1987, <sup>13</sup> and overall the China-Africa economic and trade cooperation was strengthened. From the 1970s until the end of the twentieth century, China signed more than 6000 agreements on construction or labor service with African countries, amounting to almost US\$10 billion. <sup>14</sup>

From 1991, China started to reform its management system on international trade and foreign aid. 1995 witnessed the rapid development of China-African relations. In this

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>3</sup>He Wenping, "Moving Forward with the Time: the Evolution of China's African Policy," presented at Workshop on China-Africa Relations: Engaging the International Discourse, 2006/11/26, pg6, available at http://www.cctr.ust.hk/materials/conference/china-africa/papers/He, Wengping.pdf accessed 2012/04/08

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>4</sup>Weng Ming, "Linxing Dianjiang: Mr. Qiao first led a mission to the UN General Assembly", Fu Hao, Li Tongcheng, ed., Jingtian Weidi: Diplomats at the UN, Beijing: China Overseas Chinese Publishing House, 1995, p. 9.

<sup>5</sup>Chen Gongyuan, China-African Relation and the Quest of African Issues, Beijing: Chinese Association of African Studies, 2009, p.132.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>5</sup>Chen Gongyuan, China-African Relation and the Quest of African Issues, Beijing: Chinese Association of African Studies, 2009, p.132 <sup>6</sup>He Wenping, 2006, op. cit., pg4

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>7</sup>Information Office of the State Council, China-Africa Economic and Trade Cooperation: III: Attaching Importance to Infrastructure Construction, 2010, available at http://english.gov.cn/official/2010-12/23/content\_1771603\_5.htm accessed 2012/04/10

St is inappropriate to emphasize too much on the economic cost of these buildings. Instead, its political and cultural significance should

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>8</sup>It is inappropriate to emphasize too much on the economic cost of these buildings. Instead, its political and cultural significance should be noticed. It can be regarded as accomplishments of state leaders, as well as the symbol of nation-state. What is more important is the fact that they embody a "cultural decolonization". Li Anshan, Study on African Nationalism, Beijing: China's International Broadcast Publisher, 2004, pp. 291-300. Regarding China's aid on big projects in Africa, see Fifty Years of Sino-African Friendly Cooperation, Beijing: World Knowledge Publishing House, 2000.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>9</sup>Huang Zequan, "Fifty Years of China-African Friendly Cooperation," Center for African Studies, Peking University, ed. China and Africa, Beijing: Peking University Press, 2000, p.45.

Development Project Changed Lives and Livelihoods in Tanzania, Bloomington & Indianapolis: Indiana University Press, 2009.

""UK Companies Sell African Investments," Financial Times, June 28 1990, p.4.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>12</sup>All the figures in this paragraph were drawn from A. A. Gordon & D. Gordon, ed., Understanding Contemporary Africa, London, 1996, p.116. The deterioration of the African situation made the food crisis a more acute problem. See P. Lawrence, ed., World Recession and the Food Crisis in Africa, Westview Press, 1986.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>33</sup>Le Pere, Garth, "China and Africa: Dynamics of an Enduring Relationship", Global Dialogue Volume 9, Number 1-2, Winter/Spring 2007, available at http://www.worlddialogue.org/content.php?id=401 accessed 12/04/2012

available at http://www.worlddialogue.org/content.pnp?id=401 accessed in 4Huang Zequan, "Fifty Years of China-African Friendly Cooperation," p.50.

year, Chinese leaders paid 23 visits to African countries, among these, three Vice Premiers publicised the new measures of governmental preferential loans and other forms of foreign assistance and investments. Significantly, the trade between China and Africa increased by 48.3 percent over the previous year. <sup>15</sup> Bilateral trade developed (see Table 1 below for details on the 1990s China-Africa trade), with an increase in Chinese enterprises investing in Africa, as well as of interest in the Chinese Commodities Fair from Africa.

After 1995, the China-African cooperation saw further bilateral visits. In 1996, President Jiang Zemin visited six African countries and put forward five principles for building a long, stable, comprehensive and cooperative China-African relationship for the twenty-first century: sincere friendship, equality, mutual respect, consultation and cooperation in international affairs, and looking into the future. These principles later became the guiding principles for China-Africa cooperation.

At the same time, Chinese investments in Africa accelerated and the volume of trade increased rapidly. The governmental preferential loans program began in 1995, and by the end of 1996, China had signed the framework agreement on preferential loans with 16 African countries, 18 which increased to 22 by 2000. 19

Year	Bilateral Trade	African export to China	Chinese export to Africa
1990	9.35	2.75	6.60
1994	26.43	8.94	17.49
1995	39.21	14.27	24.94
1996	40.31	14.64	25.67
1997	56.71	24.64	32.07
1998	55.36	14.77	40.59
1999	64.84	23.75	41.08

Table 1 Volume of Trade between China and Africa(1990-1999) Unit:100 million US Dollars

Data Source: Almanac of China's Foreign Economy and Trade (1991), China Society Press, 1991, p.305.; Almanac of China's Foreign Economy and Trade (1995-1996), China Society Press, 1995, p.389., p.410.; Almanac of China's Foreign Economy and Trade (1996-1997), China Economics Publishing House, 1996, p.554, p.579,; Almanac of China's Foreign Economy and Trade (1997-1998), China Economics Publishing House, 1997, p.363., p.391.; Almanac of China's Foreign Economy and Trade (1998-1999), China Economics Publishing House, 1998, p.372., p.405.; Almanac of China's Foreign Economy and Trade (1999-2000), China Foreign Economy and Trade Publishing House, 1999, p.398, p.432.; Almanac of China's Foreign Economy and Trade (2000), China Foreign Economy and Trade Publishing House, 2000, p.459., p.492.

#### 2.3 New Opportunity and Challenge

Economic globalization has provided opportunities and challenges for China-Africa cooperation. After the mid-1990s, Africa's political situation began to stabilise, with many countries emerging from periods of conflict. African economies started to revive: the number of African countries with negative economic growth indicators decreased from 14 in 1994 to 3 in 1995, while those with a growth rate above 6 percent increased from 2 in 1994 to 8 in 1995.<sup>20</sup>

New consolidation measures were implemented internationally, with the UN initiating its New Agenda for the development of Africa in the 1990s<sup>21</sup> and the ten-year, US\$25 billion UN System-wide Special Initiative on Africa in order to help Africa consolidate its development in fourteen fields.<sup>22</sup> These developments also played a role in the establishment of FOCAC.

#### 2.4 African Design

By the mid-1990s, Africa-China cooperation was already taking shape. In 1997, some African leaders and envoys to China, such as the diplomats from Ethiopia and Mauritius, proposed the establishment of "one to multi partnerships" for Africa-China cooperation, and diplomats from Mauritius, Benin and Madagascar who were attending workshops held by China Foreign Affairs University suggested building mechanisms between China and African countries, in a new framework. However a lack of experience of China in the area of multilateral diplomacy meant this framework was slow to take shape. <sup>23</sup>

An increasing number of African countries proposed the establishment of a new kind of partnership with China, building similar mechanisms for large-scale high-level contacts in the manner of the US-Africa Business Forum, the British Commonwealth Conference, the Franco-African Summit, the Tokyo International Conference of African Development and the Africa-EU Summit, at the same time as strengthening communication on issues of mutual concern such as peace and development.<sup>24</sup>

In 1999, Lila Ratsifandrihama, the first female Foreign Minister of Madagascar, mentioned during talks with Chinese Foreign Minister Tang Jiaxuan the consideration of a multilateral forum, given the strong relations between China and African countries.<sup>25</sup>

#### 2.5 Chinese Influences

From the late 1990s, consideration of the China-Africa cooperation shifted from projects to long-term strategic planning. <sup>26</sup> In 1997, a proposal was made by Chinese scholars seeking support for the development of a master plan for work with Africa. The proposal stated,

Almanac of China's Foreign Economy and Trade (1996-1997), Beijing: China Economics Publishing House, 1996, pp. 554-555.
 President Jiang Zemin's Visit to Six African Countries," Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the People's Republic of China 17/11/2000, available at http://www.fmprc.gov.cn/eng/ziliao/3602/3604/t18035.htm accessed 12/04/2012

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>17</sup>江泽民: "为中非友好创立新的历史丰碑", Renmin Ribao (People's Daily), May 14th, 1996.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>18</sup>He Xiaowei, "Continue to Carry Out the Transformation of the Form and Foreign Aid, Strictly Fulfill the Agreement of Foreign Aid,' Almanac of China's Foreign Economy and Trade (1996-1997), Beijing: China Economics Publishing House, 1997, p.75.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>19</sup>Huang Zequan, "Fifty Years of China-African Friendly Cooperation", p.75.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>20</sup>Xia Jisheng, "Reviews of African Economic Development in the 1990s," Asian and African Studies, Vol.7 (1997), Beijing: Peking University Press, pp.296-299.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>21</sup>United Nations General Assembly Resolutions A/RES/51/32, "Mid-term review of the implementation of the United Nations New Agenda for the Development of Africa in the 1990s", available at http://www.un.org/documents/ga/res/51/a51r032.htm accessed 12/04/2012 

<sup>22</sup>Africa Recovery, United Nations, "United Nations System-wide Special Initiative on Africa," United Nations website, 1996, available at http://www.un.org/en/africarenewal/sgreport/siaprel.htm accessed 12/04/2012

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>23</sup>Cf., a lecture given by Ambassador Shu Zhan, November 5th 2010, Beijing; an interview with Ambassador Liu Guijin, December 31st 2010, Beijing.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>24</sup>Yao Guimei, "FOCAC and its Influence on China-African Economic Cooperation," Chen Gongyuan, eds., A Probe into the New Strategic Partnership between China and Africa, Beijing: Chinese Association of African Studies, 2007, p.263.

<sup>\*\*</sup>Tang Jiaxuan, Jingyu Xufeng, Beijing: World Knowledge Publishing House, 2009, p.433.
\*\*高非:《当前非洲形势和中非关系》,《西亚非洲》,1998 年第1期,1–3页。

"there are obvious deficiencies existing in the work of the government related to Africa. There is no unified leadership and insufficient communication between ministries and commissions involved in African affairs. There is also little formal study and coordination about how to cooperate with Africa." <sup>27</sup>

The Chinese financial sector at this time was also aware of a need for a new method for communication and practice. In 1997, Zhao Changhui, of the Export and Import Bank of China (the Ex-im Bank), suggested "there is a serious and fierce competition in African markets" leaving few opportunities for China, and "these opportunities will slip away from China's fingers forever if China is negligent and careless." Zhao recommended China push the cooperation with Africa as an overall strategy, and the plan included the formation of an inter-ministerial committee to formulate and implement the strategy. <sup>28</sup>

The China-Africa cooperation was also accelerated by pressure from African nations for bilateral cooperation, by the establishment of diplomatic relations between Taiwan and Senegal, and by the requests of Chinese companies.

In 1999,<sup>29</sup> Chinese President Jiang Zemin personally wrote to all Heads of State of African countries and the Secretary-General of the then Organization of African Unity (now the African Union) to officially propose the convening of the first FOCAC Ministerial Conference. The FOCAC was formally established in October 2000.

## 3. Members of FOCAC

FOCAC is a multilateral cooperation platform with multi-level interactions between China and African countries through exchange and communication channels. There are 28 members of the Chinese follow-up Committee of FOCAC. There are four groups of African institutions involved in a similar consultation, implementation and feedback process.

#### 3.1 Chinese Members and Their Function

The Chinese Follow-up Committee of FOCAC was established in 2001, and is comprised of 28 departments. The Ministries of Foreign Affairs, Commerce and Finance are the core actors of the committee, ensuring that FOCAC decisions are carried out by the relevant parties. The members of the FOCAC Follow-up Committee have irregular plenary meetings as a means for reporting on the implementation of FOCAC measures.<sup>30</sup>

#### 3.1.1 Core Ministries of the Chinese Follow up Committee

The Chinese Follow-up Committee was created to ensure that FOCAC agreements are followed up on a country-specific level.

#### 3.1.1.1 Core Members

The Ministry of Foreign Affairs guides diplomatic policies on African issues and the overall decisions of FOCAC. Chinese embassies and consulates in African countries maintain lines of communication with related ministries of African governments, and ensure an understanding of their expectations and demands. The Ministry co-chairs the Follow-up Committee with the Ministry of Commerce.

The Ministry of Commerce is responsible for trade, investment, assistance and training, and plays an important role in making and implementing economic and aid projects within FOCAC. The Ministry holds public biddings to select Chinese companies to carry out aid projects, develops policies to support Chinese companies operating in Africa, and takes charge of a number of aid projects.<sup>31</sup>

**The Ministry of Finance** offers financial support to China-African cooperation within the frame of the FOCAC, including budget approval, auditing and supervision.

#### 3.1.1.2 Secretariat

The Secretariat of the Chinese Follow-up Committee is composed of 5 departments from the ministries of Foreign Affairs, Commerce and Finance The Secretariat of the Chinese Follow-up Committee holds irregular conferences with its five member departments, and coordinates 28 Chinese members in day-to-day affairs but does not have authority in deciding and enforcing policies, and has limited ability when coordinating between major ministries.

#### 3.1.2 Other Participating Chinese Agencies 32

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>27®</sup>Proposals On Further African Work and Training of Talents," a letter written to President Jiang Zemin from 17 professors in Chinese Society of African Historical Studies, December 19, 1997. In his replying letter, President Jiang Zemin wrote: "Comrade Qichen: Please read the letter. In recent years, I have put emphasis on African works in many speeches, which indicates that we need to pay attention to both politics and economic cooperation, and State Council should support." See the records of Chinese Society of African Historical Studies. "中国的非洲战略",1997年7-8月(未发表)。他在1998年 "再论中国的非洲战略"的报告(未发表)中提出了建立对话机制的想法

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>29w</sup>China-Africa Relations Board The Ship Of A New Century", 29/09/2006, FOCAC website, Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the People's Republic of China, available at http://www.focac.org/eng/bjzl/t404145.htm accessed 12/04/2012

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>30</sup>Interview with Mr. Shu Zhan, former Chinese Ambassador in Eritrea, November 5, 2010, Peking University <sup>31</sup>Interview with Mr. Wang Cheng'an, former general-direction of the Department of Aid to Foreign Countries, secretary-general of the Forum for Economic and Trade Cooperation between China and Portuguese-speaking counties, December 27, 2010, Peking University <sup>32</sup>Ministry of Foreign Affairs, ed., Forum on China-Africa Cooperation, 2009.

Below are some of the key participating Chinese agencies. Appendix 2 lists all those not noted below.

The Ministry of Environmental Protection (MEP) coordinates cooperation on environmental issues to promote sustainable economic and social development of China and African countries. The Ministry co-held the China-Africa Environmental Protection Conference with the UNEP in Kenya in 2005, helped establish the UNEP China-Africa Environment Center in Brazzaville, Republic of Congo, <sup>33</sup> and in 2009, proposed the establishment of a China-Africa Partnership in addressing climate change. These events contributed to the strengthening of the cooperation in several fields, such as satellite weather monitoring, development and utilization of renewable energy, combating desertification and promoting environmental protection in urban areas.

The National Development and Reform Commission (NDRC) establishes intergovernmental investment mechanism between China and African countries, and promotes China-Africa economic and technological cooperation. The Commission is also engaged in tariff exemption treatment on imports from the Least Developed Countries in Africa.

