



Sino-African Union cooperation in peace and security in Africa



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Edited and compiled by Dr Debay Tadesse Woldemichael

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Background and rationale for the conference

Debay Tadesse

Senior Researcher (ISS)

2005 marked the 50th anniversary of the establishment of the first diplomatic ties between China and African countries and saw an increased focus on the relationship between China and Africa. In June 2006, Chinese President Hu Jintao and Premier Wen Jiabao visited ten African countries to promote China-Africa relations. In November of the same year, African heads of state met in Beijing to negotiate a massive Chinese package of aid and assistance for Africa, which included preferential loans, cancellations of debt, and numerous other initiatives. Historically, China has played a different role in Africa to that of other colonial powers, supporting African countries in various liberation struggles, providing educational opportunities and assisting in healthcare. Tangible evidence of Sino-African Union (AU) relations is the impressive building housing the AU's headquarters in Addis Ababa, Ethiopia – a gift to Africa from China.

One of the challenges for China-Africa relations is continued insecurity and conflict on the continent. While in recent years the continent has experienced a decline in levels of conflict, a host of factors continue to challenge the security of both the AU and its member states, ranging from ongoing insurrection and politically motivated violence to armed crime.

Currently, China-AU relations are developing rapidly and Africa has come to occupy a strategic position in China's foreign policy. Indeed, this rapid development in relations is a cornerstone for reshaping China's relations with AU member states. Hence, the People's Republic of China (PRC) has supported the AU in various areas including peace and security, particularly the African Union Mission in Somalia (AMISOM) and the hybrid United Nations AU Mission in Darfur (UNAMID), and has conducted several training courses at the Peace and Security Department in China.

However, there exists a wide spectrum of opinions, perspectives and normative judgements on China's role and activities in Africa. For this reason the Institute for Security Studies (ISS) gathered and shared the views of experts from China, Africa and other regions in the most accurate and balanced way possible. The Conflict

Prevention and Risk Analysis Programme (CPRA) of the ISS Addis Ababa Office and the Embassy of the People's Republic of China in Ethiopia organised a one-day international conference that was held in Addis Ababa. The conference was aimed at enabling an exchange of information among African and Chinese scholars and other main actors involved in China-Africa relations with a view to identifying key challenges and proposing some policy options to enhance the future of Africa-China cooperation in peace and security. The conference was also aimed at building consensus by providing a platform for sharing information, encouraging policy debates and dialogue on Africa's peace and security agenda. Presenters were drawn from both Chinese and African scholars, policy makers, the AU and the civil society.

The CPRA-Addis Ababa strives to promote and improve the quality of conflict prevention strategies and approaches in Africa. The CPRA complements the work of member states of the AU and the activities of the AU's Peace and Security Council (PSC) in Addis Ababa. The programme works in partnership with stakeholders and key actors in its endeavour to address peace and security challenges through the prevention and resolutions of conflicts. Thus, the CPRA is actively engaged in thematic studies related to the aforementioned issues.

OBJECTIVES OF THE CONFERENCE

The conference focused on the role of China in Africa's peace and security systems, China's relations with the AU in peace and security initiatives; China's military cooperation with African states; its bilateral relations with African countries; China's relations with African regional organisations; China's role in peacekeeping and peace building; and its economic engagements on the continent. In addition, the last session of the conference concentrated on policy recommendations for the future status of China-AU relations in peace and security in Africa. The conclusions made and recommendations offered at the conference are reflected in this conference report.

Specifically the objectives of the conference were to:

- Interrogate the challenges that the AU faces regarding the African Peace and Security Architecture (APSA)
- Examine the important role the AU plays in Africa's peace and security issues
- Identify political and capacity constraints faced by both Africa and China concerning China-Africa relations and establish what the main challenges are for future cooperation between China and Africa
- Examine past and current collaborations between the two partners in peace and security in Africa and forward suggestions on how to strengthen the collaboration between both even further

It was hoped that the conference would make recommendations on the following:

- How collaboration between China and AU on the peace and security agenda of the AU in general and the APSA in particular can be improved
- How South-South cooperation and regional diplomacy, and stronger cooperation with Africa, can be improved
- How extended development activities, including investment through the Forum on China-Africa Cooperation (FOCAC), can be achieved

- How China can become more closely involved in the work of the AU, particularly with issues related to peace and security
- How China can reaffirm its commitment to the regional economic communities (RECs), including the New Partnership for Africa's Development (NEPAD) and the AU's development plan
- How China can improve its role in conflict areas such as Somalia, Darfur and South Sudan

EXPECTED IMPACT ON BENEFICIARIES

- This project will benefit member states of the AU, RECs, individual African governments, policy makers, and African think tanks
- The project will equally benefit the Chinese government and scholars and the international community, by improving their knowledge and understanding of China-Africa relations, with particular focus on peace and security
- Improve cooperation and coordination between China and Africa's nation states, RECs and the AU in conflict prevention

Opening remarks

Ambassador Olusegun Akinsanya

Regional Director, ISS Addis Ababa, Ethiopia

Amb. Olusegun Akinsanya, the regional director of the Institute for Security Studies (ISS), opened the symposium by welcoming all the participants, and emphasised the importance and timeliness of the conference. He noted that China, as the second-largest economy in the world, engages Africa in trade; provides foreign direct investment, financial support, and infrastructural development; and deploys private capital for socio-economic development purposes. He mentioned the ISS mission to provide platforms for reflection on the African Union (AU) and regional economic communities (RECs) agenda, and related interests. In this regard, he stated, the topic of the symposium could serve as an academic exercise for both parties to move the peace agenda forward.

He pointed out that the newly donated AU edifice by the Chinese government symbolises the peak of China's relations with African states. He further mentioned some of the views and concerns on China's presence in Africa, regarded by some as 'the new scramble for Africa' for natural resources. The Ambassador further mentioned the claimed controversy of the sustainability, consequences and future direction of China-Africa relations in light of other partners such as South America. He said that the conference should assess the different perspectives of what is happening on the ground.

Amb. Akinsanya cited China's role in peacekeeping operations on the continent as part of the United Nations-African Union Mission in Darfur (UNAMID). He noted that the meeting would give emphasis to the positive engagement in finding solutions to Africa's security problems in collaboration with the peace and security department of the AU. He stated that the symposium needed to offer a balanced analysis of the strength, gaps and challenges in Africa's prevailing engagement with China. It further needed to address how to reconcile the role of China with other external actors in promoting continental peace, conflict transformation and reconstruction. He also called on participants to discover ways in which China could support the African Peace and Security Architecture (APSA). The Ambassador

concluded his address by stating that the outcome of the meeting would offer a significant policy direction in promoting a sustainable partnership between China and the AU in the areas of peace and security.

Ambassador Xie Xiaoyan

Embassy of the People's Republic of China in the Federal Democratic Republic of Ethiopia

On behalf of the Chinese Embassy, the Ambassador expressed his thanks to all the delegates for attending the symposium and strengthening the Sino-AU cooperation in peace and security in Africa. He pointed out the factors that make peace and security issues more acute in the region and emphasised the need to overcome these problems. He further commended the AU's efforts in tackling conflict through its established collective security mechanisms. Amb. Xiaoyan highlighted the fact that China regards the AU as a key cooperation partner. China is determined to continue supporting the practice of African solutions to African problems, safeguarding African legitimate rights and interests, and supporting AU-led peacekeeping through capacity-building programmes. He also acknowledged the AU's effort in mediating and resolving conflicts in the region. The Ambassador pointed out that the Chinese special representative for African Affairs had been particularly actively engaged in the issue of North and South Sudan.

Since the establishment of the strategic dialogue mechanism between the AU and China in 2008, he stated, the two sides had had four rounds of dialogue, during which peace and security was one of the most vital topics addressed. The Ambassador asserted that China would support the AU and Africa in development issues through various means. These include the provision of financial capacity, free interest loans, soft loans, and humanitarian assistance, and China's participation in infrastructure construction and the establishment of more Chinese business investment initiatives in Africa. He noted that tackling the root cause of underdevelopment is a better approach for addressing peace and security issues on the continent.

In his address, he affirmed China's commitment to working closely with African countries, regional organisations, and other partners to advance cooperation

in peace and security. China is further committed to solving prevailing challenges facing the continent. Amb. Xiaoyan concluded his address by expressing the hope

that ideas and suggestions from the symposium will assist experts from both sides to formulate policies and improve plans for future cooperation.

Keynote address

The status quo and the prospect of Sino-African Union cooperation in peace and security

Professor Yang Lihua

Senior Research Fellow, Institute of West Asian and African Studies, Chinese Academy of Social Sciences

Prof. Lihua began her keynote speech by highlighting her enriching experience from her visit to various African countries. The focus of her address was on how Africa could keep the momentum of peace and development in the global arena. She pointed out that Africa's status in the emerging multi-polar world is rising and that, although the continent is facing various challenges, it has unprecedented opportunities for development. She provided an indication of the positive advancements Africa has made since the beginning of the 21st century such as improved political stability and governance, wide acceptance of people-centred development, economic integration and gender equality. Prof. Lihua commended Africa's self-motivated strategy and programmes rather than acceptance of imposed ideologies from outside.

