

# 'Belt and Road Initiative' in Africa

IDA

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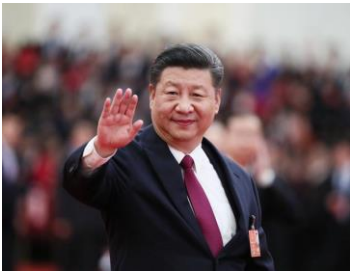
# China's new foreign policy brand?



# New thinking in China's foreign policy under Xi Jinping

Shift from: **Responsive diplomacy**, 反应式外交, (fǎnyìngshì wàijiāo) under Deng Xiaoping and successors:

韬光养晦 (tāoguāngyǎnghuì) - "Keep a Low Profile"  
(Hide brightness, nourish obscurity)



To: **Proactive diplomacy**, 主动式外交 (zhǔdòngshì wàijiāo) under Xi Jinping:

奋发有为 (fènfāyǒuwéi) – "Striving for achievement"

## Wang Yi, 8.3.2018 at NPC Session in Beijing

“一带一路”建设坚持公开透明 谋求互利共赢

“The building of “one belt-one road” is based on being open and transparent and on seeking mutual benefit and win-win [solutions] ”





*European Commission contribution  
to the European Council*

## **EU-China – A strategic outlook**

*12 March 2019*

- China is, simultaneously, in different policy areas, a **cooperation partner** with whom the EU has closely aligned objectives, a **negotiating partner** with whom the EU needs to find a balance of interests, an **economic competitor** in the pursuit of technological leadership, and a **systemic rival promoting alternative models of governance.**

More than 150  
countries and  
international  
organizations take  
part in BRI  
(April-2019)

China as a new major global actor

# BRI platforms





# China is redesigning the world geography, order, and governance

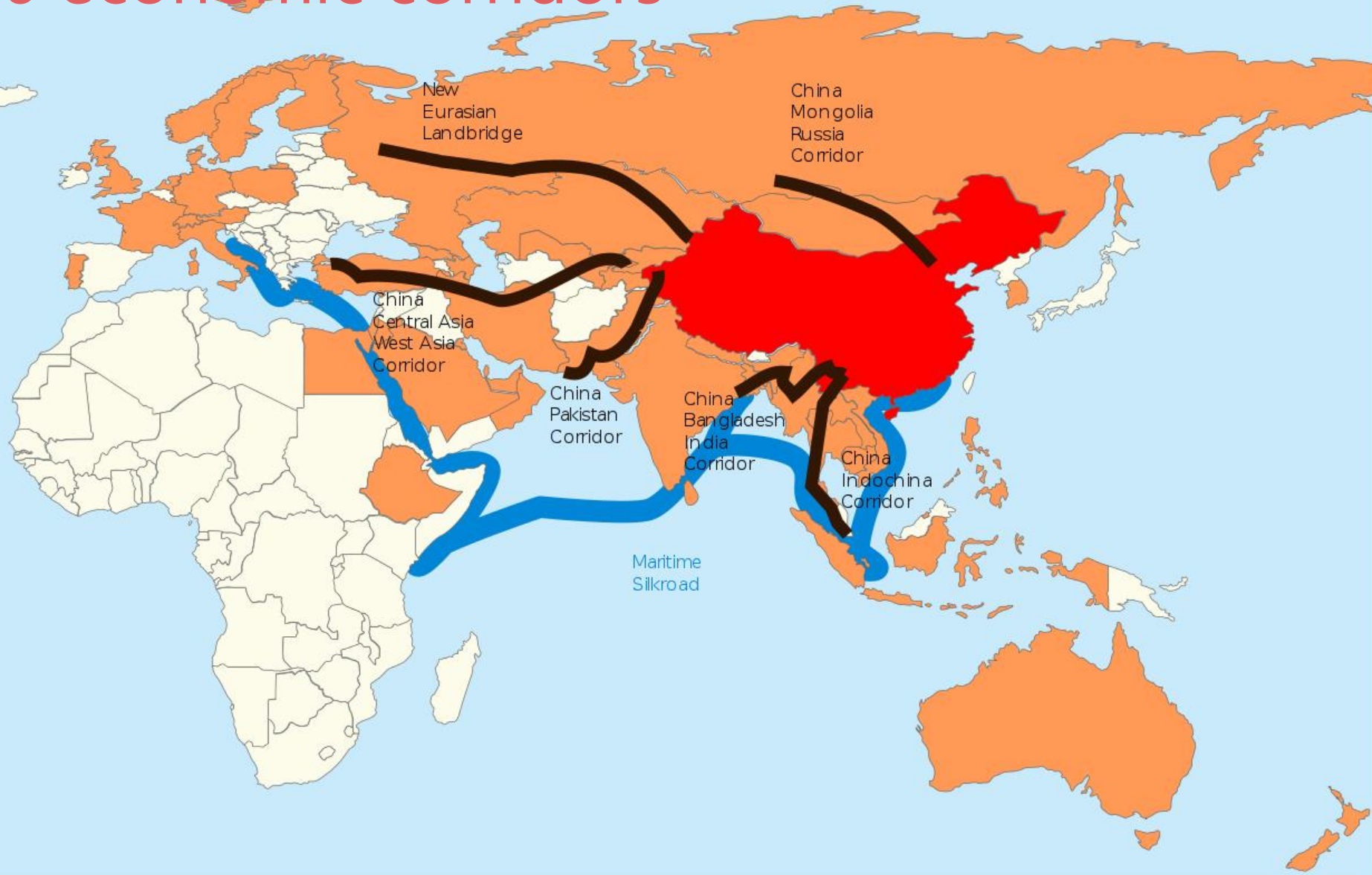
- New connectivities: Land, sea, and air transport routes, and associated infrastructure
- New energy generation and transmission infrastructure
- New urban infrastructure
- New industrial parks
- New digital and communication infrastructure
- Cultural infrastructure and exchange

## *Organizing BRI*

- New international organizations, platforms, governance arrangements
- New financial organizations
- New integrated economic corridors (6)
- New global value chains with Chinese SOEs as 'Dragon Heads' 龙头企业

BRI maps

# 6 economic corridors



# The reviving of the Silk Road

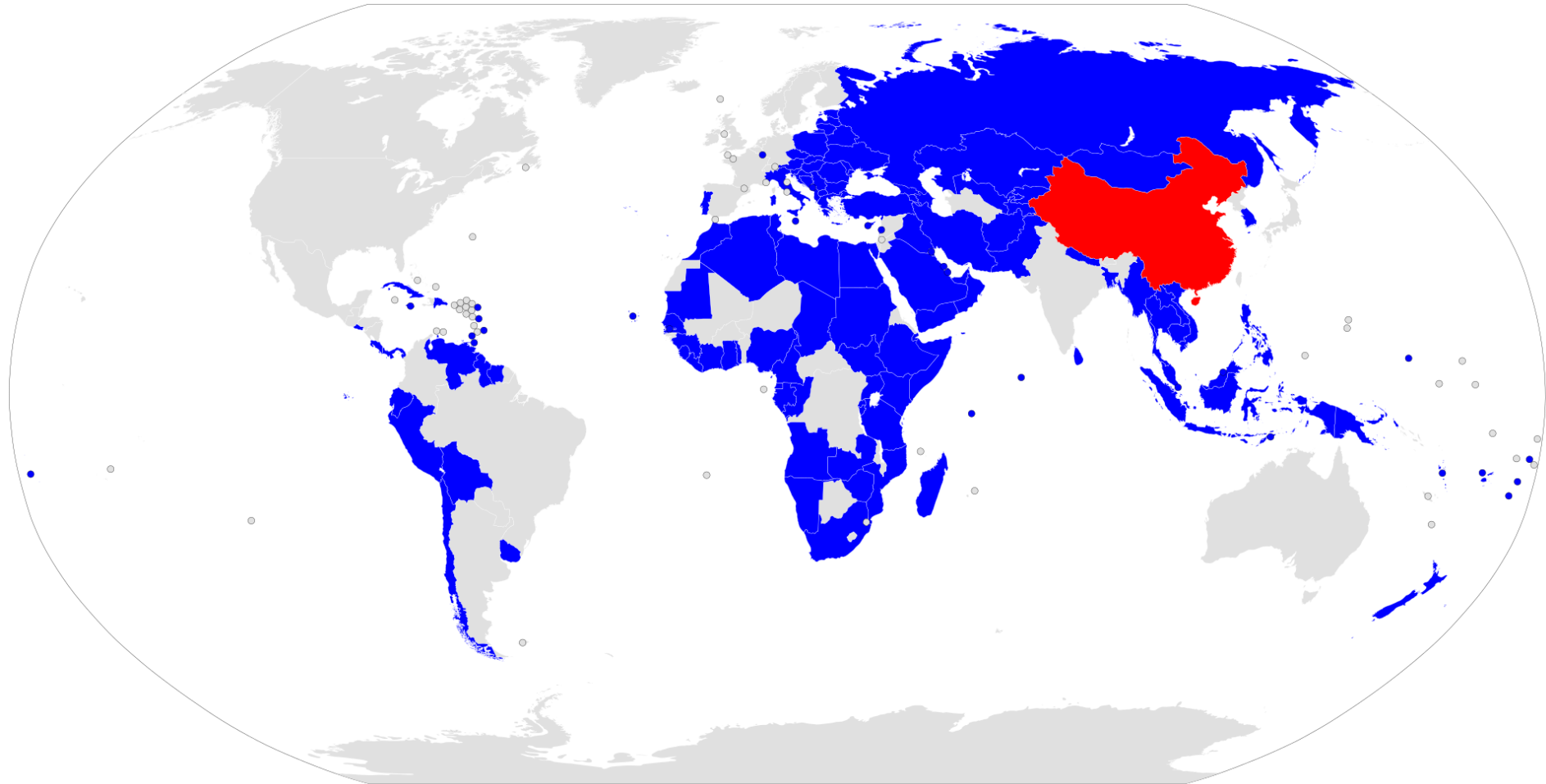
Infrastructure projects being planned and undertaken as of December 2015 in China's Belt and Road initiative.