The Ministry of Land and Resources is dedicated to cooperation in geological prospecting, mineral resources and energy. 34

The **Export-Import Bank** is China's policy bank providing support to Chinese companies on international trade, outward investment and overseas contracted projects with financial instruments, including commercial, mixed and preferential loans.

The Ministry of Science and Technology in its role as coordinator of the science and technology cooperation between Africa and China, initiated the "China-Africa Science and Technology Partnership Plan", prioritizing joint research and development projects and inviting African post doctoral candidates to conduct scientific research in China.<sup>35</sup>

The **Ministry of Agriculture** is responsible for agricultural cooperation between China and Africa, China's agricultural technology takes China's minimal arable land and maximises opportunity. This technology could be introduced in Africa to assist in safeguarding African food security.<sup>36</sup>

The China Council for the Promotion of International Trade is dedicated to the cooperation between entrepreneurs of China and Africa, through the China-Africa Business Forum, a sub-forum of FOCAC.<sup>37</sup>

The People's Bank of China promotes China-African financial cooperation through working with African multilateral development banks.<sup>38</sup>

The **China Africa Development Fund** was set up as a result of the Eight Measures announced at the Beijing Summit in 2006. It supports cooperation between Chinese enterprises and African countries as well as the implementation of China-Africa Economic and Trade Cooperation Zones. The Fund's investment portfolio is broad, but most projects involve agriculture, industrial manufacturing, or infrastructure projects. The Fund operates using market-oriented principles.39

The **Bank of China** is the most internationalized state-owned commercial bank in China. It supports Chinese enterprises entering Africa, enhances cooperation with local banks, and supports the development of African enterprises.

The General Administration of Customs promotes development of China-African trade by implementing preferential tariff rate on imports from African countries.

The **National Tourism Administration** supports China-Africa tourism and the signing of Tourism Cooperation Memorandums or Destination Agreements with its African counterparts.

#### 3.2 African Members and Their Function

The relevant FOCAC institutions in African institutions are characterized by the coexistence of both multilateral and bilateral organizations representing notational and regional interests. Generally speaking, many African countries operate on several levels related to FOCAC, with different functions.

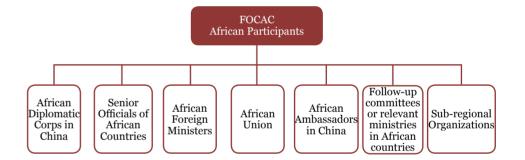


Diagram 3-1 African Structure of FOCAC

#### 3.2.1 African Diplomatic Corps

The African Diplomatic Corps coordinates communication between African governments and the Chinese Follow-up Committee, and is the primary method of communication channel. It collates suggestions and responses from African governments to the latest developments of the implementation of the FOCAC measures, providing analysis and advice, and plays a key role in organizing FOCAC meetings through a Follow Up Action Committee.<sup>40</sup> African Ambassadors to China play a critical role in the cooperation between China and their own countries; most FOCAC projects are implemented through individual countries, and the Ambassadors are closely involved in communication with the Chinese Government.

<sup>33 &</sup>quot;祝光耀在非洲国家环境部长会议上倡议 推进中非环境合作多样化",http://www.cenews.com.cn/historynews/06\_07/200712/ t20071229 26905.html, May 26, 2006

<sup>35</sup>China-Africa Science and Technology Partnership Program (CASTEP), 19/11/2009, Department of International Cooperation, Ministry of Science and Technology, People's Republic of China, available at http://www.cistc.gov.cn/englishversion/Features/Info.asp?column=712& column2=710&id=74665 accessed 12/04/2012

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>36</sup>Wang Huihui,"中非农业合作论坛在北京开幕",http://www.moa.gov.cn/ztzl/zfnyhzlt/ltdt/201008/t20100812\_1616251.htm, August

<sup>&</sup>quot;中非民间投资论坛在坦桑尼亚举行 300名代表参加", 04/05/2008, FOCAC Website, Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the People's Republic

of China, available at http://www.focac.org/chn/zfgx/zfgxjmhz/t449355.htm, accessed 12/04/2012

38Huang Peizhao, "中非经济改革与发展战略高级研讨会召开",http://news.sina.com.cn/o/2003-10-17/2259938897s.shtml,October 17,2003; Lin Junhui, "'中小企业发展与金融支持研修班'在宁举行",http://www.js.xinhuanet.com/xin\_wen\_zhong\_xin/2010-11/23/content\_21460388.htm,November 23, 2010

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>39</sup>Interview with Mr. Shi Yongjie, Senior Executive Director of Office of the Advisory Committee, Research & Development Departmen China-Africa Development Fund, Dec. 24, 2010.

<sup>40</sup> Interview with a Sudanese diplomat, December 2, 2010, Sudanese Embassy in China



Diagram 3-2 the Process of African Diplomatic Corps

#### 3.2.2 Senior Officials of African Countries

The Senior Officials Meeting is convened twice for each Ministerial Conference: one year prior to the Ministerial Conference to discuss follow-up activities, and a few days before the Ministerial Conference in order to prepare for the Ministerial Conference. The meetings establish the tone of FOCAC. The Senior Officials Meeting, like the Ministerial Conference, is held alternately in China and Africa. The Ministerial Conference is convened at the level of Ministers of Foreign Affairs, International Cooperation or Financial and Economic Affairs; the Senior Officials Meeting is at the level of Directors-General or equivalent.

#### 3.2.3 African Foreign Ministers

In order to strengthen the follow-up process, at the Beijing Summit of 2006 Chinese and African leaders agreed to set up a mechanism of regular political dialogue between Foreign Ministers. In the year following each FOCAC Ministerial Conference, Foreign Ministers hold political consultations in New York alongside the UN General Assembly session. In 2007, the first round of China-Africa Foreign Ministers' political consultation was held to exchange views on major issues of common interest. In September 2010, the foreign ministers of China and 42 African countries, or their representatives, held their second political consultation in New York, USA. The second round addressed issues such as climate change and the Millennium Development Goals (MDGs) and agreed on a China-Africa joint measure to respond to the challenges.<sup>41</sup>

#### 3.2.4 African Union

Since becoming a FOCAC member in 2010, the African Union (AU) has assisted in coordinating African countries and in opening a separate channel of communication with China through FOCAC. An AU senior official acts as the forum coordinator who facilitates discussions about China's proposals before every FOCAC Ministerial Conference.

The AU is dedicated to advocating FOCAC becoming multilateral and contributing to African integration. <sup>42</sup> However, different African countries have conflicting opinions on the AU's role in FOCAC; some feel that the AU's role in FOCAC is enough, while others believe this role should be enhanced. <sup>43</sup> Some scholars posit that China prefers to consider Africa as a whole, with which the AU can assist. One scholar from Tanzania said, "through FOCAC and AU, African countries can raise their strategy conditions when dealing with China, and form a group in negotiations." <sup>44</sup>

At the moment the continuing regional role of the AU in regards to FOCAC is unclear. A multilateral mode for FOCAC, which has the support of the AU and some African countries,

<sup>41</sup>Interview with a diplomat from D. R. Congo, December 2010, D. R. Congolese Embassy in China

would see the AU playing a role and potentially strengthening it. A bilateral model, preferred by smaller countries that can get more direct supports from China through the bilateral model, might not. One such instance of support for the latter is from Mr. Siazongo D. Siakalenge, the Chief of the Industry Department of the Zambian Economy and Industry Ministry, who has little interest in "transnational multilateral projects", suggesting that such groups stifle opportunities for smaller nations. <sup>45</sup> A move in this direction would see a further reduction of the AU's role.

#### 3.3 Other African Institutions

The Follow-up Committees of African countries or relevant departments and mechanisms in African countries are also very important, and vary from country to country. At present, only South Africa and Ethiopia have follow-up committees, while other countries usually coordinate with FOCAC through their Ministries of Foreign Affairs. If FOCAC projects require participation and support from other ministries, the Ministry of Foreign Affairs will make the link. As an example, a diplomat from Zimbabwe to China described the situation as below:

"FOCAC focuses on various sectors of the [African] economy. In Zimbabwe, we have got a focal point in every sector of our national economy, for instance, in agriculture, health and education. All of these are coordinated by the Ministry of Foreign Affairs which acts as a spokesperson in foreign relations. As such it liaises with the Zimbabwean Embassy in Beijing and the Chinese Embassy in Harare, through which, Zimbabwe coordinates its program within the FOCAC."

In the Democratic Republic of Congo (DRC), there is a secretariat at the presidential office level in charge of monitoring the contracts the DRC has signed with Chinese state-owned companies. It is called the Coordination and Follow-Up Bureau of the Sino-Congolese Partnership Program.<sup>47</sup>

African sub-regional organizations, such as Economic Community of West African States (ECOWAS) and Southern Africa Development Community (SADC), are often involved in the FOCAC conferences. When talking about bilateral liaison and multilateral communication, a Zimbabwean diplomat said "we come under the SADC and we speak with one voice as SADC countries. Before we get into the larger scale conferences of the African Union, the SADC countries come together and agree on our position. We then report to the African Union and FOCAC. In summary, the process of cooperation starts from individual ministries to the broader framework of foreign affairs, from Ministry of Foreign Affairs to SADC, from SADC to the AU or African group at large, and then from the AU to the FOCAC."

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>42</sup>Interview with Mr. Liu Guijin, Chinese Government's Special Representative on African Affairs, December 31,2010, Peking University, Interview with AU representative in China, March 2011

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>43</sup>Francis Ikome, "The role and place of the African Union in the emerging China-Africa partnership", Axel Harneit-Sievers, Stephen Marks and Sanusha Naidu, eds., Chinese and African Perspectives on China in Africa, Panbazuka Press, Heinrich Boll Stiftung of East and Horn of Africa, Fountain Publishers in Kampala. 2010, pp.208-211.

Africa, Fountain Publishers in Kampala, 2010, pp.208-211.

44Mwesiga Baregu, "The Three Faces of the Dragon: Tanzania-China Relations in Historical Perspective," Kweku Ampiah and Sanusha Naidu, eds., Crouching Tiger, Hidden Dragon? Africa and China, University of KwaZulu-Natal Press, 2008, p.163.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>45</sup>Interview with Mr. Siazongo D. Siakalenge, the Chief of Industry Department of Zambian Economic and Industry Ministry, September 17, 2009, Zambian Economic and Industry Ministry, Lusaka.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>46</sup>Interview with Zimbabwean Diplomat in China, December 2010, Zimbabwean Embassy in China

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>47</sup>Interview with a diplomat from D. R. Congo, December 2010, D. R. Congolese Embassy in China <sup>48</sup>Interview with Zimbabwean Diplomat in China, December 2010, Zimbabwean Embassy in China

# 4. The Operating Mechanism of FOCAC

#### 4.1 Multi-Level Interaction

From its preparatory stage to its formal launch and operation, FOCAC has been the result of a common endeavor: a multi-level interaction between China and African countries.

#### 4.1.1 The process of preparation and formation

In 2000, two founding documents, the Beijing Declaration of the FOCAC and the Programme for China-Africa Cooperation in Economic and Social Development were drafted. Three days before the first FOCAC Ministerial Conference, a Senior Officials Meeting, attended by Chinese and African representatives, was held. At this meeting, African officials proffered amendments mainly on biodiversity, non-nuclear areas and tourism, and after three days of discussion, all issues were incorporated into the final documents, which doubled their original sizes.<sup>49</sup>

FOCAC is characterized by the interaction between China and Africa in the process of its preparation and formation. The process is also filled with a series of multi-level interactions, as demonstrated in the below diagram.

The core of the mechanism is the direct interaction between the Chinese and African Heads of States. The second level is the Senior Officials Meeting level. Since the preparation of the founding documents in October 1999, renegotiation and discussion around them has been a critical element of FOCAC's multi-level interactions. The third level of interaction takes place between diplomats and the host countries.

4.1.2 Differences and similarities in Chinese-African bilateral interactions Another example is related to the drafting the two founding documents.

Despite differences, the parties have showed respect and sincerity for core concerns which are repeatedly discussed on the international stage, and the Forum promotes an open Sino-African dialogue. It is clear that FOCAC is the product of a shared vision, both by the African and Chinese parties.

#### 4.2 Decision-Making Process

FOCAC operates in accordance with the basic principles and models outlined during its foundation. With time, the issues it addresses have diversified, with the content becoming more comprehensive. This can be evidenced by the growth of the "Eight Measures," originally suggested in 2006 as a sign of China's commitment to collaboration with Africa across a variety of area, specifically in regards to China's support of Africa. In 2009, "New

<sup>49</sup>Interview with Ambassador Liu Guijin, 31st Dec. 2010, Beijing.

Eight Measures" were introduced, addressing a few new topics, including climate change, science and technology exchanges, and financial support to small and medium-sized (SME) African businesses.

The New Eight and the Old Eight are illustrated in table 4-1 below.

Topic		Eight Measures in 2006		Eight New Measures in 2009	
Climate change	/	/	1	Build 100 clean energy projects	
Scientific and technological cooperation	/	/	2	Launch a "China-Africa science and technology partnership", carry out 100 joint demonstration projects on scientific and technological research, receive 100 African postdoctoral fellows to conduct research in China	
The size of aid	1	The 2006 assistance to Africa had been doubled by 2009	/	/	
Concessional loans	2	US\$3 billion of preferential loans and US\$2 billion of preferential buyer's credits	3	US\$10 billion in concessional loans	
Support Chinese companies to invest in Africa	3	Set up a China-Africa development fund of US\$5 billion to encourage Chinese companies to invest in Africa.	/	/	
Support African SMEs	/	/	3	US\$1 billion special loan for small and medium-sized African businesses	
Support African integration	4	Build a conference centre for the African Union	/	/	
Cancel debt	5	Cancel debts that matured at the end of 2005 owed by heavily indebted countries	3	Cancel debts associated with interest-free government loans due to mature by the end of 2009	
Zero-tariff	6	Give zero-tariff treatment to 440 export items from the least developed countries in Africa	4	Give zero-tariff treatment to 95% of the products from the least developed African countries	
Economic and trade cooperation zones	7	Build three to five economic and trade cooperation zones in Africa	/	/	
Agriculture	8	Send 100 senior agricultural experts to Africa; set up 10 special agricultural centers in Africa	5	Increase the number of agricultural technology demonstration centers to 20, send 50 agricultural technology teams to Africa and train 2,000 agricultural technology personnel	
Health	8	Build 30 hospitals and provide RMB 300 million of grant for providing artemisinin (anti- malaria drug) and building 30 malaria prevention and treatment centers in Africa	6	Provide medical equipment and anti-malaria materials worth RMB500 million to hospitals and malaria prevention and treatment centers and train 3,000 doctors and nurses for Africa	
Human resources	8	Train 15,000 African professionals in 3 years	7	Train 20,000 professionals of various fields for Africa over three years	
Education	8	Build 100 rural schools in Africa; increase the number of Chinese government scholarships for African students to 4,000 per year by 2009	7	Build 50 China-Africa friendship schools and train 1,500 school principals and teachers; increase Chinese government scholarships to Africa to 5,500 by 2012	
Cultural exchanges (youth volunteers)	8	Dispatch 300 youth volunteers to Africa	8	Launch a "China-Africa joint research and exchange program"	

Table 4-1 "The Old Eight" and "The New Eight" Measures <sup>50</sup>

 $^{50}\mbox{According}$  to the data on the website of FOCAC.

