

# THE LEADERSHIP

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## New shift for China-Africa strategic partnership



Greetings Comrades,

Once again, I wish to welcome you to the fourth edition of the Leadership Magazine, the last one for 2024. It is my hope that you have enjoyed the first three editions, and I wish to assure you that you will be blown up by this one.

The last quarter of 2024 has witnessed some interesting events but the major one being the 2024 Forum on China-Africa Cooperation (FOCAC) summit held in Beijing from September, 4 to 6. This meeting has deepened China-Africa ties with special focus on infrastructure, innovation and shared growth. This gathering ensured a new momentum for the strategic partnership between China and Africa.

Analysts, critics and observers across the African continent perceived this summit as a crucial opportunity to address fundamental challenges, particularly the continent’s infrastructure funding gap, which is estimated to be between USD 130 billion and USD 170 billion annually according to the African Development Bank.

Esteemed readers, with China already being Africa’s largest trading partner, this partnership is viewed as vital, not just for shared future benefits,

but for the broader goal of inclusive and sustainable development. Several articles of this edition have delved into that and it will be worthwhile reading.

Another event which also garnered attention across the region was the commemoration of one of the continents finest leaders and pioneer of African liberation movements, the Late Mwalimu Julius Nyerere. A regional dialogue in his name was held in October 11, 2024 at the Mwalimu Julius Nyerere Leadership School in Tanzania and attracted visitors and speakers from across the region. Some of the articles in this edition have dwelt on that.

This edition is also looking at the continued regional integration among African countries, international relations and global politics seasoned by party relations.

I also, on behalf of the Leadership School, publishers of the Magazine, wish to thank our regular contributors since our first edition, and call upon Comrades and Scholars across the region to be part of this endeavor.

Thank you

Prof. Marcellina Chijoriga  
Editor-in-Chief

SPEECH

FOCAC: A Genuine Collaborative Commitment to Building a China-Africa Shared Future of Progress and Prosperity H.E. President Samia Suluhu Hassan’s Speech at the opening ceremony of FOCAC Summit Beijing	4
Joining Hands to Advance Modernization and Build a Community with a Shared Future H.E President Xi Jinping’s Keynote Address at the opening ceremony of FOCAC Summit Beijing	6

GLOBAL GOVERNANCE

Global Governance and China-Africa Cooperation: Logical Motivation, Historical Foundation and Practical Needs Li Anshan, Peking University and Honorary President, Chinese Society of African Historical Studies	10
Global Security Initiative and China-Africa Security Cooperation Zhang Chun, Institute of International Relations, Yunnan University	15
Digital Diplomacy: Role of Technology in Shaping Modern Global Governance between China, SADC Countries Dr. Fabian G. Mahundu	20
Political Party Diplomacy: A Pillar for China – Tanzania Relations Guaqiong Li And Alexander Makulilo	24

INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS

Inspiring Stories from Jinggangshan: Lessons for Young Leaders Fatma Rembo	28
Enduring Interaction Between China and Africa: Reflecting on Trade, Investment and Aid Rose Irene Mbwete	32
China-Africa Cooperation’s Future Hinged on Development Transformation Professor Marcellina Chijoriga	34

REGIONAL INTEGRATION

Nyerere’s Critical Contributions to African Liberation and Regional Integration Gasirigwa Sengiyumva	38
Place of Africa in the World: a Case of Natural Resources and Labour in the Past and Present Evaristo Haulle	42
When Memberships Collide: The Spaghetti Bowl of Africa’s Economic Communities! Venance R. Mutayoba	44
How Spices Are Central to Economic Development in Zanzibar Herry Zacharia Matinda	48

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# FOCAC: A Genuine Collaborative Commitment to Building a China-Africa Shared Future of Progress and Prosperity

(H.E. President Samia Suluhu Hassan's Speech at the opening ceremony of FOCAC Summit Beijing)



President Samia Suluhu Hassan addresses the High-Level Conference on Industrial Growth and Modern Agriculture in Africa at the 2024 Forum on China-Africa Cooperation (FOCAC) Summit in Beijing, China, September 5th, 2024.

Your Excellency, President Xi Jinping, the President of the People's Republic of China, and Co-Chairperson of the FOCAC

Your Excellency Bashiru Faye, President of the Republic of Senegal and co-chair of the FOCAC

President Wazani, President of Mauritania and Chair of the African Union

Excellencies Heads of States and Governments,

UN Secretary General, Honorable António Guterres,

Distinguished Delegates,

Ladies and Gentlemen,

Good afternoon.

On behalf of the Eastern Africa, I take the liberty to commend the excellent arrangement of this meeting and appreciate the excellent hospitality extended to us by our host, the government of the Peoples Republic of China. We feel honored and welcome. Thank you very much.

We are meeting today with a lot

has been instrumental in advancing our common development goals.

The impact of this collaboration is present across our economies and China has been a true partner in our fight against poverty and pursuing prosperity. China imprints are evident and vivid in infrastructural improvement, rapid industrialization and all progress

China –Africa socio-economic innovation.

## Excellencies

As we celebrate the mass on achievements earlier mentioned, it is important also to reflect a way forward. President Xi Jinping told the African leaders in Durban on 28<sup>th</sup> March 2013 and I quote; “*The development of China-Africa ties can only be in present continuous tense and never in the present perfect tense.*” Tanzania and our colleagues in the Eastern African region are heartened to find out that the FOCAC Beijing Action plan 2025 – 2027 intends to respond to the pressing needs of our nations.

While commending the overall progress so far achieved, we also appreciate the announcement of further areas of partnership actions on modernizations to be taken by China in African Countries. These partnership actions shall underpin China Africa to deepen cooperation in the various fields and advances modernization. Together we salute a new characterization of China Africa relation.

## Excellencies

This year's FOCAC meeting is taking place a decade after his excellency President Xi Jinping announced the China- Africa strategies in Dar Es Salaam, during his maiden trip to Africa in 2013. He put forward the principles of sincerity, real results amity and good faith, as guiding principles for China cooperation with African countries.

Our presence here today, reflect the solidarity and commitment to building a shared future of progress and prosperity. Let us walk together toward a fruitful socio-economic innovation and development for our countries.

**Thank you very much for listening**

to celebrate about our friendship and partnership that is bringing positive impact on the lives of our peoples. Despite the economic challenges posed by COVID-19 pandemic, China has remained committed to fulfil the pledges made during the 8<sup>th</sup> Ministerial conference of FOCAC, particularly the 9 programs. This genuine commitment

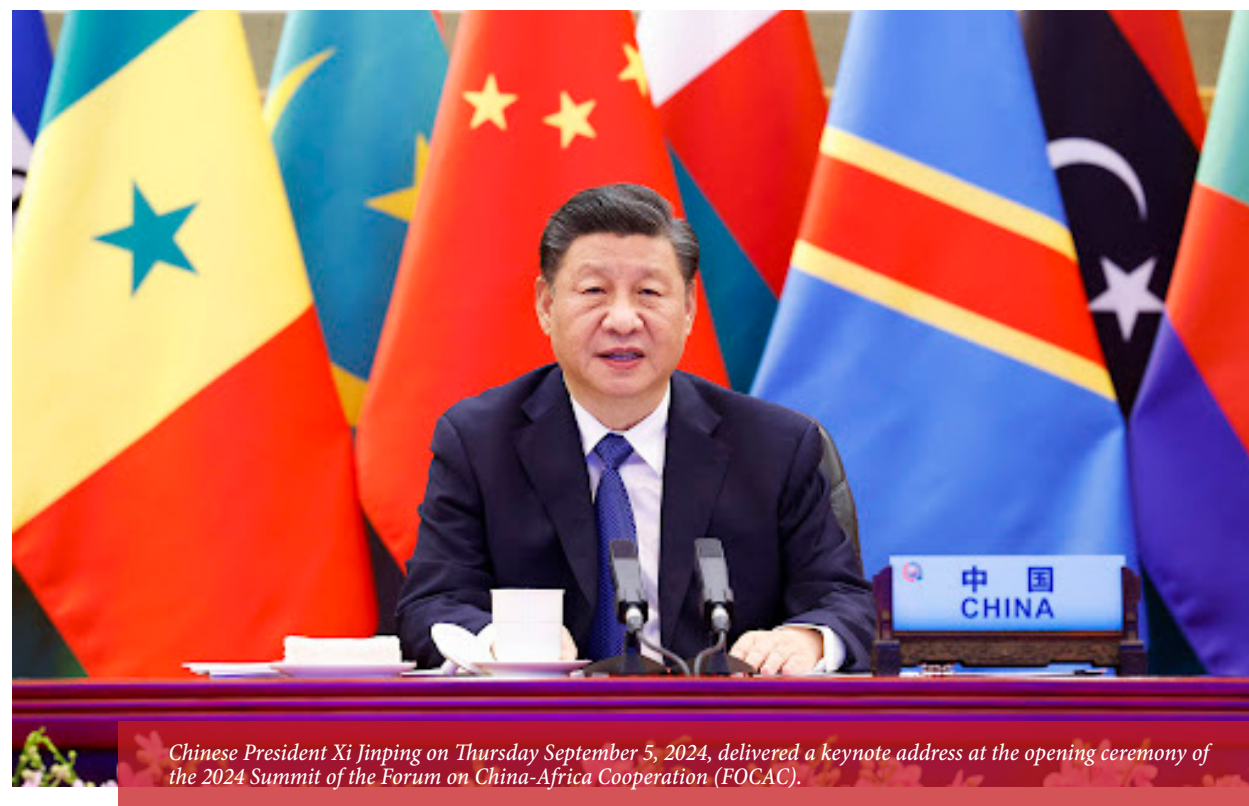
in small and medium enterprises in our countries.

In recent years, we have witnessed a significant increase in trade and investment between China and African countries as it has been correctly narrated by every speaker who is standing here. In this regard, Tanzania stands ready to be a demonstration plot for



# Joining Hands to Advance Modernization and Build a Community with a Shared Future

H.E President Xi Jinping's Keynote Address at the opening ceremony of FOCAC Summit Beijing



Chinese President Xi Jinping on Thursday September 5, 2024, delivered a keynote address at the opening ceremony of the 2024 Summit of the Forum on China-Africa Cooperation (FOCAC).

**Y**OUR Excellency President Bassirou Diomaye Faye,

Your Excellency President Mohamed Ould Cheikh El Ghazouani, Chairperson of the African Union (AU),

Your Excellencies Heads of State and Government and Heads of Delegation,

Your Excellency Mr. António Guterres, Secretary General of the United Nations,

Your Excellency Mr. Moussa Faki Mahamat, Chairperson of the AU Commission,

**Friends and Distinguished Guests,**  
Blossoms in spring turn into fruits in

autumn, and a bumper harvest is the reward of hard work. In this season of harvest, I am delighted to gather together with so many old and new friends in Beijing to discuss grand plans for China-Africa friendship and cooperation in the new era. On behalf of the Chinese government and people, I extend a warm welcome to you all!

The friendship between China and Africa transcends time and space, surmounts mountains and oceans, and passes down through generations. The founding of the Forum on China-Africa Cooperation (FOCAC) in 2000 was a milestone in the history of China-Africa relations. Over the past 24 years, especially in the new era, China has advanced forward hand in hand with our African brothers and sisters in the spirit of

sincerity, real results, amity and good faith. We stand shoulder to shoulder with each other to firmly defend our legitimate rights and interests as once-in-a-century changes sweep across the world. We get stronger and more resilient together by riding the tide of economic globalization, delivering tangible benefits to billions of ordinary Chinese and Africans. We share weal and woe in fighting natural disasters and epidemics together, creating touching stories of China-Africa friendship. We always empathize with and support each other, setting a stellar example of a new type of international relations.

Thanks to nearly 70 years of tireless efforts from both sides, the China-Africa relationship is now at its best in history. With its future growth in mind, I propose that bilateral

relations between China and all African countries having diplomatic ties with China be elevated to the level of strategic relations, and that the overall characterization of China-Africa relations be elevated to an all-weather China-Africa community with a shared future for the new era.

**Friends and Distinguished Guests,**  
Modernization is an inalienable right of all countries. But the Western approach to it has inflicted immense sufferings on developing countries. Since the end of World War II, Third World nations, represented by China and African countries, have achieved independence and development one after another, and have been endeavoring to redress the historical injustices of the modernization process. As we are about to celebrate the 75th anniversary of the People's Republic of China, we are going all out to build a great modern socialist country in all respects and pursue national rejuvenation through a Chinese path to modernization. Africa is also awakening again, and the continent is marching in solid strides toward the modernization goals set forth in the AU's Agenda 2063. China and Africa's joint pursuit of modernization will set off a wave of modernization in the Global South, and open a new chapter in our drive for a community with a shared future for mankind.

-- We should jointly advance modernization that is just and equitable. In promoting modernization, we should not only follow the general rules, but also act in light of our national realities. China is ready to increase exchanges of governance experience with Africa, support all countries in exploring modernization paths befitting their national conditions, and help ensure equal rights and equal opportunities for all countries.

-- We should jointly advance modernization that is open and win-win. Mutually beneficial cooperation is the sunny road to the betterment of long-term and fundamental interests

of all countries. China is ready to deepen cooperation with Africa in industry, agriculture, infrastructure, trade and investment, promote exemplary, high-quality Belt and Road cooperation projects, and build together a model for the delivery of the Global Development Initiative.

-- We should jointly advance modernization that puts the people first. The ultimate goal of modernization is the free and full development of human beings. China will work vigorously with Africa to promote personnel training, poverty reduction and employment, enhance the sense of gain, happiness and security of the people in the course of modernization, and ensure that all will benefit from the process.

-- We should jointly advance modernization featuring diversity and inclusiveness. Well-balanced material and spiritual advancement is a lofty objective of modernization. China will enhance people-to-people and cultural exchanges with Africa, champion mutual respect, inclusiveness and coexistence of different civilizations on our way to modernization, and strive together for more fruitful outcomes under the Global Civilization Initiative.

-- We should jointly advance modernization that is eco-friendly. Green development is a hallmark of modernization in the new era. China is ready to help Africa build "green growth engines," narrow the gap in energy accessibility, adhere to the principle of common but differentiated responsibilities, and jointly push for the global transition to green and low-carbon development.

-- We should jointly advance modernization underpinned by peace and security. Modernization would not be possible without a peaceful and stable environment for development. China is ready to help Africa improve its capacity in safeguarding peace and stability independently, prioritize Africa in implementing the Global Security Initiative (GSI), promote mutual reinforcement of high-quality development and greater security, and

work together with Africa to uphold world peace and stability.

**Friends and Distinguished Guests,**  
China and Africa account for one-third of the world population. Without our modernization, there will be no global modernization. In the next three years, China will work with Africa to take the following ten partnership actions for modernization to deepen China-Africa cooperation and spearhead the Global South modernization.

