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# **The Africa Policy of the People's Republic of China – Its impact on Nigeria and Zambia**

## **Introduction**

Copper mines in Zambia, oil reserves in Sudan, Angola and Nigeria triggered a “second scramble” for Africa in the late 1990s. The meaning of the second scramble has multiple interpretations; experts from Kenya agree that it must mean that the African continent has to turn to itself to solve its problems (Búr, 2008: 1). Another interpretation of this expression is that new emerging powers, like Brazil, India and China, have appeared on the continent to exploit natural energy sources. This has resulted in a big challenge for the Western countries as the new emerging powers can show the African states a different developmental route that means a loss of prestige in the region and a threat to the West by the latecomers. Nevertheless, the question has not been answered: what will happen to Africa?

The main focus of this study is to analyze the Chinese steps as an emerging player on this continent, but neither from a Western perspective nor the Chinese point of view. This study is an examination of how Chinese investments can contribute to Africa's future, highlighting Beijing's role in two countries: Nigeria and Zambia. The author argues that the growing interest from Beijing cannot be seen only as the decrease of the West in Africa, rather as an option as well. It means that the Chinese model could be an alternative for the continent instead of the Washington consensus. Moreover, in order to secure the Chinese investments in these African states, Beijing must take care of the “order” as it can achieve prosperity

only in a peaceful environment. The only question is: Will Africa become powers' playground again or will somebody finally be able to help to create a brighter future for this abandoned, yet very important continent? Does it only serve Beijing's interests or does it indirectly have an impact on the development and prosperity of Africa? It is worthwhile to note that the two states, Zambia and Nigeria, were chosen due to the fact that both were formerly colonies of the United Kingdom, both achieved their independence in the beginning of the 1960s and both participated in the structural adjustment policy established by the International Monetary Fund (IMF). It means they have quite the same developmental route; moreover, they are among the main targets of the Chinese interests and FDI flow in Africa.

The author agrees that there will be a contest in Africa between two developmental routes as China offers an alternative way, the so called Beijing consensus, instead of the failed ten points of the Washington consensus. That indicates a weakening Western position due to the decayed structural programs and the history of colonialism.

## **Africa and the West**

The "Scramble for Africa" (Mckay, 2009: 738) was the invasion, occupation, colonization and annexation of African territory by European powers during the New Imperialism period between 1881 and 1914. The Berlin Conference of 1884, which regulated European colonization and trade in Africa, is often cited as a convenient starting point (Brantlinger, 1985: 12). One of the motivations for imperialism arose from the demand for raw materials unavailable in Europe, especially copper, cotton, rubber, palm oil, cocoa, diamonds, tea and tin, to which European consumers had grown accustomed to and upon which the European industry had grown dependent on. In addition, surplus capital was often more profitably invested overseas, where cheap materials, limited competition, and abundant raw materials made a greater premium possible. The combined effects of two great European wars had weakened the political and economic domination of Latin America, Asia, Africa, and the Middle East by European powers. The Cold War started placing immense pressure on developing nations to align with one of the superpower factions. Both promised substantial financial, military and diplomatic aid in exchange for an alliance, in which issues like corruption and human rights abuses

were overlooked or ignored. The Korean War marked a shift in the focal point of the Cold War, from post-war Europe to East Asia. After this point, proxy battles in the Third World became an important arena of superpower competition, though the West slowly turned away Africa in the direction of Asia and left the continent on its own in the 1990s. September 11, 2001 resulted in a new recognition of the significance of the continent from the point of view of both the United States and the European Union. This was due to the fact that following the independence of some African states, there was no democratization process as the West had dreamt, and the power remained in the hand of the local elite; corruption boomed. The situation was favourable for terrorists as they found a safe haven on the continent. Counterweighing the challenge, the West has supported a lot of efforts hand-in-hand with the African states to stabilize the continent. For instance, the New Partnership for Africa's Development (NEPAD), an African Union strategic framework for pan-African socio-economic development, is both a vision and a policy framework for Africa in the 21<sup>st</sup> century. NEPAD, which is a radically new intervention, provides unique opportunities for African countries to take full control of their development agenda, to work more closely together and to cooperate more effectively with international partners. Even so, Western financial support could be seen as compunction due to the colonial history or another interpretation could be that with the conditions of the given aid, they can promote human rights and democracy better. However, in the background the growing influence of the developing countries, especially that of China, on the continent is very much apparent.