#### 4.2.1 Decision-making Procedure

Compared to the institutionalized Chinese Follow-Up committee, no overarching body exists for coordination and follow-up of African countries; each African country member of the FOCAC takes its own follow-up actions. China takes a main role of taking initiatives and fulfilling commitments, including convening meetings, collecting opinions and suggestions. The current decision-making procedure is illustrated in diagram 4-2 below.

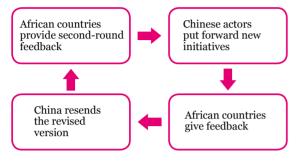


Diagram 4-1: A brief diagram of the current decisionmaking procedure

#### 4.2.1.1 Project Selection

The Chinese embassy usually invites its host African country to make 2 or 3 proposals for discussion. Based on consultation and field visits, the Chinese Ambassador reports back to the Chinese MFA and MOFCOM for final approval.

In the process, the African Department within the Chinese MFA acts as the Secretariat of the Follow-up Committee and with the Department of West Asian and African Affairs under MOFCOM coordinates both the Chinese and African Embassies, and the drafting and submitting of reports to the Ministry of Finance in order to apply for disbursements. Although the Ministry of Finance does not directly participate in the decision–making process, it makes the final decision on which projects are to be funded.

The Ex-Im Bank, as the main financial institution of FOCAC, has veto power especially in consideration of environmental concerns and in accordance with its own requirements. <sup>51</sup>

Final Documents:Declaration and Action Plan

As demonstrated in diagram 4-2, then

As demonstrated in diagram 4-2, there are a variety of multi-level relationships within the process. The Chinese Follow-up Committee Secretariat has regular meetings and discussions with the African Diplomatic Corps; Chinese embassies and host countries communicate; and Chinese and African diplomats report to their own governments.

The Chinese and African Embassies play a very important role in the bilateral interactions that occur for project proposal and implementation. The Chinese Follow-up Committee sends all proposals to African Diplomats in Beijing as well as the ministries in capital cities.

Gradually, FOCAC has been developing a rigorous decision-making process, considering a number of factors before agreement on projects. The parties discuss and investigate the feasibility of the proposals at multiple levels. An example of this has been set by the Ex-Im Bank, which since 1995 has been requesting environmental feasibility studies from Chinese

Official Side Event: Conference of African and Chinese Entrepreneurs China-Africa NGO Forum **FOCAC Ministerial Conference** Senior Officials Meeting Regular meetings between the African Diplomatic Corps and the Chinese Follow-up Commitee The Chinese Chinese African Ministry Embassy **Piplomatic** Follow-up Corps in Beijing of Foreign Commitée: African Affairs. the Ministry Ministry of of Foreign Trade/ Affairs, Commerce Ministry of of African Commerence. Ministry of countries Finance Exim Bank, Ministry of Environmental Protection Diagram 4-2: Intersecting Multi-level interactions

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>51</sup>Interview with Zhao Changhui, 15th Dec. 2010, Beijing

companies. Since 2004, the Ex-Im Bank has requested a report about environmental impacts for every company applying for funding.<sup>52</sup> From 2008, the Bank assigned its own staff to conduct field research for proposed projects. In addition the Bank requires that the representatives of local communities are consulted. The Bank has also started to conduct evaluation on the social and environmental impacts of the projects after they are completed.

#### 4.3 Evolution of Environmental Considerations within FOCAC

#### 4.3.1 Common Stand and Wish for Cooperation

Since the United Nations Conference on the Human Environment in 1972, China and various African countries have coordinated their positions at international environmental conferences, showing that developing countries have effectively safeguarded their core interests, and promoted international cooperation on environment. 53

Environmental concerns have gradually been included in the FOCAC process. At the first and second Ministerial Conferences, environmental considerations were addressed.<sup>54</sup> but remained at a non-practical stage. The Programme for China-Africa Cooperation in Economic and Social Development announced in 2000 promised to jointly fulfill many environmental conventions, but gave no specifics. In contrast the Addis Ababa Action Plan of 2003 saw an entire section on Natural Resources and Energy Development "indicating that [China] would increase the investment in this area on the basis of mutual benefit, reciprocity and sustainable development" . At the same time, all parties would "ensure that all cooperation projects comply with the principle of environmental protection and the enterprises that are implementing cooperation projects are bound to specific plans for environmental protection in general but forestry exploitation in particular". <sup>55</sup>

#### 4.3.2 From Common Stand to Concrete Project

The Addis Ababa Action Plan (2004-2006) was more comprehensive in regards to environmental protection than previous plans.

In 2005, the Chinese FOCAC Follow-up Committee and the UN Environment Program (UNEP) jointly held the "China-Africa Environment Cooperation Conference" in Kenya. indicating a willingness to promote environmental cooperation with African countries and to provide training in related fields. In 2006 the Chinese government pledged to actively promote cooperation in "climate change, water resource conservation, anti-desertification, biodiversity and other environmental areas by facilitating a rapid technological exchange with Africa". <sup>56</sup> The potential for environmental cooperation came to be recognized at this time. At the FOCAC Summit later that year, a number of cooperation items were articulated to safeguard environmental protection, including capacity building, prevention and control of water pollution, desertification, preservation of bio-diversity and the development of an environmental protection industry.<sup>57</sup>

## 5. FOCAC and Sustainability

Since its establishment, FOCAC has become a platform through which Africa and China can engage in a collective dialogue, exchange experiences in governance, enhance trust, and carry on practical cooperation. From the First Ministerial Conference, China-Africa relations have continued to improve and the cooperation has been continuously enriched.<sup>58</sup>

### 5.1 Concepts, Mechanisms and Defects

The purpose of FOCAC is to strengthen the China-Africa strategic cooperation in the context of economic globalization, so as to drive bilateral relations in a stable and sustainable direction. The sustainability of FOCAC contributes to the development of China-Africa cooperation, while the stable and healthy development of China-African cooperation adds vitality to FOCAC.

Overall, the planning and operation of FOCAC's interactive processes has created a basis for mature concepts, mechanisms and modes. Equal treatment combined with mutual assistance is the centre of FOCAC. Summit diplomacy and multi-layer interactive consultation set the foundation of FOCAC. The principles of mutual benefit and a win-win situation, a realistic plan, and consultation on an equal footing, are the essence of the China-Africa cooperation. Government guidance to enterprises starting with multi-investment cooperation is an important factor in promoting FOCAC, and has become a strong force in the continuing development of FOCAC.

Howver, there are a number of drawbacks to the existing system. China's involvement in the mechanism is contingent on the Follow-Up Committee, with a lack of real high level organisational coordination. Participating departments responsible for elements of FOCAC have little pressure to follow up comprehensively, leaving a gap in achievements.

FOCAC must further play to the strengths of the AU and regional organisations. One African diplomat said, "At present, the role of FOCAC in African integration is limited. African integration is primarily a task for African countries themselves. Only African countries can authorise a role for FOCAC to play in this area." 59

Intra-African coordination is important but there is no formalised method for this, and no consensus on the role of the AU in this area. 60 Furthmore, the scale and intensitity of FOCAC in the framework of China's continuing foreign assistance is not yet unified in its management. Coordination between different ministries, and transparency of the processes, continues to be a challenge.

#### 5.2 Africa and FOCAC

In this study, we interviewed several Ambassadors to China from African countries. They

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>52</sup>Interview with Zhao Changhui, 15th Dec. 2010, Beijing.

SiDing Jinguang, "The status quo and features of China-African environment cooperation", Ya Fei Zong Heng, Vol. 4, 2008, pp. 10-17.

<sup>54</sup>FOCAC, Beijing Declaration (2000-2003)

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>55</sup>FOCAC, Addis Ababa Action Plan (2004-2006) Section 16.1, available at http://www.focac.org/eng/ltda/dyjbzjhy/DOC12009/t606797.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>56</sup>Xinhua News Agency, China's African Policy, January 2006, http://news.xinhuanet.com/misc/2006-10/19/content\_5224856.htm. FOCAC, Forum on China-Africa Cooperation Beijing Action Plan (2007-2009), November 2006, http://www.focac.org/eng/ltda/ dscbzjhy/DOC32009/t280369.htm

<sup>&</sup>quot;Yang Jiechi, Fruitful ten - year FOCAC and writing new spectrum of Sino-African Relations". Xinhua net,October 11,2010 <sup>59</sup>通信采访非盟驻华代表,北京,2011年3月。他表示,正在施工中的非洲联盟会议中心大楼是中非合作论坛举措中有利于非洲一体化的唯

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>60</sup>Francis Ikome, "The role and place of the African Union in the emerging China-Africa partnership", Axel Harneit-Sievers, Stephen Marks and Sanusha Naidu, eds., Chinese and African Perspectives on China in Africa, Panbazuka Press, Heinrich Boll Stiftung of East and Horn of Africa, Fountain Pulishers in Kampala, and 2010, pp.208-211.

hold a very positive attitude towards FOCAC and they especially emphasized the importance of the key principles inspiring FOCAC, in particular its equality, program feasibility and mutual benefit. The ambassadors placed emphasis on three aspects: the equal relations in FOCAC, the positive and active role to development and the pragmatic nature of the projects. The diplomat from the Sudan stated that FOCAC was established on the basis of an equal relationship between China and African countries. <sup>61</sup> The Tunisan Ambassador in China pointed out that FOCAC has become a framework for choosing the best means by which to identify African requirements and priorities and reach common targets. The significant characteristics of FOCAC's policies are its pragmatism and focus, that is in deciding the area of concrete cooperation, the principle of priority in implementing the projects and the concentration to solve the problem. The policies target Africa's practical needs and urgent issues and to solve these problems would be beneficial to African development.<sup>62</sup> The DRC diplomat suggested that Africa and DRC appreciate what China has promised to African partners, "because China has brought about a new model of cooperation" which is unprecedented, and has brought about real outcomes.<sup>63</sup>

The Moroccan Ambassador pointed out that FOCAC has made great achievements in the past ten years. It is different from other forums because of its pragmatism. FOCAC has encompassed many fields, especially those projects of sustainability which would contribute a great deal to African development.<sup>64</sup> A Zimbabwean diplomat said that Zimbabwe benefited very much from FOCAC, especially in the sector of agricultural, service and infrastructure. He considered the relationship equal, and that in FOCAC China and Africa sit together in the framework to discuss larger issues. <sup>65</sup> A Nigerian diplomat expressed a similar view on FOCAC. The diplomat said the forum seeks sustainable development, takes into account concerns about various fields in Nigeria, and has addressed important areas of the Nigerian government's development agenda. The diplomat's impression of FOCAC is that the cooperation is gradually increasing Nigerian power, and will benefit both China and Africa in the long term.

FOCAC plays an important role in the China-Africa relationship and has become a model of multilateral international cooperation. <sup>66</sup> Mr. Ombeni Y. Sefue, Tanzanian Ambassador to the USA, made it clear that China has cultivated its relationships with Africa in a very consistent and strategic way. "Four generations of Chinese leaders have taken these contacts very seriously, with each subsequent leadership increasing the level and frequency of visits and contacts." He pointed to China's continuing presence in Africa, and hopes that the USA and China will strengthen their cooperation in Tanzania and become partners in their cooperation with Africa.<sup>67</sup>

To promote African development is one of the purposes of China-African cooperation. China's experience of its own development shows that a country can not develop a dependence on aid, and as a result China's cooperation with Africa is based on its own

61 Interview with a diplomat of the Sudan, Beijing, Dec. 2, 2010.

experience, emphasising trade and investment over aid in development. China's approach is that for Afican countries that lack resources and markets, there will be aid . For countries that are rich in both resources and markets, the cooperation will be more focused on trade and investment.

#### 5.3 Cooperation in Environmental Protection

The first FOCAC Ministerial Conference touched on environmental protection, but there was no concrete implementation programme. With the rapid development of economic and trade cooperation, Chinese investments in Africa often concentrate on resources and infrastructure, which have significant impacts on the environment. As a result of this, the Fourth Ministerial Conference proposed the first specific projects regarding environmental cooperation.

#### 5.3.1 Environmental Action

The "Environmental Protection in China for Africa" event in Beijing in 2003 aimed at sharing China's environmental policy experiences and scientific research, exchanging information and lessons learnt on environmental issues, exploring methods of development cooperation, and promoting exchanges in the field of environmental protection. Ambassadors and representatives from nearly 40 African countries attended the event. 68

China's State Environmental Protection Administration (now the Ministry of Environmental Protection), the Chinese Follow-up Committee of FOCAC, and the UNEP cochaired the conference on China-Africa environmental cooperation in Nairobi in February 2005. Three proposals were put forward: expand the scope of exchanges on environmental protection; press ahead with technical cooperation on environmental protection; and further step up personnel training with the Chinese government, who was willing to provide environmental training for environmental officials and experts in African countries, on behalf of the African Human Resources Development Fund (AHRDF) of FOCAC.<sup>69</sup>

Five objectives were proposed:

- To strengthen high-level dialogue and exchanges:
- To implement training programs to further environmental protection;
- To promote cooperation on environmental industries;
- To strengthen consultation on major multilateral and global environmental issues;
- To promote cooperation between China-Africa environmental cooperation and multilateral international institutions.

This conference opened a new page for China-Africa environmental cooperation, and added a new area in China-Africa cooperation.70

In 2006, the Chinese government published China's African Policy, in which China committed "to strengthen technical exchanges and to actively promote China-Africa

 <sup>62</sup> Interview with Tunisian Ambassador, Beijing, Dec., 7, 2010.
 63 Interview with a diplomat of Democratic Republic of Congo, Beijing, Dec. 14, 2010

Interview with Moroccan Ambassador, Beijing, Dec.10, 2010. <sup>65</sup>Interview with Zimbabwe Ambassador, Beijing, Dec.14, 2010.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>66</sup>Interview with a diplomat of Nigeria, Beijing, Dec. 30, 2010.
<sup>67</sup>Ombeni Y. Sefue, "China: A Solid Partner", in Sharon T. Freeman, ed., China, Africa, and the African Diaspora Perspective, Washington D.C.: AASBEA Publisher, pp.40-45.

Ministry of Environmental Protection of the PRC, Environmental Protection of China for Africa, April 9, 2004, http://gjs.mep.gov.cn/ qyhjhz/200404/t20040409\_89316.htm.

Speech of Zeng Peiyan at the Conference on China-Africa Environmental Cooperation, February 21, 2005, http://www.focac.org/chn/zt/

Speech of Xie Zhenhua at the Conference on China-Africa Environmental Cooperation, February 21, 2005, http://www.focac.org/chn/zt/ zfhbhzhy/t185158.htm.

cooperation in [the] areas of climate change, water conservation, and desertification control and biodiversity protection". This paper defined a new direction for the cooperation on environment.  $^{71}$ 

In addition, there were specific provisions on environmental protection in the FOCAC Beijing Action Plan (2007-2009) announced at the third Ministerial Conference in Beijing in 2006.