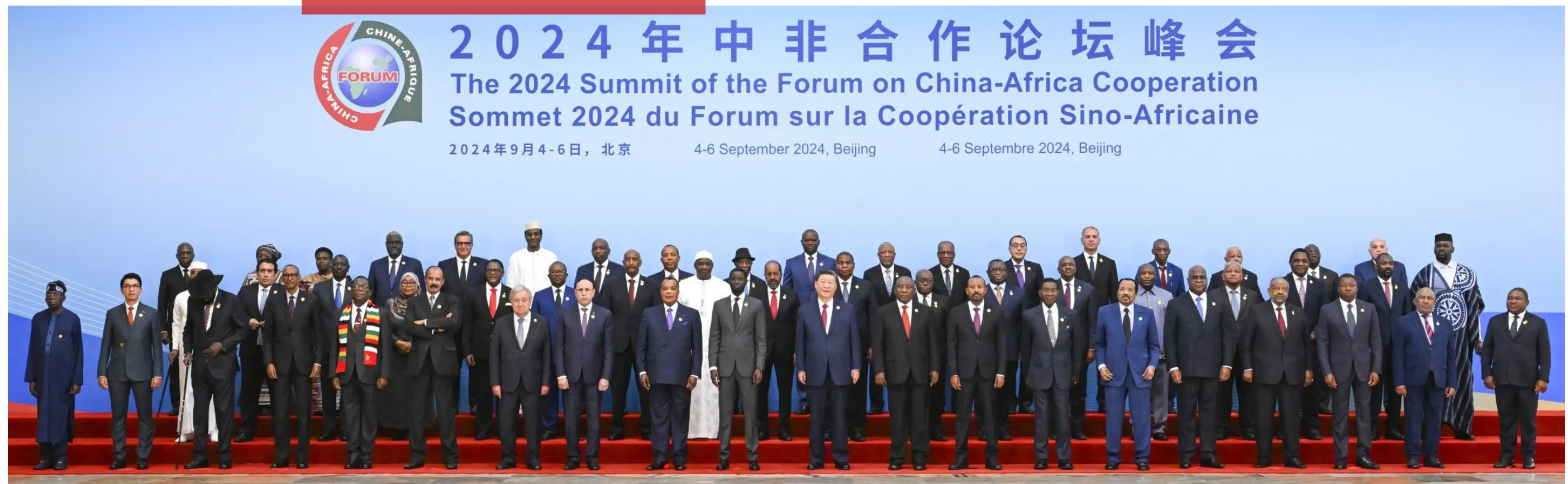
First, the Partnership Action for Mutual Learning among Civilizations. China is ready to work with Africa to build a platform for governance experience sharing, a China-Africa knowledge network for development, and 25 centers on China and Africa studies. We will make better use of Africa's leadership academies to cultivate talents for governance, and invite 1,000 members of African political parties to China to deepen exchanges of experience in party and state governance.

Second, the Partnership Action for Trade Prosperity. China will voluntarily and unilaterally open its market wider. We have decided to give all LDCs having diplomatic relations with China, including 33 countries in Africa, zero-tariff treatment for 100 percent tariff lines. This has made China the first major developing country and the first major economy to take such a step. It will help turn China's big market into Africa's big opportunity. China will expand market access for African agricultural products, deepen cooperation with Africa in e-commerce and other areas, and launch a "China-Africa quality enhancement program." We are prepared to enter into framework agreements on economic partnership for shared development with African countries to provide long-term, stable and predictable institutional guarantee for trade and investment between the two sides.

Third, the Partnership Action for Industrial Chain Cooperation. China will foster industry cooperation growth clusters with Africa, push forward the



Chinese President Xi Jinping and foreign leaders attending the 2024 FOCAC summit before the opening ceremony. (Xinhua photo)



Pilot Zone for In-depth China-Africa Economic and Trade Cooperation, and launch an "African SMEs empowerment program." We will build with Africa a digital technology cooperation center and initiate 20 digital demonstration projects so as to embrace together the latest round of technological revolution and industrial transformation.

Fourth, the Partnership Action for Connectivity. China is prepared to carry out 30 infrastructure connectivity projects in Africa, promote together high-quality Belt and Road cooperation, and put in place a China-Africa network featuring land-sea links and coordinated development. We are ready to assist in the development of the African Continental Free Trade Area, and deepen logistics and financial cooperation for the benefit of trans-regional development in Africa.

Fifth, the Partnership Action for Development Cooperation. China is ready to release the Joint Statement

on Deepening Cooperation within the Framework of the Global Development Initiative with Africa, and implement 1,000 "small and beautiful" livelihood projects. We will replenish the China-World Bank Group Partnership Facility to boost Africa's development. We support Africa in hosting the 2026 Youth Olympic Games and the 2027 Africa Cup of Nations. We will work together with Africa to deliver more fruits of development to the two peoples.

Sixth, the Partnership Action for Health. China is ready to establish with Africa a hospitals alliance and joint medical centers. We will send 2,000 medical personnel to Africa, and launch 20 programs of health facilities and malaria treatment. We will encourage Chinese companies to invest in Africa's pharmaceutical production, and continue to do what we can to help Africa with epidemic response. We support the development of the Africa Centers for Disease Control and Prevention

to strengthen public health capacity in all African countries.

Seventh, the Partnership Action for Agriculture and Livelihoods. China will provide Africa with RMB1 billion yuan in emergency food assistance, build 100,000 mu (about 6,670 hectares) of standardized agriculture demonstration areas in Africa, send 500 agricultural experts, and establish a China-Africa agricultural science and technology innovation alliance. We will implement 500 programs in Africa to promote community welfare. We will also encourage two-way investment for new business operations by Chinese and African companies, enable Africa to retain added value, and create at least one million jobs for Africa.

Eighth, the Partnership Action for People-to-People Exchanges. China will implement with Africa more solidly the Future of Africa-Vocational Education Cooperation Plan, establish together an engineering technology academy, and

build ten Luban Workshops. We will provide 60,000 training opportunities to Africa, mainly for women and youths. We will launch with Africa a Cultural Silk Road program as well as an initiative of cooperation on innovation in radio, TV and audio and visual programs. The two sides have agreed to designate 2026 as the China-Africa Year of People-to-People Exchanges.

Ninth, the Partnership Action for Green Development. China is ready to launch 30 clean energy projects in Africa, put in place meteorological early warning systems, and carry out cooperation in disaster prevention, mitigation and relief as well as biodiversity conservation. We will create a China-Africa forum on peaceful use of nuclear technology, establish together 30 joint laboratories, and collaborate on satellite remote sensing and lunar and deep-space exploration. All this is designed to help with green development in Africa.

Tenth, the Partnership Action for Common Security. China is ready to

build with Africa a partnership for implementing the GSI, and make it a fine example of GSI cooperation. We will give Africa RMB1 billion yuan of grants in military assistance, provide training for 6,000 military personnel and 1,000 police and law enforcement officers from Africa, and invite 500 young African military officers to visit China. The two sides will conduct joint military exercises, training and patrol, carry out an "action for a mine-free Africa," and jointly ensure the safety of personnel and projects.

To implement the ten partnership actions, the Chinese government will provide RMB360 billion yuan of financial support through the next three years. This breaks down into RMB210 billion yuan of credit line, RMB80 billion yuan of assistance in various forms, and at least RMB70 billion yuan of investment in Africa by Chinese companies. In addition, China will encourage and support Africa in issuing panda bonds in China to enhance our results-oriented cooperation in all areas.

**Friends and Distinguished Guests,**  
The Communist Party of China held in July the successful Third Plenary Session of its 20th Central Committee, laying out systematic plans for further deepening reform comprehensively to advance Chinese modernization. This will profoundly further transform China. It will also provide new opportunities and new driving forces for African countries and for our joint pursuit of modernization.

As an African proverb goes, a friend is someone you share the path with. On the path to modernization, no one, and no country, should be left behind. Let us rally the more than 2.8 billion Chinese and African people into a powerful force on our shared path toward modernization, promote modernization of the Global South with China-Africa modernization, and write a new magnificent chapter of development in human history. Let us join hands to bring about a bright future of peace, security, prosperity and progress for our world.

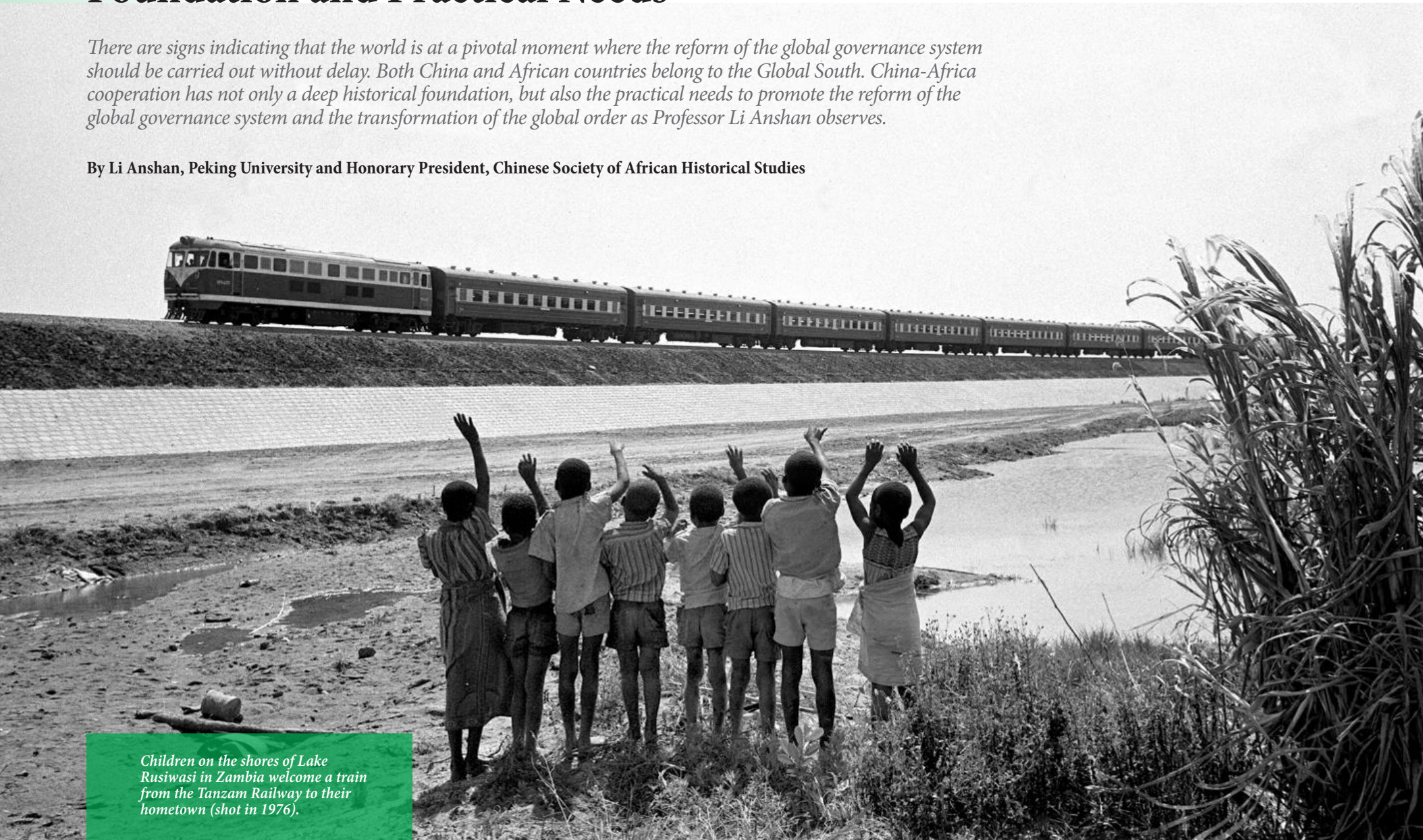
**Thank you**



# Global Governance and China-Africa Cooperation: Logical Motivation, Historical Foundation and Practical Needs

*There are signs indicating that the world is at a pivotal moment where the reform of the global governance system should be carried out without delay. Both China and African countries belong to the Global South. China-Africa cooperation has not only a deep historical foundation, but also the practical needs to promote the reform of the global governance system and the transformation of the global order as Professor Li Anshan observes.*

By Li Anshan, Peking University and Honorary President, Chinese Society of African Historical Studies



Children on the shores of Lake Rusiwasi in Zambia welcome a train from the Tanzam Railway to their hometown (shot in 1976).

In 1875, French philosopher Ernest Renan openly stated, “We aspire not to equality but to domination. Countries inhabited by foreign races must become again countries of serfs, farm laborers, and factory workers.” This was a view of global governance based on racism in the 19th century. In 2018, Donald Trump, then President of the United States, in

a meeting with members of Congress from both sides of the aisle to discuss reform of the immigration system, talked about immigrants from regions and countries such as Africa and Haiti, and questioned why the United States would take in immigrants from these “shithole countries”.

In the United States and the

West, there have been numerous such statements and practices, which show that the spectre of racism is undergoing a resurgence. From the perspective of historical continuity, the global order is still dominated by the West. However, there are signs indicating that the world is at a pivotal moment where the reform of the global governance system should be

carried out without delay. Both China and African countries belong to the Global South. China-Africa cooperation has not only a deep historical foundation, but also the practical needs to promote the reform

the United States replaced the old empires through the demonstration of power and policy arrangements, and began to monopolize global governance, including rule-making, information dissemination, and practical operation. This order follows the colonial pattern: a dominant group consisting mainly of Western countries or white people (including their proxies in the Southern countries) versus a group of Global South countries suffering from political oppression, racial discrimination and economic exploitation.

Entering the 21st century, the Global South as a whole has grown in its overall strength, with a stronger call to change the unfair and inequitable situation. An ideal global order must be based on the common values of all humankind, advocate the principles of fairness, justice and inclusiveness, and represent the common interests of all countries in the world.

Along with the changes in the international balance of power, the world is approaching a “pivotal moment” of major changes, and the reform of the global governance system should not be delayed. In his address to the UN General Assembly on September 10, 2021, UN Secretary General Antonio Guterres warned that the world was facing a “pivotal moment” and that “all the old ways could lead to the collapse of the global order into a crisis-ridden, winner-takes-all world”, and that “much of the world’s unease is rooted in persistent poverty, hunger, lack of access to health care, education and income security, as well as growing inequality and injustice.

Ten (10) World richest men saw their combined wealth increased by half a trillion dollars since the COVID-19 pandemic began while 55% of the world’s population, or 4 billion people are one step away from destitution.” Former U.S. diplomat and China expert Charles Freeman pointed out that “five centuries of EuroAtlantic hegemony have come to an end... this is a turning point in history, a pivotal moment.” The “pivotal moment” is highlighted in three aspects: Western civilization is mired in paradox; the Global South is self-reliant and opposed to hegemony; and emerging economies

represented by China are pursuing the building of an equal and orderly multipolar world.

First, Western civilization is mired in the paradox of development. In recent times, Eurocentrism has politicized the concept of civilization, believing that “the Westerners/Europeans are civilized, and others are barbaric”. This has constituted the core of colonial discourse and became a tool for conquering and exploiting others. The international community is shaped as “an exclusive ‘club’ consisting of civilized nations”, and other “non-Western organized societies” or “non-European regions” are allowed to join the international community only with the approval of these civilized nations.