## **China – Africa relations**

The importance of Africa could be seen as an element to improve the Chinese Comprehensive National Power (CNP) as it contributes to every factor comprising the CNP. A large share of the natural resources, minerals and energy sources come from Africa, which can boost the economic power of China. The cultural factor is as essential as the economic, due to the fact that the Chinese unconditional assistance makes new allies for Beijing and creates a better position on the international political world stage. Even so, it is worth noting that the changing environmental condition, the misshapen process of the economic development and social tensions have been forcing China to go to the African continent, which

presumes that the foreign policy is subordinated to stabilize the local situation.

The Chinese presence has quite an old history, which dates back to 1418 when Zheng He reached the Swahili coast. Its memory is preserved by the Famao nation on the island of Pate, who claim that they originated from one of the He stranded ships. The historical foundation of relations is the Bandung Conference of 1955, whose ten-point “*declaration on promotion of world peace and cooperation*” provides today’s framework of relations. However, focusing on only the bilateral relationship between China and Africa, the assistance was based on the eight principles declared in January 1964. The period of the Cultural Revolution 1968–1970 can be characterized by the stagnancy of diplomatic ties between China and the African states, however the 1980s brought new development projects and assistance from Beijing. After Tiananmen, Sino-African relations froze for the most part due to the fear that Western assistance would cease if they supported Beijing further. Even so, there were some African countries who did not throw stones at Beijing; therefore, a new era evolved, an alliance against the West (Kiss-Tétényi, 2009: 265). The new relations gained momentum in the middle of the 1990s thanks to the rapid industrialization process in China which led it to the Middle East, Latin America and Africa as well. Moreover, the question of Taiwan has received an important role in the Chinese Africa-policy. Currently, 23 states recognize Taiwan as the Republic of China (ROC) and six of these are African. In addition, China is trying to balance Japan’s ambition to become a permanent member of the United Nations Security Council with that of its new allies, the African states. Nevertheless, Chinese assistance is primarily distributed on the basis of economic interest. Due to the accelerated modernization process, China is not able to cover its needs from its own sources and it has therefore turned to Africa. This relationship became institutionalized with the establishment of the Forum on China–Africa Cooperation (FOCAC) in 2000. Ministers from China and 44 African countries exchanged views and are convinced of the imperatives for a dynamic, new strategic partnership between Africa and the PRC. The ministers have committed themselves to co-operating in all fields, especially social and economic development, on the basis of equality and mutual respect with a view to renewing, developing and expanding China-Africa co-operation in the 21<sup>st</sup> century. Since the FOCAC Beijing Ministerial Conference in October 2000, four ministerial conferences and one summit meeting of the FOCAC have been convened. As

an important platform for collective dialogue and an effective mechanism for practical co-operation between China and African countries, FOCAC has greatly boosted the political influence of the China-Africa relationship and is an important driver for China-Africa practical cooperation in various areas. At the Fifth Ministerial Conference in 2012, convened in Beijing, the Chinese ex-President Hu Jintao proposed “*in the next three years, the Chinese government will take measures in the following five priority areas to support the cause of peace and development in Africa and boost a new type of China-Africa strategic partnership*”. (Xinhua, 2012). It contains high-level visits, contacts between legislatures, political parties and local governments, cooperation between China and the African Union and sub-regional organizations in Africa, cooperation in the field of economy and development and at least but not last cultural and people-to-people exchanges.

If we would like to summarize the advantages of the Chinese presence in the continent, we have to admit that Beijing supports infrastructural projects, has established scholarships for African students and workers, contributes to research and development related to bio-agriculture and solar energy and therefore every state can demonstrate economic growth.