According to Prof. Lihua, African countries are pushing for the diversification of their economies and sustainable development. Priority areas are set for agriculture, infrastructure and processing, and manufacturing industries that are labour intensive. Prof. Lihua expressed her admiration for the growing intra-Africa trade and investment regardless of the global economic crisis. Inter-Africa investment has also been growing due to political stability and healthy economic fundamentals. She pointed out that foreign direct investment (FDI) to Africa has reached an estimated amount of US\$ 550 billion, which is a 20 per cent annual increase. Furthermore, she stated that the advancement of new technologies has narrowed the existing gaps between the continent and other parts of the world.

Prof. Lihua mentioned that Africa has seen wars and conflicts that have caused heavy loss of life and severe damage to infrastructure in the last two decades. However, she argued, the general security in the continent is improving regardless of new threats, with the intensity of armed conflicts decreasing and collective security mechanisms being built. New threats such as the spread of terrorism, extremist activities and foreign military interventions remain security threats to nations and human safety.

Prof. Lihua highlighted that owing to Africa's situation, the continent is not central to the world's political and military conflicts. Africa's security mechanism, she stated, is defensive in nature. Therefore, Africa could refuse weapons of mass destruction (WMDs) and keep its status as a nuclear weapon-free zone.

She concluded her remarks by pointing out ways in which Africa can maintain its momentum in achieving peace and security. She highlighted the following:

- Because of its low military spending Africa can make use of excess funds for economic and social development.
- The continent can lower its security cost through regional cooperation mechanisms.
- Owing to new threats, Africa needs to strengthen its national defence and capacity for territorial security and human safety. Increasing importance should also be given to maritime safety and protection of territorial waters, resources and environments through combating piracy at sea.
- Regional cooperation of African coastal countries in maritime activity is essential and is deemed necessary in the current context.
- Security structures at national, sub-regional and continental levels need to be strengthened and better coordinated.
- It is imperative for AU members to adhere to principles of peace and security and for sub-regional organisations to find sustainable solutions to conflicts within and among African countries that include constitutional building, transitional justice, rule of law, public security and economic recovery. The process should be inclusive to avoid setbacks.
- Social mobilisation is crucial in building state security and public safety.
- To solve African problems in African ways is more effective.
- African countries should encourage and support the rest of the world through traditional institutions and civil society, and should promote the notion of inclusiveness and coexistence.
- International cooperation is necessary in security areas. Mandated nations, the UN and AU can play a

constructive role in peacekeeping and reconstruction. International systems should put more emphasis on building capacity in the African security structure.

- Foreign military intervention should be excluded by all possible means in solving internal conflicts.
 - Sino-AU relations in peace and security areas should give emphasis mainly to:
 - Capacity building, including providing assistance in peacekeeping, post-conflict reconstruction and emergency humanitarian assistance
- Bilateral cooperation in defence and justice to combat international crimes
 - Sharing of information and training
 - Supporting of conflict prevention and solutions under the AU principles
 - Cooperation in maritime security to combat piracy
 - Treating of root causes of conflict by strengthening economic cooperation
 - Promoting of harmonisation and inclusiveness in building a new world order for world peace and development

Session I

Setting the scene: Sino-African Union cooperation
in peace and security in Africa

Chair: Mohamed AF Ghoneim

Councillor

Embassy of Egypt, Addis Ababa, Ethiopia

Review of early experiences, current challenges and opportunities regarding China-Africa relations

Dr Debay Tadesse

Senior Researcher, ISS

Addis Ababa, Ethiopia

Dr Tadesse started his presentation by discussing the challenges and opportunities of China-Africa relations and the important changes that have occurred in the area of partnerships in Africa. He stated that the Declaration of the Beijing Summit of the Forum on China-Africa Cooperation (FOCAC) in 2000 established a new type of strategic partnership between China and Africa featuring political equality and mutual trust, economic win-win cooperation and cultural exchanges. The forum was the first of its kind in the history of China-African relations. Moreover, the relationship has now developed into a model of South-South cooperation. This model, he stated, has been highly advocated by African leaders as a means of attaining mutual benefits. The speaker highlighted the phenomenal economic growth of China in the last three decades and that its growing presence in Africa has seen the country outbidding Western contractors on major infrastructure projects and providing incentives to bolster its competitive advantage.

The speaker also outlined some of the scepticism of Westerners towards China's involvement in Africa as a 'new scramble for Africa', viewing it through a reinvented Cold War prism. According to the speaker, Western commentators suggest that China has returned to Africa to seek energy, raw materials and trade, and to advance narrow geopolitical interests. Dr Tadesse argued that Africa has for a long time been a primary source of natural resources, including oil, for the West. To this end, China's engagement with African countries has often been portrayed as a threat to Western interests. He pointed out that for the first time since the end of the colonial period a major power now saw Africa not as a charity case but as an exceptional strategic and business opportunity.

He pointed out that the dramatically escalating prices of raw materials, driven by rapid industrialisation in countries of the global South, were promoting a new scramble for Africa's natural resources. He questioned whether there was to be another war between the West and the East over Africa's resources. Dr Tadesse asserted that Africa has profited from economic growth in China and its subsequent growth in demand for oil and other natural resources. He also examined some of the raised questions and assumed challenges in his argument, such as the view that Chinese goods are crowding out exports from other countries, resulting in domestic job losses. He noted that China follows a bi-lateral investment approach in its African engagements, avoiding complex multilateral negotiations. This approach is controversial as it is regarded as impeding the quest for regional economic integration in Africa. According to Dr Tadesse, China is also criticised for environmental degradation and exploitative labour practices that result in domestic job losses. Critics also argue that the content of trade between China and Africa suggests a typical colonial relationship – Africa's exports to China include a range of unprocessed raw materials while its imports from China comprise textiles, electronics and manufactured products.

However, Dr Tadesse argued that China's expanding demands for new energy and raw material have made Africa a focus point. China's demand for resources is driving up the world prices for several commodities, such as copper, gold, aluminium, nickel, and timber, reversing a long decline and giving African exports of these materials a welcome economic boost.

He also noted that there has recently been growing recognition that China may have a contribution to make to Africa's development and peace and security

challenges. This is because Beijing has applied developmental methods to solving problems that meet the situation of African countries. Finally, Dr Tadesse stated that China has great strategic interest in Africa, and Africa will benefit from a continued strengthening of its cooperation with China. Such South-South cooperation will promote growth and much-needed investment if it is based on mutual economic benefit for all partners.

Dr Tadesse's recommendations were the following:

- African governments should take responsibility for plotting the paths of development and peace and security in their respective countries.
- In order to protect its investments, China should promote political stability and good governance in African countries with which it deals.
 - China needs to take social and environmental impacts more seriously and develop policies to address transparency, social justice and environmental sustainability.
 - African governments need to devise a strategy to transform the geo-strategic rivalry between China and the West into a triangular relationship that benefits the continent's development aspirations.

The current challenges facing African security and the constraints of African solutions to African problems

Professor HE Wenping

Senior Research Fellow

Institute of West Asian and African Studies

Chinese Academy of Social Sciences

Prof. Wenping highlighted the historical trends of security during and after the Cold War period. She noted that Africa's security has been neglected by Western powers. The tragedies of Somalia in 1993 and Rwanda in 1994 have also been overlooked. The post-9/11 period saw the rise of non-traditional security threats such as terrorism, HIV/AIDS and transnational crime. The emergence of these threats led Western powers to shift their attention to Africa's security again, mainly due to 'the war on terror' and oil.

Prof. Wenping illustrated the current security threats in Africa. Traditional security threats co-exist with non-traditional security threats such as civil wars and large-scale violence, inter-state threats and the use of force, socio-economic issues such as poverty, bird flu (Nigeria, Niger, Egypt, Ethiopia and Cameroon), international terrorism and transnational organised crime.

Prof. Wenping focused on the possible impact of the 'Arab Spring' on sub-Saharan Africa and said sub-Saharan Africa is not immune to the chaos in North Africa. She discussed how external intervention from the West in African problems could be viewed using the example of Libya. The social unrest in Libya led to the involvement of NATO and the direct military interventions of Western countries. She asserted that the

mission switched its original objective from enforcing a no-fly zone and providing humanitarian assistance to supporting a regime change. It has been debated that the Libyan case saw 'humanitarian bombing' in the name of 'humanitarian intervention'. The post-election chaos in Côte d'Ivoire was also employed as a second model in her discussion. Here, there was direct involvement of French troops and UN peacekeepers. The speaker stated that Côte d'Ivoire could be taken as a good model in regard to external intervention.