However, the development of the “civilized” countries is now fraught with mounting problems, which are manifested in three paradoxes in the ways and results of the treatment between man and nature, between man and man, and between man and himself. To be more specific, these paradoxes include: the “civilized countries” bring greater damage to nature and to the environment; the “civilized countries” are more brutal in their ways of devastating lives; the “civilized countries” have the highest age-standardized suicide rate. We can therefore draw the conclusion that civilization is not determined but affected by the environment and that the universality of defining civilization in terms of physical markers (such as domestication, architecture, weapons, smelting, languages, religions) is questionable.

Second, the Global South is becoming more self-reliant and increasingly resistant to hegemony. The September 11 attacks in 2001 showed that the hegemonic position of the United States had begun to falter, and it had since implemented a series of erroneous strategies in the name of counter-terrorism, accelerating its own decline. Against this background, the power of the Global South, represented by emerging economies and developing countries, has continued to grow.

They have been calling for and pushing for the reform of the inequitable international political and economic order, paying particular attention to

of the global governance system and the transformation of the global order.

## Logical Motivation for System Reform: Global Changes at a Pivotal Moment

The global order in modern times was built on the basis of colonial rule. After the end of World War II, with the rise of the national independence movement,



safeguarding their own sovereignty and development rights and interests. For instance, the United States hoped to establish the U.S. Army Africa Command in Africa, with the intention of strengthening the coordination of its various military operations in Africa in the name of counter-terrorism, safeguarding its own economic interests and checking China's expanding influence in Africa. This move was strongly opposed by most African countries. In the end, the United States could only set up its Africa Command in Stuttgart, Germany.

In recent years, there has been a surge of opposition to Western hegemony in Africa, with France being forced to withdraw the last of its troops at the end of 2023 at the behest of the government of Niger. The transitional governments of Chad and Niger have also been calling for the withdrawal of U.S. troops in 2024. At the same time, countries of the Global South are firmly opposed to the manipulation of the regional situation by external forces. The Beijing Declaration on Ending Division and Strengthening Palestinian National Unity was officially signed on July 23, 2024, demonstrating the unity and self-reliance of the Middle Eastern countries in response to the regional changes.

Third, emerging economies represented by China are pursuing the establishment of an equal and orderly multipolar world. To promote the building of a more just and equitable world order, China has in recent years put forward the Belt and Road Initiative (BRI), the vision of a human community with a shared future, and the three Global Initiatives, among other Chinese ideas and solutions. Taking the BRI as an example, in October 2023, representatives from more than 150 countries and 40 international organizations came to China to participate in the Third Belt and Road Forum for International Cooperation. This has obviously made politicians from the Western countries envious. In May 2024, the U.S. House Select Committee on the Strategic Competition Between the United States and the Chinese Communist Party of China held a hearing on "All Roads Lead to Beijing? The CPC's Global Development Offensive", seeking

to find solutions countering China's BRI.

However, the attacks and denigration of the BRI from the West have not been able to stop the vast majority of countries from welcoming and recognizing this important international public good. So far, the BRI cooperation has already attracted the participation of more than three quarters of the countries in the world and over 30 international organizations. At the same time, the vision of a human community with a shared future, which recognizes a polycentric world, multiculturalism and greater democracy in international relations, creates the conditions for the peaceful development of humankind, and has a positive impact on Africa. According to the results of the 2022 African Youth Survey and the 2023 Gallup survey in Africa, African people are more positively disposed to China than to the United States. In fact, as early as 2011, historian Niall Ferguson already pointed out the decline of the West and the rise of China, and stated, "The clash of civilizations can be avoided."

Different civilizations can coexist and even merge. The world is tilting from the West to the East, and it is not other civilizations that threaten Western civilization, but the West's own problems." In the face of long-accumulated global problems and challenges, it has been recognized that "the current system of global governance is unable to satisfactorily address the various problems in the economic, social, political and security fields in the context of globalization". The international order is indeed at a "pivotal moment" and the reform of the global governance system needs to be carried out without delay.

#### **China-Africa Cooperation Has a Deep Historical and Cultural Foundation**

China and Africa share similar historical situations. The question of the origin of mankind is still being discussed, but the contribution made by Africa and China at different stages cannot be denied. The first four regions where pottery was independently invented were the Yangtze River Basin (ca. 18,000 B.C.), the Heilongjiang River Basin (ca. 14,500 B.C.) in China, and the Mali region with Niger-Congo languages (ca. 9,500 B.C.) and the

Niger-Saharan region of Central Africa (ca. 8,000 B.C.) in Africa.

The melting point for making pottery (1850°C) was the same as for smelting metals, and metallurgical techniques were invented independently in several parts of Africa. These technologies predated Europe. The long civilizations of China and Africa were admired by Europeans. The explorer Olfert Dapper shared about the Kingdom of Benin in the 17th century, "They have their own laws and a well-organized police, and they keep on good terms with the Dutch, and other foreigners, who come to do business with them, and show great kindness to them." Similarly, Gottfried Leibniz and Voltaire of the Enlightenment period were well known for their admiration of China.

There are also many similarities between Chinese and African cultural traditions and values, such as collectivism, sense of equality and tolerance. At the same time, both Chinese and African values emphasize equality and sharing. These concepts are embedded in ancient Chinese philosophy and shared African values, and are manifested in different ways.

In modern times, the colonial system deprived the colonies of human and material resources and basic human rights, with the Europeans dominating the world and making the concept of inequality the law. The colonial rule brought similar tragic sufferings to the Chinese and African people. Against this backdrop, Africa and China suffered from invasion and brutal suppression by the great powers, and the people of the two places fought back and resolutely resisted the imperialist policy of aggression. The decolonization process culminated in the collapse of the British Empire and the disintegration of the colonial system, the illegitimacy of which was established through international law. The establishment of the United Nations marked a new stage in global governance, which provided a new platform for China-Africa cooperation.

Decolonization was well under way, but the adoption of the United Nations Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples (hereinafter referred to as

On February 25, 2020, the 6th Africa Regional Forum on Sustainable Development opened in Victoria Falls, Zimbabwe. The Deputy Secretary-General of the United Nations, Amina Mohammed, participated in the Forum.



the Declaration) was not an easy task. The original membership of the UN General Assembly was limited to the victorious countries of the anti-fascist alliance. In 1960, 16 out of the 19 new members admitted to the UN were African countries. With 10 African countries already joining the UN, there were altogether 26 UN member countries from the African continent. The accession of African countries gave decolonization a major boost, and their collective cohesion gave them ability to leverage political tactics.

Three permanent members of the UN Security Council at the time remained in a "colonial" relationship, and any one of them could exercise the veto. Therefore, the supporters of the Declaration decided to opt for a vote in the General Assembly rather than in the Security Council. The newly independent African states that were members of the General Assembly pushed for the successful adoption of the Declaration on December 14, 1960 at the General Assembly. The UN Special Committee on Decolonization was established in 1961, before China regained its legitimate seat in the UN.

To counter the interference of some anti-Chinese forces in the UN, the Chinese government decided to adopt the principle of not counting Hong Kong and Macao as colonies, not recovering them for the time being, and maintaining the status quo, which was not understood by the Special Committee on Decolonization. In 1964, there were uncertainties when the Special Committee on Decolonization

included Hong Kong and Macao in the list of Non-Self-Governing Territories and had discussions of the Hong Kong and Macao issue. China, with the help of Mali, then Chair of the UN, as well as Tanzania and Tunisia, excluded the Hong Kong and Macao issue from colonization issue and made it exempt from UN intervention by making it internal affairs of China. This is a typical example of China's cooperation with Africa in skillfully using the UN as an institution of global governance to defend national sovereignty.

The West has been influencing the global system of thought, including language, religion, history, philosophy, and politics through various means. The decolonization of history, culture, social psychology and ideology will be a long-term task. Among them, the decolonization of ideology, in particular the ways of thinking and related concepts, has a long way to go, especially as post-colonialism continues to destroy African epistemologies. Decolonization, which was closely linked to national independence movements, was the first great revolution in global governance in recent times.

Although the colonies won their independence, the system and concept of global governance that followed were still controlled by the West. The West's discrimination against countries of the South is deeply rooted, and has been rationalized in the name of "scientific evolution" and "philosophical rationalism". To maintain their hegemony, the United States and the West have tried

to control the discourse on modernization and have given various Western-style "prescriptions" to the late-developed countries.

However, the "modernization" model imposed by the United States and the West on countries of the South ignores the reality of the countries concerned, and the vast number of developing countries are unable to independently master social transformation or development in the wave of modernization. This robber's logic where the United States and the West manipulate "modernization", is aimed at maintaining an unequal relationship between the two sides. The development of countries of the South has encountered a bottleneck, with the number of least developed countries increasing from 24 in 1971 to 46 in 2023, as recognized by the UN, and the widening gap between the North and the South has had a serious impact on the process of peace and development in the world.

The Western bloc dominated by the United States has been trying to maintain the unjust global order it has established. War is an effective means for the big capitalist group of the United States to gain excessive profits, and at the same time it has become a sinister way for the United States to establish and maintain its hegemony. Since the end of World War II, there have been no exceptions, such as the Korean War, the Vietnam War, the Gulf War, the Kosovo War, the Afghanistan War, the Iraq War, the "color revolutions" in the Middle East that began in 2010, as well as the so-called "anti-terrorist war" that has been going on all along.

According to the findings of the Costs of War Project of the Watson Institute for International and Public Affairs at Brown University, four types of countries were involved in the U.S. three-year war on terrorism from 2018 to 2020, namely, direct airstrikes (7), military personnel joining the war (12), military exercises (41) and training countries (79), involving 85 countries, mostly in the Asia-Africa region. It becomes quite obvious that the more the United States tries to fight terrorism, the more chaotic the situation becomes.

Take Afghanistan as an example: in 2021, the ongoing war and turmoil



resulted in nearly one-third of the Afghan population becoming refugees, 3.5 million people being displaced, and nearly 23 million people facing starvation, including 3.2 million children under the age of five. This situation, where one or a few powerful countries are allowed to manipulate the global order, leading to frequent tragedies, needs to be changed urgently.

In sharp contrast, the success of China-Africa cooperation has attracted attention on many fronts and has had a positive effect on the global governance system, particularly in terms of its mechanisms. The Forum on China-Africa Cooperation (FOCAC), for example, was first proposed by the African side and created in 2000. It's held alternately between China and African countries every three years, with all important matters agreed upon by both sides to ensure that the goals set for each session of the Forum are effectively accomplished. In September 2024, Chinese President Xi Jinping attended the opening ceremony of the FOCAC Beijing Summit and announced that bilateral relations between China and African countries having diplomatic ties with China were elevated to the level of strategic relations, and that the overall characterization of China-Africa relations was elevated to an all-weather China-Africa community with a shared future for the new era.

The Beijing Declaration on Jointly Building an All-Weather China-Africa Community with a Shared Future for the New Era, and the Forum on China-Africa Cooperation Beijing Action Plan (2025-2027) were adopted at the summit. The model of FOCAC and its successful organization has caused many countries, including Japan, the ROK, Turkey and Iran, to follow suit. In addition to this, the United States proposed the Build Back Better World initiative in 2021, and the European Union put forward the Global Gateway program in the same year, both of which are largely modeled on the BRI, suggesting that China's successful practices are reshaping the global order, and that it is difficult for the West to ignore the importance of global trade for human development and economic growth.

Another important area of China-

Africa cooperation in the reform of the global governance system is the UN. Africa's strong support for the restoration of China's legitimate seat in the UN in 1971 was a true reflection of their willingness to participate in global governance with China in the international arena. It is undeniable that the credibility of the UN has been tarnished over the decades by its inability to stop some of the vicious incidents that have occurred.

However, China and African countries have been supporting each other in their efforts to elevate the status of the Global South in the UN. In April 1974, the Sixth Special Session of the General Assembly adopted the Declaration and Program of Action on the Establishment of a New International Economic Order drafted by the Group of 77, which defined a series of important principles for the establishment of a new international economic order. The adoption of the Declaration and the Program of Action was a milestone for the Group of 77, as it was the first time that developing countries had negotiated as a group and achieved significant results. The success of the conference had greatly boosted the morale of the developing countries and strengthened their confidence in defending their own interests. In June 1992, at the UN Conference on Environment and Development held in Rio de Janeiro, the Chinese delegation worked closely with the Group of 77 to form the "Group of 77 and China" model of cooperation, which strengthened the negotiating power of developing countries and enabled the conference to reach a consensus on the United Nations Framework Convention on Climate Change (UNFCCC), the Rio Declaration on Environment and Development, Agenda 21 and other outcome documents. It was due to the efforts of the Group of 77 and China that the General Assembly agreed to include the principle of "common but differentiated responsibilities" in the UNFCCC.

Since the 21st century, the issue of representation in the UN has become a key area in the reform of the global governance system. It's fair to say that one of the hallmarks of the success in the reform of the global governance

system is the enhanced representation of developing countries in the UN. African countries are paying greater attention to the goal of institutionalizing their participation in global governance. China has also been actively promoting solutions to the underrepresentation of African countries.

From the beginning of the consultations between the AU Committee on Security Council Reform and representatives of the five permanent members of the Security Council in 2019, China has been firmly supporting the just position of African countries. In addition, China was the first country to explicitly state its support for the AU's membership in the Group of 20 and for the AU to play a greater role in global governance. All of these fully reflect China's strong support for Africa in redressing historical injustices.

Throughout history, the importance of China-Africa cooperation is self-evident. Africa is one of the important foundations of China's international united front and an important strategic partner of China, as well as an important supplier of strategic materials, an important place for investment, an important market for commodities, an important financial breakthrough, and an important producer capacity partner of China. From the perspective of global governance, China-Africa cooperation has been steadily advancing.

In recent years, the credibility and role of the UN have been undermined, and international organizations such as the World Bank and the International Monetary Fund are still dominated by developed countries, while the role of these international institutions remains irreplaceable in a range of global affairs, such as peace and war, the environment and climate, disasters and pandemics, green energy, food security, health, international migration, and the poverty reduction. It is now generally recognized in the Global South that reform of international institutions and transformation of the international order are imperative, and that China-Africa cooperation will continue to play a leading role in the process of reforming the global governance system.

# Global Security Initiative and China-Africa Security Cooperation

*Against the backdrop of changes unseen in a century unfolding at an unprecedented pace, Africa is faced with unprecedentedly complicated security challenges. On the one hand, the existing security challenges within Africa are compounded by emerging challenges; on the other hand, ever deteriorating external security environments are imposing a kind of structural pressure on Africa. Zhang Chun tells more on the matter in this article.*

By Zhang Chun, Institute of International Relations, Yunnan University

Faced with the bitter reality of increasing deficits in peace and security globally, Chinese President Xi Jinping has put forward the Global Security Initiative (GSI), providing the international community with a new type of international public goods in the field of security. As a critical pillar of China-Africa community for security, the GSI will contribute to the building of a high-level China-Africa community with a shared future and stand as a regional and sectoral example of the building of a community with a shared future for mankind.