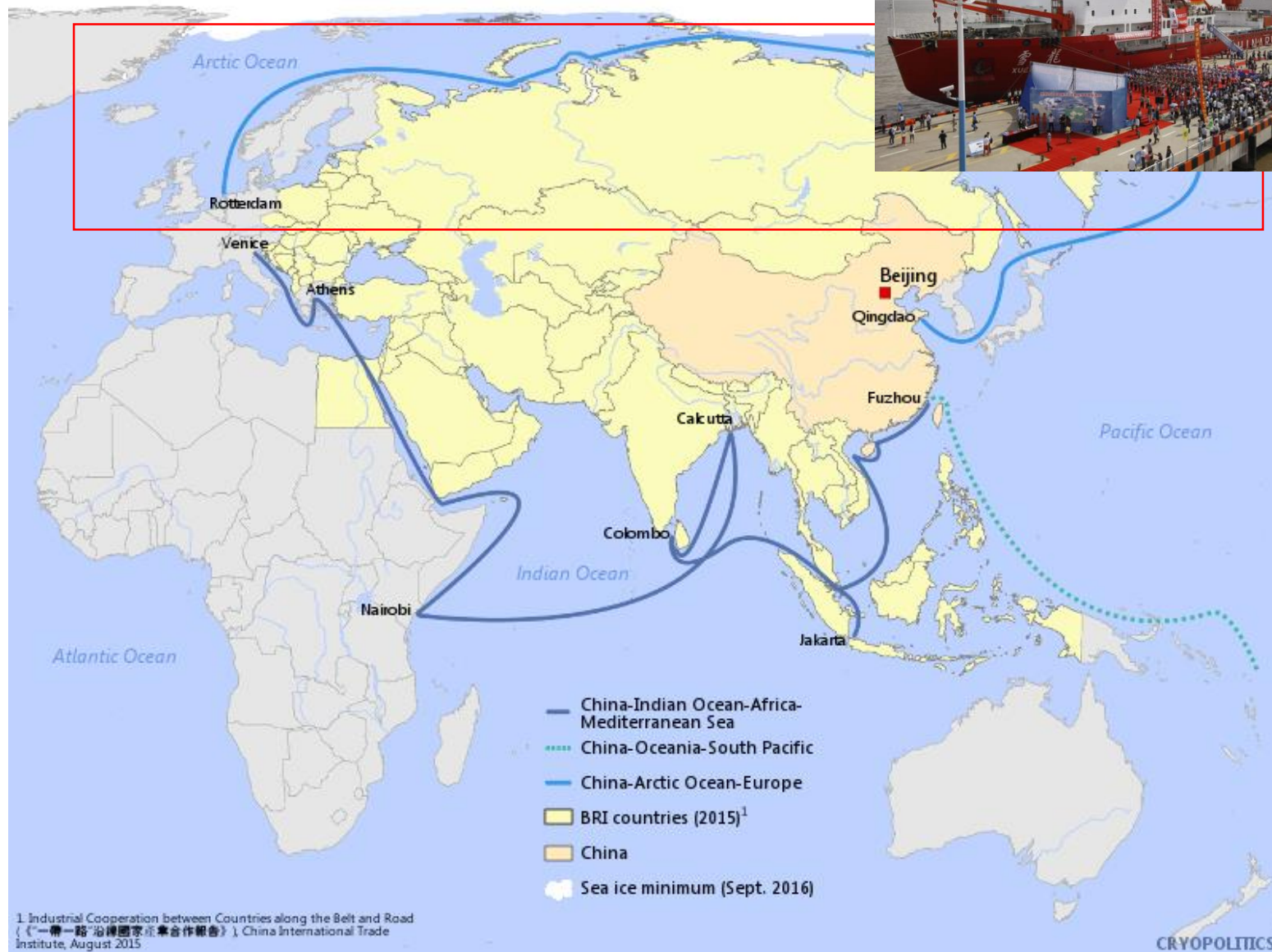
SOURCE: MERCATOR INSTITUTE FOR CHINA STUDIES

<http://www.ctwmorocco.com/page/market.aspx>

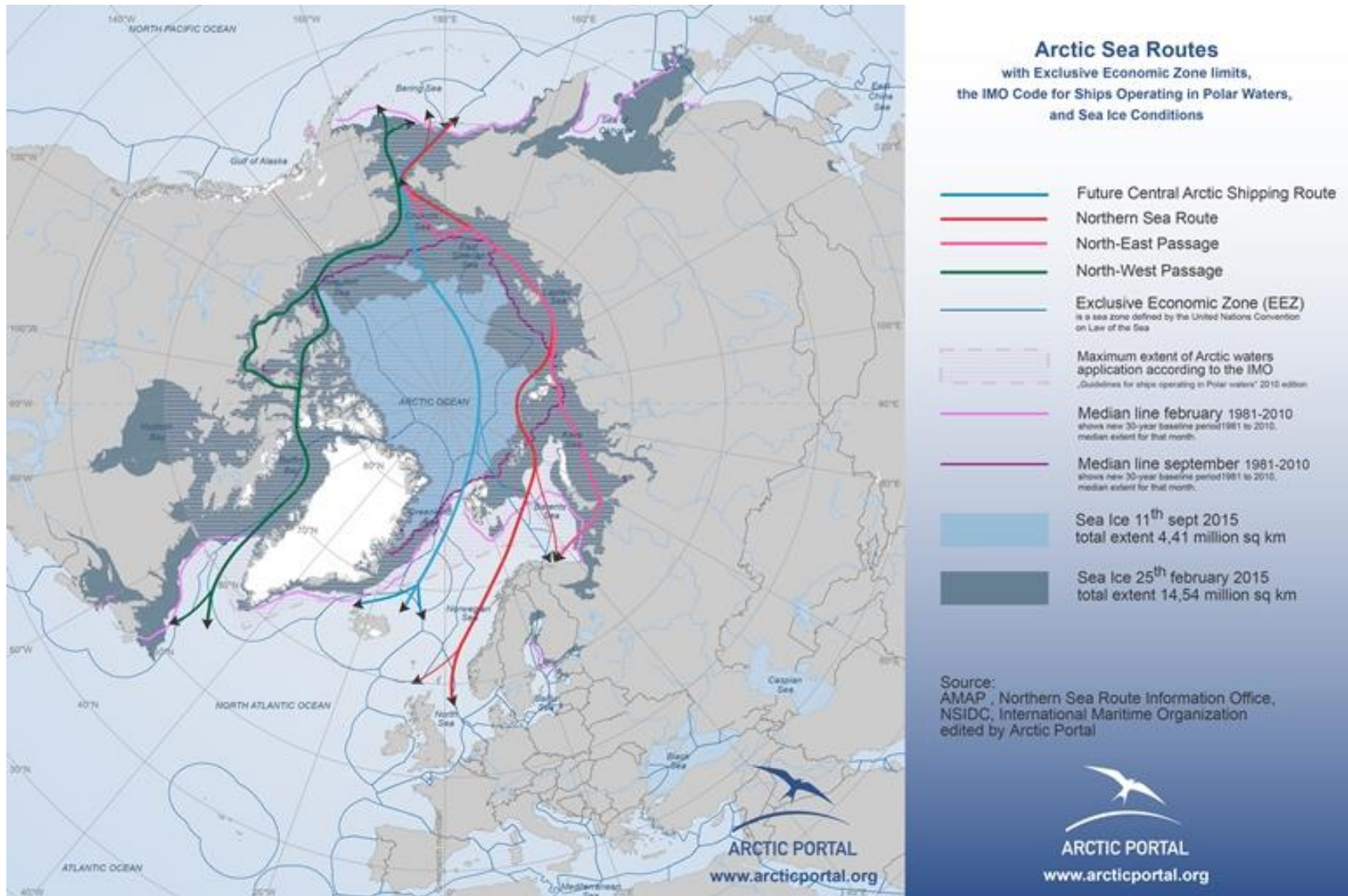
# Countries which signed cooperation documents related to the Belt and Road Initiative



# 21st Century Maritime Silk Road



# China proposes three Arctic sea routes

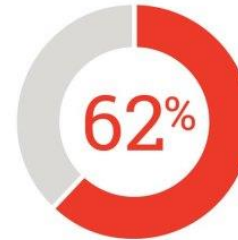


# The Belt and Road Initiative

**4.4**  
billion



Combined population of all countries involved in BRI



BRI touches 62 percent of the world's population

**\$23** trillion



Combined GDP of all countries involved

**\$3** trillion



Trade between China and BRI countries between 2014-2016



The less developed BRI partners have an average yearly income of \$6,312.