**Table 1.** Growing economies in Asia and Africa

Country	Annual average GDP growth (%) 2001–2010	Country	Annual average GDP growth (%) 2011–2015
Angola	11.1	China	9.5
China	10.5	India	8.2
Myanmar	10.3	Ethiopia	8.1
Nigeria	8.9	Mozambique	7.7
Ethiopia	8.4	Tanzania	7.2
Kazakhstan	8.2	Vietnam	7.2
Chad	7.9	Congo	7
Mozambique	7.9	Ghana	7
Cambodia	7.7	Zambia	6.9
Rwanda	7.6	Nigeria	6.8

Source: [http://www.economist.com/blogs/dailychart/2011/01/daily\\_chart](http://www.economist.com/blogs/dailychart/2011/01/daily_chart) (accessed 22 May, 2013).

In spite of the multiple benefits, there are some drawbacks to the Chinese investments in Africa. Beijing has found a new market for its cheap export products and the dumped products are destroying certain African

economic sectors, especially the textile industry. Moreover, China does not respect the local labour law, resulting in a lot of recent protests. At the same time Beijing has been investing in countries where corruption is booming, human rights are violated and it links its assistance to conditions which undermine the Western actions to promote democracy and thereby establish stability on the continent. The data does not, however, indicate such a significant Chinese influence in the region; it is more about prestige and interests from the Western point of view. China was not the main investor in new FDI projects in Nigeria and Zambia. In Nigeria, the Western countries are still the most powerful, however, in Zambia, both China and India achieved significant positions. It is interesting to note that South African investments are present in both countries, from which it could be presumed that Africa would like to find the solution to its problem on its own, as the "second scramble" expression suggests (see tables 1 and 2).

**Table 2.** Top 5 Country investors of new FDI project in Nigeria 2003–2011

Top 5 country investors of new FDI project 2003–11	Top 5 investors of new projects by job created 2003–2011	Top 5 sectors of new FDI project 2003–11	Relative % sector contribution to project total
United States	US	Coal, oil and natural gas	18.2%
UK	Malaysia	Financial services	9.4%
South-Africa	India	Communications	9.1%
India	UK	Businessservices	8.5%
France	South Africa	Food and tobacco	6.8%

Source: [http://www.ey.com/Publication/vwLUAssets/EY\\_2012\\_Africa\\_attractiveness\\_survey/\\$FILE/attractiveness\\_2012\\_africa\\_v17.pdf](http://www.ey.com/Publication/vwLUAssets/EY_2012_Africa_attractiveness_survey/$FILE/attractiveness_2012_africa_v17.pdf) (accessed 22 May, 2013).

**Table 3.** Top 5 Country investors of new FDI project in Zambia 2003–2011

Top 5 country investors of new FDI project 2003–11	Top 5 investors of new projects by job created 2003–2011	Top 5 sectors of new FDI project 2003–11	Relative % sector contribution to project total
South Africa	Canada	Metals	35.3%
China	China	Financial services	15.1%
India	UK	Communications	5.9%
Canada	South Africa	Chemicals	5.9%
UK	India	Food and tobacco	5.9%

Source: [http://www.ey.com/Publication/vwLUAssets/EY\\_2012\\_Africa\\_attractiveness\\_survey/\\$FILE/attractiveness\\_2012\\_africa\\_v17.pdf](http://www.ey.com/Publication/vwLUAssets/EY_2012_Africa_attractiveness_survey/$FILE/attractiveness_2012_africa_v17.pdf) (accessed 22 May, 2013).

## Nigeria – case study

Nigeria, known as “the Giant of Africa”, is the most populous country in Africa and the seventh most populous country in the world. Its oil reserves have brought great revenues to the country. Nigeria is considered to be an “emerging market nation” by the World Bank. Nigeria’s economy is the second largest in Africa, and the 37th largest in the world as of the time of writing. Nigeria has been identified as a regional power with also having regional hegemony and major influence within its region. It is listed among the “Next Eleven” economies. Nigeria is expected to become the largest economy in Africa overtaking South Africa in the near future and become one of the Top 20 economies in the world by 2050.