## More Complicated Security Challenges in Africa

Since the end of the Cold War, security situation in Africa has roughly undergone four stages: in the 1990s, the outbreak of accumulated internal conflicts as the bipolar structural pressure exerted by the United States and the Soviet Union disappeared dragged Africa into "a decade of civil war"; after the 9-11 Attack in 2001, global counter-terrorism efforts became a new structural pressure that forced Africa into "a decade of counter-terrorism"; after the 2011 uprisings in the Arab Middle East, security threats arising from the grassroots became a new source of security challenges and Africa entered a new "decade of grassroots"; entering the third decade of the 21st century, Africa is faced with the complex interplay of internal and external as well as existing and emerging security crisis, mainly manifested in five aspects.

First, violence is more grass rooted. Since 2011, Africa has witnessed funda-



On March 14, 2024, a hotel in Mogadishu, Somalia, was attacked by Al-Shabaab militants. The picture shows security forces blocking the road near the hotel.

mental changes of security challenges, with non-structural violence replacing structural violence as the dominant challenge. The so-called structural violence refers to top-down violence mainly initiated by the state and its agents, such as conflicts between government forces and rebels and government repression of civilians. Correspondingly, non-structural violence refers to bottom-up violence initiated by society, with such typical examples as political protests, social hatred and violence.

According to the Armed Conflict Location and Event Dataset (ACLED), between 1997 and 2008, the share of non-structural violence in all security incidents in Africa was consistently below 30%, dipping to the bottom of less than 20% in 2002. Ever since 2011, non-structural violence has become the major source of security challenges in Africa, with its share in all violent incidents rocketing from 35.05% in 2010

to 49.77% and still standing at above 40% till today. In the meantime, public self-defense efforts, especially by local militias, have become major players in non-structural violence, with Burkina Faso's Volunteers for the Defense of the Homeland (VDP) being the most typical example.

Second, terrorists and bandits are collaborating. The counter-terrorism missions carried out by the United States in the Middle East resulted in expanding terrorist activities across the African continent. For example, among the top 10 countries in the world faced with the most acute threat of terrorism, only two African countries, Somalia (ranked 5th) and Nigeria (8th), were listed in 2011; and only Nigeria (2nd), Egypt (7th), and Somalia (8th) were listed in 2015. But by 2020, the number of African countries in this list has increased to 5, including Somalia (3rd), Nigeria (4th), Burkina Faso (6th), Mali (7th) and Mozambique (9th).



Deaths caused by terrorism worldwide in 2023 increased by 22% compared with 2022, the highest record since 2017. Sub-Saharan Africa still ranks top in the world, with the Sahel region witnessing the most deaths, where almost half of terrorist attacks in Africa took place and 26% of global terrorist attacks happened. Burkina Faso is the country suffering the most severe threat of terrorism. Terrorist groups in Africa are gradually penetrating communities and functioning more and more like organized crime groups. The two may coexist, collaborate or even converge. This means that “the collaboration between terrorists and bandits” is becoming normal in Africa, with such criminal activities as kidnapping, gold mine robbery, illegal economy and collecting protection fees becoming the means of survival for terrorist groups.

Third, security threats are crossing borders and well networked. Only 35% of Africa’s 170,000-kilometer international borders have been officially delineated, with a total of 109 disputed sections. Permeable borders mean not only highly convenient interference among neighboring African countries, but also rampant opportunities for terrorism, organized crime and illegal economy among others. Therefore, since 2020, previously highly dispersed terrorist activities in Africa have gradually concentrated in the border area of Kenya and Somalia in East Africa, the Lake Chad region in Central Africa and the Sahel region in West Africa. From a broader perspective of conflicts or instability, security challenges in Africa are mainly concentrated in four cross-border regions: Mano River region, the Horn of Africa, the Great Lakes region, and the Sahel-Maghreb.

Fourth, coups are more frequent. Western countries tend to observe the new wave of coups in Africa since 2019 through the lens of “democratic regression”. But this round of coups features anti-colonial endeavors and indicates that African countries are unaccustomed to the “Western democracy”. This new round of coups since 2019 were mostly launched on the pretext of the incapability of the incumbent governments to fulfill their missions of security, gover-

*The 46th Chinese naval escort taskforce, guided-missile destroyer Jiaozuo and comprehensive supply ship Honghu, arrived at the port of Alexandria, Egypt, and were greeted by the welcoming crowd at the pier waving the national flags of the two countries, August 15, 2024.*



nance, and development, receiving the acquiescence and approval of the public. A series of public opinion polls conducted by the Afrobarometer show that although democratic politics have received popular support, the public who are suspicious of the proper functioning of democracy is also poised to tolerate coups. According to a survey in 2022, the public (67%) who oppose military rule has decreased by 8 percentage points, with 53% believing that military intervention is acceptable in the event of elected officials abusing their power; The proportion of young people aged between 18 and 35 who hold this view is even higher (56%). Only 43% of the public believe that the armed forces should not interfere in politics whatsoever.

Fifth, interference is conducted in the form of aid. In sync with the wave of coups in Africa since 2019, France was forced to withdraw troops from Mali, Burkina Faso and Niger and the United States was forced to suspend its security cooperation with Niger. Such setbacks were highly relevant to the excessive direct military intervention by Western powers, with France’s decade-long Oper-

ation Barkhane as a typical example. In this context, the United States and Europe initiated a strategic transformation to disguise their military intervention in Africa with the so-called “security aid”. By integrating civilian aid with military aid and covering the entire process from conflict management, stable transformation to peacetime construction, western countries attempt to beautify their military intervention in Africa with “security aid”.

#### **The Substance of Global Security Initiative as a Public Goods**

China has long been a supporter of Africa’s cause of peace and security. For the African continent suffering from deteriorating deficit in peace and especially security, the GSI proposed by China is a timely and targeted international public goods, which is reflected in the concepts, substances and institutional arrangement of the GSI.

First, the GSI is committed to the vision of common, comprehensive, cooperative and sustainable security, representing important thoughtful global public goods in the security domain that

China offers to the international community, including Africa.

Firstly, the trend of security challenges in Africa featuring more grass-rooted violence, cross-border and networked crime and intervention in the form of aid have amplified the relationship between homeland security and national security, internal security and external security as well as individual security and common security. The new situation further highlights the importance of common security for African governments and people, neighboring countries as well as African countries and partners outside the continent. Secondly, the trend of security challenges in Africa featuring the collaboration between terrorists and bandits, cross-border and networked crime and frequent coups indicates the necessity of striking a comprehensive balance among people’s security, political security, economic security and national security, which is the key to achieving long-term peace and stability in Africa. Thirdly, the interplay of internal and external as well as existing and emerging security challenges in Africa indicates the importance of collaboration between the state

and the people as well as African countries and the international community to Africa’s peace and security. Fourthly, such deep-seated root causes of Africa’s security challenges as deficits in development, insufficient financing and poor governance necessitate the adoption of the vision of sustainable security. The China-Africa Cooperation Vision 2035 released in 2021 emphasizes the need to uphold the common, comprehensive, cooperative and sustainable security concepts and to advance governance experience sharing and enhance the alignment of development philosophy and concepts. This shows Africa’s recognition of the vision of common, comprehensive, cooperative and sustainable security advocated by the GSI.

Second, the GSI explicitly identifies 20 priorities, offering the international community, especially Africa, important global public goods in the security domain. Firstly, China supports African countries in strengthening their ability to safeguard peace independently and supports addressing African problems in the African way. China pledged a total of US\$100 million in military aid to the African Union for supporting the construction and operation of the African Peace and Security Architecture (APSA). The China-Africa Peace and Security Cooperation Fund was launched during the 2018 Beijing Summit of the Forum on China-Africa Cooperation (FOCAC).

China has carried out security cooperation with many African countries and helped these countries improve their security governance capabilities through police and military training. Secondly, China not only advocates for the international community’s provision of adequate, predictable, and sustainable financial support for African Union (AU)-led peace support operations, but also makes efforts to increase its financial contribution to the UN peacekeeping operations. Before 2000, China’s financial contribution to UN peacekeeping operations was less than 1%, but by 2021, China pays 15.2% of the UN peacekeeping budget. In 2016, China initiated and financed the launch of the China-UN Peace and Development Fund. As of the end of 2023, the Secretary-General’s

Peace and Security Sub-Fund has kicked off a total of 83 projects, with actual investment of US\$59.6 million, a significant portion of which has been invested in Africa. During the Beijing Summit of FOCAC held in September 2024, Chinese President Xi Jinping pledged Africa RMB 1 billion yuan of grants in military assistance to support Africa’s military development. Thirdly, China will contribute to the resolution of hotspot issues in Africa, especially by advancing the implementation of the “Vision of Peace and Development in the Horn of Africa”, promotes the institutionalization of the Horn of Africa Peace Conference and creates demonstrative cooperation projects. Fourthly, the GSI also focuses on security cooperation to address such non-traditional challenges as terrorism, climate change, cyber, biology and emerging technologies, helps Africa accelerate the implementation of the United Nations 2030 Agenda for Sustainable Development and promote sustainable security through sustainable development.

Third, GSI proposes five platforms and mechanisms of cooperation, offering the international community and Africa an important institutional public goods in the security domain. Such five platforms and mechanisms of cooperation cover global mechanisms with the United Nations at the core, China’s overall diplomatic mechanisms towards developing regions, China-proposed the GSI mechanisms, as well as the existing security dialogue mechanisms dedicated to specific fields. Among them, Africa is a critical player in such mechanisms as the United Nations, the China-Africa Peace and Security Forum, the Horn of Africa Peace Conference, and the Global Public Security Cooperation Forum (Li anyungang).

While offering global public goods in the security domain to the international community and especially Africa, the GSI also draws on the experiences and lessons of other global public goods of its kind. Since the end of the Cold War, security aid has gradually become the dominant approach of supplying international security public goods and the United States, France and the United



Kingdom are among the best performers. The Chinese government officially adopted the term “security aid” for the first time in 2018 and pledged to carry out 50 security aid projects in Africa. In mid-2021, China pledged another 10 projects in Africa. In the meantime, aware of insufficient practice of Western countries, China provides African countries with whole-process security aid covering conflict management, stable transformation and peace support on the premise of coordinating security and development. The best demonstration of China’s commitment is the Action Plan adopted at the 2024 FOCAC Beijing Summit.

The GSI achieves innovation in two aspects on the basis of drawing on the supply of existing international security public goods, especially the security aid by Western countries. Firstly, the GSI stays committed to the vision of common, comprehensive, cooperative and sustainable security, further summarizes the “theory on Peace through Development”, emphasizes the reasonable balance among development, stability/security and reform/governance, and believes that “development is the master key to all problems”. For example, the Forum on China-Africa Cooperation Beijing Action Plan (2025-2027) stresses that China supports the initiative of AU to develop a program focused on the peace-security-development tripartite nexus. Secondly, adhering to the principle of openness and inclusiveness, China welcomes and looks forward to the engagement of all parties to jointly expand the substance of the initiative and proactively explore cooperation in new formats and in emerging sectors.

#### GSI Contributes to the Peace and Security of Africa

The 2024 FOCAC Beijing Summit is of strategic importance in building on past achievements and charting the future, adopting action plans for China-Africa cooperation in the next three years and making a medium and long-term plan for China-Africa cooperation in the upcoming decade. Building a China-Africa community for security caters to the need of Africa and is especially

benchmarked to the AU’s Agenda 2063: Second Ten-Year Implementation Plan (2024–2033) to achieve comprehensive synergy of peace and security cooperation between China and Africa. The community also meets another strategic goal of the same Implementation Plan, which is to build a fully functional African Global Partnership Platform.

The AU’s Agenda 2063: Second Ten-Year Implementation Plan puts forward peace and security goals (ASPIRATION 4) that cover two strategic objectives. The strategic objective 4.1 (Enhance Peace and Security) sets a specific objective that “all risks to peace and security in Member States are identified and addressed timeously”, with seven concrete measures; the strategic objective 4.2 (Foster Stable and Peaceful Africa) contains two specific objectives that “all guns are silenced and all forms of militia groups are eliminated” and “the Africa Peace and Security Architecture and other continental frameworks on peace security and stability are fully operationalized”, which are further broken up into seven and four concrete measures respectively.

Taking the successful convening of the 2024 FOCAC Beijing Summit as an opportunity, China and Africa will take the initiative to push forward the comprehensive alignment between the GSI and the peace and security goals laid out in the AU’s Agenda 2063: Second Ten-Year Implementation Plan, join hands to advance the modernization of peace and security and build China-Africa security cooperation into a regional and sectoral demonstrative project of the GSI.

First, priorities in China-Africa peace and security cooperation should be systematically set with a forward-looking assessment of global security governance situation as well as Africa’s challenges and capabilities of response. We should focus on the following aspects: firstly, China and Africa will intensify exchanges of ideas. Guided by the vision of common, comprehensive, cooperative and sustainable security, parties concerned will respect the sovereignty and territorial integrity of African countries, follow the purposes and principles of the United Nations Charter, take into serious consideration of the legitimate security

concerns of African countries, peacefully resolve differences and disputes through dialogue and consultation and reasonably coordinate traditional and non-traditional security-related issues. Secondly, China and Africa are committed to upholding the central role of the United Nations and jointly work on conflict prevention, construction of peace and security architecture, post-conflict reconstruction, peacekeeping operations and peace support in Africa within the framework of the United Nations. Thirdly, China and Africa will focus on arms control, especially the control of small arms and light weapons and support the implementation of Africa’s initiative to “silence all the guns”. Fourthly, China supports addressing African problems in the African way and Africa’s security capacity building and provides necessary and beneficial security aid. Fifthly, the two sides will explore solutions to hotspot issues with African characteristics, facilitate the political resolution of hotspot issues in the African region and forge demonstrative cooperation projects of the GSI.

Second, in view of the three-year short-term action plan and the decade-long medium and long-term implementation plan, China and Africa identify concrete measures for peace and security cooperation within the framework of the GSI. The first is the alignment of philosophies, focusing on item ii (putting in place mechanisms for entrenching a culture of peace in all development processes), item iii (including ethnic minority groups in peace and security matters), item iv (mainstreaming peace education in curricula of schools) and item vi (enhancing the role of women in peace and security) of the strategic objective 4.1 of the AU Agenda 2063: Second Ten-Year Implementation Plan.

The second is conflict mediation, focusing on item v of the strategic objective 4.1 (promoting reconciliation and mediation, including the use of alternative dispute resolution mechanisms) and item ii of strategic objective 4.2 (implementing measures aimed at mediation, dialogue, negotiation and peaceful co-existence) of the AU’s Agenda 2063: Second Ten-Year Implementation Plan,

On January 5, 2024, China’s 14th peacekeeping medical detachment to South Sudan (Wau) was invited by the United Nations civil affairs department to donate anti-malaria and dysentery medicines to the local government.



with the purpose of achieving peaceful resolution of disputes through dialogue and consultation. Highlighting mediation, political consultation, and inclusive dialogue is the approach with Chinese characteristics to resolving hotspot issues, which is in line with the concept of resolution through dialogue to solve African problems in African ways.