**\$26 trillion**

Estimated cost of infrastructure needs

**\$1 trillion**

Amount China has pledged

The estimated cost of infrastructure needs in the developing parts of the Asia-Pacific through 2030 is \$26 trillion. China has pledged \$1 trillion.



Why BRI?

## Reasons behind BRI (1)

- Sustaining China's economic growth
- Resource hunt
- Rivalry with US – countering Obama's "pivot towards Asia"

## Reasons behind BRI (2)

- Not enough focus on infrastructure and growth in international financial institutions (IFI)
- Dissatisfaction with other IFIs, e.g. IMF, World Bank and ADB: Skewed voting rights; inefficient, costly and slow bureaucracy in IFIs: Project approvals not fast enough

## Reasons behind BRI (3)

- Engage more directly with the developing world
- China as a new major power: an alternative global governance system – a multipolar world?

# BRI and Africa

# Sino-African organizations

- **Belt and Road Forum** (international)
- **FOCAC** - Forum on China-Africa Cooperation (2006)
- **CADFUND** - China-Africa Development Fund (2007) (support Chinese enterprises to invest in Africa), established by China Development Bank
- **CAFIC** (2015) - China Foreign Exchange Reserves in association with the Export-Import Bank of China initiated the **China-Africa Industrial Capacity Cooperation Fund** – Now (2018) to be merged with China-Latin America and Caribbean Industrial Cooperation Investment Fund (**Clacicif**)

# FOCAC, 2018

Photo

XI Jinping, 2018: "We will synergize China's Belt and Road Initiative with African Union's Agenda 2063, the United Nations 2030 Agenda for Sustainable Development and national development strategies of African countries"

<https://america.cgtn.com/2018/09/04/beijing-declaration-action-plan-adopted-at-focac-summit>

# FOCAC 2018

Photo

53 out of 54 African nations participated. Swaziland did not come

China's FOCAC pledges:

2006: \$5 billion

2009: \$10 billion

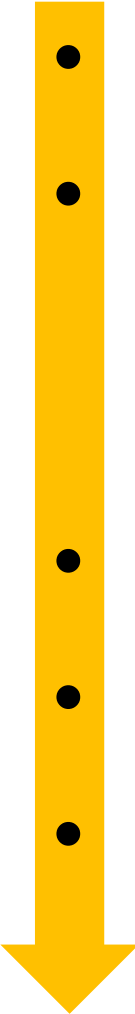
2012: \$20 billion

2015, 2018: \$60 billion

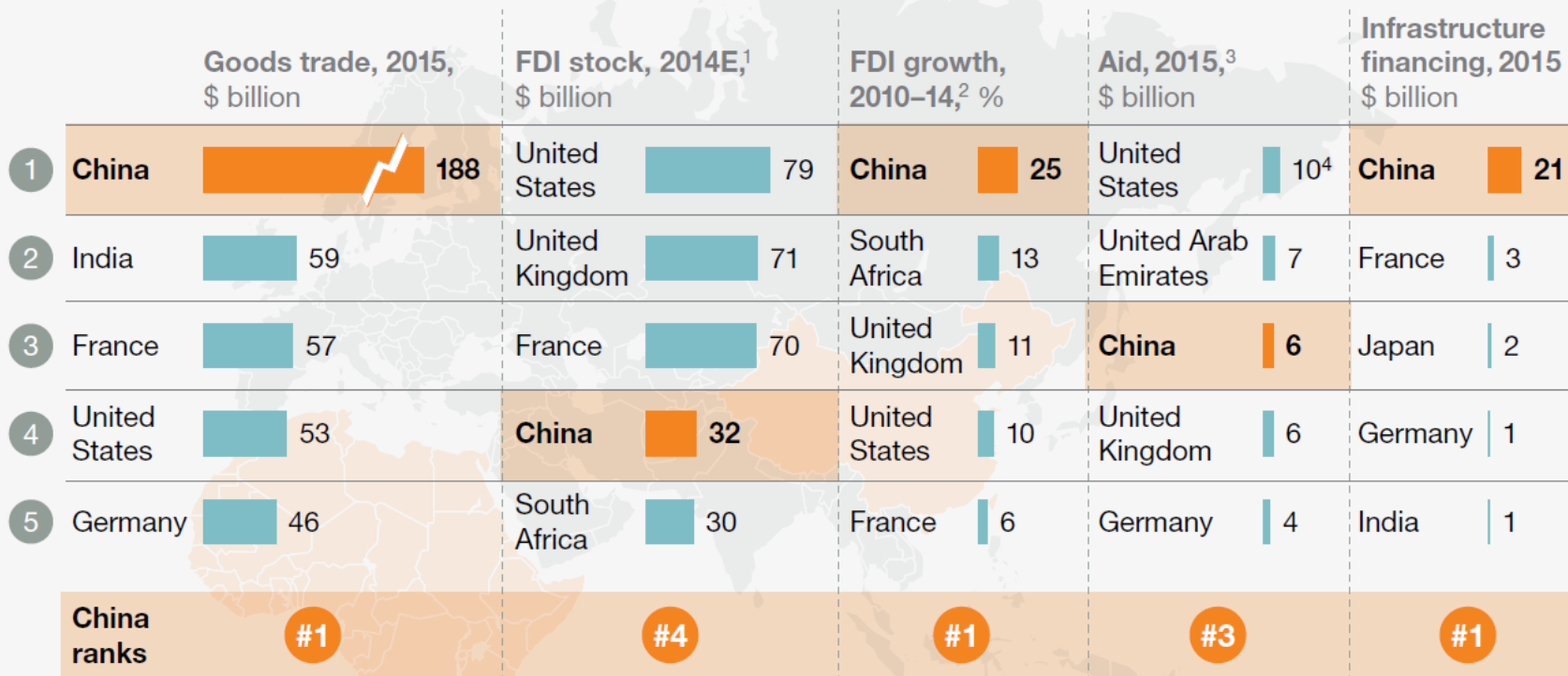


China as a major player in Africa:  
Aid, business and/or resource hunt?

# What does China want from Africa?

- 
- Resources
  - Invest in future markets: Important emerging market in which to sell its products
  - Access to other markets: US and EU
  - Political partnerships
  - Geo-strategic positioning

### China is now Africa's biggest economic partner.



1 Estimated according to compound annual growth rate (CAGR) from 2009 to 2012.

2 For countries other than China, we made projections using historical data.

3 Office of Development Assistance (ODA) and Other Official Flows (OOF), 2015 for Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development (OECD) countries, 2012 for China.

4 According to United States Agency for International Development data, US foreign aid to Africa was \$11.9 billion in fiscal year 2015 and \$7.4 billion in fiscal year 2016. The discrepancy with OECD data shown here is likely due to the fact that US fiscal years start in October, whereas OECD data is for calendar years.