Prof. Wenping concluded by highlighting the following points for maintaining peace and security in Africa:

- The AU has progressed in establishing collective security mechanisms. It has seen a remarkable shift from the non-intervention posture of the Organisation for African Unity (OAU) to identifying cases such as genocide, gross violation of human rights, instability in a country that threatens broader regional stability, and unconstitutional changes of government. However, the AU still needs to build its capacity.
- Security issues cannot be addressed solely by security measures. There needs to be a strong consolidation of democracy and governance to address the root cause of insecurity in Africa.

Role of China in preventing conflicts in Africa from a developmental perspective

Eleanor Maeresera

African Forum and Network on Debt and Development (AFRODAD)

This presentation explored the role of China in preventing conflicts in Africa from a developmental perspective. Ms Maeresera briefly discussed the underlying causes of conflict in the African regions. She emphasised that it is the African people that suffer as a result of competing interests over, for example, power, resources, values, status and identity. Owing to their lack of infrastructural capacity and recognition as fair arbitrators, neighbouring countries are overlooked as mediators of peace in the African context. In this regard, Ms Maeresera mentioned that the AU has an important role to play in preventing conflict with the support of regional bodies. Regional blocs can make unprecedented contributions through their proximity, capacity and better understanding of the dynamics of the region. However, Ms Maeresera argued that some of the regional communities may have vested interests in a particular conflict and their involvement may complicate the process. China is directly involved in conflict prevention, considering its historical ties and current engagement with Africa.

The speaker discussed the new partnership between China and Africa. She pointed out that economic transactions provide a most important focus of China's increasing interaction with Africa. A third of China's oil is imported from Africa. Moreover, Africa imports machinery, transportation equipment, communication and electronic equipment from China. China is now the largest African partner and surpassed the United States (US) in 2009.

Ms Maeresera thoroughly assessed the impact of the Sino-Africa partnership. Chinese firms have been accused of hiring Chinese labour instead of locals when implementing projects in Africa. Observation and adherence to internationally agreed laws and standards have also been weak. She asserted that the rising prices of

commodities, especially oil, had positively benefited oil-producing countries. China's non-interference policy has also been criticised for ignoring concepts of human rights and human security and concentrating on economic and material rights when investing in African countries, some of which are said to be undemocratic. She further pointed out that the influx of cheap Chinese goods, ranging from clothing and textiles to domestic goods and other manufactured goods, on the market has reportedly forced African manufacturers out of business. Ms Maeresera also shed light on the positive aspects of the Sino-Africa relationship by tracing debt relief for over 13 countries, totalling US\$ 1,27 billion, in 2007. Moreover, thousands of Africans have been educated in China and hundreds of Chinese doctors and advisors are sent out each year to the continent to help those in need.

In assessing China's role in preventing conflict in Africa, the speaker highlighted the increasing number of Chinese troops provided to the UN peacekeeping missions, especially to Africa and China's participation in multinational anti-piracy support in the Gulf of Aden. Currently, China is a major supplier of conventional arms to African states and some of these arms have ended up in the wrong hands. Ms Maeresera cited the cases of the Democratic Republic of the Congo (DRC) and Sudan. The speaker concluded her presentation by stating that it is timely and appropriate for China to play an important role in preventing conflict, and promoting peacekeeping and post-conflict peace building on the continent. She also called on the Chinese government to participate responsibly in post-conflict reconstruction on the continent.

She recommended that:

- African problems be solved with African solutions

- The contribution of African civil society organisations and international non-governmental organisations be considered vital for effective conflict prevention and resolution
 - African governments maximise political and economic advantages of China's engagement, to manage any domestic tensions/conflicts caused by China-Africa links
 - Research and critical evaluation be carried out on the role of China and the implications of its policies on resources, economies and societies with a view to preventing conflict
- China change its ad-hoc crisis reaction to a proactive role position
 - China provide capacity-building, financial and human capital support to the AU and its regional bodies
 - China align its growing responsibilities with its growing influence in Africa
 - Chinese firms conduct environmental impact assessments before embarking on a project so as to avert potential environmental disasters which could lead to conflict with environmentalists

Reflection on Sino-African cooperation from the perspective of cultural security

Professor Zhou Haijin

Institute of African Studies, Zhejiang Normal University

In this presentation, Prof. Haijin focused on the importance of understanding culture and co-existence. In her words, 'Culture is the soul of the people and the state.' Historically, according to her, the Western world has failed to recognise the values, ideas and identity of the African people. She noted that the development of African society not only encompasses the economic and political but also the long process of civilisation, renovation and state structure. For this reason, the time is appropriate for Africa to achieve cultural prosperity, independence of thought, knowledge and innovation, which are the important aspects of African peace and security.

Prof. Haijin stated that the best way for intensification of China-African socio-economic cooperation is to strengthen and use the cultural bedrock. China can also share its values that will inspire the African people. She listed some of these values as being the quality of leaders, responsiveness to events, pragmatism in the face of adversity, mobilisation of the country's resources, sacrifices required from some sections of the population, choice of policies on public management and cooperation with other states, and protection of its currency. These are viewed as the key indicators of China's fast development.

The speaker noted that developing countries should use their traditional wisdom and experience of development to participate in the re-understanding and re-interpretation of human civilisation, and play a greater role in the establishment of the Asian-African ideological reconstruction.

In conclusion, Prof. Haijin suggested the following ways to implement China-African cultural security cooperation:

- Cultural exchanges and cooperation can deepen mutual understanding and trust. They also ensure

social and economic security as they help develop wisdom and innovation.

- China, on the basis of mutual respect, equal dialogue and exchange of experience, should pay more attention to developmental affairs in Africa. China also needs to maintain the common benefit and cooperation space of both parties, to help Africa eliminate the development barrier and support the reform process.
- A people-to-people relationship between the two sides is also imperative. This could be made possible through the exchanges and mutual understanding of history, culture, custom and religion.
- Scholar-to-scholar relations would also provide strong motivation for China-Africa cooperation. This could be made feasible through personal cooperation and friendly exchanges. Scholars and think tanks of both sides can explore ways on how to obtain economic development, maintain national stability, and use other wisdom and policy options to solve the developmental problems in Africa.

DISCUSSION

During the ensuing discussion, the role of Brazil in the international arena was pointed out. Brazil, as a member of the Brazil, Russia, India, China and South Africa (BRICs) group, has a strong connection with China in line with peace and development. To this end, Brazil and China can exchange experiences and work together in the direction of peace and security on the continent. Sino-Africa relations have to have a good balance with regard to intervention and drawing lessons from other experiences. There has to be a coordinated and systematic effort in the collection of data in terms of war and the economic situation in Africa.

A point of concern was also raised regarding the mutual benefits of Sino-Africa relations. It was noted that there needed to be a translation of economic cooperation on the international stage. China should support Africa in a demonstrable way in terms of promoting Africa's voice and strategic position in the global political architecture. It was also proposed that Africa work on cultural cooperation with China. Language and communication are vital for advancing cultural relations. Concern was also raised about the treatment of Africans in China. It was suggested that both sides needed to maintain fair treatment of people of diasporas.

A remark was made that China needed to draw lessons from colonial powers in its relationship with Africa. Another suggestion was that a deep analysis is imperative on the current status of NEPAD, as it is growing less popular both in academia and among leaders. Security and peace are mostly defined in the

interest of leaders and governments. However, it was proposed that deliberation is vital in identifying real beneficiaries of peace and security.

An observation was made on the debate of Chinese companies operating in Africa and that a double standard existed in voicing disapproval against Chinese private or state-owned companies as opposed to Western companies. The government of China is highly criticised for breaching the law of operation. However, in the Western case, it is the companies that are condemned in times of the violation of law. It was also pointed out that most Chinese companies refused joint ventures. This method could be one way of involving Africans with Chinese companies' activities. It was stated that the local African people have yet to reap the benefits from China-Africa partnership. It was recommended that Chinese companies become involved in community services, such as providing access to clean water and health care, and education.

Session II

*Chair: HE Berhane Deressa,
former Mayor of Addis Ababa, Ethiopia*

The African Early Warning System

Progress and challenges

Professor Xia Liping

Vice Director-general

Department of Diplomacy and Foreign Affairs Management

Prof. Liping began by highlighting the ways in which China and Africa can collaborate with each other on developing and improving early warning systems. She stated that the number of Chinese travellers across the world has been increasing since China joined the World Trade Organisation (WTO) in 2001. Chinese consular protection for these travellers is also increasing. She pointed out that, compared to overseas nationals on other continents, those residing in Africa face certain challenges. From this, she stated, 30 per cent of all early warning messages are for Chinese citizens in Sub-Saharan Africa. Prof. Liping argued that early warning systems are instrumental in decision-making and in the prevention of conflicts. They are also important for coordinating citizens and providing them with an awareness of potential threats in the region.