The third is to support the building of Africa’s independent security capacity, including controlling small arms and light weapons and solving African problems in the African way. The focus is on specific measures such as item vii (implementing mechanisms for conflict prevention and addressing and combating terrorism) of strategic objective 4.1, item i (tightening national laws against the proliferation of small arms and light weapons) and item vi (strengthening the African Standby Force to have rapid deployment capability) of the strategic objective 4.2 as well as item ii (providing incentives for compliance with full implementation of APSA by AU Member States, RECs/ RMS) of strategic objective 4.2 of the AU’s Agenda 2063: Second Ten-Year Implementation Plan.

The fourth is institutional alignment. It means to support such mechanisms as the China-Africa Peace and Security Forum and the Horn of Africa Peace Conference within the framework

of the GSI, which is also in line with item vii (strengthening the cooperation among AU Member States and international institutions on peace and security matters) of the strategic objective 4.2 of the AU’s Agenda 2063: Second Ten-Year Implementation Plan.

Third, the FOCAC enables the coordinated development of the GSI, Global Development Initiative, Global Civilization Initiative and the Belt and Road Initiative (BRI), which contributes to sustainable development and security in Africa.

On the one hand, efforts will be made to synergize and amplify the functions of the BRI and the three Global Initiatives and simultaneously advance the sustainable development and sustainable security in Africa through the full coverage of peace and security, economic growth, social development and civilization exchanges. The first is to connect the BRI and the United Nations 2030 Agenda for Sustainable Development, with focus on supporting Africa’s economic transformation, industrialization, agricultural modernization, infrastructure construction and the African Continental Free Trade Area (AfCFTA). China and Africa will also be deepening exchanges and cooperation on security guarantees for the joint development of the BRI, so that Africa becomes a ben-

eficiary of the “theory on peace through development”. The second is to connect the Global Development Initiatives with African social development plans.

By placing the emphasis on reducing poverty, narrowing inequality, tackling climate change and improving public health, they will cement the social foundation for sustainable security in Africa. The third is to connect the Global Civilization Initiative and the African Citizen Empowerment Action. In this regard, priorities will be given to programs for “women empowerment” and “youth development” and efforts will be made to advance the implementation of United Nations Security Council resolution 1325 (2000) [on women and peace and security] and the United Nations Security Council resolution 2250 (2015) [on youth, peace and security] in Africa. The fourth is to proactively carry out Africa-engaged trilateral security cooperation in the principle of “being proposed, approved and dominated by Africa” and explore task division and cooperation in the supply of international security public goods.

On the other hand, efforts will be made to synergize and amplify the finance of the BRI and the three Global Initiatives. A solid foundation of financial sustainability will be built for Africa’s security governance by fostering Africa’s capability for self-driven development in sustainable security. The first is to adhere to the strategic guidance of the implementation of the three Global Initiatives, take the high-quality development of the BRI as the practice platform, give full play to the “hematopoietic” function of the BRI and solidify the financial foundation for implementing the GSI. The second is to connect the BRI and goals of establishing four African Financial Institutions by 2033, including African Central Bank, Monetary Fund, Pan-African Investment Bank and Pan-African Stock Exchange, as put forward by the AU’s Agenda 2063: Second Ten-Year Implementation Plan. Such institutions will boost Africa’s own development capacity and achieve the virtuous cycle of sustainable development and sustainable security.



# Digital Diplomacy: Role of Technology in Shaping Modern Global Governance between China, SADC Countries

By Dr. Fabian G. Mahundu, Mwalimu Nyerere Memorial Academy

This aerial photo taken on May 20, 2023, shows a ceremony for the temporary diversion of the Cuanza River at the site of the Chinese-built Caculo-Cabaca Hydropower Station in Cuanza Norte province, Angola. (Xinhua photo)



*Rapid technological advancement is profoundly shaping the transformation of states' diplomacy. In this article Dr. Mahundu looks at how fast technology is shaping modern global civilization.*

Traditional diplomacy practices such as closed-door negotiations, writing long emails, or holding meetings with heads of state are now partially or entirely complemented and somewhat replaced by digital tools and platforms.

Therefore, probably nowhere is this transformation more visible than in the rising relationship between China and the Southern African Development

Community (SADC) countries. The leaders' relationship between China and the SADC region continuously uses social media and other digital platforms to transact, persuade, and negotiate – in the form of “digital diplomacy”.

It is important to note that digital diplomacy plays a crucial role in enhancing contemporary international relations since it creates possibilities for strength-

ening cooperation building, addressing political challenges on regional and global levels, and working with public opinions more efficiently than before. However, an increasing reliance on digital tools demonstrates some challenges that China and SADC countries must address to ensure that multi-tasking diplomacy will be effective in the contemporary period.

Historically, China has always used



*Digital Diplomacy Is the Next Normal after Covid 19.*

a diplomatic approach to extend its activities and influence into some African countries, particularly within the SADC region, where it has put up numerous infrastructure, trade, and development initiatives. The evolution of the ‘development with no borders’ diplomacy has hastened and broadened the extent of such undertakings since the interaction between China and SADC was an effective and fruitful cooperation.

Of course, China's Belt and Road Initiative (BRI) remains a flagship macro development strategy that indicates how digital diplomacy is integrated into the broader context of diplomatic practices. In this way, Chinese officials and other officials from SADC countries such as Tanzania, Zambia, Zimbabwe, and South Africa have engaged in various deals and projects. For example, China and Tanzania have used digital platforms to deepen bilateral ties, particularly in economic and infrastructure development. In 2020, during the global COVID-19 pandemic, when physical diplomatic meetings were limited, Tanzanian leaders and their Chinese counterparts continued their negotiations and collaboration via virtual platforms such as Zoom, ensuring that projects such as the Bagamoyo Port and road construction initiatives remained on track. Similarly, similar venues facilitated high-level discussions on healthcare, trade, and assistance distribution in the area, bolstering Tanzania's strategic connection with China.

To illustrate, ties between China and Tanzania have grown as both countries predominantly use the other's resources for economic and infrastructural expansion. In 2020, when countries were on lockdown because of the global COVID-19 pandemic, which restricted physical diplomatic platforms, leaders of Tanzania and China managed to meet online through digital applications such as Zoom. They agreed to construct the Bagamoyo Port and other related infrastructure development projects in such digital meetings. Likewise, regional health issues, trade, and aid allocation were discussed at high-level meetings on these platforms, strengthening Tanzania's alliance with China.





Participants at the Tanzania commemorations for the International Day for Women in Diplomacy. (Photo: UN Women)

Other SADC countries, such as Zimbabwe and Zambia, undertook digital diplomacy with China and benefited from it. For instance, while in Zimbabwe, the Chinese authorities approached the Zimbabwean administration through social networking sites and online discussions to frame concepts for joint development, including the expansion of Harare International Airport and several energy projects. These online gatherings have eased the decision-making process and benefited from time-cutting measures previously eroded by unnecessary elements of face-to-face diplomacy.

Digital diplomacy has become one of the notable effects of the collaborations between China and SADC member countries since it has improved the speed and effectiveness of bilateral and multilateral dealings. In the past, especially before the digital tools and platforms, diplomats' negotiations involved much traveling and meetings that challenged collaboration.

Nevertheless, due to the advancement of digital tools, such communication is done quickly, eliminating timely travel plans to address matters. A good example is Chinese vaccine diplomacy during the COVID-19 pandemic. As the world supported China's COVID-19 initiatives in vaccine development and distribution, China nursed the idea of distributing vaccines to SADC countries through Zoom meetings and other such means. In this case, Chinese diplomats and SADC health ministers coordinated efforts to solicit vaccines and arranged medical supplies and equipment donations, albeit through digital summits. This kind of information exchange remarkably enhanced China's relations with the region and played a crucial role in dealing with the pandemic.

In addition, the Chinese government and SADC member countries have extended their relationships by working with other institutions rather than government officials alone. The leaders of these countries communicate

with people, businesses, and civil society in the SADC region through social applications such as Weibo, WeChat, Twitter, and others.

The engagement of ordinary citizens in public diplomacy has also enhanced trust-building between states, governments, and their people. For instance, in Tanzania, Chinese embassies have employed these technologies to advertise the successful performance of Public-Private Partnerships (PPPs) in building infrastructure, agriculture, education, etc. Russians, businesspeople, and politicians in Tanzania have worked with Chinese representatives during online town meetings and social media to instigate the advantages of Chinese investments. Such collaboration has enhanced Sino-Tanzanian relations and enabled China to win the hearts of more Tanzanians for positive feelings toward Chinese investments.

Within the SADC regional context, digital diplomacy has emerged as an essential tool for addressing some of

the most pressing regional issues, such as economic growth and development, public health, and climate change. The speed with which virtual meetings can be organized has made it possible for leaders to meet in time and take necessary actions quickly. For example, SADC countries have benefited from China's focus on assisting developing countries to mitigate the region's health issues.

During the COVID-19 period, there were online health summits conducted between China and SADC countries, which aimed at exploring how best the spread of the virus can be avoided, the handling of medical equipment, and the resources helping communities by sharing information that they have on health issues. It was stressed that neither of the discussions was held only with politicians, medical people, and experts from both sides sharing their opinions, proving that digital diplomacy can play an active role in solving health-related problems.

Furthermore, as SADC countries are exposed to the consequences of global warming and changing weather

patterns, China's experience in renewable energy has been among the subjects of international digital relations. During the discussion on 'sustainable development,' leaders of the People's Republic of China and SADC established cooperation on solar and wind energy generation plants using digital tools and platforms. As these countries adopted digital diplomacy, they could optimistically conceive and pursue these projects. Hence, the region moves toward being environmentally sustainable and still serving the energy demand.

Remarkably, digital diplomacy has facilitated China's participation in the African Continental Free Trade Area (AfCFTA) affairs, mainly with the engagement of SADC member countries. Proceedings were organized via the China-Africa Business Council, in which representatives of both sides discussed possible trade agreements, investment opportunities, and the promotion of economic growth. Consequently, as China emerged as a critical strategic development partner for the SADC region, such a move enhanced trade ties and added to the regional integration

efforts in Africa.

In conclusion, digital diplomacy is essential in shaping China's and SADC countries' relationships. Its role in promoting trade and investment, as well as in addressing regional challenges like healthcare and climate change, remains to be pivotal. Indeed, digital platforms have revolutionized how partner nations engage with each other. While the rise of digital diplomacy has brought several benefits — such as increased speed, transparency, and public engagement — it also presents challenges, particularly in combating misinformation and bridging the digital divide.

Thus, as China and SADC countries continue strengthening their partnerships in the digital age, they must find new ways to harness the potential of digital diplomacy while attending to its limitations. The evolving digital diplomacy between China and SADC would serve as a "model for international relations" in the digital era, demonstrating that technology remains a powerful tool in fostering cooperation, managing global problems, and building ever-lasting relationships.



An exhibitor presents coffee products from Kinshasa at the booth of the Democratic Republic of the Congo (DRC) in the Country Exhibition at the 6th China International Import Expo (CIIE) in east China's Shanghai, Nov. 8, 2023. (Xinhua photo)





Good relations between CPC and CCM have led to the establishment of the Mwalimu Nyerere Leadership School in Kibaha, Tanzania. The School caters for political cadres and leaders of six south African countries. (File photo)

## Political Party Diplomacy: A Pillar for China – Tanzania Relations

*In today's world, with party politics becoming more prominent and globalization deepening, political parties have increasingly begun to play an important role in world politics. In this article, research fellow Guaiqiong Li and prof. Alexander Makulilo look at how party diplomacy is pivotal to countries' relations using China's CPC and Tanzania's CCM as case studies.*

By Guaiqiong Li, Assistant research fellow, Institute of Marxism, Yunnan University, China  
And Alexander Makulilo, Professor of Political Science, University of Dar es Salaam, Tanzania

Political parties exchange between and among themselves, a phenomenon known as “political party diplomacy” or simply “party diplomacy”. On its part, the Communist Party of China (CPC), actively promotes and practices this kind of diplomacy.

Currently, the partners of party diplomacy of the CPC extend to Asia, Africa, Europe, America, and Oceania, with more than 600 political parties and organizations having established ties with the Communist Party of China. However, the party-to-party exchanges be-

tween China and Tanzania, for instance, have certain unique advantages, which make the prospect of party diplomacy between China and Tanzania relatively broader.

### The stability of China-Tanzania party diplomacy

Two factors directly determine the effectiveness and influence of party diplomacy between the two parties. Firstly, whether the political situation in the countries where the participating political parties are from is stable, and secondly, whether the two political parties involved in the exchanges have stable governance or dominant influence in their own countries.

The political systems and realities in

China and Tanzania have already proven that they fully meet the above conditions. Tanzania's political situation is stable, and the Chama Cha Mapinduzi (CCM) or sometimes known as “the Revolutionary Party” being in power for a long-term as the ruling party provides a stable advantage for China-Tanzanian party exchanges. Here we will get to understand party diplomacy between the CPC and CCM.

Unlike some countries, Tanzania has not experienced wars, military coups, electoral unrest, and frequent changes in ruling parties since the return of multi-party system in 1992. It is one of the few stable countries in Africa, and the CCM, a political party with which the CPC interacts, has

maintained its stable status in power despite numerous elections. Moreover, CCM is a descendant of the liberation party, which has played a leading role in Tanzania's struggle for national independence from its establishment to the present day, as well as in the country's modernization efforts. The above is a description of the distinctive feature of the Revolutionary Party that not only sets it apart from other political parties, but also plays a role of advantage in the party-to-party interactions between CPC and CCM.

The history of cooperation between the CPC and CCM dates to 1961. It was the year when Tanganyika got its independence that the CPC led by Chairman Mao Zedong and the Tanganyika African National Union (TANU), the predecessor of (CCM) led by Julius Nyerere began to engage in interactions and cooperation. In 1978, the Communist Party of China formally established party-to-party relations with the Chama Cha Mapinduzi of Tanzania, and the two parties have maintained close ties ever since.

The inter-party exchanges between the CPC and CCM have undergone over four decades of ups and downs, featuring long-term friendship and steady progress, setting an example for Party diplomacy between China and Africa and playing a positive role in international exchanges among political parties.

### Deepening China-Tanzania party diplomacy

The similarities between the two parties have provided a strong foundation for inter-party exchanges between China and Tanzania. Especially the closeness and similarity of their ideology makes the inter-party exchanges between the CPC and the CCM not only significant, but also practical. Both parties have established socialism as their guiding ideology in their party constitution. Although the CCM followed the African rural village-based socialism, while the socialist ideology of the Communist Party of China originated from scientific socialism under Marxism, there are many similarities between the two



parties in their pursuit of socialist ideals, especially during the Nyerere era.

The cooperation between the two parties has gone through the Cold War era of joint anti-colonialism, anti-imperialism, and anti-hegemony, the post-Cold War era of economic construction-centered promotion of economic exchanges and cooperation between the two countries, and the new era of promoting the comprehensive strategic partnership of the two countries through party-to-party exchanges.

Decades of sustained communication and cooperation have deepened exchanges and interactions between the two countries and the two parties, yielding many achievements and accumulating rich experience. Even after the third wave of democratization swept across many developing countries in 1990s, leading to transformation from one-party political systems to multi-party systems, the CCM's sustaining of its ruling party role makes it unique in providing additional advantages for the deepening of China-Tanzanian political party diplomacy.