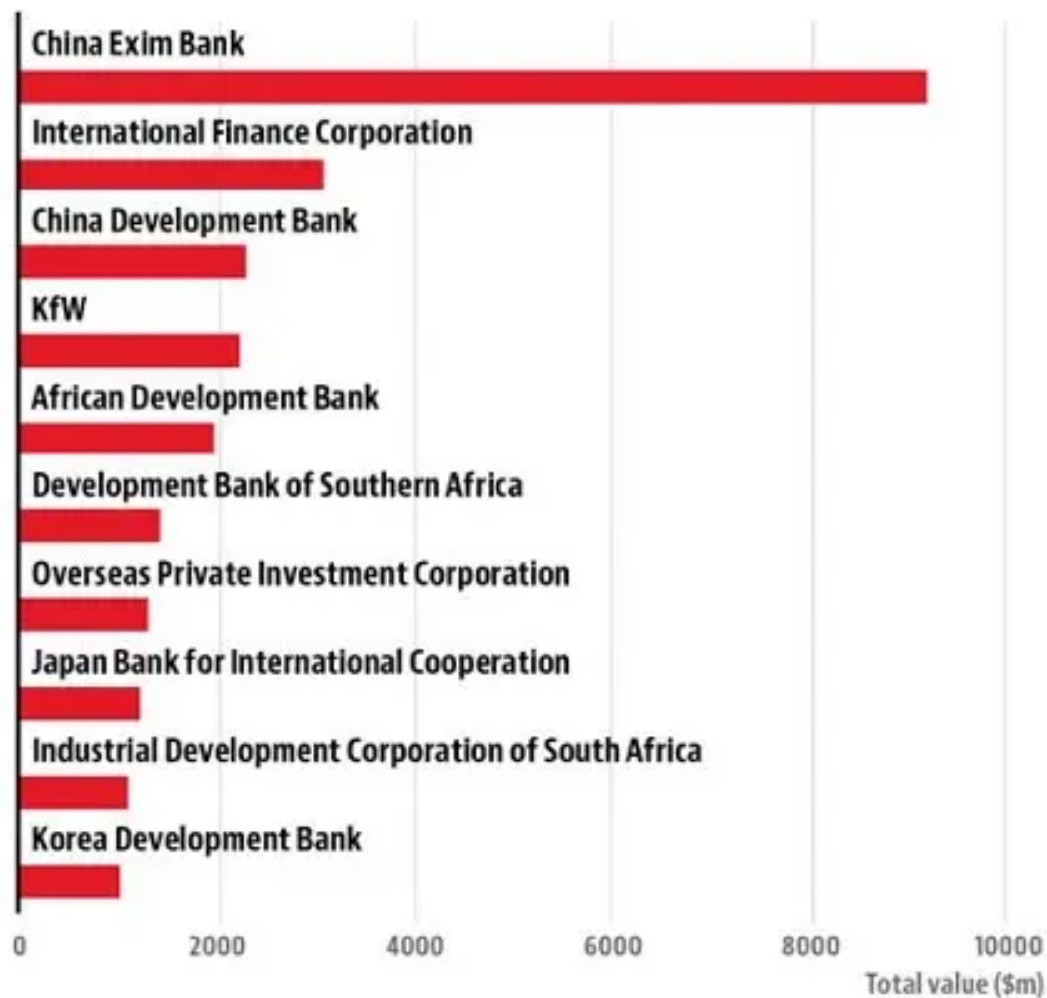
SOURCE: Bilateral trade database, International Trade Centre Trade Map, 2015; Bilateral FDI database, United Nations Conference on Trade and Development, 2012; Statistical Bulletin of China's Outward Foreign Direct Investment, Ministry of Commerce of the People's Republic of China, National Bureau of Statistics of the People's Republic of China, State Administration of Foreign Exchange, 2015; "Total official flows by country and region (ODA+OOF)," Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development statistics, 2015; "Foreign Aid Explorer: The official record of U.S. foreign aid," USAID; "Infrastructure Financing Trends in Africa—2015," The Infrastructure Consortium for Africa, 2015

# China as a major lender to Africa

## IMF Loans versus Chinese direct investments in selected African countries



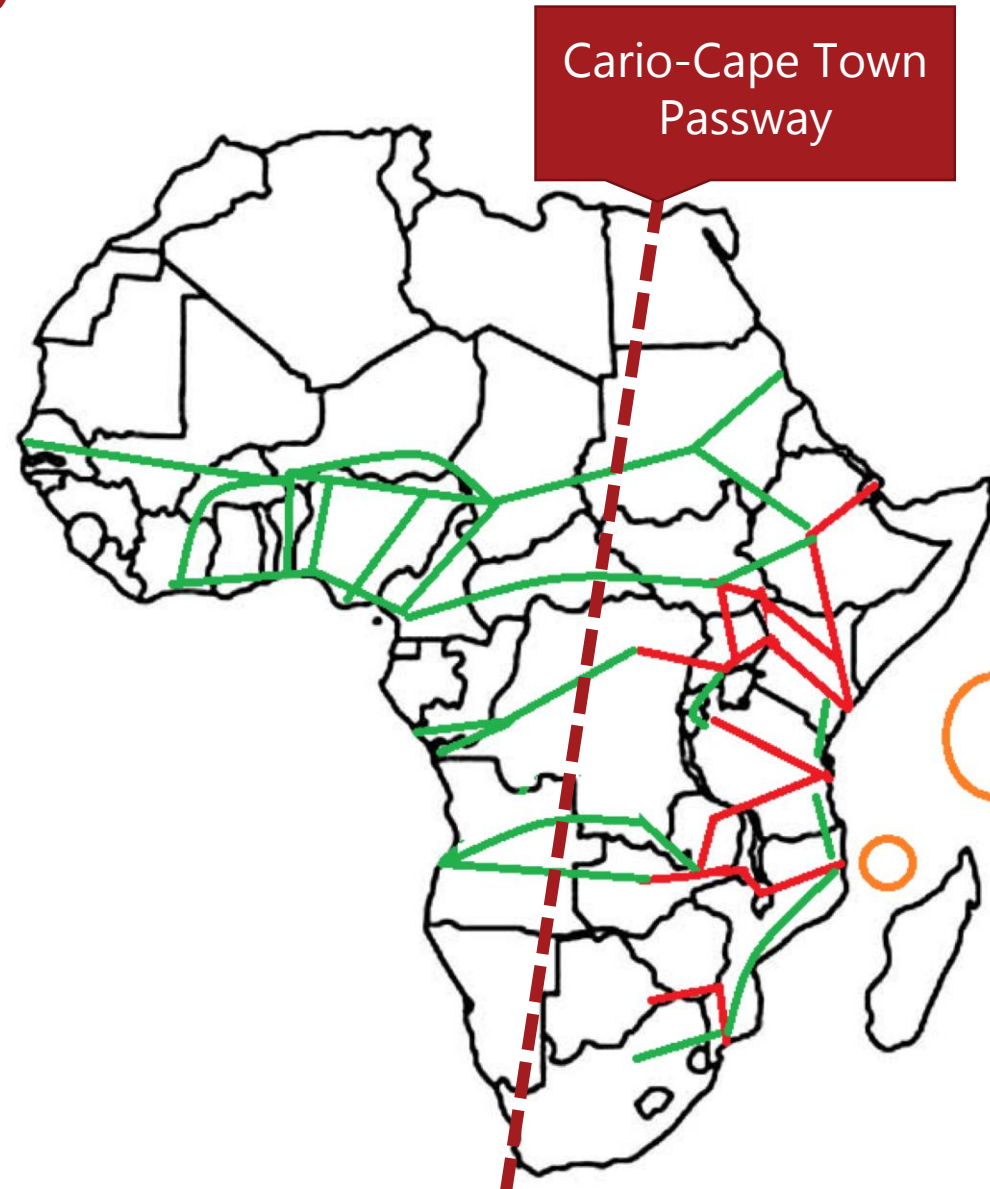
## Top policy lenders in Sub-Saharan Africa 2008-2017



\*Source: Baker McKenzie/IJGlobal

# China supported Railways in Africa

- **RED:** Officially proclaimed or already completed connectivity projects which China is building and/or funding
- **GREEN:** prospective or tentative ones are in green. In some cases, a few of the "green" projects have already received some Chinese assistance (such as rail or road modernization, or promises of funding)



# Chinese infrastructure in Africa: The Chinese-built Addis Ababa–Djibouti Railway

Photo

<https://africacenter.org/spotlight/implications-for-africa-china-one-belt-one-road-strategy/>

Photo

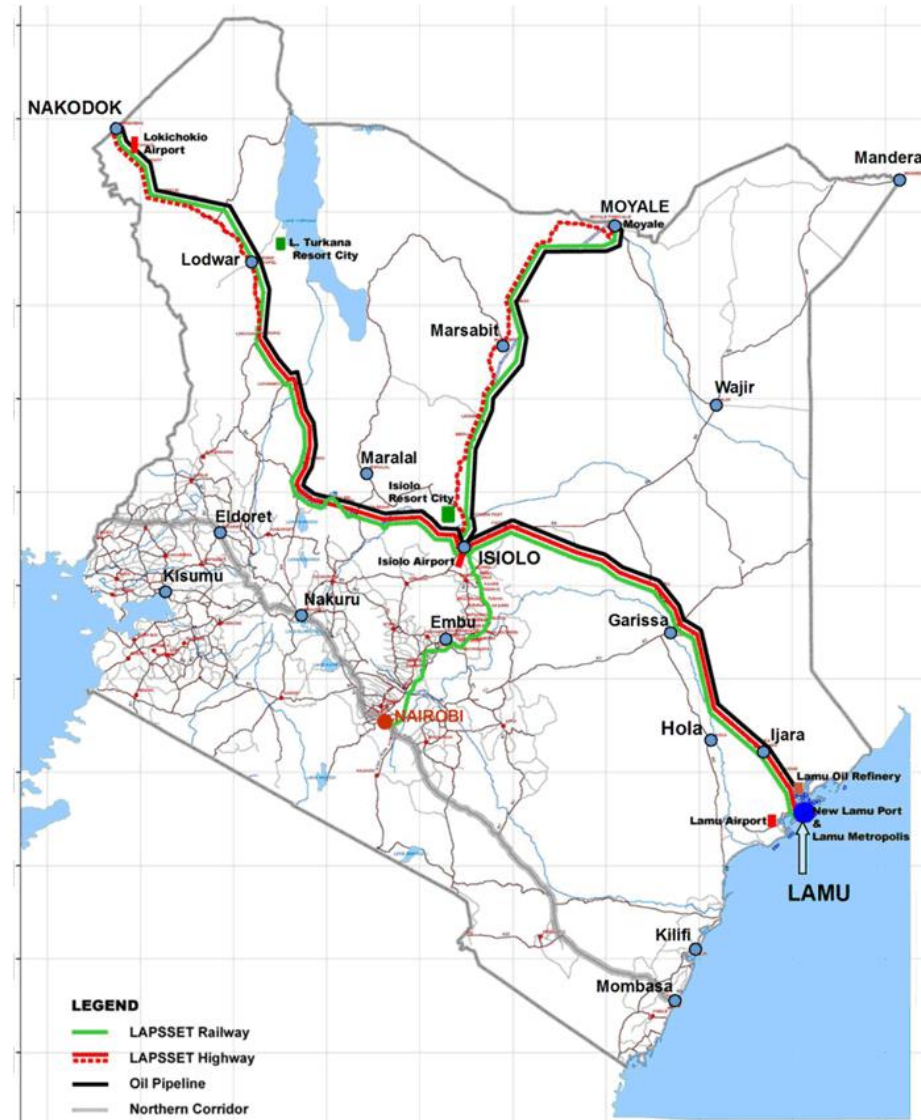
[https://news.cgtn.com/news/3d59544e32517a6333566d54/share\\_p.html](https://news.cgtn.com/news/3d59544e32517a6333566d54/share_p.html)