"The two sides fully recognized the importance of environmental protection for achieving sustainable development and were glad to note the success of the Conference on China-Africa Cooperation in Environmental Protection in February 2005 and the substantive progress made in their cooperation in environmental protection. The African side expressed appreciation of the fund provided by the Chinese Government for the establishment of the UNEP China-Africa Environment Center." (5.6.1)

"The two sides resolved to promote dialogue and exchanges in environmental protection and cooperation in human resources development. In the next three years, China will increase year after year the number of environmental protection administrators and experts from Africa to receive training in China. The two sides will work with the UNEP for multilateral cooperation in environmental protection." (5.6.2)

"The two sides agreed to step up cooperation in capacity building, prevention and control of water pollution and desertification, maintenance of bio-diversity and the development of environmental protection industry and demonstration projects."  $(5.6.3)^{72}$ 

In 2010, the Information Office of the State Council published a white paper on China-Africa Economic and Trade Cooperation. It established environmental cooperation as a key area of the China-Africa relationship. The Chinese government proposed "the establishment of [the] China-Africa Partnership on climate change and strengthened the cooperation in the areas of satellite weather monitoring, development and utilization of new energy, desertification control, and urban environmental protection," and "would not contend for financial assistance with African countries, but instead will offer them, on the basis of their needs, practical assistances in funds, technology and capacity building". The document added that China and Africa would pursue in-depth exchanges on climate change, and there would be cooperation in biogas technology, hydropower, solar, wind power and other fields.<sup>73</sup>

5.3.2 Implementation of the FOCAC Plan on Environmental Cooperation

Seminars on Water Pollution and Water Resources Management in African Countries were held in 2005 and 2006. 47 participants from 33 African countries attended one or both seminars with a focus on water pollution control and regulations, wastewater treatment, and environmental assessment systems.<sup>74</sup>

"China's African Policy, in the part of Education, science, culture, health and social aspects, the 9th paragraph, January 2006, http://www.fmprc.gov.cn/zflt/chn/zfgx/zfgxdfzc/t481253.htm.

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The Chinese government has issued a series of policies to guide Chinese companies operating overseas to improve working conditions, protect the environment, and make good relations with the local people. In addition, the Ex-Im Bank has taken positive action in coordinating with Chinese policy to directly influence business behavior.

#### 5.3.3 Forum Highlights: 100 Clean Energy Projects

In response to climate change concerns, China and Africa agreed to strengthen environmental cooperation at the Fourth Ministerial Conference in 2009. The environmental cooperation was extended to small hydropower, solar, and biogas, as well as other clean energy opportunities, providing 100 new clean energy projects to help the African continent cope with climate change. This was a highlight of the Conference.<sup>75</sup>

After the cooperation on 100 clean energy projects was announced at the Sharm el-Sheikh Forum in November 2009, the Department of Foreign Aid under MOFCOM undertook inspections for relevant enterprises preparing to implement these projects. <sup>76</sup> By June 1, 2011, aclean energy project had been completed in Sudan. This was a demonstration project conducted by the Chinese embassy. <sup>77</sup> Other projects undertaken have included solar and biogas in Malawi, <sup>78</sup> three small hydropower stations in Sierra Leone, <sup>79</sup> solar lighting in Benin <sup>80</sup> and solar power in Rwanda. <sup>81</sup> As of October 2011, China had formed a national project plan with 11 African countries. <sup>82</sup> <sup>83</sup>

#### 5.4 The Challenges for FOCAC in Environmental Protection

In the 10 years since its foundation, FOCAC has been sucessful in many areas, expanding the scope and levels of cooperation. However there is room for further improvement.

At present, the role played by ecological and environmental specialists, such as the Ministry of Environmental Protection, is still relatively limited. Environmental protection is an important consideration, not only in moving FOCAC towards the development of more scientific advances, but also in bringing the contents of the Forum closer to peoples' livelihoods, and at this time these considerations are not being given sufficient weight.

The inclusion of environmental conservation as a specific chapter in the China-Africa cooperation required a more scientific and professional approach. Chinese environmental organizations still play a limited role in the Forum; however Chinese companies operating in Africa are now required to strictly obey the host country's social and environmental regulations and to fulfill their responsibilities.

Interviews conducted with MOFCOM and China-Africa Development Fund indicate that the Ministry and the Fund are firm in their commitment to conduct risk assessments, and

83课题组对科技部国际合作司、外交部非洲司和商务部援外司的电话采访,2011年12月31日。

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>72</sup>FOCAC archives: FORUM ON CHINA-AFRICA COOPERATIONBELJING ACTION PLAN (2007-2009), November 16, 2006. http://www.fmprc.gov.cn/zflt/eng/ltda/dscbzjhy/DOC32009/t280369.htm.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>73</sup>China-Africa Economic and Trade Cooperation, part six, "to expand China- Africa cooperation".

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>74</sup>Ding Jinguang, "Current Situation and Characteristics of Cooperation of Environmental Protection between China and Africa", p.12.

request enterprises to submit environmental impact reports during the project application process. In countries without strong environmental standards, companies are to comply with international standards, environmental impact assessments are to be conducted by qualified third-party professional organisations or institutions. <sup>84</sup> Some scholars and experts have been invited by MOFCOM to participate in a number of African projects to provide early-stage evaluations, follow-up assessments and human resources training. However, there is still a lack of specific mechanisms for these contributions and some experts suggest the impact of the measures remains limited. <sup>85</sup>

## 6. Recommendations

Many of the projects announced at the FOCAC Ministerial Conferences are still at the implementation or exploratory stage, and it is too early to make an overall assessment. Meanwhile, the following suggestions can be made for FOCAC as a whole.

#### 6.1 Strengthening the FOCAC mechanism

An inter-ministerial coordinating committee led by a Chinese Vice Premier should be established. Members of the Secretariat of the Chinese Follow-up Committee of the FOCAC should include professional experts in order to increase the scientific rigor and professionalism of the Forum.

The time-frame of the Ministerial Conference should be reformed. The existing mechanism is limited due to the difficulty in designing and coordinating the agenda. We recommend two alternatives: extend the regional cooperation projects to 6 years, to facilitate discussion of these projects by two sessions of Ministerial Conferences; or change Ministerial Conferences to a reoccurring 5-year event.

The mechanism of the Forum needs to be more transparent. Civil society organizations should be encouraged to play a role within the FOCAC framework.

#### 6.2 Strengthening Interactions within Africa

There should be more interaction between China and Africa in the operation of FOCAC. The active engagement of African countries, the African Union and related regional organizations will ensure FOCAC proposals are relevant to and practical for Africa. African countries can coordinate their domestic development plans with FOCAC from the beginning of the agenda design.

Although African countries have different views about the role the AU could play in FOCAC, consultation with the AU is necessary especially for transportation or hydropower projects with regional impacts. As many projects agreed by FOCAC have transnational impacts, the "African Union's role as a mediator of mutual and bilateral interests in the FOCAC brings benefits to both China and Africa." <sup>86</sup> The AU can set up an office to cooperate with China, like the Chinese Follow-up Committee of FOCAC, thus enhancing FOCAC's ability to function and the efficiency and effectiveness of communication and coordination.

Regional organizations in Africa can also increase their contributions to FOCAC.

Regional organizations on the African continent, including SADC and ECOWAS recently played a major role in African integration.

### 6.3 Improvement of International Cooperation by Chinese Parties

Although China's foreign assistance is not the focus of this report, it has an impact on FOCAC. China's foreign assistance mechanisms have existed for decades without adjustment or modification, and require centralization and modernization. As such, the

<sup>84</sup>Interview with CADF, 24th Dec. 2010, Beijing, CADF Headquarter.

<sup>85</sup> Interview with Professor Zhang Haibin, 8th March 2011, Beijing: Peking University; Interview to Professor Ge Chazhong, 14th March 2011, Beijing: China Academy of Environment Planning.

<sup>86</sup>Francis Ikome, "The role and place of the African Union in the emerging China-Africa partnership", p.210

following actions are recommended:

Establishment of a coordinating committee at ministry-level that will evolve into a new institution responsible for foreign assistance under the direct leadership of the State Council. The new institution would be directly affiliated to the State Council.

the speed of legislation of foreign assistance could be increased. The government should first make the State Council ordinance of foreign assistance on the basis of regulations of foreign assistance, then upgrade it to the Law of Foreign Assistance. The publication of the white paper China's Foreign Aid is a milestone in China's transparency. Considering all foreign assistance constitutes a form of taxes, the government as a responsible leader must inform its citizens and respect their rights to know about the issue. A part of this development could be the establishment of specialised agencies for foreign aid and expertise. Aid to Africa should be within the scope of international assistance to strengthen multilateral cooperation, which can first be strengthened through relationships with African regional organisations or international organisations. China can through this process develop its own principles to continue to promote international cooperation.

#### 6.4 Implementation of the Principles of Sustainable Development

As development partners in Africa, the Chinese government is committed to assisting African countries in utilising resources to a competitive advantage, and promoting African countries and regions in achieving sustainable development. China-Africa policy makers should fully assess the social and environmental impacts of the projects, especially on the extraction of natural resources and the construction of large scale infrastructure, on a scientific basis, whilst giving consideration to the impacts on future generations. China should require financial institutions and enterprises to incorporate social and environmental responsibility into their decisions and actions, and to fully conduct preliminary investigations into projects, considering the impact of the project lifecycle, incorporating mitigation techniques, and accounting for costs to mitigate environmental and social impacts caused.

In addition to maintaining good lines of communication with African governments, further communication and dialogue should be opened between Chinese institutions and host country institutions, NGOs, and local people, ensuring an understanding of public opinion and expanding mutual trust.

In recent years, MOFCOM, the State Forestry Administration, China Banking Regulatory Commission and other agencies have issued guidance or guidelines for Chinese companies and financial institutions in order to regulate their outward investment projects. The Chinese Government should develop and implement similar guides in the areas of oil and gas, mining, infrastructure facilities development (in particular hydropower), agriculture and fisheries. This will improve performance and reduce the environmental and social risks of Chinese outward investment.

China-Africa cooperation in solar, wind, biomass and other renewable energies is already taking shape and there are more opportunities for collaboration. This includes exploring viable business models and financial products based on local conditions, and promoting the application of clean energy and energy-efficient products. China and Africa

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can continue this approach and also take advantage of existing and future trade zones to encourage entrepeneurs in locally producing renewable energy equipment and energyefficient products, and creating green jobs.

Overall, environmental considerations within the FOCAC decision-making process should be strengthened. For China, it is of great importance to expand the influence of the Ministry of Environmental Protection (MEP) within the areas of industry, agriculture, health, science and technology, and biodiversity conservation, particularly in the decision-making process for policy formulation, project development, and assessment processes. The establishment of inspection systems and a mechanism for evaluation is necessary to provide give guidance and direct sanctions to companies where appropriate.

At present, various professionals and experts participate in FOCAC at advisory and practical levels, but are not involved in the decision-making process. Specialized knowledge is needed, and there is room for improvement in consultation with these experts in the FOCAC process. For example, the MEP is responsible for training staff and exchanging experience in terms of environmental cooperation; but there is a lack of direct involvement in foreign assistance and investment projects. Although experts have been invited to take part in project assessment, there has been little further interaction. It will be crucial to reform these aspects in the future.

In summary, we can conclude the following points.

The Forum on China-Africa Cooperation, as a platform for comprehensive cooperation between China and Africa in political, economic, diplomatic, social and cultural issues, is mainly inter-governmental and has played a significant role in the enhancement of China-African relations in the past ten years.

The first FOCAC Ministerial Conference focused on economic and social development, but the concrete program about development was unspecific. However the Eight Measures proposed at the Beijing Summit in 2006 and the new Eight Measures proposed at the 4th Ministerial Conference in 2009, indicated that the program of FOCAC has become more specific and that the emphasis of FOCAC is becoming more concrete indicating a willingness to expand the focus of FOCAC from economic and trade cooperation and development aid, to people's livelihoods, on environment, communication, and exchanges between think tanks. Such a change reflects the common understanding of Chinese and African leaders. Moreover, integrating environmental considerations into the program and practices is essential for the sustainability of China-Africa cooperation.

As the China-Africa cooperation has been expanding and deepening, non-governmental participation has also been increasing. This trend should deepen in the future and lead to better coordination and increase of China-Africa exchanges.

Environmental issues have become a common concern to policy makers, investors and project implementers. Coordination and the cooperation of all parties will ensure this cooperation lead to sustainable development.

With the joint efforts of China and the African countries, the Forum on China-Africa Cooperation can create a new model for international cooperation and sustainable development.

## **Appendix 1: History of the FOCAC**

The content of this section is mostly from "The Archives of the FOCAC" at the www. focac.org.

#### 1.1 The First Ministerial Conference of the FOCAC

The First Ministerial Conference of FOCAC was held on October 12-14, 2000 in Beijing, China. More than 80 ministers from China and 44 African countries, representatives from 17 regional and international organizations, and many Chinese and African Entrepreneurs were invited to attend the conference. Countries that attended the conference were China, Algeria, Angola, Benin, Botswana, Burundi, Cameroon, Cape Verde, Central African Republic, Comoros, Congo (Brazzaville), Congo (Kinshasa), Côte d' Ivoire, Diibouti, Egypt, Equatorial Guinea, Eritrea, Ethiopia, Gabon, Ghana, Guinea, Kenya, Lesotho, Libya, Madagascar, Mali, Mauritania, Mauritius, Morocco, Mozambique, Namibia, Niger, Nigeria, Rwanda, Seychelles, Sierra Leone, South Africa, The Sudan, Tanzania, Togo, Tunisia, Uganda, Zambia, Zimbabwe and Somalia. The Organization of African Unity, the African Export-Import Bank, the Economic Community of West African States, the Economic Community of Central African States, the Central African Economic and Monetary Community, the Common Market for Eastern and Southern Africa, the East African Community, the Sahel - Saharan States, the Intergovernmental Authority on Development, the League of Arab States, the Southern African Development Community, the Arab Maghreb Union, the United Nations Development Programme (UNDP), the United Nations Economic Commission for Africa (UNECA), the Eastern and Southern African Trade and Development Bank (South Africa), the Afro-Asian Association, and the International Institute of Entomology and Ecology 88 were also invited to the conference. The conference published the Beijing Declaration of the Forum on China-Africa Cooperation and the Guideline of China-Africa Cooperation in Economic and Social Development.

Ministers from China and 44 African countries exchanged ideas and established a new, dynamic, and strategic partnership between the African continent and China. On the basis of equality and mutual respect, the Ministers committed themselves to cooperate in all fields, especially in social and economic development, with a view of renewing, developing and expanding China-Africa cooperation in the 21st century. Furthermore, the Ministers agreed to promote high-level visits, to conduct regular inter-governmental dialogues and cooperation, and to create a favorable environment for China-Africa business affiliation and trade.

The Chinese government promised to continuously cooperate with African countries, to provide development assistance, and also to focus on the promotion of local industrial development, the use of local materials, and the increase of local employment. Moreover, within the ability of Chinese government and the framework of South-South cooperation, the

Chinese government agreed to continue providing assistance for African countries, according to their specific economic situations.

China committed to give preference to imported African products in the light of the demands and conditions of the Chinese market, to ensure the smooth operation of the "Investment and Trade Promotion Centers" in Africa and to coordinate the establishment of similar centers for African countries in China. China agreed to make sure that these centers could play an effective bridging role in coordinating exchanges and communications between enterprises of both sides. In addition, the Chinese government promised to establish the China-Africa Joint Business Council in coordination with the Chambers of Commerce of African countries and the professional organizations, creating a system of dialogue and consultation with African enterprises, and to promote economic cooperation and trade between them. The establishment of a "China-Africa Products Exhibition Center" in China would help to promote bilateral trade and to facilitate access for African products into the Chinese market. China would provide special funds to support and to encourage well-established Chinese enterprises to invest in African countries. China also promised to reduce or cancel debts up to RMB10 billion for the Heavily Indebted Poor Countries (HIPC) and the Least Developed Countries (LDC) in Africa in the two years following FOCAC.