In a competitive democratic multi-party political system, the primary function of political parties is undoubtedly to participate in elections, win state power, and realize their own interests through political participation. Compared with some other political parties in African countries, the CCM has a historical record of fighting for the independence of the country, and it is playing a key role in the process of national development and revival. Although it is in the current multi-party competitive political environment, CCM not only pays attention to how to win power through elections, but also takes it a significant task to improve its political proposals based on the interests and needs of many Tanzanians and transform its core ideology into an action guide to seek the well-being of Tanzanians.

All these similarities make CCM more aligned with the Communist Party of China in terms of ideology compared to some other African parties. This is beneficial for the deepening of party-to-party exchanges, especially

around governance and state administration experience sharing between CPC and the CCM.

#### Impact of China-Tanzania party diplomacy

In terms of institutionalized exchanges, the Communist Party of China and the Tanzania's Chama Cha Mapinduzi have accumulated rich achievements through party diplomacy. The institutionalized party-to-party cooperation between the

CPC and CCM in the post-Nyerere era started in 2000. In 2000, the then Chairman of CCM, Jakaya Mrisho Kikwete, led a delegation of the party to China for exchanges and visits. It was also from then on, that the two parties officially established a mechanism for exchanges and cooperation between senior officials and ordinary party members. The two parties began to arrange regular visits and exchanges, and CCM would send a group of representatives to China for

study and learning almost every year.

As the scale of participants continues to expand, the impact of the implementation of the political party exchanges mechanism between China and Tanzania has also been continuously enhanced. Since 2000, regular exchanges have been held between the CCM and the CPC at least once a year. As a result, the 20-year-old regular exchange mechanism has provided opportunities for nearly all members of the CCM's central

committee to visit China.

**Meanwhile**, the CPC has also established a tradition of regularly visiting Tanzania for on-the-ground inspections and exchanges. The party diplomacy between CCM and the Communist Party of China is in line with the demands of the times; both the content and the mechanisms of the exchanges between the two parties have been deepened and developed. Through the active promotion of the two political parties, coop-

erating with the CPC has become the most prominent mainstay of the CCM's Part-to-Party international exchanges.

Therefore, most of the activities of the International Relations Office of the Revolutionary Party are currently focused on party-to-party exchanges with the Communist Party of China, including regular exchanges every 3-5 months, which take the form of visits and the holding of various forums and conferences.

Forty-six (46) Tanzanian students with scholarships of the Ministry of Commerce to study in China for the 2023/24 academic year. (File photo)





# Inspiring Stories from Jinggangshan: Lessons for Young Leaders

*In the heart of China lies Jinggangshan, a place rich in history and revolutionary spirit. A trip to Jinggangshan of Jiangxi Province is not just a journey through landscapes but a profound exploration of the roots of the Communist Party of China (CPC) and its transformative impact on Chinese society. Ms. Fatma Rembo who was in China recently, tells the story.*



Jinggangshan realignment sculpture.

By Fatma Rembo, Young Political National Leader under CCM Political Party Women Wing

Visiting the China Executive Leadership Academy Jinggangshan, (CELAJ) provided insights into the CPC's grassroots party branches and the remarkable reorganization of rural troops that laid the foundation for establishing the Jinggangshan revolutionary base.

Exploring the Red Army Bridge and understanding how the Chinese rose from the grassroots through the leadership of Mao Zedong revealed a legacy of resilience, innovation, and unwavering commitment to progress.

This paper delves into these inspiring experiences and the good practices and experiences of the Chinese government that can offer valuable lessons for Tanzania and its youth in CPC Party building, poverty alleviation, innovative development, technology innovation, productivity, and cultural preservation.

## I. Journey through Jinggangshan

The journey through Jinggangshan is a testament to the CPC's enduring legacy. The strong leadership of Mao Zedong, who creatively put forward the idea of

an "Armed independent regime of the workers and peasants" and opened up the revolutionary road of "encircling the cities with the rural areas and seizing power with armed force" which led to the victory of the Chinese Revolution and which was also known as the road of the Jinggangshan.

The successful reorganization of rural troops led by figures like Yuan Wencai and Wang Zuo exemplifies the power of grassroots leadership in driving revolutionary change. Their dedication and strategic vision laid the

groundwork for establishing the Jinggangshan revolutionary base, a pivotal moment in China's history that shaped the future of the CPC and the nation.

The land Revolution in Jinggangshan provided a precious experience for the land revolution on a large scale in the Central Soviet Region. It also broke new ground in forming the methods and policies for the land revolution. Visiting the Red Army Bridge, where countless soldiers marched towards a better future, evokes a profound sense of sacrifice and solidarity that defined the Chinese spirit during challenging times.

## Inspiration from Jinggangshan

The stories of Jinggangshan serve as a source of profound inspiration for individuals seeking to be effective in their communities and countries. The resilience and determination displayed by the CPC leaders and soldiers in Jinggangshan highlight the importance of grassroots mobilization and the power of collective action in driving social change. The spirit of selflessness and dedication to a common cause that permeates Jinggangshan can inspire individuals to overcome obstacles and work towards a better future for all.

## Lessons for Tanzania's Youth

The experiences gained from Jinggangshan offer valuable lessons for Tanzania's youth in various aspects of governance, development, and social progress. The CPC's Party building experience underscores the importance of nurturing a committed cadre of grassroots party members and leaders deeply connected to the needs and aspirations of the people they serve. This can be a model for Tanzania to strengthen its political institutions through my political party, CCM, and foster a servant leadership culture that prioritizes the nation's well-being above individual interests.

## II. Inspiring Experiences and Lessons

### Grassroots Party Building



Zhang Donggang (left), Party Secretary of the Renmin University of China, and Marcellina Chijoriga, principal of the Mwalimu Julius Nyerere Leadership School, inaugurate the Renmin University of China-Mwalimu Julius Nyerere Leadership School Library in Kibaha, Tanzania, on Oct 9, 2024. (Photo provided to chinadaily.com.cn)

The experience of learning about CPC's grassroots party branches in villages, communities, SOEs & collective enterprises, universities, non-public economic entities, social organizations, public institutions, CPC & government departments, mobile CPC members, and retired highlighted the importance of a solid foundation in any political movement. The dedication and commitment of party members from the grassroots level contribute significantly to the success and longevity of the party.

### Historical and Cultural Preservation

Visiting the Forbidden City, the Great Wall of China, the Museum of the Communist Party of China in Beijing, and historical sites like Jinggangshan, Jinggangshan Revolutionary Base, and the Red Army Bridge emphasized the importance of preserving cultural heritage and historical landmarks. Recognizing and honouring past struggles and achievements is crucial for fostering national pride and identity.

### Poverty Alleviation, Chinese Modernization and Innovation

The Chinese government's focus on poverty alleviation and innovative development strategies has led to significant improvements in the quality of life for its citizens. Embracing innovative technologies and fostering productivity has been critical to China's rapid economic growth and development.

We visited the XAG Smart Agriculture System in Guangzhou. This SAS 2020 provides smallholders and farm owners with smart farm management solutions to reduce labour costs and improve sustainability. Based on an extensive network of digital farming infrastructure, XAG SAS is compatible with precision farming efficiency, uncovering field insights, managing production plans, and achieving objectives.

### Multifunctional Agriculture Drones for Autonomous Farming

As a young leader who is also an entrepreneur and who practices Agriculture in my country, I learned new ways of smart farm management solutions. By practicing agriculture and livestock, visiting XAG Smart Agriculture gave me innovative ideas.



### III. Lessons for Tanzania and Tanzanian youth and all young leaders

#### CPC Party Building Experience

We Tanzanian youth have learned from the CPC's emphasis on building solid party branches at the grassroots. Fostering a culture of dedication, loyalty, and service to the people can enhance the effectiveness and sustainability of political movements in Tanzania.

#### Quality of Grassroots Party Members and Cadres

Emphasizing the training and development of grassroots party members and cadres can ensure a strong leadership pipeline and a deep connection to the community's needs and aspirations.

#### Poverty Alleviation Strategies

Drawing inspiration from China's successful poverty alleviation programs, Tanzania can implement targeted interventions to uplift marginalized communities and improve overall socio-economic conditions.

#### Technology Innovation and Productivity

Encouraging innovation and embracing innovative technologies can boost Tanzania's economic growth and competitiveness on the global stage. Investing in skills development and technological infrastructure is essential for creating a knowledge-based economy.

#### Cultural and Historical Protection

Preserving Tanzania's rich cultural heritage and historical sites is vital for fostering national unity and pride. Promoting cultural tourism and heritage conservation can generate economic opportunities while protecting the country's identity.

Furthermore, China's success in poverty alleviation, innovative development, and technology innovation can serve as a blueprint for Tanzania's youth in addressing similar challenges within our context. Tanzania can unlock new opportunities for economic empowerment and social progress by prioritizing new quality productivity



Aerial photo taken on Sept. 30, 2019 shows the Red Army Bridge across the Chishui River on the border between southwest China's Sichuan Province and Guizhou Province. Construction of the 2,009-meter-long bridge was completed on September 28th, 2019. (Xinhua photo)

and leveraging technology for sustainable growth. Embracing cultural and historical protection and inheritance, as seen in China's efforts to preserve its heritage in Jinggangshan, can also help my country, Tanzania, through my political party and preserve its rich cultural identity and traditions for future generations.

In conclusion, Jinggangshan stands as a symbol of China's revolutionary spirit and the transformative power of grassroots leadership. The experiences gained from this historic site offer valuable insights and inspiration for individuals and nations seeking to drive positive change and progress. Tanzania's youth can chart a path toward a more prosperous and inclusive future by learning from the CPC's party-building experience, poverty alleviation efforts,

innovative development strategies, and cultural preservation initiatives.

Jinggangshan's legacy is a beacon of hope and resilience, reminding us that we can overcome any challenge and build a better world through collective action and unwavering commitment. The trip to Jinggangshan and the insights gained from China's revolutionary history offer valuable lessons and inspiration for Tanzania and its youth. Tanzania can chart a path toward sustainable development and societal transformation by studying the CPC's experiences in grassroots party building, leadership development, poverty alleviation, innovation, and cultural preservation. From China's successes and innovations, Tanzania can build a brighter future for its people and contribute to global progress.

### IV. Strengthening Bonds

#### The China-Tanzania Friendship and the CPC-CCM Collaboration

The relationship between China and Tanzania is rooted in friendship, cooperation, and mutual development. The close ties between the Communist Party of China (CPC) and the Chama Cha Mapinduzi (CCM) have further solidified this partnership, fostering a deep understanding and collaboration between the two nations. Under the leadership of President Samia Suluhu Hassan and President Xi Jinping, both countries continue to work together towards shared goals of progress, development, and prosperity.

#### China and Tanzania Friendship

The friendship between China and

Tanzania dates back decades. It is characterised by mutual respect, support, and a shared vision for economic growth. China has been a vital partner in Tanzania's development journey, helping in various sectors such as infrastructure, healthcare, education, and trade. The strong bond between the two nations has led to numerous cooperative projects that have significantly benefited both countries.

#### CPC and CCM Collaboration

The collaboration between the CPC and CCM stands as a testament to the enduring friendship between China and Tanzania. Both parties have engaged in robust exchanges of ideas, experiences, and best practices in governance and party leadership. Through these interactions, the CPC and CCM

have strengthened their ties, fostering a deeper understanding of each other's ideologies and approaches to national development.

#### The leadership of President Samia Suluhu Hassan

President Samia Suluhu Hassan has been crucial in steering Tanzania towards stability, unity, and progress. Her leadership style, characterized by inclusivity, transparency, and dedication to serving the people, has won her widespread acclaim domestically and internationally. President Samia's commitment to fostering strong partnerships with countries like China has further enhanced Tanzania's global standing and prospects for growth.

#### President Xi Jinping's Vision

President Xi Jinping's leadership in China has been marked by a commitment to innovation, growth, and shared prosperity. President Xi has worked to deepen China's engagement with African nations like Tanzania by promoting economic cooperation, infrastructure development, and people-to-people exchanges through the Belt and Road Initiative and the China-Africa Cooperation Forum. President Xi's vision for building a community with a shared future demonstrates China's openness to global collaboration and inclusive growth.

### V. Conclusion

The enduring friendship between China and Tanzania, bolstered by the strong alliance between the CPC and CCM, exemplifies the power of cooperation and mutual understanding in fostering progress and prosperity. Under the visionary leadership of President Samia Suluhu Hassan and President Xi Jinping, both nations are poised to continue advancing their bilateral relations, promoting sustainable development, and building a better future for their people. As China and Tanzania forge ahead in their partnership, the world watches in anticipation of their collaboration's positive impact on the region and beyond.



# Enduring Interaction Between China and Africa: Reflecting on Trade, Investment and Aid

*This article intends to discuss the enduring interaction between China and African countries. The article focuses on trade, investment, and aid. The discussion further provides insight on the key strategies on China-Africa relation and the policy issue concerning the interaction.*

By Rose Irene Mbwete, Mwalimu Nyerere Memorial Academy

The interaction between China and Africa has developed over the last five decades and three separate periods which can be distinguished within this period. Initially, the interaction was established between China and African nation states as they gained independence. In that, China-African relations in the 1970s had five key characteristics.

First, the number of African countries with diplomatic ties gradually increased. In 1967, China had 13 diplomatic missions in Africa and by 1974 this number had increased to 30.

Second, China joined the United Nations Security Council in 1971, taking over Taiwan's seat and many African states welcomed this decision since their political ties with China had increased over the years. The presence of the People's Republic of China (PRC) in the UN as a permanent member of the Security Council contribute notably to the strengthening of the capacity of this organization in maintaining peace and international security.

Thirdly, the Tanzania-Zambia railway was the biggest aid project on the continent in the 1970s and China was in the process of committing itself to more prestigious projects all over Africa. Loyal states were offering federal buildings, stadiums, factories, infrastructure, medical teams, and student exchange programs.

Fourthly, China continued to support the nationalist movements that were demanding independence. Finally, China stressed the existence of a dichotomy between the world's superpowers and their weaker opponents, assisting the latter in their survival. The final phase covers the post-Maoist period and is characterized by the liberalization and subsequent



growth of the Chinese economy.

However, the interaction has come into the spotlight during the summit of the Forum on China – Africa Cooperation (FOCAC), which took place in Beijing in 2006. China began to establish new relationships on the African continent.

## Trade

Trade, between China and Africa began to accelerate in 2000. In that, Africa's export to China raised to annual increase rate of over 40% while Africa's imports from China multiplied to billion. Moreover, the terms of trade have favored Africa's, which reflecting both the composition of trade and rising the prices for Africa's main export commodities. For instance, in 2006 oil and gas accounted for 62% of Africa's exports to China, followed by non-petroleum minerals and metals by 13%. On the other hand, Africa's imports from China comprised mostly manufactured products 45% and

machinery and transport equipment by 13%.

It has been further noted that, the terms of trade in relation to China has improved by 80% to 90% because of vigorous world, demand and drove up international prices for oil and minerals. Africa-China trade has a significant positive effect on the economic growth of African countries and on the total factor productivity Africa economies export to China and imports from China positively accelerate growth in Africa.