# Lamu port-South Sudan-Ethiopia Transport Corridor project (LAPSSETT)

- LAPSSET: Public Private Partnership (PPP)

LAMU Port:

- Opened partly 2018
- Built by CCCC
- Competitor with Mombasa Port
- 890 km oil pipeline
- Lake Turkana → Lamu port
- To be finished in 2020



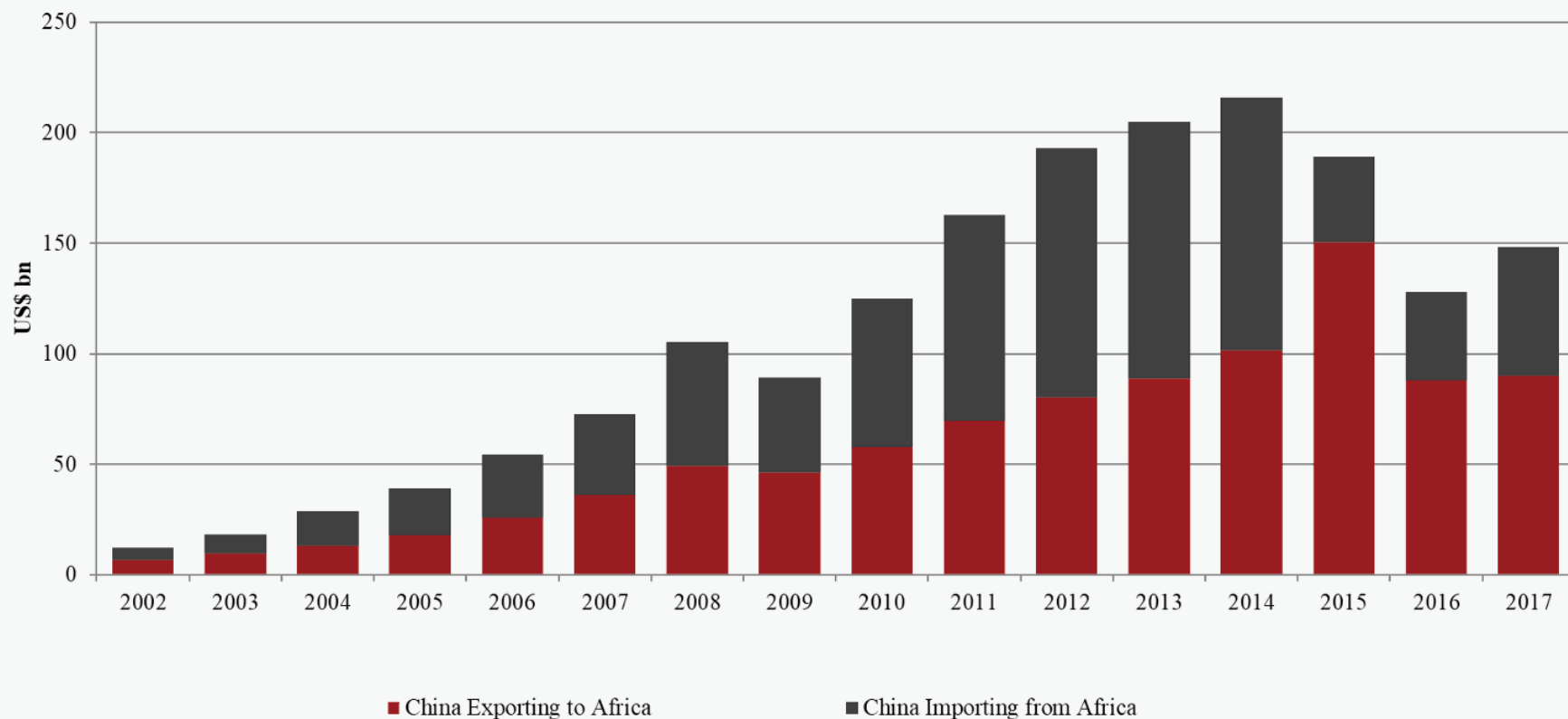


# LAPSSET

- To be completed in 2030
- Partner institutions:
  - The African Union
  - COMESA
  - The East African Community (EAC)
  - South African Development Community (SADC)
  - African Development Bank (AfDB)
  - World Bank
  - International Finance Corporation (IFC)



# China-Africa Trade



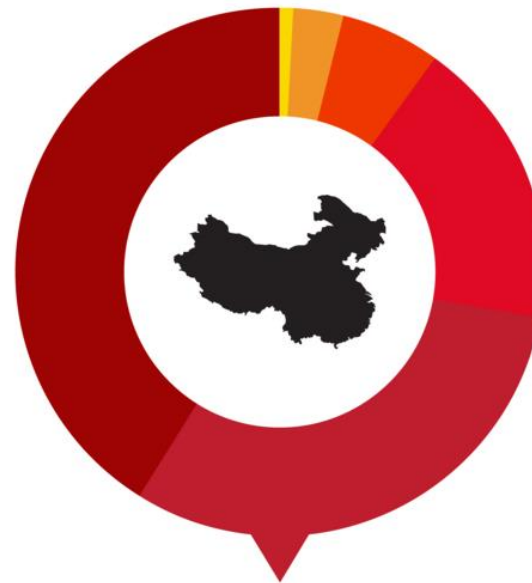
Source: UN COMTRADE 2017

# Sino-African Trade



**AFRICAN EXPORTS TO CHINA (%)**

<b>01</b>	Machinery / transport equipment
<b>01</b>	Chemical / products
<b>02</b>	Commodities
<b>12</b>	Manufactured goods
<b>19</b>	Crude material (excl. food & fuel)
<b>65</b>	Mineral fuel / lubricants



**CHINESE EXPORTS TO AFRICA (%)**

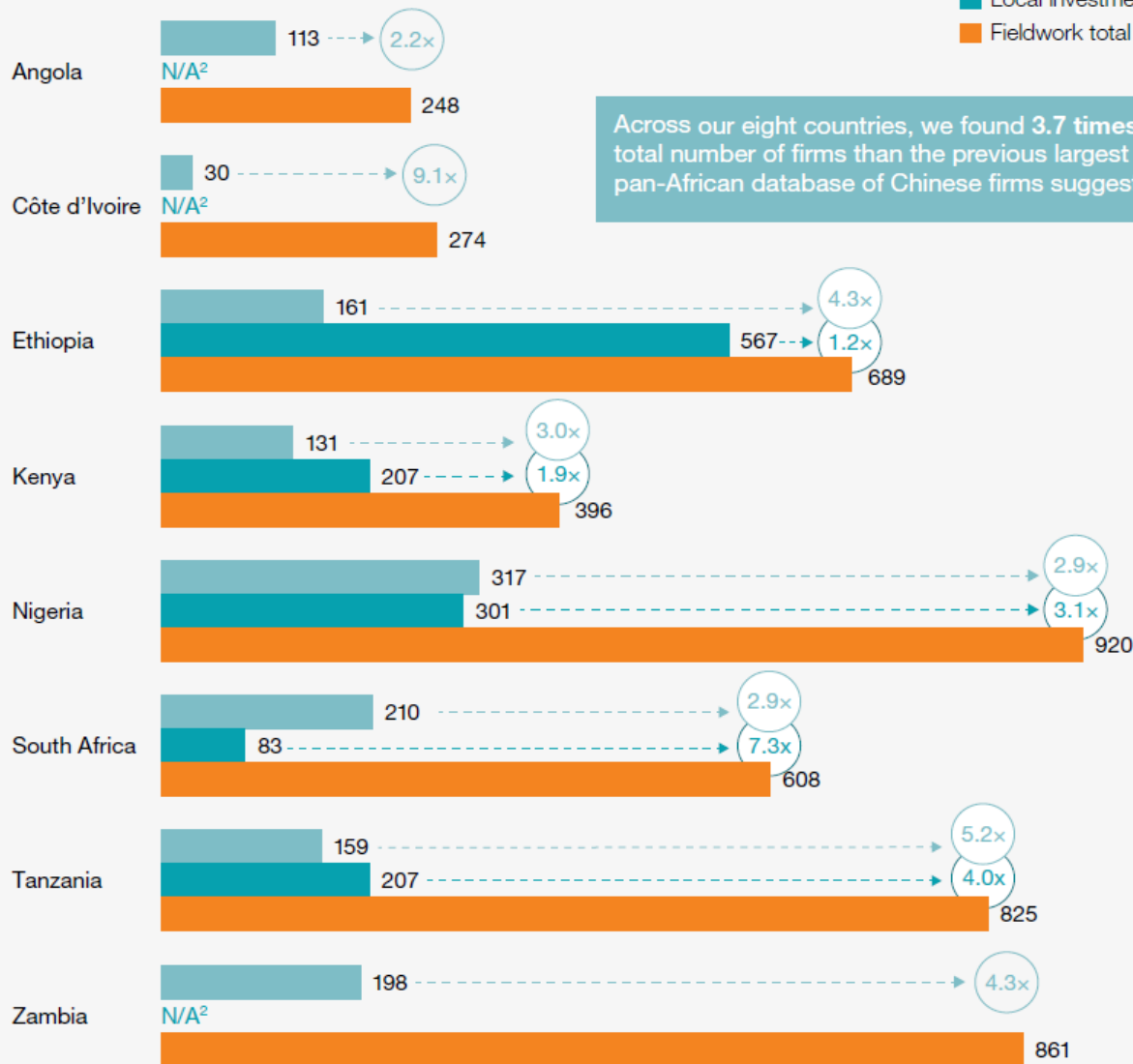
<b>01</b>	Mineral fuel / lubricants
<b>03</b>	Food and live animals
<b>06</b>	Chemicals / products
<b>18</b>	Manufactured consumer goods
<b>31</b>	Manufactured inermidiary goods
<b>41</b>	Machinery / transporter equipment