China promised to send extra medical teams to African countries and to provide them with more medical equipment, facilities, medicines and training. China also pledged to increase the number of scholarships to African students who study in China, and continue to send teachers to Africa to help local institutions of higher learning to improve their disciplines and specialties. China would also set up means of communications between universities of the two sides for the study of Chinese and African civilizations, and the establishment of an "African Human Resources Development Fund" (AHRDF) to gradually increase financial contribution and to train professionals of different fields in African countries. <sup>89</sup> In order to ensure economic and sustainable human development, China and Africa agreed to cooperate in all fields of environmental management, including pollution control, biodiversity conservation, forest ecological system protection, and fisheries and wildlife management.

#### 1.1.1 Follow-up Action of the First FOCAC

In the political arena, political exchanges and cooperation continued to be strengthened between China and Africa from 2001 to 2003, and bi-lateral high-level visits and communications increased. Chinese leaders visited Africa 20 times in this period, while more than 30 African Presidents, Vice Presidents, Premiers and Speakers visited China. China supported the efforts of the African countries to maintain regional peace and stability. The Chinese government sent peacekeeping forces to take part in the United Nations' Peacekeeping Operation (UNPKO) in the Democratic Republic of Congo (DRC) and Liberia in 2003. African countries adhered to the "One China" policy and supported the reunification of China, and the Chinese government supported the establishment of African Union and the implementation of the New Partnership for African Development (NEPAD).

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<sup>88</sup> Luntan Dangan (Archives of the FOCAC): The List of the Heads of State and Government, Ministers, and Heads of International et Regional Delegations at the First Ministerial Conference—Forum on Chine-African Cooperation, September 14, 2006, http://www.focac.org/chn/ltda/dyjbzjhy/hyqk12009/t400099.htm.

<sup>89</sup> Luntan Dangan (Archives of the FOCAC): The Programme of China-African Cooperation in Economic and Social Development, http://www.focac.org/chn/ltda/dyjbzjhy/hywj12009/t155561.htm.

The Chinese government fulfilled its promise of reducing African debts ahead of schedule. By June 2002, China had signed the protocol on debt relief with 31 African countries, exempting 156 items of debts maturity, a total of RMB10.5 billion. Moreover, the total volume of China-Africa trade rose each year. In 2003, the volume of trade between China and Africa reached USUS\$18.5 billion, an increase of 49.7% over the previous year, and up 75% in comparison to the year 2000. The significant growth of African exports to China contributed to the decrease of the trade deficit between China and Africa. The investment cooperation also developed rapidly: China signed the Bilateral Investment Protection Treaty with more than 20 African countries; established Centers for the Promotion of Chinese Investment and Trade in 11 countries; and set up 117 new enterprises in Africa.

China continued to provide assistance for African countries within its ability and without any political conditions. There were 245 new economic-assistance agreements signed between China and African countries, accounting for 44 % of China's total foreign assistance. China established the African Human Resources Development Fund (AHRDF), and held facilitated 300 training programs. More than 6,000 African professionals were trained in the fields of diplomacy, economic management, national defense, agriculture, medicine and health, education, technology and culture. With the founding of AHRDF, China sent more than 500 specialists and teachers to African countries. Additionally, China donated money to the "Construction of African Capacity Foundation" which was established by International Monetary Fund (IMF), and started 20 technological seminars, under the Technical Cooperation among Developing Countries project which was specially designed for African students.

The Chinese government increased the number of scholarships for African students to study in China, and several Chinese universities established relationships with African universities. The Chinese universities sent teachers to teach at African universities, and implemented cooperation projects for building laboratories and computer centers. China signed or renewed agreements of medical assistance with 40 African countries, continued to offer medicines, medical apparatus and instruments, and medical materials. China began to cooperate with African countries in preventing and treating AIDS, malaria and pulmonary tuberculosis.

China began joint tourism efforts with Egypt, South Africa, and Morocco, which became the Approved Destination for Chinese citizens traveling abroad.<sup>90</sup>

#### 1. 2. The Second Ministerial Conference of the FOCAC

The Second Ministerial Conference of the FOCAC was held on December 15-16, 2003 in Addis Ababa, Ethiopia. More than 70 Ministers of Foreign Affairs and International Economic Cooperation from China and 44 African countries attended the conference, including China, Algeria, Angola, Benin, Botswana, Burundi, Cameroon, Cape Verde, Central African Republic, Comoros, Congo (Brazzaville), Congo (Kinshasa), Côte d' Ivoire, Djibouti, Egypt, Equatorial Guinea, Eritrea, Ethiopia, Gabon, Ghana, Guinea, Kenya, Lesotho, Libya,

Madagascar, Mali, Mauritania, Mauritius, Morocco, Mozambique, Namibia, Niger, Nigeria, Rwanda, Seychelles, Sierra Leone, South Africa, The Sudan, Tanzania, Togo, Tunisia, Uganda, Zambia, Zimbabwe Somalia. The African Union (AU) also attended the conference representing the African regional organizations. The theme of the conference was "action-oriented pragmatic cooperation". <sup>91</sup> The Forum on China-Africa Cooperation-Addis Ababa Action Plan (2004-2006) was issued by the conference.

In The FOCAC-Addis Ababa Action Plan (2004-2006), the Chinese government committed to increasing assistance for African countries within the FOCAC framework; enhancing cooperation with African in regards to developing human resources, including a commitment to train up to 10,000 African personnel in the following three years; and increase people-to-people exchanges with Africa, hosting a "China-Africa Youth Festival" in 2004. China also committed to opening up markets and granting free tariff access for some commodities from the least developed countries in Africa; expand tourism cooperation with Africa, and name Ethiopia, Kenya, Tanzania, Zambia, Mauritius, Seychelles, Zimbabwe and Tunisia as Approved Destinations for Chinese tourist groups who cover their own travel expenses; and to sponsor the "Meeting in Beijing," an international art festival focusing on African arts and the "Voyage of Chinese Culture to Africa. <sup>92</sup>

#### 1.2.1 Follow-up action of the second FOCAC

From 2004 to 2006, Chinese President Hu Jintao, Chairman of the Standing Committee of the National People's Congress Wu Bangguo, Premier Wen Jiabao, Vice Premier Huang Ju and Zeng Peiyan visited African countries. In the same time period, 22 presidents, 7 Prime Ministers, and 5 Vice Presidents of various African countries visited China.

Cooperation in peace and security continued to be enhanced. In May 2006, 435 Chinese were sent to Sudan to support UN Peace Keeping Force (UNPKO). China sent 1,273 Chinese peacekeeping personnel to Africa and took part in 7 peacekeeping actions led by the UN. Further, the China-Africa trade and economic cooperation achieved fruitful results. In 2005, the volume of bilateral trade reached US\$ 39.8 billion, an increase of 34.9 % compared to the previous year. By the end of 2005, Chinese direct investments in Africa had hit US\$1.595 billion. There were also new developments in financial cooperation. Moreover, the task of giving tariff-free to the exports of the Least Developed African Countries (LDACs) had been finished. In addition, as of this time, 28 African countries enjoyed zero tariffs on 190 commodity items that were exported to China.

China increased investment in human resources development in Africa, enlarged the scale of training, and set up the "Inter-department Coordinating Mechanism of Foreign Human Resources Development and Cooperation". From January 2004 to June 2006, China trained more than 7,600 people, sent several hundred experts to train local people in various forms, and began an aid program sending young volunteers to African countries.

The "Meeting in Beijing" and the "Voyage of Chinese Culture to Africa" were held from the end of April to the beginning of May 2004 and also in August 2006 respectively.

<sup>9°</sup>Luntan Dangan (Archives of the FOCAC): The Follow-up actions of the First Ministerial Conference, September 16, 2006, http://www.focac.org/chn/ltda/dyjbzjhy/hxxd12009/

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>91</sup>Luntan Dangan (Archives of the FOCAC): The Theme of the Second Ministerial Conference, http://www.focac.org/chn/ltda/dejbzjhy/hyqk22009/t155404.htm.

niyqa.22009/113944.11111. "Ziuntan Dangan (Archives of the FOCAC): An Important Commitment of the Chinese government in Addis Ababa Action Plan, http:// www.focac.org/chn/ltda/dejbzjhy/hyqk22009/t155407.htm.

A further 17 African countries became Approved Destinations for tourist groups of Chinese citizens. 93

### 1.3. Beijing Summit and the Third FOCAC Ministerial Conference

The Third Ministerial Conference of FOCAC was held on November 4-5, 2006 in Beijing, China. Heads of the State, government leaders, Ministers of Foreign Affairs, Ministers of Economic Affairs, and representatives from China, 48 African countries, the AU, and other regional and international organizations attended the conference. The countries which attended the conference were China, Algeria, Egypt, Ethiopia, Angola, Benin, Botswana, Burundi, Equatorial Guinea, Togo, Eritrea, Cape Verde, Congo (Brazzaville), Congo (Kinshasa), Djibouti, Guinea, Guinea Bissau, Ghana, Gabon, Zimbabwe, Cameroon, Comoros, Côte d'Ivoire, Kenya, Lesotho, Liberia, Libya, Rwanda, Madagascar, Mali, Mauritius, Mauritania, Morocco, Mozambique, Namibia, South Africa, Niger, Nigeria, Sierra Leone, Senegal, Seychelles, The Sudan, Somalia, Tanzania, Tunisia, Uganda, Zambia, Chad, and the Central African Republic. The AU took part in the Beijing Summit as a regional organization, The conference published Declaration of the Beijing Summit of the Forum on China-Africa Cooperation and The Forum on China-Africa Cooperation—Beijing Action Plan (2007-2009).

President Hu Jintao announced at the Opening Ceremony of the Summit that the Chinese government would take eight measures to strength the cooperation with Africa and to support African development. China would double the assistance to Africa by 2009: provide African countries with US\$3 billion of preferential loans and US\$2 billion of preferential buyer's credits in the next three years; set up a China-Africa Development Fund (CADF), with US\$ 5 billion in funding to encourage and support Chinese companies to invest in Africa; build a conference centre for the AU in order to support African countries in their efforts to enhance themselves through unity, as well as the process of African integration; cancel governmental debts in the form of the interest-free loans that matured at the end of 2005, which were owed by the Heavily Indebted Poor Countries and the Least Developed Countries in Africa that have diplomatic relations with China; further open the Chinese market to Africa by increasing the number of import items to over 440, offering zero-tariff treatment to the 30 least developed African countries that have diplomatic ties with China; establish 3 to 5 trade and economic cooperation zones in Africa over the following three years; and in the next three years, train 15,000 African professionals, send 100 senior agricultural experts to Africa, set up 10 special agricultural centers, build 30 hospitals, provide RMB 300 million of grant with artemisinin (anti-malaria drug), build 30 centers of malaria prevention and treatment in Africa, dispatch 300 youth volunteers to Africa, build 100 rural schools in Africa and increase the number of Chinese government scholarships for African students from the current 2,000 per year to 4,000 per year by 2009. 94

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#### 1.3.1 Follow-up Action of Beijing Summit 95

Political relations and regional peace and security

China and African countries continued to engage in regular high-level visits, and both sides established greater mutual political trust. After the Beijing Summit, President Hu Jintao, Chairman Wu Bangguo of the Standing Committee of the National People's Congress (NPC), Premier Wen Jiabao, Chairman Jia Qinglin of the Chinese People's Political Consultative Conference and other state leaders visited 36 African countries. In return, 36 Presidents, Vice Presidents, Prime Ministers and Speakers from African countries visited China. Leaders of China and various African countries had bilateral meetings often.

Following the agreement reached at the Beijing Summit, Foreign Ministers of all parties held the first political consultation at the sub-meeting of the UN General Assembly session in September 2007. The regular China-Africa political dialogues between foreign ministers were also launched within the FOCAC framework. The summit opened a new path for China and the African countries, in order to strengthen collective political dialogue and to coordinate on major issues. With the intention to maintain Africa as the first destination of diplomatic visits every year, <sup>96</sup> the Chinese Foreign Minister visited 16 countries in Africa, after the Beijing Summit., and the Foreign Ministers of 15 African countries made diplomatic visits to China. In addition to diplomatic visits by Foreign Ministers, China held diplomatic consultation with Kenya, Uganda, Namibia, Botswana, Malawi, The Sudan, Libya, Morocco, Egypt, Mauritania and Algeria, and strategic dialogues with South Africa and Nigeria.

After the Beijing Summit, 20 NPC delegations visited Africa and 21 African parliamentary delegations visited China. The NPC set up regular exchange mechanisms with the Egyptian People's Assembly and the National Assembly of South Africa, and established bilateral parliamentary friendship groups with 18 African countries.

In May 2008, the Chinese Follow-up Action Committee of FOCAC invited members from the parliamentary friendship groups of 11 African countries to China and, for the first time, made China-Africa multilateral parliamentary exchanges possible under FOCAC. Such exchanges and cooperation served to reinforce the sharing of experience on governance and the promotion of the full-scale growth of China-Africa relations.

The Communist Party of China (CPC) continued to initiate exchanges with African political parties based on the principles of independence, equality, and integrity of each nation, together with mutual respect and non-interference in internal affairs. China sent 25 delegations to Africa and welcomed 67 delegations of African political parties after the Beijing Summit.

24 new sister city relationships were established, bringing the total number to 98. China hosted 4 seminars on cooperation between twin cities and their local governments. It also set up the system of lecture tours in China for African diplomatic corps, and organized three such tours. These activities built a new platform for the greater communication and cooperation between China and African countries at the sub-national level.

 <sup>&</sup>lt;sup>93</sup>Luntan Dangan (Archives of the FOCAC): Summary of Follow-up Actions to the Second Ministerial Conference, September 30, 2006, <a href="http://www.fmprc.gov.cn/zfit/chn/ltda/dejbzjhy/hxxd22009/t584798.htm">http://www.fmprc.gov.cn/zfit/chn/ltda/dejbzjhy/hxxd22009/t584798.htm</a>.
 <sup>94</sup>Luntan Dangan (Archives of the FOCAC): The Opening Ceremony Speech of President Hu Jintao at the Forum on China-African

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>94</sup>Luntan Dangan (Archives of the FOCAC): The Opening Ceremony Speech of President Hu Jintao at the Forum on China-Africa: Cooperation--Beijing Summit, November 4, 2006, http://www.fmprc.gov.cn/zflt/chn/ltda/bjfhbzjhy/zyjh 32009/t584768.htm.

<sup>%</sup>Luntan Dangan (Archives of the FOCAC): The Implementation of Follow-up Action to the Forum on China-African Cooperation-- Beijing Summit, November 10, 2009, http://www.fmprc.gov.cn/zflt/chn/ltda/bjfhbzjhy/hxxd 3200/ t627503.htm.
%Since 1991, Chinese Foreign Minister would first visit Africa in the beginning of each year, Quoted from: Lü Guozeng introduced the background of Issuing China's African Policy, January 12, 2006, Écouter Lire phonétiquement http://news.xinhuanet.com/world/2006-01/12/content\_4044651.htm.