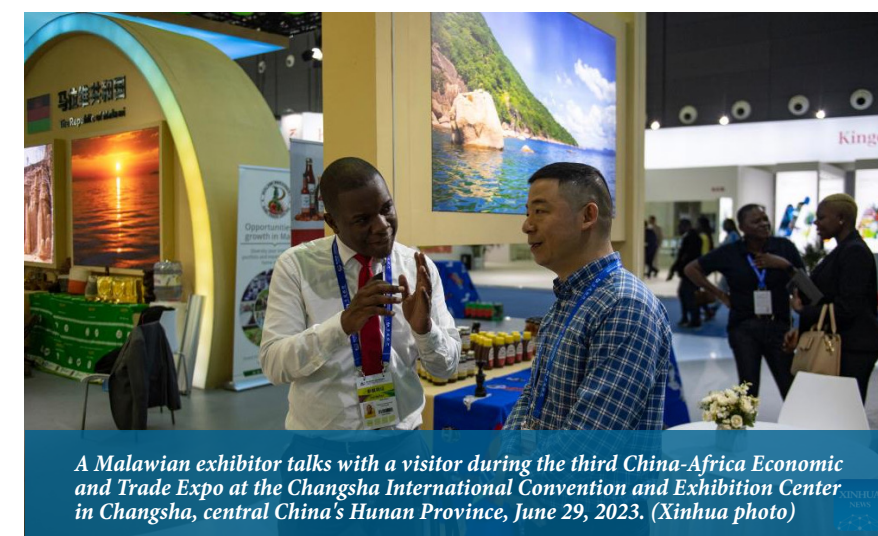
## Aid

China's relationship with Africa have been characterized by aid agreements. In the struggle for independence in Africa, China was willing to assist the new nation states with prestigious projects, emphasizing that it had given all it could in terms of financial and technical resources. China's strategy was to cultivate as many allies as it could and maintain old friendships. For instance, in 1956, China

started providing aid to Africa, by 2006 it had contributed aid for more than 800 aid projects.

Today, relations between China and Africa are more realistic. Trade and mutual benefits are central in current partnerships. However, China still supports a number of African countries with direct aid. Three major themes can be distinguished: building projects; Chinese medical teams; and scholarships for Africans to study in China. China has assisted Africa with numerous projects, the largest of which was the construction of the 1800-km Tanzania-Zambia railway which cost over US\$450 million. China has also constructed roads, wells, and telecommunication facilities in Africa, with friendly states being granted large projects such as airports, stadiums, palaces, government buildings and factories to mark their independence. Besides the construction of buildings and infrastructure, China supports Africa with medical teams. China has a long history in health. Approximately 180 million patients have been treated by Chinese doctors over the years.

China's other aid program in Africa is in human resources. One of the agreements made at the China-Africa Cooperation Forum related to an increase in human resources. China established a fund that is jointly used by several Chinese ministries, such notably as those of foreign affairs, commerce, education, and science and technology, and together they are responsible for the training and education of Africans. In 2003, 6000



An exhibitor introduces products to visitors during the third China-Africa Economic and Trade Expo at the Changsha International Convention and Exhibition Center in Changsha, central China's Hunan Province, June 29, 2023. The third China-Africa Economic and Trade Expo kicked off Thursday in Changsha. The expo welcomes more "Made in Africa" products into China and aims to boost business links between the two sides. (Xinhua photo)

people were trained and 1500 students visited China on educational exchange programs. Through these scholarships, China has contributed significantly to the development of human resources in Africa.

In addition, scholarship programs like these encourage bonds between Chinese and African institutions and students. Chinese aid included technical assistance in valued contracted projects and official development assistance (ODA). China further, has been providing debt relief to African countries on its own terms. China provides official development assistance in form of grants, interest free or low-interest loans. China aids programs further involve technical

assistance with emphasis on agricultural technology and training in Chinese institutions.

China official development assistance has focused on social and humanitarian projects such as hospitals, schools, low-cost housing, sport venues, library, and government buildings. Mostly delivered in kind, official development assistance has also been used for infrastructure construction and agricultural development. There are other debt-creating financial flows from China to Africa such as trade credits with medium and long terms of repayments.

## Investment

It was pinpointed by the National Bureau of Statistics of China that China's direct investment in Africa amounted to USD 392 Million in 2005. In that, over 800 Chinese enterprises have investment in trade, manufacturing processing, services and communicate to agriculture and natural resource development. China – Africa interaction has a positive effect on the employment rate in Africa.

Additionally, the interaction has created a positive spillover effect of productivity for domestic companies which eventually support sustainable development of the country. Meaning, Chinese investment in Africa improve the host country's capacity to absorb and use foreign capital.



Symposium on the Priorities of China-Africa Cooperation in the Context of the FOCAC Summit in Beijing, 2024. (File photo)



## China-Africa cooperation's future hinged on development transformation

*As we step into a rapidly evolving global landscape, the partnership between China and Africa stands as a symbol of mutual respect, collaboration, and shared aspirations for sustainable development. This relationship, rooted in decades of solidarity, continues to offer tangible benefits to both continents. In this article, Professor Chijoriga reflects on the critical themes that shape this partnership and highlights the opportunities for further cooperation, as both regions strive towards modernization.*

By Professor Marcellina Chijoriga, Mwalimu Julius Nyerere Leadership School

### A Legacy of Cooperation: Celebrating 60 Years of Tanzania-China Relations

Year 2024 marks a major milestone: the 60th anniversary of diplomatic relations between Tanzania and China. This relation-

ship is emblematic of the broader China-Africa partnership, which has transformed over time into a comprehensive framework for development. From infrastructure to education, healthcare to poverty allevi-

ation, China's involvement in Africa has contributed extensively to the continent's socio-economic progress.

As the Principal of the Mwalimu Julius Nyerere Leadership School (MJNLS), I have witnessed firsthand

the impact of this collaboration. MJNLS was established in February 2022 as a centre of excellence for building Nationalist and Pan-African leaders, is a joint effort by six Southern African liberation movements. The School's mission is to nurture future leaders committed to the principles of unity, development, and inclusivity, values deeply rooted in both African and Chinese approaches to governance and growth. Our School's motto, "Leadership for Inclusivity and Impact (LII)," encapsulates our commitment to nurturing leaders who can drive meaningful change and progress across the continent.

The enduring bond between China and Africa, particularly as seen through initiatives like the Belt and Road Initiative (BRI), is built on shared values and

mutual benefits. As Africa embarks on its path towards modernization, China remains a key partner in helping to bridge the infrastructural, educational, and economic gaps that impede the continent's full potential.

### The Challenges Facing Africa's Development

Despite its immense potential, Africa faces a series of complex challenges that impede its development trajectory. These challenges include poverty, infrastructural deficits, health crises, and governance issues, each of which requires coordinated efforts to address.

Poverty remains a pressing issue, with large segments of the population in many African countries still struggling to meet basic needs. While economic growth has been seen in various regions, it has not been evenly distributed, and inequalities persist. Access to education and healthcare, crucial components for development, remains limited, particularly in rural areas, exacerbating the cycle of poverty.

Infrastructural deficits are another significant hurdle. Insufficient transportation networks, unreliable energy supplies, and limited access to clean water are just a few examples of how underdeveloped infrastructure hinders economic activity and impedes the overall quality of life. This is especially true in areas where investments are sorely needed but not yet realized.

Additionally, Africa faces a heavy burden of disease. Beyond the long-standing challenges of malaria, HIV/AIDS, and tuberculosis, the COVID-19 pandemic has exposed the vulnerabilities in African healthcare systems. Strengthening these systems is vital for safeguarding the continent's human capital, which is crucial for sustained socio-economic progress.

Education, another pillar of development, is also burdened with challenges. Many African countries struggle with inadequate educational infrastructure, a shortage of qualified teachers, and limited access to quality and equitable education, particularly in rural areas. These issues contribute to high dropout rates and a skills gap that affects our labour

market and economic growth.

Governance challenges also continue to hinder development. Although many African countries have made strides towards democratic governance, issues such as corruption and political instability persist. Building stronger, more transparent institutions is essential for creating an environment conducive to long-term growth and stability.

### Learning from China: A Model for Sustainable Growth

China's meteoric rise from a developing nation to one of the world's largest economies offers important lessons for Africa. One of the most significant aspects of China's success has been its ability to implement long-term strategic planning. Through a series of five-year plans, China has methodically laid out development goals that have driven its economic transformation. African nations, and Tanzania in particular can benefit from adopting similar frameworks to ensure stable and consistent progress.

Another key driver of China's success has been its focus on infrastructure. The Belt and Road Initiative (BRI), a monumental project aimed at enhancing global connectivity, underscores the importance of infrastructure in facilitating economic growth. African countries can draw from this example by prioritizing investments in roads, railways, ports, and energy projects, which are vital for regional integration and the acceleration of economic activities.

Industrialization and diversification have also been central to China's growth. By fostering a favourable environment for manufacturing and technological advancement, China created jobs and expanded its economic base. African nations, traditionally reliant on agriculture and raw materials, can focus on industrialization to create a more diverse and resilient economy.

China's emphasis on education and innovation is another area where Africa can learn valuable lessons. Investments in Science, Technology, Engineering, and Mathematics (STEM) education, alongside research and development, have propelled China's economy into the modern era. For Africa, prioritizing



education, particularly in these critical areas, is essential to preparing the next generation of leaders and innovators.

Finally, governance and stability have played a crucial role in China's sustained development. African countries can benefit from building robust governance structures that ensure policy continuity and reduce disruptions caused by political instability. Transparent and accountable institutions are the foundation upon which long-term growth can be achieved.

#### The Role of China-Africa Cooperation in Addressing Development Challenges

China-Africa cooperation has evolved to become a pivotal element of Africa's development strategy. China's investments in African infrastructure, healthcare, and education have provided much-needed support to address the continent's development gaps.

Through the Belt and Road Initiative, China has funded the construction of essential infrastructure across Africa, improving transportation, energy supply, and trade routes. These investments are critical not only for facilitating economic growth but also for enhancing Africa's integration into the global economy.

In healthcare, China's role has been instrumental, particularly during the COVID-19 pandemic. China's provision of medical supplies, vaccines, and expertise was vital in helping African nations combat the virus. Beyond the pandemic, China has continued to invest in the construction of healthcare facilities and the training of medical professionals, strengthening Africa's healthcare capacity in the long term.

Education and capacity building have also been central to China-Africa cooperation. Thousands of African students and professionals have benefited from Chinese scholarships and training programs, gaining valuable skills and knowledge that contribute to the

broader development of African societies. These exchanges help to bridge skills gaps and foster greater collaboration between the two regions.

Moreover, China's experience in poverty alleviation offers important insights for Africa. China's targeted programs have lifted millions of people out of poverty, providing a model for Africa's own efforts in rural development, social welfare, and equitable resource

distribution.

#### The Path to a Shared Future

As we look ahead, the future of China-Africa cooperation holds immense promise. Both regions face complex challenges, but by working together, they can create a shared path towards modernization. The strength of this partnership lies in its foundation of mutual respect, shared values, and the

common goal of sustainable development.

China's continued commitment to Africa's development, coupled with Africa's growing recognition of the need for strategic planning and investment, sets the stage for a prosperous and inclusive future. By joining hands, China and Africa can navigate the complexities of the modern world and achieve their development goals.

This shared journey towards modernization requires innovation, adaptability, and resilience. Through continued collaboration in areas such as infrastructure, healthcare, education, and governance, both regions can build a legacy of progress that will benefit future generations.

#### Conclusion

As Africa and China move forward,

their partnership will remain a key driver of sustainable development and modernization. The lessons learned from China's rapid growth, combined with Africa's vast potential, offer a roadmap for a future defined by inclusivity, cooperation, and shared prosperity. Together, China and Africa can overcome the challenges they face and chart a course towards a brighter, more sustainable future for all.

*The African Union Headquarters Building, Addis Ababa built with assistance from China. (File photo)*





*The Late Mwalimu Julius Nyerere (1922 – 1999). One of Africa's most respected figures, often described as a politician of principle and intelligence. (File photo)*

## Nyerere's critical contributions to African liberation and Regional Integration

*This year marks the 25th anniversary of Mwalimu Julius Nyerere's passing, and this article delves into his critical role in the African liberation movements and regional integration. It will also explore how his principles of solidarity, ethical leadership, and Pan-African unity can and could continue to inspire and guide contemporary African leadership.*

By Gasirigwa Sengiyumva, Mwalimu Nyerere Leadership School

Since his untimely demise in October 1999, Tanzanians have been commemorating his passing nationally to celebrate this monumental leader's life and enduring legacy.

This year, a commemorative dialogue took place at the Mwalimu Nyerere Leadership School in Kibaha, Coast region, to honour Nyerere's contributions to the liberation struggles across the continent. The event also reflected on the practical applications of his vision in today's political and social landscapes and discussed the ongoing impact of his ideologies on modern governance and international relations.

The dialogue held under the theme, "Mwalimu Nyerere and the Liberation Movements: Reflections on Solidarity, Leadership, and Pan-African Unity" gathered people from the academia, political and economic circles. Also present were representatives from the six major parties that fought for the freedom of their countries across the region. They included African National Congress

(ANC) of South Africa, Front for the Liberation of Mozambique (FRELIMO), Chama Cha Mapinduzi (CCM) of Tanzania, People's Movement for the Liberation of Angola (MPLA), South - West Africa People's Organization (SWAPO) of Namibia and Zimbabwe African National Union-Patriotic Front (ZANU-PF). Additionally, the event hosted ambassadors (both retired and seated), government officials and international delegates, including representatives from the Communist Party of China (CPC).

Chief Guest of the event, former President of the United Republic of Tanzania, Dr. Jakaya Mrisho Kikwete, started his Keynote address by describing Mwalimu Julius Nyerere as a freedom fighter. "We should not forget that he led and championed the independence movement against British colonial rule in Tanganyika. Those who knew him well were saying it was while studying at Makerere University that Nyerere developed the ideas to fight for the independence of Tanganyika."

According to Dr. Kikwete, during his studies at Edinburg University in Scotland, he developed Pan-Africanist ideas because, at the time, the United Kingdom had already become the epicentre of the Pan-Africanist movement. At that Pan Africanism ideals had evolved to include the fight against colonialism and white minority rule in Africa.

Dr. Kikwete said that building the new Party and mobilising the masses of the people of Tanganyika to support the independence movement took work. There were hurdles from the colonists and others. But, with perseverance, steadfastness and his leadership, TANU overcame the odds, and Tanganyika attained its independence in 1961 and became a Republic in 1962.

Dr. Kikwete also traced Mwalimu's sacrifices by foregoing his teaching career to pursue politics full-time. "To many people, it would have been an impossible choice, but it was not the case for Mwalimu Nyerere. It demonstrated

his highest level of commitment to the cause of fighting for independence and sense of readiness to make sacrifices in the interest of most of his compatriots and women," added President Kikwete.