[http://www.strathink.net/wp-content/uploads/2014/12/tumblr\\_lkzz79m3kl1qiuwg7.png](http://www.strathink.net/wp-content/uploads/2014/12/tumblr_lkzz79m3kl1qiuwg7.png)

We estimate that there are more than 10,000 Chinese firms operating in Africa.

Number of Chinese firms in fieldwork countries

MOFCOM<sup>1</sup>  
Local investment authority  
Fieldwork total



Across our eight countries, we found 3.7 times the total number of firms than the previous largest pan-African database of Chinese firms suggested.

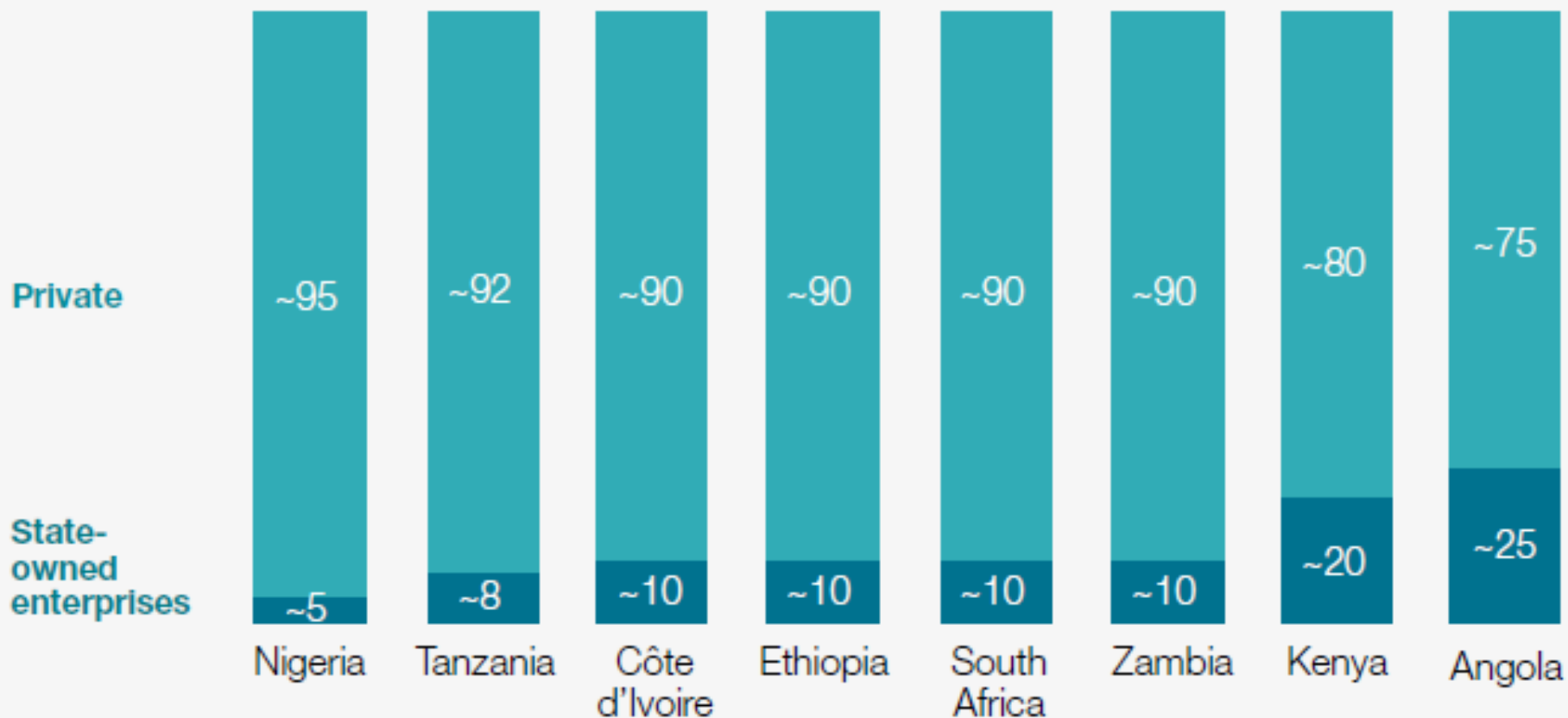
<sup>1</sup> Ministry of Commerce, People's Republic of China.

<sup>2</sup> Data on the number of Chinese firms from Angolan, Ivorian, and Zambian investment authorities were not available.

SOURCE: MOFCOM database; McKinsey field survey of Chinese firms in eight African countries, November 2016–March 2017