After the Beijing Summit, China established bilateral consular consultation with Kenya, Egypt, Senegal and Nigeria, and held eight rounds of bilateral consular consultation with these countries and South Africa. Additionally, China invited senior police officers from a number of African countries to join some training programs. Law enforcement authorities improved cooperation in combating transnational crimes, immigration control, and upholding the lawful rights and interests of their respective citizens.

The two sides continued to show support for each other and to work closely in international affairs. Intensive coordination on main issues, such as development, human rights, UN reform, Doha Round, climate change, and status in international agencies enhanced the overall strength and voice of the developing countries, and further protected their common interests.

China spoke out for African interests and development, and supported the legitimate concerns of the African countries and their rightful position at the UN, the G20 Summit and the G8+5. The Chinese government also actively urged the international community, especially the developed world, to attach importance to the development of Africa and to thoroughly implement their aid commitments to African countries.

African countries continued their support for the "One China" policy and China's stance regarding Taiwan, Tibet and Xinjiang. African governments and their people also provided vigorous support to China in various forms, such as in earthquake relief and in hosting the Beijing Olympic Games, the Paralympics and the Shanghai World Exposition

China further strengthened its relations with the AU. Wu Bangguo, the NPC Chairman visited the AU headquarters, while Jean Ping, the Chairperson of the AU Commission, made two visits to China. A China-AU strategic dialogue was officially launched and followed by two rounds of dialogue. In addition, the construction of the AU Conference Center began, supported by the Chinese government. China continued to offer donations to the AU to support the construction of institutional buildings of the AU and the peacekeeping operations. China actively engaged in the cooperation with the NEPAD and the sub-regional organizations of Africa, continuing funding of NEPAD training programs. Delegations from the Economic Community of West African States (ECOWAS) and the East African Community made successful visits to China, with China and ECOWAS successfully cohosting the China-ECOWAS Economic and Trade Forum and the China-Africa Modern Agriculture Cooperation Forum.

China took an active part in UNPKO in Africa. After the Beijing Summit, China's deployment of peacekeeping troops and police to Africa increased to 6,281. Currently, 1,629 Chinese soldiers and police officers remain in service in 6 zones of the UN peacekeeping missions in Africa. With the establishment of the UN Peace Commission, China actively supported post-war reconstruction in relevant countries and strengthened cooperation with them. In order to support the efforts of Africa to maintain regional peace and security, the Chinese government appointed a Special Representative on African Affairs, who actively participated in the resolution of consultation, the coordination on Darfur and relevant significant issues of peace and security in Africa. In order to crack down on the piracy in Somalia and to uphold security of the African shores, since January 2009 the Chinese

government has deployed 4 contingents of the naval fleet to carry out escort missions in the Gulf of Aden and the waters of the Somali coast. The Chinese fleet helped to ensure the safety of more than 100 convoys.<sup>97</sup>

#### **Economic relations**

the Summit, China established bilateral joint (mixed) economic and trade commissions with Senegal, Mali, Cape Verde, Guinea Bissau and Malawi, and held bilateral meetings within these mechanisms with 22 African countries.

China's investment in Africa grew steadily and extended to more sectors. Mutual investment protection agreements were signed with Mali and Seychelles, bringing the total number of agreements to 31. Direct investment from Chinese enterprises to Africa totaled US\$5.49 billion in cash flow in 2008 and US\$7.81 billion in reserve by the end of 2008. During the first half of 2009, non-financial direct investment from China to Africa reached US\$552 million.

In order to encourage and support Chinese enterprises investing in Africa, the Chinese government urged Chinese financial institutions to establish the CADF, which was launched in June 2007 with an initial investment of US\$1 billion. The Fund decided to invest more than US\$500 million in 27 projects, covering agriculture, electric power, construction material, mining, machinery, and industrial parks, with an intention to stimulate Chinese companies to invest nearly US\$4 billion in Africa.

The construction of 6 Chinese overseas economic and trade cooperation zones was underway in Zambia, Mauritius, Nigeria, Egypt, and Ethiopia. Some of the zones have witnessed progress in attracting investment, and drawing enterprises in to the African market.

China-Africa trade grew rapidly between 2007 and 2008. In 2008, two-way trade topped US\$106.8 billion, hitting the target of US\$100 billion two years ahead of the schedule set at the Beijing Summit. The bilateral trade experienced a relatively sharp fall in 2009 due to the international financial crisis, amounting to US\$44.99 billion from January to July, which was a decrease of 28.7% in comparison to the same period the previous year.

China exchanged notes with 31 Least Developed African Countries on 478 tariff-free commodities to promote imports from Africa, taking effect from July 1, 2007. China also held two African Commodity Exhibitions to promote African exports to China.

China took an active part in the donations of the African Development Bank (hereafter AfDB) and in its Multilateral Debt Relief Initiative. China also enhanced cooperation with major regional financial institutions in Africa. In May 2008, the People's Bank of China (PBC) and the AfDB jointly held a seminar on experience in rural finance development. In September 2008, China formally pledged to participate in the plan of increasing the resources of the Eastern and Southern African Trade and Development Bank. In June 2009, the PBC sponsored the 73rd meeting of the board of directors of the West Africa Development Bank (BOAD).

Commercial cooperation between Chinese and African financial institutions continued

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>97</sup>Luntan Dangan (Archives of FOCAC), The Implementation of Follow-up Action to the Forum on China-African Cooperation-- Beijing Summit

to expand. In October 2007, the Industrial and Commercial Bank of China (ICBC) invested US\$5.46 billion to acquire a 20% stake in the Standard Bank of South Africa. This was at the time one of China's largest financial investment projects in Africa. Through its extensive network of branches and correspondent banks in Africa and its financial product innovation, the Bank of China (BOC) provided a full range of financial services, including international settlement, international payment, trade financing and syndicated loans for both Chinese and African enterprises, thus greatly facilitated business cooperation and promoted trade and investment between China and Africa. Furthermore, the Ex-Im Bank and the CDB actively cooperated with African partners through credit extension and syndicated finance.

Bilateral agricultural cooperation between China and relevant African countries was established. Following the Beijing Summit, China signed bilateral agricultural cooperation agreements with more than 10 African countries, and sent 104 senior agricultural experts to 33 African countries. The Chinese government also started the construction of 10 Agricultural Technology Demonstration Centers, making vigorous efforts to help African countries to develop their agriculture. <sup>98</sup> Within the framework of the Special Program for Food Security (SPFS), and under the Food and Agriculture Organization (FAO) of the United Nations, China sent a total of 665 experts to 7 countries for technical guidance and training of technical personnel.

Following the Beijing Summit, China signed technological cooperation agreements with some African countries to support the promotion and employment of advanced and applicable technologies in Africa. In response to the "Connect Africa" proposal, China attended the Connect Africa Summit in Rwanda, and encouraged competitive Chinese telecommunication companies to take part in relevant infrastructure construction in African countries. It also gave strong support to the efforts of African countries to build an information society and to narrow the digital divide.

China launched direct-air services from Beijing to Lagos and Luanda, and planned to open a direct-air route to Khartoum. In addition, airlines from 5 countries including Egypt, Ethiopia, Zimbabwe, Kenya and Algeria launched regular direct flight service to China. In 2009, 36 flights were scheduled each week between China and various African countries. At the 36th Assembly of the International Civil Aviation Organization (ICAO) in September 2007, China pledged to make an annual contribution of US\$1 million to the ICAO's Comprehensive Regional Implementation Plan for Aviation Safety in African between 2008 and 2011. This commitment helped to improve civil aviation safety in African countries. In 2009, approximately US\$2 million of Chinese donations were delivered to African countries for this purpose.

China-Africa cooperation in quality inspection continued to grow. China signed cooperation agreements covering industrial products inspection, agricultural products quarantine, and food safety with 7 countries, including Algeria, South Africa, The Sudan, Burundi, Malawi, Morocco, and Egypt.<sup>99</sup>

#### Social Development

China reaffirmed its commitment to provide Africa with development assistance as long as it remains in a position to do so. Priority was given to improving African society, culture, livelihood, and public welfare which would truly benefit local people. China doubled its assistance to Africa by the end of 2009 above 2006 figures. From the Beijing Summit to September 2009, China delivered US\$2.647 billion of preferential loans to support 54 projects in 28 African countries and USUS\$2 billion in preferential export buyer's credit to support 11 projects in 10 African countries. 39 of those projects covered more than 10 areas, including telecommunications, transport, energy, electric power, water supply, construction projects, aviation, mining, agriculture and industry. China also signed protocols on debt relief with 33 Heavily Indebted Poor Countries and Least Developed Countries in Africa which have diplomatic relations with China, and exempted them from their debts of interest-free loans that were matured at the end of 2005.

To meet Africa's practical needs, from the Beijing Summit to the end of 2009, China trained over 15,000 professionals in business, education, health, science and technology, culture, agriculture, poverty reduction, customs, quality inspection, telecommunications, environmental protection, maritime affairs and media.

China pledged to build 96 new rural schools and to provide teaching equipment for 30 schools, based on consultations with African countries. By the end of 2009, 66 schools had been completed. A total of 42 students from 16 African countries joined the Master Program in Public Policy (MPP) for developing Countries at Peking University and Tsinghua University. China also worked vigorously to help African countries to train professionals and technicians. A vocational school built jointly by China and Ethiopia was opened in September 2009. Since the Beijing Summit, the Chinese government increased the fellowship program quota for African countries annually. 4,000 African students were studying in China under the fellowship program in 2009, double 2006 numbers.

23 Confucius Institutes or Classrooms had been opened in 16 African countries, including Egypt, Benin, Botswana, Togo, Zimbabwe, Cameroon, Kenya, Liberia and Rwanda, to help African countries to carry on the teaching of the Chinese language.

China assisted 28 African countries to build hospitals, commencing in 2009. 30 malaria prevention and treatment centers that China built in African Countries opened, and China provided anti-malaria medicine for three consecutive years to 36 African countries. Since November 2006, China had sent 1,200 medical workers to 42 African countries and regions and provided a large amount of medicine and medical devices to African countries.

#### Cultural exchanges and cooperation

Important components of the new type of strategic partnership between China and Africa are cultural exchanges and intercultural learning. After the Beijing Summit, 15 African governmental cultural delegations visited China. China signed annual plans for the implementation of cultural agreements with 15 African countries. In Egypt, Mauritius and Benin, China set up the Chinese Cultural Center which became an important means for

<sup>98</sup> Actual construction of the 14 special agricultural technology demonstration centers, located in Mozambique, Uganda, South Africa, Tanzania, Benin, Rwanda, The Sudan, Ethiopia, Cameroon, Togo, Zimbabwe, Liberia, Congo, Madagascar.
99 Luntan Dangan (Archives of FOCAC), The Implementation of Follow-up Action to the Forum on China-African Cooperation—Beijing Summit.

<sup>100</sup>Ibid.

African people to understand China and Chinese culture.

734 members of Chinese artist groups from 20 provinces and cities visited Africa after the Beijing Summit. They also took part in 27 art festivals and celebrations held by African countries. 370 artists from 21 African countries visited China to perform and to participate in international art festivals.

China and Africa held "Culture in Focus" activities, which became a highlight in China-Africa cultural exchanges. In October 2008, "African Culture in Focus 2008" was successfully held in Shenzhen. From April to October 2009, China held the "Chinese Culture in Focus 2009" in more than 20 African countries. These events showcased both cultures and the fruits of China-Africa cultural exchanges from different angles.

After 2007, the "African Cultural Visitors Program" was launched by China's Ministry of Culture. A total of 61 African cultural officials and personages participated in activities like "Roundtable Conference on Cultural Policy", "African Guest Painters Visit China Project", and "Museum Professionals on Work Replacement and Research".

In 2009, the Chinese-African People's Friendship Association launched the monthly magazine Africa, a new resource about the African continent for Chinese people. Increasing cultural exchanges not only strengthened the bond of friendship between China and Africa, but also contributed to mutual learning between the two.

Youth exchange became an important part of China-Africa friendship. By the end of September 2009, a total of 281 young Chinese volunteers arrived in Ethiopia, Zimbabwe, Seychelles, Tunisia, Mauritius, Eritrea, Liberia and Ghana. They provided medical, health, sports, agricultural, educational and other services and made unique contributions to friendship between the Chinese and African peoples. Chinese President Hu Jintao announced the plan during his visit to Africa in early 2007 to invite 500 African youth to visit China in the following three years. According to this plan, the All China Youth Federation invited 500 young Africans to visit China after the Beijing Summit. A group of 177 youth representatives from 48 African countries and the AU Commission attended the third China-Africa Youth Festival, which was successfully held in Beijing in August 2009.

There are growing exchanges and cooperation between Chinese and African women's organizations. All China Women's Federation (ACWF) established 5 women training and exchange centers in Lesotho, Djibouti, Sudan, Zimbabwe and Mauritius and provided 28 batches of material assistance to women organizations in 14 African countries.

The "FOCAC – Women's Forum", sponsored by ACWF and Egyptian National Council for Women, was held in Cairo in October 2009. The theme of the Forum was "China-African women work together to confront challenges and to seek common development." Representatives from 28 African countries attended the forum. The discussion was on "women's political participation", "women and the Millennium Development Goals", "women's dealing with the financial crisis" and other topics. They shared achievements and experiences in the field of gender equality and women's development, jointly coped with global financial crisis. They also developed initiatives based on the UN Millennium Development Goals. The Forum adopted the Forum on China-Africa Cooperation – Women's Forum Declaration 2009 and submitted it to the Fourth Ministerial Conference.

Nine African countries, including Algeria, Cape Verde, Cameroon, Gabon, Rwanda, Mali, Mozambique, Benin, and Nigeria were added to the list of destinations for tourist groups of Chinese citizens after the Beijing Summit. In 2007, 234,400 Chinese citizens made Africa their first stop in overseas travel, increased by 36% than the previous year. This number grew by 21.8% in 2008, totaling 322,000.

Remarkable progress was made in exchanges between Chinese and African news media. Many groups of African press officials and media professionals visited China. Chinese radio and television programs aired in more African countries and China-Africa exchanges on radio and television continued. The "FOCAC - Press Conference 2009" was held jointly by the State Council Information Office and the Foreign Ministry of China in Beijing on July 15, 2009 and it also prepared for the Fourth Ministerial Conference in Cairo. More than 70 officials and mainstream news media leaders, African news agencies in China, and representatives of China-Africa media from 27 African countries and China attended the conference. They focused on the discussion of two issues "the media's role in Sino-African relations" and "how to improve the public opinion of developing countries in international discourse". Media representatives in the meeting evaluated the China-Africa cooperative relationship positively. For sustainable development of China-Africa relations, they agreed that the two sides should strengthen further on mutual understanding and awareness, and the media should play an important role in transmission and promotion. <sup>101</sup>

The smooth operation of FOCAC served as a strong boost to the implementation of the follow-up actions. During the follow-up period, the Secretariat of the Chinese Follow-up Action Committee held eight consultations with African diplomatic corps in China and also the 6th Senior Officials Meeting. After 2009, the two sides further strengthened their consultation and cooperation within the FOCAC framework and made good progress in preparing for the Fourth Ministerial Conference and the Seventh Senior Officials Meeting. China and Africa are committed to promoting FOCAC development in the course of innovation to enrich and to give new vigor to the Forum. In addition to the regular political dialogue between Foreign Ministers and the multilateral parliamentary exchanges, China and Africa have launched a number of events within the FOCAC framework, featuring exchanges between youth, women, press, and non-governmental friendship organizations. Malawi became the 50th member of the FOCAC in 2008.