Like most other African countries in the 1960s and 1970s, Nigeria viewed China as a non-aligned developing country, barely supported trade or any other relations with Beijing so its trading partners were only European and North American countries. Under the leadership of Deng Xiaoping, the Chinese relationship with Nigeria shifted to direct political and ideological support against the white-led regimes in southern Africa, serving as a facilitator of support for liberation fighters. This connection strengthened diplomatic relations with China, though it affected trade only marginally as Taiwan remained the favoured trading partner at that time. Nonetheless, Hong Kong Chinese were especially successful in investing in Nigeria. In the 1960s they took advantage of the thriving cotton production in the Northern Region of Nigeria, with their investment helping to shape the early days of the textile manufacturing in Nigeria. The low-sulfur crude oil and huge developing market of Nigeria opening up to FDI was attractive to the Chinese. As China secured various joint-venture contracts with Nigerian oil companies, often in exchange for low-interest loans and targeted development projects, the volume of trade rapidly increased though it is worth noting that it was primarily attributable to the oil sector.

Sometimes there were obstacles in the way of the Sino-Nigerian relationship, namely the problems with corruption and unethical conduct by Nigerian businessmen and public officials, which contributed to the ineffectiveness of a Chinese project to revive the Nigerian Railway Corporation. By 2006, the tone of the Chinese had changed; President Hu Jintao and Prime Minister Wen Jiabao of China were participating in regular shuttles to Africa, with Nigeria as a major port of call. At the same time

Nigerian state governors began leading delegations to China seeking investments, aid and development partnerships in the belief that increasing ties to China could significantly benefit their communities [Utomi, 2008, p. 1–3]. Testifying about the importance of Nigeria to China, Abuja signed a Memorandum of Understanding (MOU) with Beijing for the Establishment of Strategic Partnership programs to enhance their economic ties in January 2006 (Taylor, 2007: 631). The Chinese Ministry of Commerce identified the main aims of the new governmental policy towards Nigeria:

- To increase Chinese multinational companies' Nigerian market share;
- To expand the Nigerian market for Chinese manufactured goods;
- To increase China's presence in Nigeria's oil and gas sector;
- To leverage its investment in Nigeria as a gateway for entering the ECOWAS market.

The significant role Chinese investments played in Nigeria became clear when the Central Bank of Nigeria introduced the Chinese Yuan in January 2011 as a trading currency in the domestic foreign exchange market. The Nigerian media reported that the move encouraged Nigerian banks to seek new partnerships with Chinese financial institutions. China holds a 20 % stake in South Africa's Standard Bank, which also has a presence in Nigeria. There is widespread speculation that Beijing is looking to gain greater footing in the sector, either by opening a branch of a Chinese financial institution or by acquiring shares in a Nigerian bank. (Emele, 2011).

These attitudes are supported by officials who stress that a series of agreements among the West with African, Caribbean and Pacific states dating back to the Lome Convention of 1975, were considered insincere, and hurt their national interests. Conversely, they argued that the no-strings-attached policy of China made relations on foreign aid and trade more manageable and user-friendly. Beyond the actual technological transfer, job creation is quite low due to the fact that either the Chinese import their own labor or when Africans have an opportunity to gain employment in the Chinese industry, labor conditions do not meet African standards. The business community in Nigeria expressed an interest in doing business with China as they can learn from Chinese manufacturers while their business models allowed for some Nigerians to successfully manufacture and export profitably at a time when the country was witnessing a collapse in manufacturing and deindustrialization. The Chinese

engagement in Africa, however, is better for the Chinese than it is for Nigerians. This has led many Nigerians to accuse the Chinese of dumping cheap Chinese products into local markets, destroying the competitiveness of domestic production (Utomi, 2008: 5–6).

Scientific cooperation between the two countries is also booming. The relationship in this area witnessed the launching of NIGERCOM-STAT 1, the first communication satellite, by Nigeria in early 2007 (Ogunkola, 2008: 4). Moreover, the establishment of Chinese infrastructure is valuable for Nigeria as it has built up the manufacturing sector and increased the quality and speed of construction. Construction and infrastructure are sectors in which China has made its primary commercial footprint in Africa [Corkin, 2008, p. 3], thanks to the approach that Olusegun Obasanjo, President of Nigeria from 1999 to 2007, took towards China, namely the “oil-for-infrastructure” strategy. Many experts agree that the decision by the Obansajo reflected a dire need in Nigeria for improved infrastructure and a growing frustration with the conditions associated with Western aid.