## Most Chinese firms in Africa are private, not state-owned enterprises.

% of firms by ownership

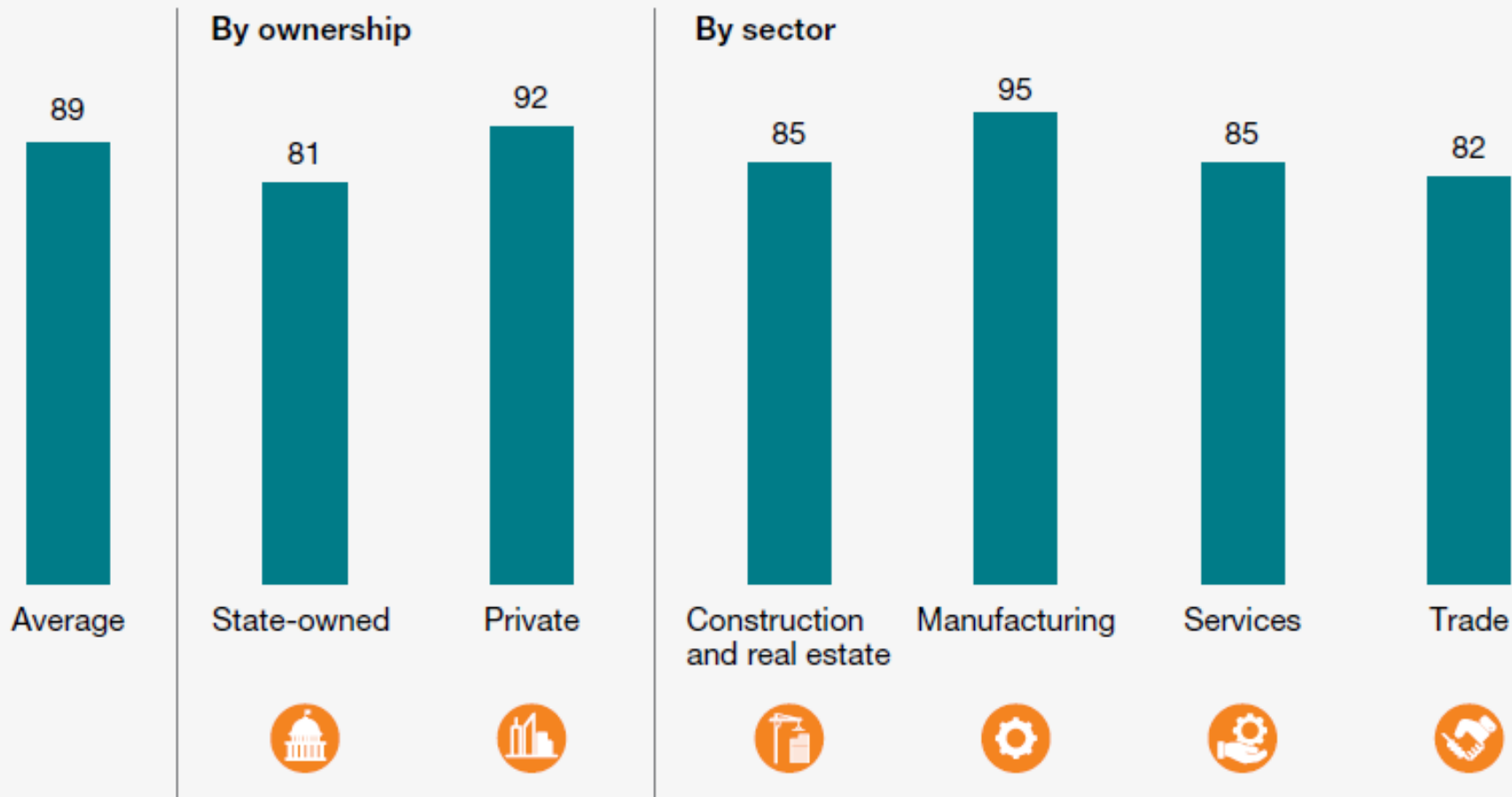


NOTE: Numbers may not sum due to rounding.

SOURCE: McKinsey field survey of Chinese firms in eight African countries, November 2016–March 2017

## Chinese firms overwhelmingly employ locals.

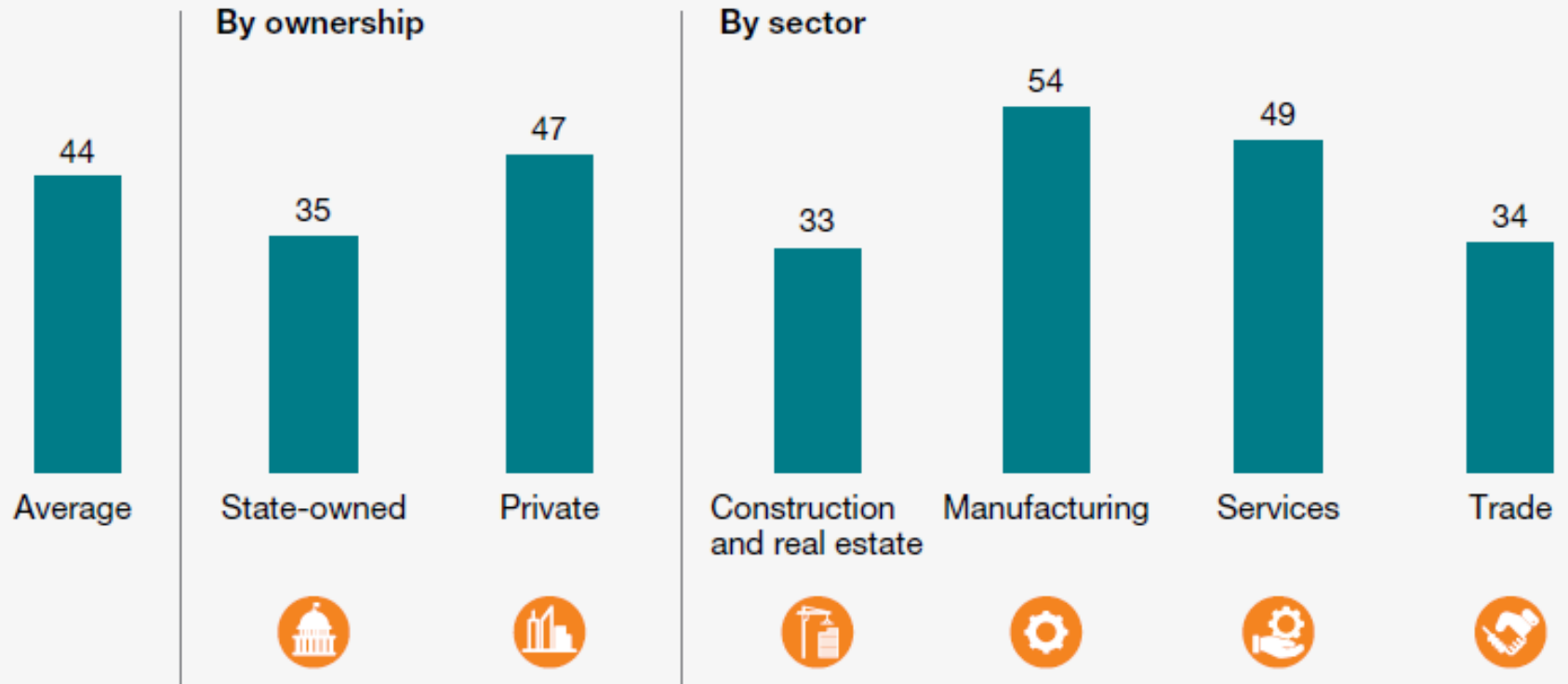
% of employees who are local



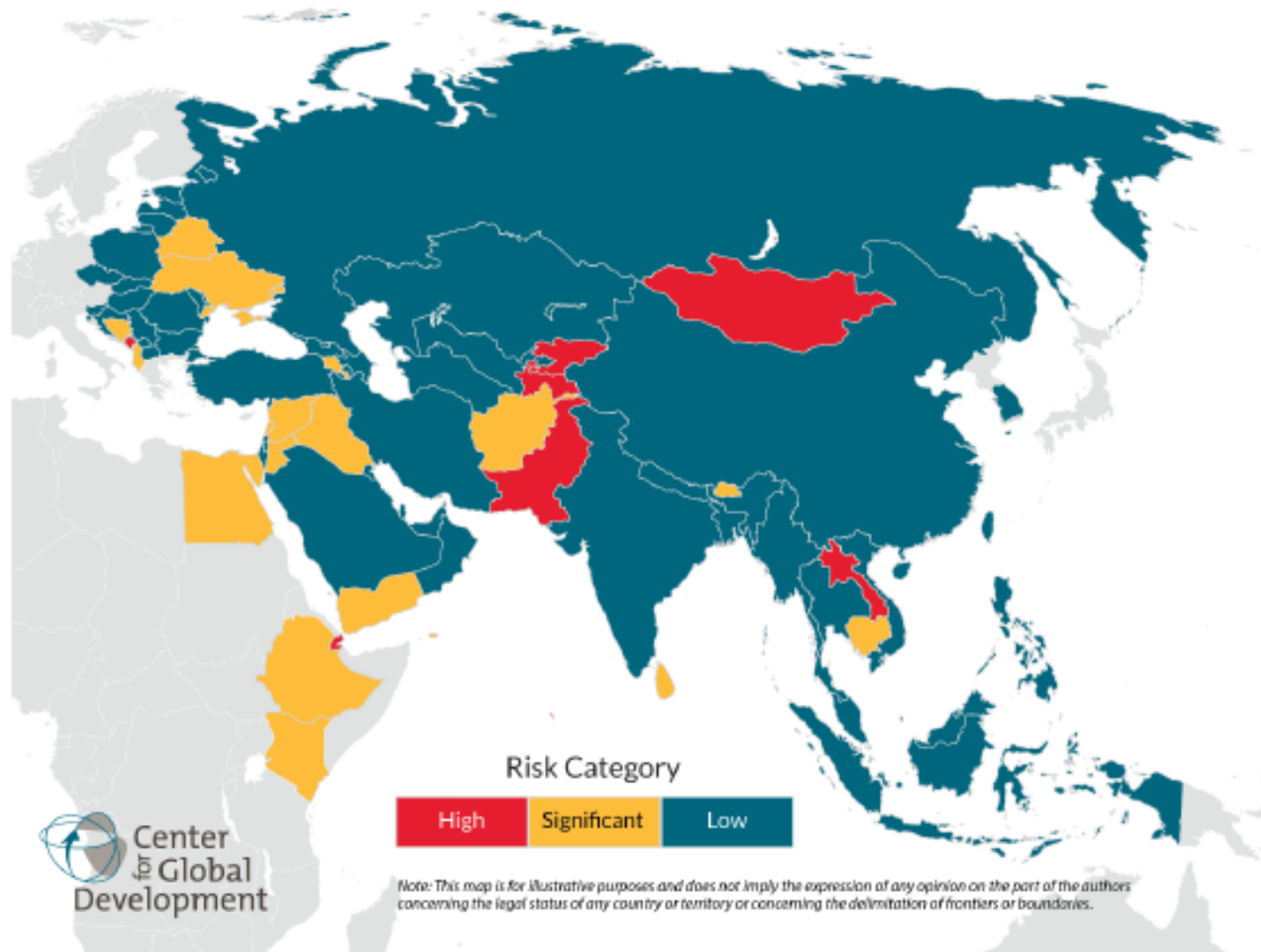
SOURCE: McKinsey field survey of Chinese firms in eight African countries, November 2016–March 2017

## Only 44 percent of managers are locals.

% of managers who are local



SOURCE: McKinsey field survey of Chinese firms in eight African countries, November 2016–March 2017

**Figure 5: Risk including BRI pipeline projects**



What to make of BRI?