#### 1.4. The Fourth Ministerial Conference of the FOCAC

The fourth ministerial conference of the FOCAC was held on November 8-9, 2009 in Sharm el-Sheikh. Leaders and senior officers from China, Egypt and 49 other African countries attended the conference. The countries were China, Algeria, Egypt, Ethiopia, Angola, Benin, Botswana, Burundi, Equatorial Guinea, Togo, Eritrea, Cape Verde, Congo (Brazzaville), Congo (DRC), Djibouti, Guinea, Guinea Bissau, Ghana, Gabon, Zimbabwe, Cameroon, Comoros, Côte d' Ivoire, Kenya, Lesotho, Liberia, Libya, Rwanda, Madagascar, Malawi, Mali, Mauritius, Mauritania, Morocco, Mozambique, Namibia, South Africa, Niger,

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>101a</sup>The Forum on China-African Cooperation - News Conference 2009" held in Beijing, July 16, 2009. News from the Ministry of Foreign Affairs: http://www.mfa.gov.cn/chn/gxh/tyb/wjbxw/t573410.htm.

<sup>102</sup> Luntan Dangan (Archives of FOCAC)., The Implementation of Follow-up Action to the Forum on China-African Cooperation—Beijir Summit.

Nigeria, Sierra Leone, Senegal, Seychelles, The Sudan, Somalia, Tanzania, Tunisia, Uganda, Zambia, Chad, and Central African Republic. African Union also took part in the conference as a regional organization. The theme of the conference was "Deepening the China-Africa new strategic partnership in pursuit of sustainable development". <sup>103</sup> Additionally, Declaration of Sharm el-Sheikh of the Forum on China-Africa Cooperation and Forum on China-Africa Cooperation Sharm el-Sheikh Action Plan (2010-2012) were issued.

China agreed to establish a China-Africa partnership responding to climate change issues, particularly in regards to satellite weather monitoring, development and utilization of new energy, prevention and control of desertification, and urban environmental protection, and pledging to build 100 clean energy projects for Africa. China also agreed to enhance science and technology cooperation through a "China-Africa science and technology partnership", with 100 joint demonstration projects on scientific and technological research, and recruiting 100 African postdoctoral fellows to conduct scientific research in China. China pledged to assist Africa in increasing its financing capacity through the provision of US\$10 billion concessional loans, supporting Chinese financial institutions in setting up a US\$1 billion special loan for small and medium-sized African businesses, and canceling the debts of governmental interest-free loans that are due by the end of 2009, for the Heavily Indebted Poor Countries and Least Developed Countries in Africa that have diplomatic relations with China. Financial partnerships would also be enhanced through the further opening up of the Chinese market to African products, moving to a zero-tariff treatment to 95% of the products from the least developed African countries, Agricultural cooperation was to be increased, with support for achieving food security in Africa through increasing the number of the Chinese built agricultural technology demonstration centers in Africa to 20, and sending 50 agricultural technology teams to Africa to train 2,000 African agricultural technicians. China agreed to provide medical equipment and anti-malaria materials worth RMB500 million for 30 hospitals and 30 malaria prevention and treatment centers, and to train 3,000 doctors and nurses.

China pledged to build 50 China-Africa friendship schools and train 1,500 school principals and teachers for African countries. By 2012, the numbers of Chinese government scholarships that are given to Africa will be increased to 5,500, and a total of 20,000 professionals of various fields will be trained over the next three years. China committed to the expansion of communication and cultural exchange, proposing the launch of a China-Africa joint research and exchange program, to allow scholars and intellectuals to have more chances of communication and cooperation, to share the experience of developmental construction, and to provide intellectual support for the formulation of better cooperation policies between both sides. <sup>104</sup>

#### 1.4.1 Follow-up actions in process

That the eight pragmatic measures for Africa introduced in the Beijing Summit in 2006

were completely implemented, and the new measures announced at Sharm el-Sheikh follow on from them, reflecting China's consistent support of the development of Africa. These measures also respond to the new changes on the global stage and the real needs of African countries. China will actively help African countries to improve their capability in adapting to climate change and environmental problems.

African countries have to face the problem of finance and a reduction in investment due to the global financial crisis. China will provide favorable financial support to African countries and will also keep encouraging domestic Chinese enterprises to increase their investment in Africa. Under the environment of intense global trade protectionism, China will further open the market to African countries.

Strengthening the cooperation in agriculture and infrastructure construction is still of vital importance to China and Africa. China will actively renew the method of China-Africa agricultural cooperation, and promote the cooperation in infrastructure construction. Further, the Chinese government will seek to build a stable platform for China-Africa enterprise cooperation, to help African countries improve agriculture and infrastructure construction, and to promote economic and social development.

China will continue to enhance the cooperation with Africa in the areas of human resources development and education. The Chinese government will also help the African countries train more elites in the field of technology and management. Meanwhile, China will take further steps to aid African countries to reduce poverty, to increase grain production, and to develop education and medical care. China will also urge its enterprises to increase investment in livelihood projects, persuade the enterprises to assume social responsibility and to create more employment opportunities for Africa, to allow Africans to benefit more from the China-Africa cooperation. 105

#### China-Africa Science and Technology Partnership

Science and technology cooperation is an important part of the China-Africa New Strategic Partnership. China launched the initiative program, aimed at establishing a new type of science and technology partnership and assisting the development of Africa's science and technology capacity. Within the framework of the program, the fields related closely to people's living condition and social-economic development should be considered by all parties. Technology demonstration and promotion, joint-research, technical training, policy research, and donation of scientific research equipments are key elements to this cooperation.

On November 24, 2009, the "China- Africa Science and Technology Partner Program" was launched in Beijing, along with the "Ceremony of Equipment Donated to African Researchers", sponsored by the Ministry of Science and Technology. A total of 80 people attended the ceremony and witnessed the opening a new chapter of the China-Africa cooperation in science and technology, including the leaders and delegates from the MFA, Ministry of Finance, Chinese Academy of Sciences and other institutions, the diplomats

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>103</sup>Zhang Lin, China-Africa friendly cooperation welcome again, November 5, 2009, http://www.fmprc.gov.cn/zflt/chn/dsjbzjhy/bzhyhycb/t624834.htm.

<sup>1034-034-1</sup>mm.

104Luntan Dangan (Archives of the FOCAC): Comprehensively promote China-African new strategic partnership – the Opening Speech of Premier Wen Jiabao at the Fourth Ministerial Conference—The Forum on China-African Cooperation (November 8, 2009, Sharm el-Sheikh), Écouter Lire phonétiquement http://www.fmprc.gov.cn/zflt/chn/dsjbzjhy/bzhyzyjh/t627094.htm.

 $<sup>^{105}</sup>$ Follow-up Actions to the Fourth Ministerial Conference: China Will Start immediately to Carry on New Eight Measures of the Cooperation with Africa, November 12, 2009,

http://www.fmprc.gov.cn/zflt/chn/dsjbzjhy/bzhyhxxd/t626477.htm.

from 33 African embassies (including 23 ambassadors or agents), and the representatives of Chinese and African scientists. <sup>106</sup> As part of the programme, the Chinese Ministry of Science and Technology agreed to donate research equipment to African scientists who returned to their countries after long-term research in China. Five African research fellows received the equipment at the launching ceremony. With this equipment, African scientists can continue their research and assist others to improve research conditions. <sup>107</sup>

The first "FOCAC – Law Forum" was jointly initiated in Cairo on December 20-21, 2009 by the Cairo Regional Center for International Commercial Arbitration and the China Law Society, with the purpose to promptly implement the Forum on China-Africa Cooperation Sharm el-Sheikh Action Plan (2010-2012) (section 2.4.3). More than 80 legal experts from China and over 20 African and West-Asian countries attended the Forum, expressing their concerns around increasing the awareness of peace, stability, development, prosperity, and harmony. The Forum intended to build a dialogue to strengthen China-Africa legal exchanges and to promote the comprehensive development of China-Africa cooperation in various fields. Key topics were the importance of law in China-Africa cooperation, the introduction of legal systems in China and African countries, the impact of various legal systems on China-Africa trade and investment relations, and the dispute on resolution mechanisms in trade and investment between China and African countries.

The launching ceremony of the China-Africa Joint Research and Exchange Program was held in Beijing on March 30, 2010. More than 200 people attended the event, including representatives from the Chinese member organizations of the Follow-up Action Committee of the FOCAC, diplomats from African embassies in China, and Chinese and African research communities. Mr. Joao Manuel Bernardo, Ambassador of Angola and Acting Head of the African Diplomatic Corps in China, said that the launching of China-Africa Joint Research and Exchange Program was another important action taken by China in order to actively implement FOCAC. The African side was ready to join the Chinese government in strengthening the friendly cooperation for mutual benefit and promote peace and development in Africa. African scholars expressed their willingness to enhance exchanges with their Chinese counterparts, to share and to learn experiences in economic development, and also to make contributions to the development of China-Africa relations. 109

On June 2, 2010, the Chinese Ministry of Education hosted the Eighth Meeting of the Foreign Aid in Education in Developing Countries and the launching ceremony of "China-Africa Cooperation Program of Universities 20 +20" in Guangzhou. The Southern Medical University of China organized the special event together with the Ministry of Education. The program was a significant outcome of the Fourth Ministerial Conference of the FOCAC in 2009, and an important measure for the Chinese side to improve educational assistance to Africa and to promote the development of China-Africa relations. The program intended to encourage all universities to carry out cooperation with Africa on education following the principles of equality and mutual respect, adhering to a flexible and pragmatic approach and

106 Follow-up Actions to the Fourth Ministerial Conference: the "Programme of China-African Science and Technology Partnership" was officially launched, November 25, 2009, http://www.fmprc.gov.cn/zflt/chn/dsjbzjhy/bzhyhxxd/t629214.htm.

focusing on enhancing China's soft power in Africa.110

As a series of activities, the "African Culture in Focus 2010" was sponsored by Chinese Ministry of Culture and other ministries. It started on May 19, 2010 in Beijing, moving on to other locations, and ran until November 2010. The "African Culture in Focus 2010" events included exhibitions, performances, TV shows and seminars. "From Beijing to Sharm el-Sheikh – Exhibition of China-Africa cultural exchanges and cooperation" was the opening ceremony of the exhibition, which showed the achievements of China-African cooperation in culture, sports, and other fields. The "Book Fair of Africa in Chinese publications" and the "Photography Exhibition of Africa in the Eyes of Chinese Photographers" were opened for the Cultural Focus event. During the period of the Shanghai World Expo, eight art groups from various African countries were dispatched across China. In addition, the cultural activities committee invited cultural delegations from Malawi, Congo (Brazzaville), Zimbabwe, Seychelles, and other countries to visit China and to attend the performances and display-related activities."

The China-Africa Agriculture Cooperation Forum was held in Beijing from 11 to 12 August 2010, jointly organized by the International Department of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of China and the Ministry of Agriculture. The Forum focused on opportunities and challenges in China-Africa agricultural cooperation. About 400 representatives from Chinese and African political parties, government departments, and enterprises attended the Forum. The Forum is by far the highest level of China-Africa cooperation in the field of agriculture to date. This large-scale event fully reflected the common desire and determination of both sides in development, agriculture and food security. The Forum is a collective dialogue, guided by the ruling parties and in the framework of FOCAC to promote agricultural cooperation. Success of the Forum raised the inter-party exchanges between China and Africa to a new level and introduced new vitality to the development of the China-African new strategic partnership. Beijing Declaration of China- Africa Agricultural Forum was issued at the closing ceremony, which highlighted food security as a serious challenge. The declaration also pointed out that the international community in general, and developed countries in particular, should pay more attention to food security in Africa and fulfill their aid and debt-relief commitments. "We call upon developed countries to make more efforts to help African countries to realize the Millennium Development Goals of the United Nations", stated the declaration. 112

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>108</sup> Follow-up Actions to the Fourth Ministerial Conference: The Press Release of the First "Forum on China-African Cooperation - Law Forum", December 21, 2009, http://www.fmprc.gov.cn/zflt/chn/dsjbzjhy/bzhyhxxd/t646829.htm.
<sup>109</sup> Follow-up Actions to the Fourth Ministerial Conference: China-Africa Joint Research and Exchange Program was officially lanced, March

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>109</sup>Follow-up Actions to the Fourth Ministerial Conference: China-Africa Joint Research and Exchange Program was officially lanced, March 31, 2010, http://www.fmprc.gov.cn/zflt/chn/dsjbzjhy/bzhyhxxd/t676518.htm.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>110</sup>Follow-up Actions to the Fourth Ministerial Conference: the Eighth Meeting of the Foreign Aid in Education in Developing Countries and the launching ceremony of "China-Africa Cooperation Program of Universities 20 +20" http://www.fmprc.gov.cn/zfit/chn/dsjbzjhy.bzhyhxxd/t706697.htm.

<sup>&</sup>quot;Sun Yaping, the Event of "African Culture in Focus 2010" will be held from the mi-May to November, May 9, 2010, http://www.fmprc.gov.cn/zflt/chn/dsjbzjhy/bzhyhxxd/t693200.htm.

in Documents of the International Department of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of China: "The Forum on China-Africa Agricultural Cooperation--Beijing Declaration", August 12, 2010, http://www.idcpc.org.cn/ziliao/zfnyhzlt/dongtai/100812-3.htm.

## **Appendix 2: Further Chinese Participating Departments and Their Functions**

The **Ministry of Education** is responsible for the China-Africa educational cooperation, including providing government scholarships for African students, training professionals and providing human resources training. The Ministry held the China-Africa Education Minister Forum, the sub-forum of FOCAC on education, in 2005. The Ministry started the "China-Africa Universities 20+20 Cooperation Plan", and 20 Chinese Universities were selected to cooperate with 20 African Universities to conduct researches and to train students jointly according to the Plan. 113

The **Ministry** of **Health** is in charge of China-Africa health and medical cooperation and the sending of medical assistance to Africa. China has been sending medical teams to African countries since 1963 and has made a continuing contribution to improving medical and health conditions in Africa. The Ministry invited groups of African health officials to visit China in order to enhance the understanding, trust and exchange between China and Africa.

The **Ministry of Culture** is in charge of cultural exchanges and communication between China and Africa, The Ministry organized Chinese artist troupes to visit Africa for stage performances and held International Arts Festivals in different cities in China. Some other institutions, such as the State Administration of Radio, Film and Television, also take part in the China-Africa cultural exchange and cooperation.

The International Department of the CCP Central Committee coordinates interparty communication between China and African countries. The Department not only communicates with the government, but also with opposition parties. The Department sometimes holds activities with other ministries, for instance, the first China-Africa Agricultural Cooperation Forum was co-held by the Department and the Ministry of Agriculture.

The Information Office of the State Council and State Administration of Radio, Film and Television are responsible for press and media cooperation between China and Africa. Recently, these two institutions have enhanced and strengthened the media cooperation with Africa. They also increased Chinese media influence in Africa, and issue news reports from the perspectives of China and Africa. The Information Office and Ministry of Foreign

113" Launching ceremony of 20-20 plan held in Guangzhou", http://www.gov.cn/gzdt/2010-06/02/content\_1619271.htm, June.2, 2010

Affairs jointly held "FOCAC-News Conference" on July 15, 2009, with information officials, main-stream media, African news agencies in China and other representatives from 27 African countries participating. They discussed two topics: "Media's role in China-African relations" and "How to improve the right [to] speak of developing countries in the international media". 114 Major Chinese media, have increased stations in Africa since the establishment of FOCAC, and exchanged actively with the local media outlets. The Administration also trains African media personnel in China.