In 2010, Goodluck Jonathan won the election and tried to step back to Obasanjo’s policy towards China instead of following Umaru Musa Yar’Adua’s approach of “oil for money”. His main purposes are: to enhance political mutual trust in order to promote strategic co-operation; to expand co-operation in areas including agriculture, oil, electricity, infrastructure construction, telecommunication and satellites; to expand cultural exchanges and cooperation in combating various diseases including malaria and avian influenza; to strengthen co-operation in international affairs to promote world peace, enhance co-ordination and human rights, anti-terrorism, peacekeeping efforts and to promote South-South and South-North dialogues (Egbula, 2011: 5).

The question of whether the Chinese actions in Nigeria will serve to aggravate or assist Nigerians out of poverty to achieve sustainable economic development remains unanswered. The author agrees that in order to maintain sustainable development and gain benefit from the Chinese FDI, some progress must be achieved in the areas of policy choices like focusing on long-term economic growth, strengthening institutions and decreasing corruption, as well as developing human capital. In the case of Nigeria we can see a balancing act between the Western over-involvement and Chinese tradition of non-interference, with every situation being handled differently depending on what would best serve Nigerian development interests.

## Zambia – case study

Zambia is a landlocked country in Southern Africa with a population of 13,460,305. The natural resources that are present in Zambia include copper, cobalt, zinc, lead, coal, emeralds, gold, silver, uranium and hydropower. The economy has experienced strong growth in recent years, with real GDP growth in 2005–08 of about 6% per year. In 2005, Zambia qualified for debt relief under the Highly Indebted Poor Country Initiative, achieving approximately USD 6 billion in debt relief. Poverty remains a significant problem in Zambia, despite a growing economy. In 1964, Zambia was a relatively prosperous nation that had built its economy on trade in mineral resources, mainly copper, which did well throughout the 1960s. In the early 1970s, external shocks, such as the sharp increase in the price of oil and the fall in copper prices, severely affected the country, leading to a prolonged economic deterioration. By the early 1980s, the economy was under serious strain. As the situation worsened, Zambia had to accept support from the international community, which at that time meant agreeing to implement structural adjustment programs designed by the International Monetary Fund (IMF) and the World Bank. These programs, however, did little to help the economic performance of Zambia. In fact, they further aggravated the situation. Edward Jaycox, World Bank Vice President in charge of Africa admitted:

Zambia was a terribly under-funded program. We overestimated copper revenue, overestimated aid flows, and did everything we could to paint a picture of an internally consistent financing plan based on the resources that we and others could bring to bear. If the case had been looked at more closely or more sceptically, the plan's lack of realism would have become apparent. Certainly this is clear with hindsight. A great number of shocks took place as the adjustment process went along: copper prices went down or stayed at the same level when they were expected to go up; aid that was expected did not arrive; deals with the Paris Club that were normative were made less liberal when the aid was increased. (...) In sum, the *Zambian Programme* was administered in a very chaotic way, and the chaos resulted in part from the inadequacy of financing and unrealistic financing projections. (Wohlgemuth-Saasa, 2008: 1)

China and Zambia established diplomatic relations in 1964 and the first president of the newly independent Zambia, Kenneth Kaunda, called China the 'all weather friend' of Zambia in the early 1980s [Negi, 2008, p. 42]. During the Kaunda presidency (1964–1991), China provided active support to the Zambian government to consolidate political independence and struggle against western colonialist control. The two countries

signed several bilateral and multilateral trade agreements as well as agreements on economic and technical cooperation. Since 1967, China has undertaken 35 aid projects such as the Tanzania-Zambia Railway, roads, well and water supply, maize flour factory and textile mill. In 1997, the Bank of China opened its Zambian branch, which was the first branch opened by the bank in the sub-Saharan region. In the same year, the China Investment and Trade Developing Center was set up in Zambia. In 1998, China National Nonferrous Metals Industry Construction Co. (Group) bought the Zambian Chambishi Copper Mine for USD 20 million. The mine started operations in July 2000 (Mwanawina, 2008: 1–3). Between China and Zambia, there is an exchange program for students and workers and Beijing has sent medical teams to Zambia as a form of aid. Moreover, it is reported that Chinese companies have invested in over 140 projects and created 11,000 jobs, which are concentrated in the agriculture, machinery processing, mining, and tourism sectors.