Prof. Liping outlined the structure of the Chinese early warning system. The system is located in two important ministries: the Ministry of Commerce and the Ministry of Foreign Affairs. Each ministry has a website from which to issue early warnings on security concerns. The Chinese consulates and embassies have their own websites by which they keep citizens informed about insecurities on the continent. According to the speaker, another warning channel is the regular and irregular meetings that take place among embassies, enterprises and overseas communities in the local country. The third channel is the joint early warning system in the form of governmental instruction.

With regard to African early warning systems, Prof. Liping mentioned that the AU launched its Continental Early Warning System (CEWS) in 2004. This system is a broad structure of the AU Peace and Security

Council and is one of the five pillars of the council. The purpose of the system is to provide the chairperson with information in a timely manner to inform the council. She asserted that in order to implement this warning system, it is necessary to establish a process on how to collect and analyse information, including writing reports. According to the AU Charter, situation rooms are established at the central level of the AU headquarters responsible for data collection and analysis. Regional mechanisms such as the Intergovernmental Authority on Development (IGAD) and the Economic Community of West African States (ECOWAS) have their own monitoring and observation units. This indicates that the AU has different channels for collecting information in different areas. Regional early warning systems have good relationships with external partners through their advanced software for analysing information.

She concluded her presentation by pointing out the following important issues about early warning system cooperation:

- Early warning systems have the same purpose and target: to protect human security
- The Chinese embassies and consulates can establish a regular communication channel with the monitors of the AU CEWS, using advanced software to analyse conflicts
- Financial support is another area of cooperation and has the potential to enhance the effectiveness of the CEWS
- The reports and findings of the CEWS need to be distributed among a wider circle of stakeholders

Chinese potential for preventing an oil war in the Sudan

Dr Samson S Wassara

Associate Professor, Department of Political Science
University of Juba, South Sudan

Dr Wassara noted that China came into the spotlight as a result of its involvement in the Sudanese oil industry, which liberation movements regarded as helping the Sudan to suppress them. China's Western predecessors such as the US and Canada underwent similar difficulties with liberation movements in the Sudan. After the Comprehensive Peace Agreement (CPA) and secession of South Sudan, China has found itself drawn into disputes centred on oil, borders and territory.

It was observed that as the conflict between the Sudan People's Liberation Army (SPLA) and the government of Sudan was reaching an advanced stage of negotiation in Kenya, a fresh conflict broke out in Darfur that coincided with the Chinese discovery of oil in southern Darfur. The conclusion and the implementation of the CPA did not bring about the desired peace. Disputes over Abyei, borders and oil remained a thorny issue until the partition of the Sudan in July 2011.

Dr Wassara argued that the inheritance of Chevron shares of oil fields in the Sudan marked the beginning of the Chinese involvement in the political economy of the Sudan. China National Petroleum Corporation (CNPC) oil explorations and exploitation developed side by side with trade, arms deals and investment in the Sudan. China developed the infrastructure for processing and exports in northern Sudan, while much of the oil was in the south. This partnership with the Sudan was negatively interpreted by liberation movements and people of the peripheries. It created the impression that China was empowering a brutal regime in Khartoum that was suppressing its nationals.

Relations between China and South Sudan began to develop after the CPA because oil was central to the protocol of wealth sharing. South Sudan began to seek expanded Chinese investments. The independence of

South Sudan affected the very heart of Sino-Sudanese relations; many of the oil fields were in South Sudan. Chinese oil consortia were engaged in renegotiations of oil contracts previously held by Khartoum, and Chinese companies were making their presence felt in other sectors of the economy in South Sudan. The shift of China's oil interests to South Sudan led the Sudan to frustrate any efforts to exploit oil. Sudan began to harden her position on outstanding post-referendum issues, and commandeer South Sudan's oil for export, while destabilising oil production in South Sudan. Chinese oil firms were left at the crossroad under pressure and threats of both Khartoum and Juba. This development led South Sudan to shut down oil wells and the beleaguered Sudan opted for the bombardment of the oil fields in February 2012 and finally the limited military actions in the area called Heglig.

Dr Wassara elaborated on what is expected from China. Using its experience in the case of Darfur, China could assume its role as the key stakeholder in oil production in South Sudan and the Sudan to exert pressure on the two parties to resolve outstanding issues that revolve around oil. It is acknowledged by the international community that China has the potential to break the deadlock between South Sudan and the Sudan; it could join hands with all interested stakeholders to defuse the dangerous tension developing between South Sudan and the Sudan. China has the opportunity to assure South Sudan of equal to or more serious engagement in development and investment projects than it undertook in the Sudan.

As conclusions and recommendations the following has been pointed out:

- It is widely acknowledged that China can and should play a major role to ensure peaceful resolution

between South Sudan and the Sudan without compromising its traditional adherence to principles of 'business is business' and non-interference.

- Both South Sudan and China should consider the past as history and engage in objective visions into the future to conceive meaningful goals for their respective foreign policies. China's diplomatic capacity should reflect the powerful position the country enjoys in Africa and the world.
 - A constructive engagement could bring a sigh of relief to the millions of civilians who are and would be victims of war between South Sudan and the Sudan over oil exploited by China.
-
- South Sudan should manage and strengthen relations with stakeholders to pursue its legitimate demands in the oil sector, including borders, in broader political and economic perspectives.
 - Stakeholders should build on recent South Sudan diplomatic initiatives to compel the Sudan to join negotiations with the ultimate goal of securing an agreement on outstanding issues.
 - South Sudan should work towards building confidence and trust in China as a strategic partner, to ensure attraction and protection of Chinese investments, commercial engagement and partnerships in South Sudan.

Contents, practices and constraints of African solutions to African problems

Professor Zhang Chun

Senior Fellow, Deputy Director
Center for West Asian and African Studies
Shanghai Institute for International Studies

Dr Chun pointed out that a new window of opportunity is opening for the principle of African Solutions for African Problems (ASAP). This is due to many factors. Firstly, ASAP is at a crossroads because of recent turmoil in Libya and Sudan and South Sudan; secondly, ASAP has a bright future because the rise of Africa opens another window of opportunity for ASAP and this year is the tenth anniversary of the AU, which calls for the reviewing and planning of ASAP.

Dr Chun traced the origin of ASAP back to the 1960s. More recently, the emergence of internal new wars in Africa after the end of the Cold War necessitated continental and regional capability building for crisis management and solution. The process also called for ideas such as an 'African Renaissance'. Externally, Western powers and multilateral institutions were reluctant to continue engaging with Africa. In addition alternative partners had not yet emerged.

Dr Chun pointed out that in terms of content, three main aspects should be considered. First, ASAP is essentially an issue of self-determination; second, ASAP is mainly about security but it includes other concepts as well; and, third, ASAP means a kind of division of labour.

The speaker argued that the institutional building mainly comprises two components. The first is the overall African Peace and Security Architecture (APSA) and the second is the African Standby Force (ASF). The APSA provides the institutional framework that implements the ASAP. The ASF is the 'teeth' of the ASAP principle.

Dr Chun pointed to the challenges faced by the ASAP principle and the institutions that embody this principle. Creating a balance between African ownership and external funding is one of the constraints faced by ASAP due to its lack of resources. The other issue,

which is related to the first, is the problem of achieving a balance between self-determination and external intervention and influence by external superpowers. Another challenge is the contradiction between respecting the sovereignty of states and acknowledging the responsibility to protect. The last challenge mentioned by Dr Chun is the dilemma between collective coercion and collective action, which is highly dependent upon the will of states.

The future development of the ASAP principle was viewed in terms of streamlining continental and regional institutions, solving the issue of the division of labour with the UN Security Council and other multilateral organisations and building while diversifying external support.

Dr Chun concluded by saying China should support the building of the APSA and the creation of the AS; share experiences; and second track exchange.

DISCUSSION

Clarification was asked for on the conceptual linkage between CEWS' objectives and China's experience of protecting overseas Chinese nationals. The response was that there is a similarity in the mechanisms as they focus on security issues in Africa. The Chinese government can establish a regular communication mechanism with the monitors of the AU CEWS using advanced software and can analyse the collected data. Both sides can also share indicators for data analysis. Furthermore, it was pointed out that CEWS in the APSA context is more holistic. It is not directed strictly at overseas African nationals. China can collaborate with the AU Committee on the operationalisation of APSA components and narrow the existing gaps. China needs

to engage strongly with all the components of the APSA to promote peace and security in Africa.

A question was also raised regarding how Africa is depicted in Chinese domestic debates. It was responded that Africa is one of the most important topics in China. There are lively debates about the rationale of China's engagement with the African continent. In the academic field, there have been scholar exchanges from Beijing to Addis in many instances. Ordinary Chinese people are also well informed about Africa, obtaining information from the media and people who have visited Africa.

A query was also raised regarding the role of China in bringing peace and security to the two Sudans and on how the two Sudans can collaborate to maintain

peace and security in the region. It was noted that China and other African stakeholders such as the AU could actively collaborate in negotiating with both Sudan and South Sudan. It is evident that China cannot solely bring about change. An advantage in this region is that both sides recognise China as a partner. Furthermore, it was argued that it is difficult to envisage the two Sudans deliberating at this stage. Mediators can promote further discussions on the utilisation of oil. It was noted that there is a triangular relationship between China and the two Sudans. Some discussants argued that China needed to put pressure on both countries to solve the problems, mainly by stopping oil production assistance. They believed that China had to take a risk in this regard.