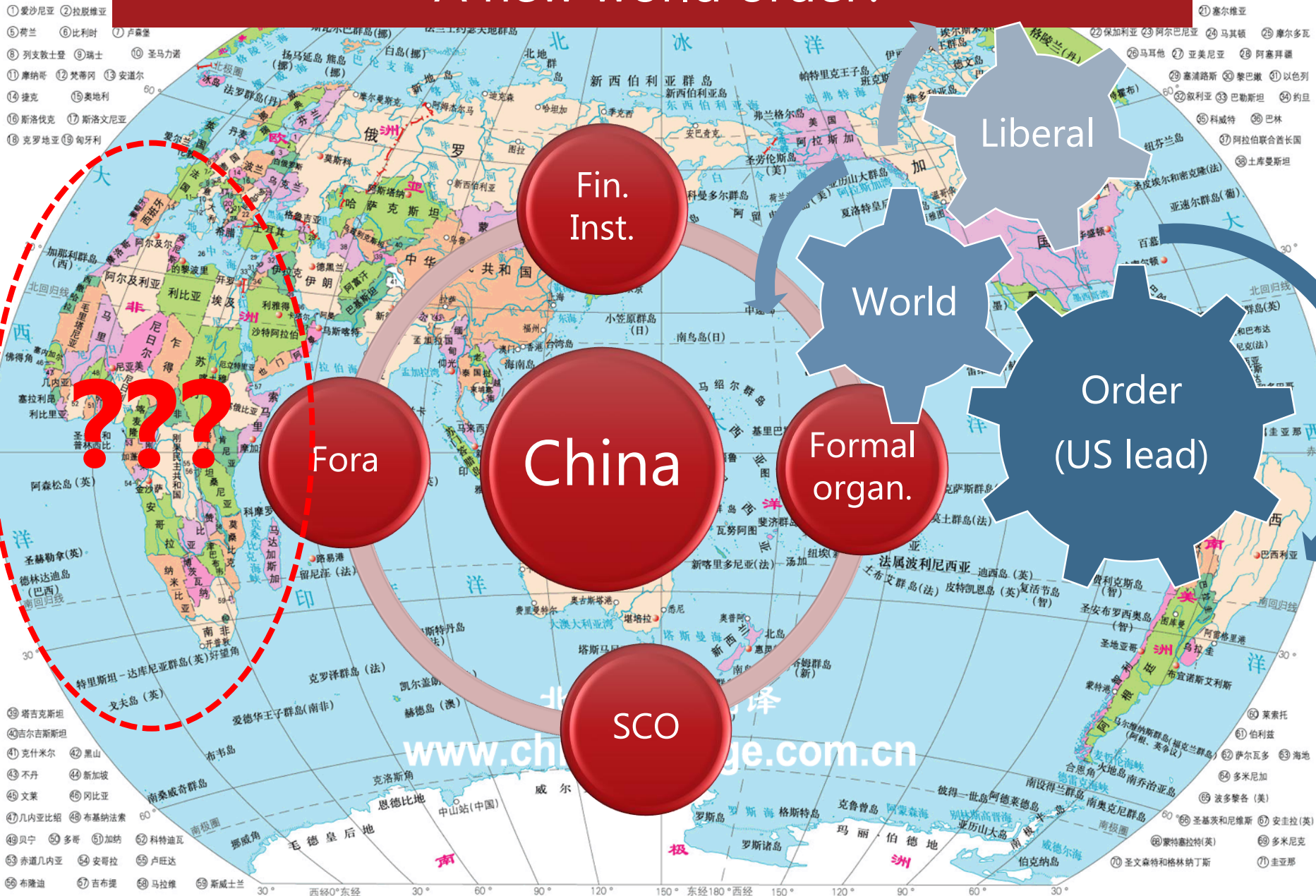
# China Study Project Policy Brief (ThinkChina.dk), May 2019

- *The BRI promotes the **Chinese development model** (中国模式) as a reference point for successful development*
- ***International order**: Cooperative and not a conflictive approach; at times it may even be synergetic with other major players, e.g. in relation to the sustainable development goals (SDG) of the UN and international financial institutions*
- *BRI uses **soft law** to maximize options for **strategic, tactical and operational manoeuvring***
- ***Hard law** is applied in project and contract management which at times allows for Chinese strategic positioning*

## Policy Brief: Conclusions continued

- *The **governance architecture** of BRI is still under development and appears to be very fragmented; it combines a few new, BRI-dedicated organizations that cooperates with existing multilateral and bilateral institutions and regimes; the architecture has a strong focus on China as the founder and lead designer of BRI*
- *On the ground, from the **business perspective**, BRI is often a vague reality, primarily a tool for financing*
- *The BRI initiative creates **new interest** from other countries*
- *China is **not pursuing debt trap diplomacy** as a deliberate strategy, but a few countries involved with BRI are at risk of becoming highly indebted.*

# A new world order?



- ① 爱沙尼亚 ② 拉脱维亚 ⑳ 塞浦路斯 ㉑ 黎巴嫩 ㉒ 以色列
- ③ 荷兰 ④ 比利时 ㉓ 卢森堡 ㉔ 马耳他 ㉕ 亚美尼亚 ㉖ 阿塞拜疆
- ⑤ 列支敦士登 ⑥ 瑞士 ㉗ 圣马力诺 ㉘ 摩尔多瓦
- ⑦ 摩纳哥 ⑧ 梵蒂冈 ⑨ 安道尔 ㉙ 塞浦路斯 ㉚ 黎巴嫩 ㉛ 以色列
- ⑩ 捷克 ⑪ 奥地利 ㉜ 叙利亚 ㉝ 巴勒斯坦 ㉞ 约旦
- ⑫ 斯洛伐克 ⑬ 斯洛文尼亚 ㉟ 科威特 ㊱ 巴林
- ⑭ 克罗地亚 ⑮ 匈牙利 ㊲ 阿拉伯联合酋长国 ㊳ 土耳其斯坦
- ㉟ 塔吉克斯坦 ㊴ 吉尔吉斯斯坦
- ㊵ 克什米尔 ㊶ 黑山
- ㊷ 不丹 ㊸ 新加坡
- ㊹ 文莱 ㊺ 冈比亚
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- ㊽㊽㊽㊽㊽㊽㊽㊽㊽㊽㊽㉟ 塔斯曼尼亚 ㊽㊽㊽㊽㊽㊽㊽㊽㊽㊽㊽㊱ 塔斯曼尼亚 ㊽㊽㊽㊽㊽㊽㊽㊽㊽㊽㊽㊲ 塔斯曼尼亚 ㊽㊽㊽㊽㊽㊽㊽㊽㊽㊽㊽㊳ 塔斯曼尼亚
- ㊽㊽㊽㊽㊽㊽㊽㊽㊽㊽㊽㊴ 塔斯曼尼亚 ㊽㊽㊽㊽㊽㊽㊽㊽㊽㊽㊽㊵ 塔斯曼尼亚 ㊽㊽㊽㊽㊽㊽㊽㊽㊽㊽㊽㊶ 塔斯曼尼亚 ㊽㊽㊽㊽㊽㊽㊽㊽㊽㊽㊽㊷ 塔斯曼尼亚
- ㊽㊽㊽㊽㊽㊽㊽㊽㊽㊽㊽㊸ 塔斯曼尼亚 ㊽㊽㊽㊽㊽㊽㊽㊽㊽㊽㊽㊹ 塔斯曼尼亚 ㊽㊽㊽㊽㊽㊽㊽㊽㊽㊽㊽㊺ 塔斯曼尼亚 ㊽㊽㊽㊽㊽㊽㊽㊽㊽㊽㊽㊻ 塔斯曼尼亚
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- ㊽㊽㊽㊽㊽㊽㊽㊽㊽㊽㊽㊽㉕ 塔斯曼尼亚 ㊽㊽㊽㊽㊽㊽㊽㊽㊽㊽㊽㊽㉖ 塔斯曼尼亚 ㊽㊽㊽㊽㊽㊽㊽㊽㊽㊽㊽㊽㉗ 塔斯曼尼亚 ㊽㊽㊽㊽㊽㊽㊽㊽㊽㊽㊽㊽㉘ 塔斯曼尼亚
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- ㊽㊽㊽㊽㊽㊽㊽㊽㊽㊽㊽㊽㊲ 塔斯曼尼亚 ㊽㊽㊽㊽㊽㊽㊽㊽㊽㊽㊽㊽㊳ 塔斯曼尼亚 ㊽㊽㊽㊽㊽㊽㊽㊽㊽㊽㊽㊽㊴ 塔斯曼尼亚 ㊽㊽㊽㊽㊽㊽㊽㊽㊽㊽㊽㊽㊵ 塔斯曼尼亚
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