Even so, China may be variously viewed as a “friend”, “competitor”, or “exploiter”, depending on where and to whom one poses the question. A place where China has become increasingly conspicuous in the economy and politics, Zambia has seen divisive and frequently violent politics related to the Chinese presence. There is a division regarding the thought process or opinion about China between officials and blue collar workers. While Zambian Minister of Finance said,

There is no doubt China has been good for Zambia. Why should we have a bad attitude toward the Chinese when they are doing all the right things? They are bringing investment, world-class technology, jobs, and value addition. What more can you ask for? (Polgreen, 2007).

In 2006, a mainstream Zambian political party, the Patriotic Front (PF), contested the elections on an explicit anti-China platform, and its defeat in the presidential elections triggered riots directed at Chinese establishments in the capital Lusaka and the Copperbelt Province. The rising sentiment in favor of economic nationalism has been most clearly articulated by the Patriotic Front (PF) and its leader, Michael Sata. Their 2006 campaign spoke against the continued control of outsiders over the Zambian economy, and this populist position pushed Sata to a surprising second-place in the presidential elections, as the PF won every single urban parliamentary seat in the Copperbelt Province [Negi, 2008, p. 55]. Since coming to power in September 2011, the Patriotic Front

government has made its view clear on Chinese investment: it is welcomed, as long as the law is upheld. When he was elected, President Michael Sata held a lunch for Chinese business people in Zambia. He said that the previous governments had not done enough to make clear what obligations Chinese investors should meet. “*When you give the Chinese a project without specifications, don’t blame the Chinese*”, he reportedly said, “*Blame yourself*” (Dudhia, 2012: 2).

Nonetheless, it is important to note that the mining sector is still dominated by British and American transnational companies rather than Chinese companies. So why does China get so much attention in its investment interests? Well, it is due to the assumption that the Chinese-owned firms have long-term, profit-driven motives, as indicated by their acquisition of Chambishi and Luanshya. On the other hand, Chinese FDI is traditionally also driven by broader objectives, such as better access to minerals or closer cooperation with private or public enterprises and governmental bodies (*ibid.*: 5).

To correct the picture about China in Zambia, Chinese President Hu Jintao held talks in 2010 with his Zambian counterpart, Rupiah Banda, in Beijing. Hu said that China would like to develop relations with Zambia and to raise relations to a new level in the following four aspects.

- First, consolidate and develop a political relationship of sincerity and trust.
- Second, expand and deepen economic and trade cooperation of mutual benefit.
- Third, enrich and promote humanities exchanges in various forms.
- Fourth, enhance coordination and cooperation in international areas and multilateral affairs.

Measured in some ways, the Zambian economy is booming. Copper prices have soared from USD 75 cents a pound in January 2003 to more than USD 3 dollars a pound this year, driven in large part by Chinese demand. That demand has pushed the long-dormant copper mines of Zambia into record production. There are still some major obstacles that Zambia has to cope with to enjoy the Chinese FDI’s benefits. For instance, a cohesive absorbent regulating frame to ensure the necessary domestic spillovers, such as transfer of expertise and technology and integration of the domestic private sector. Secondly, local entrepreneurs feel left out because the investment threshold has been set too high. Thirdly, Chinese investors tend to rely on their own supply chains due to the language

and culture barriers (Alves, 2011: 4). To sum up, China is benefiting more than Zambia from its investments in the African country. The opposition party in Zambia, the Patriotic Front, having come to power could prove a hindrance to the present setup of Sino-Zambian bilateral ties.