Session III

Role and experience of the African Union and the regional
economic communities in the China-Africa partnership

Chair: Professor Yang Lihua

Senior Researcher Fellow

Institute of West Asian and African Studies

Chinese Academy of Social Sciences

Relations/cooperation between Africa and China

Dr Admore Kambudzi

Secretary, Peace and Security Council, African Union Commission

Dr Kambudzi pointed out that Africa is heavily contested given its geographical, natural and human resource vastness. Countries like India and China have seen an opportunity in the continent and developed a partnership with it. China has been investing in the US, Canada, Europe and Asia. Recently Africa has become a recipient of Chinese investment and has served as a viable market.

He said that Africa had built partnerships with its traditional as well as its non-traditional partners. With the traditional partners such as the US and European countries Africa has a vast experience, with the result that it is aware of what to expect and the gains from it. On the other hand, Africa has diversified its partnerships with non-traditional partners such as China, South Korea and South American countries. Although some non-traditional partnerships have been declining, Africa and China's partnership has been growing at a fast pace.

Dr Kambudzi noted that previous Africa-China relations had facilitated current developments. The absence of colonial ties to and China's support for African liberation movements played a pivotal role in developing the relationship between the two entities. He also explained that the absence of Chinese military coercion or even a military base in Africa had further intensified the Chinese involvement in peace and security. China's assistance to Africa has mainly focused

on socio-economic development and has not been limited solely to peace and security concerns. China is currently responding to Africa's main needs through the development of infrastructure, including roads and bridges. Moreover, in providing financial support China does not attach any conditionality to its involvement in Africa. China's approach to Africa comes at a lower cost and the country is not a recipient of illicit money, which has made China a preferred partner in African development initiatives.

Dr Kambudzi reported that China has defined its development model and that this model has transformed the country. However, Africa is not expected to replicate such a model; rather, it should define and articulate its own socio-economic model otherwise the partnership between China and Africa will resemble the partnership between Africa and the US or Europe.

This approach suggests that Africa should acquire the technology it needs rather than waiting for transfer from China. In order to undermine the environmental degradation brought about by Chinese investment Africa needs to define and defend its environmental standards. A high quality of product should be demanded by Africans and not expected. Moreover, the Chinese need to work on capacity building by teaching Africans how to perform certain tasks such as constructing roads and buildings.

Sub-regional organisations' relations with the African Union in conflict resolution in Africa

The case of ECOWAS in the resolution of West African conflicts

Professor Wang Xuejun

Associate Senior Researcher

Institute of African Studies, Zhejiang Normal University

Prof. Xuejun examined the multi-level security governance structure, which includes the global, regional, sub-regional and national levels that aim to address conflict across the continent. The African regional and sub-regional organisations in particular were illustrated as practical applications of African ownership in addressing African conflicts.

It was noted that even though the AU is a senior regional organisation it does not intend to manage the security issue of the entire continent on its own. As a result the APSA, developed by the AU, has allocated considerable responsibility to RECs to address conflicts emerging in different parts of Africa.

Prof. Xuejun discussed two cases in which a sub-regional organisation has played a role in conflict resolution. It has been noted that the disengagement of Western powers and the UN from the Liberian conflict from 1989 to 1996 and the OAU failure to undertake peace operations due to its principle of non-interference have led to peace operations being conducted by the sub-regional organisation ECOWAS. During the Liberian war intervention by ECOWAS was reflected in the deployment of the ECOWAS cease-fire and Economic Community of West African States Monitoring Group (ECOMOG) after the failure of African diplomatic efforts. ECOMOG, in spite of various difficulties, was able to end the conflict in Liberia. It was the first instance in which a regional organisation addressed a conflict in Africa. The UN subsequently undertook a peace mission along with ECOWAS in the country.

The second case that Prof. Xuejun considered was Côte d'Ivoire. The crisis took place during the time of the AU. The newly established organisation faced a financial

setback, given its reliance on external funding for its operations. However, a critical shift in thinking concerning the approach to peace and security within the AU, from a position of non-interference to non-indifference, had taken place. Moreover, the effort to construct the APSA marked another major step forward. It was underlined that even if the APSA was still a 'work in progress' the AU was able to deploy peace operations across Africa. ECOWAS was embedded in the diplomatic efforts and it deployed a ceasefire monitoring operation (ECOMICI) in Côte d'Ivoire. The mediation effort of ECOWAS, the UN and the AU led to the signing of a peace agreement, which signalled the end of the war. The AU has supported ECOWAS by giving legitimacy to ECOMOG.

Prof. Xuejun concluded by pointing out the following issues regarding the AU and ECOWAS:

- AU and African sub-regional organisations are two kinds of regional arrangements that support and supplement each other in managing African conflict
- In a context where there exists a relatively powerful and effective sub-regional organisation, that sub-regional organisation tends to have a more direct and critical influence on conflict resolution than the AU
- In a context where sub-regional organisations are relatively weak and powerless, the continental organisation has to play a dominant role
- The AU and RECs are confronted with common structural difficulties such as the lack of resources and capabilities and are deeply dependent on outside assistance and support
- For Africa, both the AU and the sub-regional organisations in Africa should be taken into

consideration while the new APSA is being developed.
Centralisation is not a wise direction

- For outsiders, especially for China, cooperation with Africa on peace and security should aim at including

organisations on various levels, including the AU and some potential sub-regional arrangements, notably other main stakeholders such as NGOs

The role and experience of regional economic communities in China-Africa relations

Raheemat Omoro Momodu

ECOWAS Liaison Officer, African Union

Ms Momodu focused her paper on business and private sector cooperation as well as the development partnership between ECOWAS and China. She noted that cooperation started from a development partnership because it tackled the root cause of conflict while the focus on peace and security, unlike the development partnership, mainly centred on disaster management.

She pointed out that ECOWAS and China started their business forum in 2008 and focused on various areas of investment such as energy, mining, pharmaceuticals, construction and textiles. As a result of this investment many agreements and memorandums of understanding (MOUs) have been signed. Structures and support facilities were made part of the agreements as well and the MOUs included technical components such as high technology and IT. The implementation of these MOUs was carried out through the opening of the Office in China.

Ms Momodu underlined the importance of infrastructure in the China-ECOWAS partnership. Infrastructural projects have been implemented in Togo, Ghana and Sierra Leone, where ECOWAS has granted money for the governments of Ghana and Sierra Leone to carry out feasibility studies. A joint ministerial mission was led by the president of ECOWAS to mobilise funds for more infrastructural projects identified by the ECOWAS ministerial committee.

The second ECOWAS-China business forum focused on attracting additional Chinese investment in the private sector, infrastructural projects, health care pharmaceuticals as well as information and communications technology (ICT). The forum was preceded by preparatory sessions such as an inaugural meeting in which various officials, entrepreneurs and business associations participated. The meeting marked the intensity of the partnership that was to follow. It was noted that ECOWAS is currently facilitating the partnership process

so that member states can take maximum advantage of the partnership.

Ms Momodu observed that peace and security cooperation is an ongoing project and even though it is a new partnership between China and ECOWAS, China has already contributed towards the ECOWAS peace fund.

She concluded that:

- The peace and security cooperation will benefit from the lessons learned from the business partnership as the two areas are highly related
- China should fill eligibility gaps of current funding facilities given that the current facilities are tight and rigid
- The combination of business cooperation and peace and security partnership is pragmatic and potentially beneficial
- ECOWAS should play a significant role in issues related to peace and security in Africa given its supranational responsibility for its member states

DISCUSSION

Clarification was sought on whether there is a pattern between the relationship between African countries and non-traditional partners such as China that is similar to the traditional partnerships with other countries. In addition, a question was raised about where the African socio-economic model would originate from. In response to this statement it was stressed by some conference participants that Africa should define its standards and interests in its own context. China's developmental model was successful for that particular country but should not necessarily be copied by Africa. A developed Africa should have a business sector that creates more

employment and income and grants family wellbeing. Africa should not simply follow other countries but rather define its own model.

Explanation was required about whether development is a prerequisite for peace. In response it was noted by participants that peace and security had been the major area of concern in every OAU summit and the organisation had not focused on the root causes of conflict which were often economic problems. It was argued that the focus should be on economic development in order to bring about sustainable peace. This did not mean that peace and security should be overlooked but rather that the central aim of regional organisations is economic integration and that insecurity is regarded as a temporary challenge and as a reflection of economic instabilities. It was also noted that the focus should not be on which of the two came first.