The **Chinese Communist Youth League** is in charge of youth exchange activities between China and Africa for increasing the understanding among young people. In order to deepen the China-Africa friendship, the Youth League is responsible for selecting qualified Chinese volunteers from China and sending them to Africa for a period of service. The Youth League also holds the China-Africa Youth Festival.

The **Ministry of Transport** coordinates China-Africa transportation cooperation. Under the framework of FOCAC, the Administration of Maritime Affairs and the International Marine Organization jointly held seminars to train the presidents of African marine universities and African maritime commissioners. These seminars aim to improve maritime management levels in Africa and to promote China-African maritime cooperation. In the field of to aviation, the Chinese government has encouraged the establishment of cooperative relationships and the opening of air routes between China and Africa. From 2008 to 2011 in an effort to help improving civil aviation safety in African countries, the National Civil Aviation Administration of China pledged an annual contribution of \$100,000 to the Comprehensive Regional Implementation Plan of the International Civil Aviation Organization, for the Aviation Safety in Africa.<sup>115</sup>

The **Ministry of Industry and Information** oversees industry and IT cooperation to encourage relationships between small and medium enterprises of China and Africa.

The **State Administration of Taxation** is responsible for the signing of tax agreements with African countries so as to benefit China-African cooperation in the tax field and to promote the economic and trade cooperation between China and Africa. In 2009, the Administration and the Ministry of Finance and Economic Development of Ethiopia jointly signed the Convention between People's Republic of China and The Federal Democratic Republic of Ethiopia for the Avoidance of Double Taxation and the Prevention of Fiscal Evasion with Respect to Taxes on Income, which was the first tax agreement between China and an African country after the Beijing Summit.

The General Administration of Quality Supervision, Inspection and Quarantine is in charge of exchange in the fields of inspection and quarantine, strengthening cooperation in

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>114</sup>中非合作论坛——新闻 研讨会举行",http://media.people.com.cn/GB/9661775.html,July 15, 2009 <sup>115</sup>2010 Report on China-Africa Economic and Trade Relations, Chinese Academy of International Trade and Economic Cooperation, P14

product quality supervision and inspection, and smoothing the development of China-African economic exchange. Under the FOCAC framework, the Administration has signed quality control cooperation agreements with the relevant departments of Sierra Leone, Kenya, Ethiopia, Algeria, Egypt and Burundi, to inspect China's exports to Africa before shipment. The Administration is in discussions with other countries regarding similar agreements. The Administration also holds supervision, inspection and quarantine seminars to train African officials.

The **Beijing Municipal Government** guarantees social order, security and logistics during the FOCAC conference in Beijing. It is required to mobilize citizens to coordinate the conference, control traffic and take security measures.

## **Appendix 3: Questionnaires**

#### Outline for Chinese government agencies and organisations

- 1. What role does your organisation play in FOCAC?
- 2.Is your organisation responsible for implementing the Action Plan of FOCAC? How do we access related information?
- 3. How does your organisation provide support to the decision-making process of FOCAC?
- 4. What role does your organisation play in investment, trade and aid between Africa and China?
- 5. Does your organisation take into account environmental and social sustainability during the decision-making process of trade, investment and aid between Africa and China?
- 6. How do you evaluate the cooperation with your African counterparts in policy formulation and target setting? Any comments or suggestions?
- 7. How would you evaluate FOCAC since its establishment?
- 8. How can FOCAC be further improved?

#### **Outline for African Union Officers**

- 1. What is the role of the African Union within the Forum on China-Africa Cooperation?
- 2. What are the similarities and differences between the NEPAD and FOCAC Action
- 3. How does the African Union communicate with African countries under the FOCAC framework? How does the African Union communicate with China?
- 4. How would you evaluate Chinese policy on the cooperation with African countries? How would you evaluate the commitments made by China? How are these commitments implemented?
- 5. What is your overall impression of the development of FOCAC? Are there any areas in FOCAC that could benefit from improvement?
- 6. Does the African Union have a dialogue with member countries of FOCAC?
- 7. What is the role of the Chinese-sponsored Conference Centre for the African Union?
- 8. What is the role of FOCAC in promoting the unification of Africa?

#### **Outline for NEPAD officers**

- 1. What is the relationship between the NEPAD and FOCAC action plans?
- 2. What is the role of NEPAD in FOCAC?
- 3. How could NEPAD be better implemented through FOCAC?
- 4. How does NEPAD interact with the China-Africa cooperation?
- 5. What is your overall impression of the development of FOCAC? Are there any areas in FOCAC that that could benefit from improvement?

 $<sup>^{16}</sup>$  "落实《中非合作论坛北京行动计划》,加强出口检验监管工作和质检合作" ,http://jyjgs.aqsiq.gov.cn/gzdt/gjhz/200712/t20071227\_60125.htm, December 27,2007

#### **Outline for African Ambassadors**

- 1. What is the role of your country within FOCAC?
- **2.**How does your country communicate with the Chinese government under the framework of FOCAC?
- 3. Within the framework of FOCAC, have you established platforms for follow-up communication with FOCAC? If yes, what are they?
- 4.Does your country have an established follow-up committee for FOCAC? If not, do you think it is necessary to have such a committee?
- 5. How does your country provide FOCAC with supporting information for decision-making? (For example, environmental protection, sustainable development, biodiversity, etc)
- 6. How do Chinese government agencies consult with your country or other African countries during the decision-making and implementation process of FOCAC? How would you evaluate the Chinese attitude on the cooperation with African countries? How would you evaluate the implementation of those commitments made by China?

  7. What is your overall impression of the development of FOCAC? Are there any areas of FOCAC that could benefit from improvement?

### Outward Investment and Environmental Protection\*

- 1. What has China achieved in terms of environmental protection in recent years?
- 2. What features does Chinese policy on environmental protection have?
- 3. What does the Chinese government require in regards to environmental protection in outward investment? Are there any policies?
- 4. What special environmental standards are considered binding requirements for aid projects funded by the Chinese government?
- 5. What role does China's Ministry of Environmental Protection play in implementing FOCAC follow-up activities?
- 6.Is China's Ministry of Environmental Protection involved in the construction of aid projects funded by the Chinese government overseas, especially in African countries?
- 7.Do you know any environmental experts who were invited by Chinese companies to assess the feasibility of any investment or aid projects overseas, especially in African countries?
- 8.Do you know of any environmental experts who were invited by Chinese companies to evaluate any investment or aid projects overseas, especially in African countries, after the completion of the projects?
- 9. From the perspective of environmental protection and biodiversity conservation, what suggestions would you give on the sustainability of FOCAC?
- 10. From the perspective of environmental protection and biodiversity conservation, to what aspects should Chinese companies who are going to Go Global pay attention?

(\*mainly for interviewees who are environmental officials or environmental experts)

## **Appendix 4: Interview Details**

T:	NI	TP:41.	¥7
Time	Name	Title	Venue
November 5, 2010	Shu Zhan	Ambassador to Rwanda, Former Ambassador to Eritrea	Peking University
November 8, 2010	Mudaggam	Director of Institute of Asian-African Studies, Khartoum University of Sudan	Peking University
November 16, 2010	Francis Odey	Nigerian Diplomat	Peking University
November 16, 2010	Justice Osemudiamen Akhuamhenkhun	Nigerian Master Student	Peking University
November 22, 2010	Isaac Odoom	Ghanaian Ph.D Candidate of Department of Political Science, Alberta University	Peking University
November 24, 2010	Jiang Hong	Executive Vice President of the Institute of CDB	Beijing
November 24, 2010	Yu Xiangdong	Vice Dean of the Academy for World Watch, Shanghai	Beijing
December 2, 2010	Sudanese Diplomat	Sudanese diplomat	Sudanese Embassy in Beijing
December 7, 2010	Tunisian Ambassador	Tunisian Ambassador to China	Tunisian Embassy in Beijing
December 10, 2010	Moroccan Ambassador	Moroccan Ambassador to China	Moroccan Embassy in Beijing
December 10, 2010	Tanzanian Ambassador	Tanzanian Ambassador to China	Tanzanian Embassy in Beijing
December 14, 2010	Diplomat of Democratic Republic of Congo	Diplomat of Democratic Republic of Congo	Beijing
December 15, 2010	Zhao Changhui	Founder of Country Risk Management in Chin, Veteran Analyst of China Ex-Im Bank	China Ex-Im Bank in Beijing
December 20, 2010	Diplomat of Zimbabwe	Diplomat of Zimbabwe	Embassy of Zimbabwe in Beijing
December 20, 2010	Daniel Large	Scholar of Center of Asian-African Studies, London School of Oriental and African	Peking University
December 22, 2010	Xu Mengshui	Former Chinese Ambassador to Mauritius, Guinea & Cameroon	Beijing
December 24, 2010	Shi Yongjie, et al.	Director of Research Department, China-Africa Development Fund	Beijing
December 27, 2010	Wang Chengan	Former Secretary General of Fórum para a Cooperação Económica e Comercial entre a China e os Países de Língua Portuguesa (Macau)	Peking University
December 31, 2010	Liu Guijin	Chinese Government's Special Representative on African Affairs	Peking University
January 5, 2011	Li Liqing	Former Dean of Bureau of African Affairs, International Department of Central Committee of CPC	Peking University
January 19, 2011	Liu Xiaopeng	Doctor of Nanyang Technological University, Singapore	Peking University

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January 21, 2011	Liu Hongmin	Member of Department of Asian-African Affairs, Chinese-African People's Friendship Association	Peking University
January 21, 2011	Huang Xiaowei	Member of Department of Asian-African Affairs, Chinese-African People's Friendship Association	Peking University
January 26, 2011	Xu Yang	Ph.D Candidate of Institute of Political Studies of Bordeaux, France	Peking University
February 22, 2011	Serena Belligoli;	Ph.D Candidate of Catholic University of Louvain, Belgium	Peking University
February 22, 2011	Banakissa Peguy Christel	Master Student of Tsinghua University from the Republic of Congo	Peking University
February 22, 2011	Jiang Yu	Doctor of Wuhan University	Peking University
February 28, 2011	Hong Yonghong	Director of African Law and Society Research Center, Xiangtan University	Peking University
March, 2011	AU Representative in China	African Union Representative in China	Beijing
March 2, 2011	Guan Shanyuan	General Manager of China-Africa Agriculture Investment Co. Ltd. in Tanzania	Peking University
March 4, 2011	Asgede Hagos	Professor of Delaware University	Peking University
March 4, 2011	青木一能	Professor of Japan University	Peking University
March 8, 2011	Zhang Haibin	Professor of School of International Studies, Peking University	Peking University
March 8, 2011	John B. Hardman	President of Carter Center	Peking University
March 8, 2011	John Stremlau	Vice President of Carter Center	Peking University
March 8, 2011	Liu Yawei	Director of Carter Center in China	Peking University
March 8, 2011	Courtney J. Richardson	Ph.D Candidate of New York University	Peking University
March 9, 2011	Vannina Pomonti;	Representative of French Development Agency in China	Peking University
March 9, 2011	Jin Xiaoting	Program Official of French Development Agency in China	Peking University
March 14, 2011	Ge Chazhong	Expert of Chinese Academy for Environmental Planning	Beijing
March 15, 2011	Li Xia	Official of MEP of China	Peking University
March 21, 2011	Anja Lahtinen	Scholar of Faculty of Arts, University of Helsinki	Peking University
March 29, 2011	Chen Qingyun;	Official of Department of Western Asian and African Affairs, MOFCOM of China	Peking University
March 29, 2011	He Song	Official of Department of Western Asian and African Affairs, MOFCOM of China	Peking University
March 30, 2011	川岛真	Member of Sino-Africa Cooperation Research Team, Tokyo University	Peking University
March 30, 2011	远藤	Member of Sino-Africa Cooperation Research Team, Tokyo University	Peking University
April 1, 2011	Phillip G. Autry	Official of Eastern Asia and Pacific Regional Studies of U.S. Department of State	Peking University
April 7, 2011	Official of African French- speaking Countries	Official of African French-speaking Countries	Beijing
April 8, 2011	Zhang Su	Coordinator of UK International Development Agency in China	Peking University
April 11, 2011	Vanderhasselt Didier	Diplomat of Belgium Embassy in Beijing	Beijing

April 14, 2011	Lual A. Deng	Minister of Oil, Sudan	Peking University
April 27, 2011	Ghanaian Ambassador	Ghanaian Ambassador to China	Beijing
May 4, 2011	Daniel Bach	Professor of Bordeaux University, France	Peking University
May 11, 2011	Steven Sabey	Policy Advisor of United Nations Development Programme	Peking University
May 11, 2011	Inger Marie	Assistant of United Nations Development Programme	Peking University
May 23, 2011	Gavin Hayman	Dean of Global Witness	Beijing
May 23, 2011	Lizzie Parsons	Program Official of Global Witness	Beijing
May 23,2011	Yahia H. Zoubir	Scholar of Algeria	Peking University
May 30, 2011	David Shinn	Former American Ambassador to Burkina Faso and Ethiopia	Peking University
May 31, 2011	Song Chen	Journalist of Xinhua News Agency in Africa	Peking University
June 1, 2011	Chen Xiaochen	Journalist of First Financial Daily	Peking University
June 10, 2011	Erica Marcus	American Journalist	Peking University
June 16, 2011	Biodun Jeyifo	Scholar of Nigeria	Peking University
June 27, 2011	Daniel Bourmaud	African Studies Scholar of France	Peking University
June 28, 2011	Yang Lihua	Researcher of Institute of West Asian and African Studies, Chinese Academy of Social Sciences	Peking University
June 28, 2011	Zeng Qiang	Researcher of China Institutes of Contemporary International Relations	Peking University
June 28, 2011	Li Zhibiao	Researcher of Institute of West Asian and African Studies, Chinese Academy of Social Sciences	Peking University
June 28, 2011	Luo Jianbo	Associate Professor of Party School of Central Committee of CPC	Peking University
June 30, 2011	Carol Thompson	African Studies Scholar of America	Peking University
June 30, 2011	Jeanne Koopman	African Studies Scholar of America	Peking University
July 11, 2011	Xu Jiajun	Ph.D Candidate of Oxford University	Peking University
July 13, 2011	Antoine Kermen	Doctor of Department of Social Science, University of Lausanne, Switzerland	Peking University
July 14, 2011	Steven Sabey	Policy Advisor of United Nations Development Programm	Peking University
July 14, 2011	Merriden Varrall	Assistant of United Nations Development Programme	Peking University
July 14, 2011	Douglas Zhihua Zeng	Senior Economist of World Bank	Peking University
July 15, 2011	Xu Xiaojun	Researcher of Chinese Academy of Social Sciences	Peking University
July 15, 2011	Wan Jun	Researcher of Chinese Academy of Social Sciences	Peking University
July 15, 2011	Joanna Nicholls	Health Advisor of UK International Development Agency	Peking University
July 15, 2011	Linda Pei	Vice Manager of UK International Development Agency	Peking University
July 15, 2011	Martin Taylor	Consultant for Health and Development of UK International Development Agency	Peking University

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