## Conclusions

Throughout history, we can see that aid channels are closely linked to strategic and political objectives to improve the position of donor states on the world stage and to enhance their interests. It has always been a secondary consideration whether the aid given really supports the development of the recipient states or not. Sometimes, however, not every support has a directly beneficial or disadvantageous effect on the recipients. Analysing the situation in Zambia and Nigeria, the author agrees that one of the best forms of aid is the investment in infrastructure and capabilities. If we examine the period during Umaru Musa Yar'Adua in Nigeria, that is, the implementation of the "oil for money" approach, it is apparent that no development occurred. Development does not only mean economic growth, as it can also refer to the decreasing level of corruption and the increasing human capital measured in the ranking of the Nigerian universities in the continent. In 2005, there were no Nigerian universities among the top 100 African universities; in 2012, three can be found among the best 50 (the University of Ibadan, Obafemi Awolowo University and the University of Lagos). If we take a look at the corruption index of Amnesty International, Nigeria was the 152<sup>nd</sup> out of 159 states in 2005 and Zambia reached the 107<sup>th</sup> position. In 2009, from 180 countries Nigeria attained the 121<sup>st</sup> position while Zambia was the 115<sup>th</sup>. In 2012, 174 countries were measured and Nigeria slipped to the 139<sup>th</sup> position while Zambia reached the 88<sup>th</sup>. (Transparency.org, 2005, 2009, 2012).

Speaking about economic development, the real GDP growth shows very hopeful data, however, on the other hand inflation is still high in both states and other macroeconomic data is quite different (see table 4 and 5).

Comparing Nigeria to Zambia from the Chinese point of view, the author agrees that Nigeria may be receiving greater attention due to its rapidly growing market and huge oil reserves which secure Chinese demand under the cover of strategic partnership. Conversely, Zambia could be seen as one of the Chinese logistics centers, considering that the greater part of Chinese investments centre around infrastructure and the establishment

of a branch of the Bank of China. In other words China benefits more in both countries than the two African states.

**Table 4.** Macroeconomic Indicators in Zambia

	2011	2012 (e)	2013 (p)	2014 (p)
Real GDP Growth	6.8	7.3	7.5	7.8
Real GDP per capita growth	3.9	4.3	4.4	4.7
CPI inflation	8.7	6.5	6.2	6.5
Budget balance % GDP	-4.4	-4.2	-4.8	-5
Current account balance % GDP	0.3	-3.3	-3.3	-3.8

Source: <http://www.africaneconomicoutlook.org/en/countries/southern-africa/zambia/estimate> (e) and prediction (p).

**Table 5.** Macroeconomic Indicators in Nigeria

	2011	2012 (e)	2013 (p)	2014 (p)
Real GDP Growth	7.4	6.6	6.7	7.3
Real GDP per capita growth	4.9	4.1	4.2	4.8
CPI inflation	10.9	12	9.7	9.5
Budget balance % GDP	-0.1	3.7	4.4	5.7
Current account balance % GDP	3.2	10.4	11.8	14.6

Source: <http://www.africaneconomicoutlook.org/en/countries/west-africa/nigeria/> estimates (e) and prediction (p).

If we would like to understand the attitudes of the West towards China in the African continent, we have to consider not only the prestige and interests, but also overwhelming appetite of China for natural resources that could jeopardize the global fair trade system. Quoting the words of Albrecht Conze, the German ambassador to Zimbabwe:

Most of the agreements signed today by China will buy out the whole world's raw materials and block other countries from having access to these raw materials. (Masha-va, 2012)

In any case, the sentiment reflects the growing Chinese influence at the expense of the West, the growing participation in construction and infrastructure is a reflection to the competitiveness of Chinese firms because they offer good quality at discount prices.<sup>1</sup> On the other hand, it has

<sup>1</sup> According to the the World Bank Trade Complementary Index 2012 the Chinese price discount is 28–50% compared to the other.

to be admitted that Africa is a good environment for Chinese investments as the corrupt and human rights violator states are not too competitive.

In conclusion, the author agrees with the words of World Bank President Robert Zoellick in 2008 that: “*The World Bank is willing to take China as a partner in a joint effort to alleviate poverty in Africa*”. (Beijing Review, 2008). That is, to maintain a sustainable development in the African continent, both parties have to cooperate because it is their common interest. It is in the interest of the West to have stable countries in the region to avoid the involvement of terrorist cells. It is in the interest of China to protect their investments in Africa from the local protesters who use violent tools or from a civil war. Although it will be in the interest of Africa as well, the way is not clear towards development, the Western style may be out of fashion due to the failed Washington consensus. The Beijing method exists only in the minds of the developing countries as neither China nor the West recognise it as a developmental route. There might be an African solution for development, though some time must still pass till this come about and the purpose will be to use the given aid efficiently to reach a period when Africa will be its own continent without the West or China.

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