Clarification was sought on how Africa could make the expectations of its non-traditional partners more realistic. It was noted that with their traditional partners, Africans already know how these partnerships operate; they know their advantages and disadvantages. In addition, traditional partners impose many conditions; hence, Africa has diversified its partnerships with countries such as China. The advantage is that Africa defines its priorities and terms and the quality of the relations between Africa and its non-traditional partner is superior to the relationships with its traditional partners. Traditional partners are also attempting to adjust their relationship with Africa after the emergence of China. Africa seeks to benefit from the non-traditional partnerships. A partnership with Africa is also an advantage for China because of its natural resources and its vast market.

Session IV

*Chair: Dr Lulseged Abebe
International Alert, Senior Advisor –AU
Addis Ababa, Ethiopia*

Security situation in the Horn of Africa and the role of China

Dr Xiao Yuhua

Research Fellow, Institute of African Studies
Zhejiang Normal University

Dr Yuhua stated that countries in the Horn of Africa (HOA) experienced rapid economic growth. However, given the existing regional instability and poor governance there are imbalances within the countries of the region. For example, Ethiopia's economic development is more promising than that of other countries in the region such as Somalia, Sudan, South Sudan and Eritrea, which have been struggling with poor governance that has affected the implementation of their developmental agenda. He pointed out that Ethiopia's Human Development Index (HDI) remains very low. It was explained that Ethiopia's fast-growing development is coupled with inflation and an increased amount of foreign debt. The low level of HDI has been a commonality shared by all countries in the HOA.

Dr Yuhua pointed out that Ethiopia has made it clear in its national development planning that development will be government controlled and focus on infrastructure development. Ethiopia has been able to secure funding from its traditional and non-traditional partners. Hence its development has been on a fast track.

He further explained the challenges associated with the secession of South Sudan, which has resulted in cross-border raids by armed rebels and clashes between different ethnic groups. The dispute between the two Sudans regarding the distribution of royalties of oil persists. Even though South Sudan has stopped its production of oil, he stated that it is difficult to foresee a compromise in the near future between the two countries. The economies of both countries have been adversely affected.

The challenges faced by the other countries of the region were explored as well. He examined Somalia, a country whose history has also been characterised by

extended periods of sectarian violence, terrorism and foreign intervention and where the infrastructure has been destroyed. While the northern part has enjoyed development it will still be difficult for the whole nation to integrate. According to Dr Yuhua, Eritrea, on the other hand, is a country that suffers from a lack of legitimacy from both the Ethiopians and the international community. This has further exacerbated the difficult relations between Ethiopia and Eritrea.

Dr Yuhua attributed the food crisis not only to natural disaster but to human-induced factors as well. It was noted that the anarchic situation in Somalia has inhibited humanitarian agencies from assisting the drought-affected people. He also pointed out that the difficulties faced in terms of Africa's economic integration and weakening of nation states in terms of political stability were also immense.

It was noted that border disputes and proxy wars are playing a major role in the instability of the region. Countries are continually supporting armed groups in neighbouring countries and this has created relations based on mutual suspicion. Dr Yuhua stated that an area where the biggest proxy war is taking place is in Somalia where Ethiopia and Kenya are sending their troops in order to fight terrorism. This has been used by al-Shabaab to deplete Ethiopia and Kenya. The lack of regional crisis management systems as well as the strong involvement of foreign actors in the region has resulted in additional constraints to peace and security in the HOA.

Dr Yuhua concluded that in recent years, the Chinese have enjoyed a presence in the HOA, particularly in Ethiopia. He stated that China should be able to protect its national interests and its citizens from any attack.

Role and experience of regional economic communities in China-Africa relations

Kizito Sabala

Political Officer, IGAD Liaison Office, Nairobi, Kenya

In his presentation, Mr Sabala observed that the rise of China-Africa relations over the past decade in matters of politics and economics, established through investment projects, bilateral trade, and developmental assistance, could only grow in an environment of peace.

He noted that the RECs in Africa offer more opportunities to resolve African security challenges than individual states given that they are the primary building blocks of the APSA. They have peace and security mandates and are normative institutional structures that are acceptable at both the continental and regional levels and, even with limited capacity they can provide capacity building and support. He pointed out that the RECs could be considered as an alternative opportunity for a better negotiating position with traditional Western donors and to amplify Africa's voice in international forums.

Mr Sabala argued that the engagement of the AU and RECs should be appropriate to the conditions and realities of the political, security and economic terrain of Africa, the history of Africa with the West, the history of China in Africa, the emerging powers and the Chinese policies towards Africa. China's growing role in Africa and its effects on both the factors that drive conflict and those that promote peace are important elements that should also be taken into consideration.

He observed that the political, economic and security terrain of Africa provides an opportunity for China's engagement in peace and security in the IGAD region. The existing frameworks, bilateral relations with member states and the Forum on China-Africa Cooperation can provide the basis for further relations and lessons learned from Africa-West relations will assist in avoiding past mistakes. Both cooperation to maintain maritime

security and the vast market in the region can bring the two entities closer. External factors such as the end of proxy wars financed by Westerners and the focus on peace and security have enabled partners like China to be engaged in the region.

Mr Sabala discussed the challenges that China should consider when engaging with the IGAD region. China's position on human rights violations will determine how the region defines its engagement with China. The inter-state relations within the region are another factor that China will face as a challenge. The region is still beset with conflicts and developmental challenges and there is a growing perception throughout the West that China is a threat to the interests of the West in Africa. It has been noted that China can overcome this challenge through image building and engaging itself in areas such as human rights and governance. However, he stated, the region still lacks a coherent engagement strategy that contributes to the security of the region.

The following concluding remarks and recommendations were made:

- IGAD presents opportunities for engagement with China on matters of peace and security through existing frameworks
- China provides an alternative and increased trade investment and aid that will assist in achieving sustainable development in the region
- China should fight off perceptions that its engagement is based on China being a new imperial power in Africa with a colonialist project that will perpetuate African underdevelopment through exploitation, extraction of mineral resources and destruction of Africa's resources, heritage and industrial capacity

Role of China in preventing conflicts in Africa

An African perspective

Dr Alfred Omenya

Eco-Build Africa Nairobi, Kenya

Dr Omenya said that the cooperation between China and Africa began during the period of African liberation when both shared an ideology against Western suppression and oppression. In the aftermath of independence, particularly in the 1980s, China's engagement with African countries was on an ad-hoc basis. Since then China has become one of the biggest trade partners with Africa whereas Africa's trade with other partners such as the US is declining. China has also been active in providing loans to African countries. China's increasing investments in Africa's oil fields, roads, and telephone networks appear to have helped the currency of many African nations to rise in value. China also helped Africans to get wider access to consumer goods. However, Dr Omenya did point out that the influx of cheap goods is forcing many African retailers and manufacturers out of business.

He noted that China, flouting a UN arms embargo, supplied weapons to belligerent groups in the Sudan, Zimbabwe, Nigeria and the DRC, which has worsened the already fragile peace in those countries. However, he pointed out that China is increasingly engaging itself in peacekeeping missions in the world and has begun sending troops to UN peacekeeping operations in Africa, which is regarded as a very positive turn of events.

With regard to the security of Chinese nationals in Africa Dr Omenya pointed out that the kidnapping of Chinese nationals and attacks on Chinese facilities have made it difficult for China to maintain its non-interference policy and that China has considered providing a military presence in certain African countries.

Dr Omenya noted that, as far as diplomatic relations are concerned, four African states (Burkina Faso,

Gambia, Sao Tome and Principe, and Swaziland) have no diplomatic relations with China because of their recognition of Taiwan. The relationship between Africa and China has aimed at combating colonialism and neo-colonialism. In the past decade, he stated, there has been a greater flexibility in China's interpretation of the principles of non-interference, sovereignty and host-country consent.

Dr Omenya underlined the fact that China's non-interference foreign policy appears to reject two of the core assertions associated with the 'responsibility to protect' norm: that interference may be appropriate in grave circumstances where genocide and mass atrocity crimes are taking place, and that force may be a necessary last resort to protect besieged populations. He indicated that China is also concerned about the increasing military presence of other powers.

Dr Omenya's paper concluded that China's economic assistance to Africa was flexible because of the lack of conditionality that China placed on its assistance to Africa, but that the country failed to pressurise autocratic regimes on the continent to reform their governance. Although China's military support has assisted many African countries to achieve independence from colonialism this support has also strengthened dictators and led to arms proliferation and violent crimes, as seen in the Sudan. The Chinese military presence has contributed to peacekeeping on the continent, but the policy of non-interference has led in many instances to the weakening of some aspects of peace and security. Overall, he stated that the Sino-African relationship is based on an evolving policy and that China should not replicate Western multidimensional exploitation as cooperation based on mutual benefit is possible.

DISCUSSION

Some participants requested clarification regarding the security situation in the HOA as there had been conferences convened in London focusing particularly on Somalia but they did not know whether any solutions had been proposed for the crisis in this region. In response it was pointed out that Somali officials believed that national reconciliation was the only solution to bring about stability in Somalia. The aim of the conferences was to put an end to the instability in the country.

Explanation was also sought on an apparently contradictory statement that China's 'condition-free' assistance has been perceived as positive when in fact it still remains a controversial issue because it places no pressure on 'rogue states' to reform their regimes. In response it was noted that Chinese assistance is positive, given that previous conditions were difficult to implement; however, it is difficult to reach a compromise as a rogue government might still appeal to Sino-African development cooperation. The question should be: what is the bare minimum requirement for China to cooperate with certain regimes in Africa? The AU has already stated the bare minimum requirement for intervention.

During the discussion a comment was made that Ethiopia's intervention in Somalia should not be considered as a proxy war because Somalia's instability affected Ethiopia as well. Hence, Ethiopia could be seen as protecting itself and the region from instability caused by Somalia. It was also stated that the Eritrean intervention, on the other hand, could be considered as a proxy war given that the country does not share any border with Somalia and has no interests there. In response it was pointed out that the region's stability also depends on the reconciliation process between Ethiopia and Eritrea.

Some participants also observed that the Ethiopian effort to develop a hydropower should not be viewed as a controversial matter, as was mentioned at the end of Dr Yuhua's presentation. They stated that this project contributes to regional integration given that Ethiopia is providing electric power for its neighbouring countries. In response it was argued that the construction of the dam remains controversial but that what was important was how the controversy and the misperception was managed for peaceful cooperation among the stakeholders. It was noted that both arguments are correct and in fact panellists and experts from the three countries have been conducting studies into and discussing the hydropower project. It was then stated that, even though controversial, the project holds the possibility of a promising outcome for regional integration and cooperation not only with neighbouring countries but also with China and the rest of Africa.

It was also suggested by some participants that, in understanding the role of China in preventing conflicts in Africa, it was important first to consider the context in which these conflicts are taking place. It was felt that the final two presentations overlooked the root causes of conflict in Africa and held China accountable for the crises and conflicts that have occurred on the continent. However, the root causes of conflicts emanate from Africa's internal problems and, in response to this point, the principle of finding 'African solutions for African problems' was stressed. It was also noted that although China is not believed to be a cause of conflict in Africa, China's policy positions might reduce or even exacerbate conflicts and solutions to these policy outcomes need to be found.

Finally, it was stated that the main aim of the RECs is to tackle the root causes of African problems.

Closing remarks

Dr Mehari Maru Taddele

Project Manager, Conflict Prevention and Risk Analysis, ISS Addis Ababa, Ethiopia

In his concluding remarks, Dr Taddele extended his appreciation to the Government of the People's Republic of China (PRC) and the Chinese Embassy in Addis Ababa for their financial support that had made the conference possible. He also thanked the presenters and participants that had come from China and other African countries.

Dr Taddele then emphasised several points that emerged from the conference. He said it was imperative to view China's relationship with Africa in a global context and that China was one of the key partners in the creation of a new African economic, peace and security landscape. However, China was competing with other actors in this process. He also pointed out that China had a long history in Africa. China has historically considered Africa as a potential sphere of diplomatic influence for its global relations and will continue to do so in the future. Clearly, this will have an effect on China's policy decisions, especially with regard to the AU and its member states.

He noted, however, that Africa will need its partnership with and the support of China on many fronts. African governments are increasingly pressurised to meet the demands of the public for service provision and the building of internal infrastructures especially those of transport, telecommunication, energy, electric power, construction and mining. Africa needs capital, technology and skills to deliver all these services, but this requires a huge financial outlay. China has enabled many African governments to meet some of the demands of their people in a speedier fashion and this has led to transformation in many areas. Success on this front has created a greater appetite for the involvement of Chinese companies in Africa. China is therefore needed by Africa more than ever.

In order to get financial support from the international donor community, human rights and democracy are important conditions attached to these traditional sources of aid or loans. While the West focuses on the conditions, however, China is fully prepared to finance, tender for and take contracts as a vendor financier for

many projects in African countries without imposing any conditions. However, he cautioned, while Africa has the right to make the best of the competition between Eastern and Western countries, the continent still needs to examine cautiously its actions on many issues.

Dr Taddele stated that China's development model depreciates the liberal state democracy, but not necessarily governance by consent. Consequently, China needed to consider encouraging African governments to promote human rights and democracy as delivery in any sphere without democracy is not sustainable.

Another problem Dr Taddele pointed out with the existing China-Africa partnership is that while China is prepared to gain the best from the partnership, some African countries are only partially prepared and others are entirely unprepared to ensure their interest in their partnership with China. At the centre of this problem, he said, lied the weak African states and their weak legislative and institutional enforcement arrangements, which did not ensure the national interests of the African countries.

He said that the China-Africa partnership has a bright future if the opportunity to learn from the failures and successes of other partnerships Africa has engaged in is appropriately used. In this regard, China's strong support for the principle of 'African solutions to African problems' recognises the primacy of the AU on the maintenance of peace and security in Africa. Indeed, peace and security threats are not simply an African problem alone. Hence, he stated, the principle of 'African solutions to African problems' should not be seen as an isolationist slogan. It should rather be viewed as an ownership of the African agenda by Africans and the AU. With local origins, African peace and security challenges have transnational and international implications. African problems do not always affect Africans alone but also become the concern of countries internationally. However, he said, Africans need to take primary responsibility for deciding priorities and responses, although the history of colonialism in Africa has contributed to the deep distrust Africans have for non-African interventions in the affairs of Africa.

Regarding China, Dr Taddele said there was a big opportunity for China to examine what the priorities of

Africa are and how the country can make a meaningful contribution to the Africa-China partnership. In this regard he highlighted the situation of the AU, which was currently moving to effective implementation of the advanced normative framework the organisation has been working on for some time now. He stated that China could assist in building the AU's capacity for the implementation of the framework.

Dr Taddele said that Chinese economic growth can serve as an inspiration for Africa, especially the way in which the country managed such a fast transformation from an entirely agrarian society to becoming the second-largest economy in the world. China could, therefore, assist in the creation of a platform for the exchange of ideas and experiences.

Dr Taddele concluded that there were areas of concern about the China-Africa partnership. He cited the actions of some Chinese companies seeking a monopoly in certain areas of Africa and Chinese migrants in Africa in particular. He cautioned Chinese citizens working with their companies in Africa to respect the laws of the countries they came to and to provide quality service, and that Chinese companies had to be aware of the monopoly they exercise in some sectors.

Ambassador Sun Shuzhong

Ministry of Foreign Affairs, African Department of the People's Republic of China

Ambassador Sun Shuzhong, on behalf of the Chinese Embassy in Ethiopia, expressed appreciation to all participants at the conference. He stated that he had attended the TANA High Level Forum, where African leaders from governments, think tanks, social communities and other stakeholder organisations explored the fundamental causes of conflicts and disputes undermining peace and security throughout the continent. This was followed by the present conference where scholars from Africa and China had gathered to analyse relationships and cooperation between Africa and China, particularly in the field of peace and security, and it had

identified many of the challenges and opportunities both partners were facing.

Ambassador Shuzhong said peace and stability were paramount conditions for development and that, generally, Africa had maintained peace and stability in recent years. However, there remained unstable and fragile factors in Africa, making peace and security issues more acute for the continent. The spill-over effects of hot spots, coups d'état, border and territory disputes, conflicts between countries, civil wars and terrorist activities have made the situation in the region more complicated. All of these factors, he said, emphasised the importance of making exerted efforts to finding solutions to these problems.

He further noted that since its official establishment ten years ago, the AU had made great efforts in tackling peace and security issues in Africa. The APSA has contributed to the prevention, management and resolution of many conflicts in Africa. Examples include the adoption of the norm of zero tolerance for illegal regime changes, the setup of the AUHIP mechanism to mediate the disputes between the Sudan and South Sudan, the creation of AMISOM forces to help the TFG and the fight against al-Shabaab in Somalia.

According to Ambassador Shuzhong, China attached great importance to its relations with the AU and regarded the AU as a key cooperation partner. He said China firmly supported a greater AU role in addressing African peace and security issues, and was always ready to give support to the fullest extent possible to AU efforts.

In his conclusion, Ambassador Shuzhong stated that durable peace and security in Africa is closely tied up with the development and prosperity of the continent as a whole. He said it has been demonstrated that the African people can solve their own problems with their own solutions. What was needed from outside the region, however, was firm and earnest support for their courageous endeavours and Africans should not simply be told what they should do in a condescending manner.

Conclusion, recommendations and the way forward

Dr Debay Tadesse

Senior Researcher, ISS, Addis Ababa, Ethiopia

An important conclusion made at the conference was that Africa had to take responsibility for plotting the paths of development and peace and security in its respective countries. In order to protect its investments, it was in China's interests that political stability and good governance had to be maintained in countries with which China had a partnership. China was cautioned that it needed to take the social and environmental impacts of its policies seriously and develop ways to address transparency, social justice and environmental sustainability. African governments also needed to devise a strategy to transform the geo-strategic rivalry between China and the West into a triangular relationship that benefited Africa's development aspirations.

It was highlighted in the conference that the post-9/11 period has seen new forms of global threats such as transnational crimes, terrorism and religious fundamentalism and, in light of this fact, external intervention in conflict resolution in Africa has taken various paths. During the conference it was stated that the inclusion of culture in the peace and security cooperation initiatives between the two sides was vital.

In exploring the potential for cooperation between the AU and China in working together on the CEWS, three major areas were identified where cooperation could take place. It was suggested that the Chinese Consulate could establish a regular communication mechanism with the monitors of the AU's early warning system using advanced software and could analyse the collected data. Financial support was another area where mutual cooperation could enhance the effectiveness of CEWS in preventing conflict in Africa.

It was widely acknowledged that China could and should play a major role in the HOA to ensure peaceful resolution to the problems that existed between South Sudan and the Sudan without China having to compromise its traditional adherence to principles of business and non-interference.

The role and experience of the AU and RECs in the China-African partnership were also discussed

intensively at the conference. It was reiterated that Africa currently had two types of partnerships: traditional and non-traditional. China was classified as the latter. It was also stated that, while non-traditional partnerships had declined, Africa-China relations had increased at a rapid rate because of factors such as the absence of colonial ties and Chinese military bases in Africa, China's support of African liberation movements, China's willingness to provide condition-free aid and China's contribution to infrastructural development.

RECOMMENDATIONS

- African problems must be solved with African solutions
- The contribution of African CSOs and international NGOs is vital for effective conflict prevention and resolution in Africa
- African governments need to maximise the political and economic advantages of China's engagement with Africa and to manage any domestic tensions or conflicts caused by China-Africa links
- Research and critical evaluation of the role of China in Africa had to be carried out on the implications of its policies on resources, economies and societies with a view to preventing conflict
- Instead of an ad-hoc crisis reaction, China should adopt a proactive role
- China could provide capacity building, financial and human support to the AU and its regional bodies
- Cultural relations between Africa and China should be promoted to achieve and maintain common benefits and to help eliminate development barriers in Africa
- China could assume its role as the key stakeholder in oil production in South Sudan and Sudan to exert pressure on the two parties to resolve oil issues
- South-South cooperation should be supported but not at the expense of the North
- China could assist interested stakeholders in trying to break the deadlock between the two Sudans and to defuse the dangerous tension developing between South Sudan and the Sudan

- China could assure South Sudan of serious engagement in development and investment projects as it undertook in the Sudan
 - South Sudan should manage and strengthen relations with stakeholders to pursue its legitimate demands in the oil sector, including borders in broader political and economic perspectives
 - Stakeholders should build on recent South Sudanese diplomatic initiatives to compel the Sudan to join negotiations with the ultimate goal of securing an agreement on outstanding issues
 - South Sudan should work towards building confidence and trust in China as a strategic partner, and protect Chinese investments, commercial engagement and partnerships in South Sudan
 - For the future development of the 'African solution for African problems' principle, continental and regional blocks need to be streamlined to ensure the division of labour between the AU, UN and multilateral organisations and to build African capacity with diversifying external support
- Africa has to define its labour standards, quality of goods, and environmental standards in order to negotiate with its partners
 - African states need to exchange experiences and models among each other to attain a continental solution
 - It was put forward that the real challenges that Africa needs to tackle, with China as partner, should be those involved in socio-economic development. Africa needs to close the gap of defining its own development model
 - The AU and sub-regional organisations should be taken into consideration while constructing the new APSA
 - China's cooperation with Africa on peace and security should be aimed at organisations on various levels, including the AU, RECs, and other stakeholders such as CSOs
 - There needs to be capacity building through creating employment opportunities for nationals

Appendices

Appendix A – Programme

Appendix B – List of participants

Appendix A

Programme

Tuesday, 22 May 2012	
08:30 – 09:00	Registration
09:00 – 09:20	Opening session: Welcome Chair: <i>Ambassador Olusegun Akinsanya, Regional Director, ISS Addis Ababa, Ethiopia</i> <i>H.E. Ambassador Xie Xiaoyan, Embassy of the People's Republic of China in the Federal democratic Republic of Ethiopia</i> <i>Ambassador Olusegun Akinsanya, Regional Director, ISS Addis Ababa, Ethiopia</i>
09:20 – 09:40	Keynote address <i>Mr. El Ghassim Wane, Director Peace and Security Council African Union Commission (tbc)</i> The Status Quo and the Prospect of Sino-African Union Cooperation in Peace and Security <i>Professor Yang Lihua, Senior Research Fellow Institute of West Asian and African Studies, Chinese Academy of Social Sciences</i>
09:40 – 13:00	Session I: Setting the Scene: Sino-African Union Cooperation in Peace and Security in Africa Chair: <i>Mr. Mohamed A.F. Ghonei, Councillor, Embassy of Egypt, Addis Ababa, Ethiopia</i>
09:40 – 09:55	Review of early experiences, Current challenges and opportunities on China-Africa Relations <i>Dr Debay Tadesse, Senior Researcher, Conflict Prevention and Risk Analysis, ISS, Addis Ababa, Ethiopia</i>
09:55 – 10:10	The current challenges facing the African Security and the Constraints of African Solution to African Problem <i>Professor He Wenping, Senior Research Fellow, Institute of West Asian and African Studies, Chinese Academy of Social Sciences</i>
10:10 – 10:25	Role of China in preventing Conflicts in Africa from Developmental Perspective <i>Eleanor Maeresera, African Forum and Network on Debt and Development (AFRODAD)</i>
10:25 – 10:40	Reflection on the Sino-African Cooperation: from the Prospective of Cultural Security <i>Professor Zhou Haijin, Institute of African Studies, Zhejiang Normal University</i>
10:40 – 11:10	Discussion
11:10 – 11:30	Coffee/Tea break/Group photo
11:30 – 11:45	Chair: <i>H.E. Berhane Deressa, Former Mayor of Addis Ababa, Addis Ababa, Ethiopia</i> The African Early Warning System: the progress and challenges <i>Professor Xia Liping, Vice Director – general, the Department of Diplomacy and Foreign Affairs Management</i>
11:45 – 12:00	The Contents, Practice and Constraints of African Solution to African Problems <i>Professor Zhang Chun, Senior Fellow, Deputy Director, Center for West Asian and African Studies, Shanghai Institutes for International Studies</i>

12:00 –12:15	Chinese Potentials for Preventing Oil War in the Sudan <i>Dr Samson S. Wassara , Associate Professor, Department of Political Science, University of Juba, South Sudan</i>
12:15 –13:00	Discussion
13:00 – 14:00	Lunch Break
14:00 – 15:15	Session II: The Role and experience of African Union and the Regional economic communities (RECs) in China-Africa partnership Chair: <i>Professor Yang Lihua, Senior Research Fellow, Institute of West Asian and African Studies, Chinese Academy of Social Sciences</i>
14:00 – 14:15	Relations/Cooperation Between Africa and China <i>Dr Admore Kambudzi, Secretary, Peace and Security Council, African Union Commission</i>
14:15 – 14:30	The Relations between RECs and AU on Peace and Security: A Case Study of the Role of ECOWAS in the Solution of West African Conflicts <i>Professor Wang Xuejun, Institute of African Studies, Zhejiang Normal University</i>
14:30 – 14:45	The Role and the experience of Regional Economic communities (RECs) in China-Africa relations <i>Ms. Raheemat Omoro Momodu, ECOWAS Liaison Officer, African Union.</i>
14:45 – 15:15	Discussion
15:15 – 15:30	Coffee/Tea Break
15:30 – 15:45	The Security Situation in the Horn of Africa and the Role of China <i>Dr Xiao Yuhua, Research Fellow, Institute of African Studies, Zhejiang Normal University</i> Chair: <i>Dr Lulseged Abebe, International Alert, Senior Advisor – AU, Addis Ababa, Ethiopia</i>
15:45–16:00	The Role and the experience of Regional Economic communities (RECs) in China-Africa relations <i>Mr. Kizito Sabala, Political Officer, IGAD Liaison Office, Nairobi, Kenya – C</i>
16:00–16:15	The Role of China in preventing Conflicts in Africa: An African Perspectives <i>Dr Alfred Omenya, Eco-Build Africa</i> <i>Nairobi, Kenya</i>
16:15–16:45	Discussion
16:45 – 17:00	Summary and recommendations <i>Dr Debay Tadesse, Senior Researcher, Conflict Prevention and Risk Analysis, ISS, Addis Ababa, Ethiopia</i>
17:00–17:20	Closing Remarks <i>Ambassador Sun Shuzhong, African Department, Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the People's Republic of China</i> <i>Dr Mehari Maru Taddele, Project Manager, Conflict Prevention and Risk Analysis, ISS, Addis Ababa, Ethiopia</i>

Appendix B

List of participants

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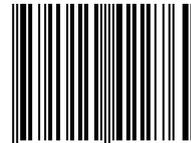
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