Hon. Suo Peng, Deputy Head of the Chinese Mission to Tanzania, described Mwalimu as a pioneer of African libera-

tion. "President Nyerere was known as the African Giant on the global stage, and dedicated to liberation, unity and strength of the African continent," said Mr Peng. He added that in the early days of Tanzania's independence, President Nyerere decided to use one per cent of the national budget for African libera-

tion, providing shelter for many African freedom fighters in exile in Tanzania. The country became the birthplace of the African national liberation movement. "Bagamoyo and Kongwa became the base of former liberation movements of southern Africa," He said.

According to Mr Peng, President Nyerere was also the founding father of the Organization of African Unity (OAU) and the founder of the East African Community (EAC) and the Southern African Development Community (SADC). After the establishment of the OAU, the headquarters of the National Liberation Movement Committee was established in Dar es Salaam, making immortal contributions to promoting the cause of African integration.

"Mwalimu Nyerere was a strong advocate for non-alignment and domestic and foreign policy independence. This helped establish a culture of mutual respect between nations in the region. It created space for countries to chart their political course free from domination by competing bigger powers," said Lieutenant General Anselem Nhamo Sanyatwe, Commander of Zimbabwe National Army.

According to Gen. Sanyatwe, this respect for sovereignty also motivated him to support the armed struggles against colonial regimes. He was the leader of the Frontline States for the liberation struggle against colonialism and apartheid in southern Africa. Mwalimu and the people of Tanzania displayed a true spirit of brotherhood by hosting liberation movements and providing them with training and logistic bases.

This initiative by Mwalimu Nyerere bolstered Southern Africa's defence capabilities, producing fighters who became the backbone of the armed forces for independent nations in Southern Africa. "To date, sister armed forces in the region continue to ride on Mwalimu's Vision by subscribing students and instructors to each other's military training institutions through bilateral arrangements. Mwalimu Nyerere's vision for peace and stability in the region was crystalised by establishing the SADC Regional Peacekeeping Training Centre in Harare, Zimbabwe" he pointed out.



*Inside the Julius Nyerere Peace and Security Building at the AU Headquarters, in Addis Ababa, Ethiopia. This building was named after one of the foremost Pan Africanists and respected peace-builders on the continent. (File photo)*





Dr. Jakaya Mrisho Kikwete, Tanzania's retired president spoke about Julius Nyerere during the Mwalimu Nyerere Memorial Dialogue at the Mwalimu Nyerere Leadership School in October, 2024. (File photo)

"The cultivation of citizen consciousness and promotion of civic participation are significant themes in the political life of any nation. Political Parties and governments have the onerous task to strengthen citizen consciousness education, ideological education and to preserve the ideas of legendary leaders such as the ideology of Mwalimu Julius Nyerere," said Dr Charles Mubita from Namibia.

According to him, Schools, including the Mwalimu Julius Nyerere Leadership School and the Party Schools of Former Liberation Movements, have long been considered influential political socialising agents. Thus, in line with this understanding, emphasis on citizenship education must be placed on formal curriculum development, evaluation, and school-based practices to enable young people to develop and acquire knowledge, skills, and dispositions as members of the polity. The youths are transmitting belts of consciousness and ideological education.

Mwalimu Nyerere advocated for a people-centred economy through self-reliance, a role he championed until his retirement from active service. He identified himself as a peacemaker/mediator for groups that were in conflict, for example, the Burundi crisis, which he mediated until his untimely demise, according to Retired Colonel Joseph Simbakalia, a Freedom Fighter and Instructor at the National Defence College in Tanzania.

It is on record that Mwalimu's vision

True heroes of Africa: From left, Oliver Tambo (South Africa), Sam Nujoma (Namibia), Kenneth Kaunda (Zambia) and Julius Nyerere (Tanzania) in one of their historic encounters during the liberation struggle. (File photo)



of regional unity also led to cooperation mechanisms, like SADC and the East African Community, which have reinforced political stability and security cooperation in post-independence Africa. When conflicts threatened one nation, others supported diplomatically and with peacekeeping and peace enforcement forces.

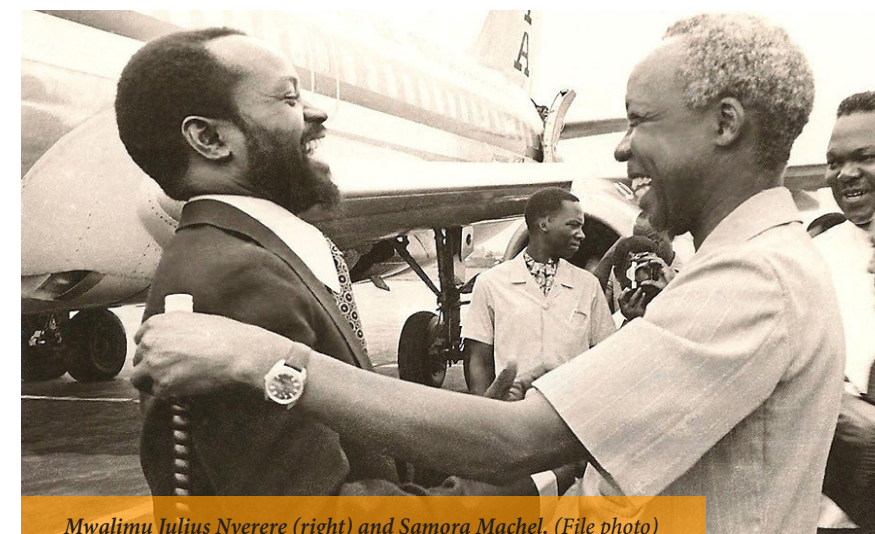
This collective security has strengthened democracy. For example, during the Mozambican civil war in the 1980s, neighbouring countries, including Zimbabwe and Tanzania, supported the FRELIMO government through diplomatic pressure and peace enforcement troops. This helped stabilise the situation in line with Nyerere's emphasis on collectively defending each nation's sovereignty.

The Tanzania and Zambia Railway Authority (TAZARA), proposed by

President Nyerere and funded and built by the Chinese government, is the largest complete project China has financed and built since the founding of the People's Republic of China. It is the Uhuru Railway supporting the southern African people's independence, and the Ufakiki Railway symbolizing eternal friendship between Chinese and African people. President Nyerere also actively promoted newly independent African countries to establish diplomatic relations with China. With the African brothers' joint efforts, he was restored the PRC's lawful seat at the United Nations in 1971. These and many more examples confirm that Mwalimu did not just champion African integration only but also on the global stage.

In conclusion, veteran Tanzanian Politician, and long-serving Cabinet Minister Stephen Wasira (retired) said that Mwalimu Nyerere's journey from a nationalist leader to a pan-African visionary shaped his economic thinking profoundly. He quickly recognised that political independence was insufficient without economic emancipation from neocolonial structures.

"It will be an unforgivable crime if we do not share our knowledge of the legacy and ideology of Mwalimu. Depriving this and the next generation, the wisdom of Mwalimu denies them the fullest sense of self, the sense of the beauty of a shared community, a sense of shared destiny, and a sense of the rich tradition of African communalism," summed up Dr. Mubita.



Mwalimu Julius Nyerere (right) and Samora Machel. (File photo)



# Place of Africa in the world: a case of natural resources and labour in the past and present

*The Institute for African Studies of the Russian Academy of Sciences organized a conference in March 2024 on the theme of this piece of writing. In the same context Evaristo Haulle in his own eyes, looks at the place of Africa in the world with a special focus on natural resources and labour.*

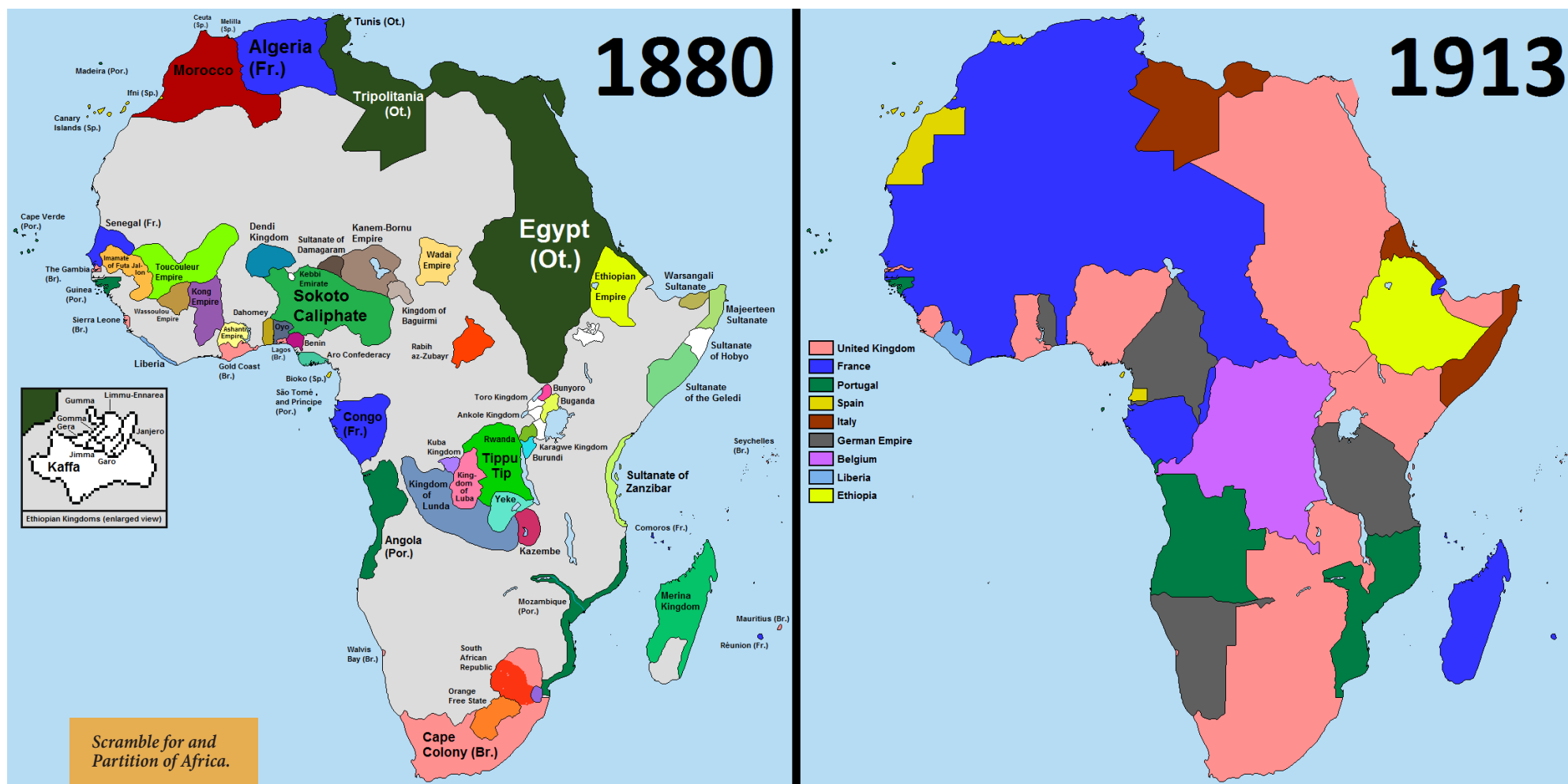
By Evaristo Haulle, University of Dar es Salaam

As I was conceptualizing, I found this to be a critical question of our time. This is why I have decided to reflect on the same matter briefly.

One question popped into my mind: why are we asking ourselves today about the place in Africa? This is a frequently asked question. The answer is that every community is in a constant struggle for development. In most cases, the battle has been to find a path toward development. In this case, how can we realize human needs? In realizing human needs, we are looking at the mode of production to sustain human needs and sometimes to satisfy human greed. In either case, the production is critical at the primary extraction level or secondary or tertiary production.

As we are reflecting on the place of Africa, during independence, Tanzania declared two significant concerns: One, the three enemies, which are poverty, diseases, and ignorance. Two, development achievement, Mwalimu Nyerere stated four prerequisites of development, namely people, land, sound policies, and good leadership. In articulating the two, one may notice that at least two enemies were directly related to human nature, 75 percent of the necessities for development were based on human behaviour, and the rest were related to land/ resources.

Historical facts about human nature remind us that Africa is the philosophy of humankind, as evidenced in Olduvai Gorge and Ethiopia, where *Zinjanthropus* and *Rusi* lived. History has proved to us that, as long as Africa has been the philosophy of humankind, Africa, through history, has remained the source of labour for the entire world.



Think of the labourers obtained through the trans-Atlantic slave trade to service America, think of the enslaved people transferred to Reunion to serve in sugarcane plantations, and think of the long-distance slave trade for labourers in Arab.

This history has shown how the Europeans scrambled and partitioned Africa and demanded that the human resources for production be effectively utilized to build the West. This trajectory

didn't end with colonialism. Instead, it was extended through neo-colonialism and neo-liberalism, whereby the African population continued to produce and feed the industries and the population in general.

In the global village, Africa is the marketplace where skilled labour was drained to nourish and nurture the West. It should be borne in mind that the West is experiencing population decay to the extent that the only hope remains

in Africa, where the majority, more than 60 percent, is the labour force, which is expected to serve Africa and the world. Revisiting the softening of European migration rules to improve labour mobility has been a critical strategy for modernizing cheap labour. The labour shortage is enormous; for instance, Austria has 78 percent, Sweden 77 percent, Italy 75 percent, Belgium 74 percent, Switzerland 73 percent, and Hungary 73 percent. For-

beautified Africa to create a national park in the global village.

The land was vital not only for natural resources and agriculture acquisition but also for building the mighty of the nations. In this case, the misrepresentation of Africans was crucial for psychological dominance. The naked truth is that the size of the African continent is equal to that of Europe, North America, China, and India combined. This geo-

able treaties that continued the colonial ties in Africa. The rampant coup d'état in the newly independent states was the testimony. Land alienation in the colonial era to establish plantations has been revamped to attract foreign investment in Africa. Given the climate change crisis, land alienation has been justified in the name of environmental conversation. It is what we call green grab.

While the past cannot be changed, we may change the present and influence the future. The question here is how we are at present. In the globalized world, where the world is becoming a village, we ask ourselves where Africa is. The answer may be a kitchen, bedroom, playground, farm, market, or prayer house. What is it exactly? We need to reflect!

In the 21st Century, the scramble has been intensified through economic and political interactions. After the end of the Cold War, the hegemony of America was put on trial with the rise of China and the re-emergence of Russia. Africa has remained at a crossroads as the scramble for influence has intensified. African states must understand the current struggles and decide the nature and type of cooperation in the world. Interaction is inevitable.

However, the kind of interaction needs to be chosen based on Africans' history and current demands. It should be borne in mind that those who were with us during the struggle are true friends of Africa. A friend in need is a friend indeed. Africa should reject to be chosen as a friend on behalf.

Through understanding the historical trajectory, Africa undoubtedly continues to be a rich and potential source of human and natural resources. African elites must forge a way through the global south initiatives and regional integrations to negotiate and bargain on the ways of interactions to win the game for the development of humankind. The place of Africa should be defined right from the beginning, before the establishment of cooperation with other states. The place of African countries in the global village should be clearly understood by underscoring the nature of collaboration, which benefits African states.

eign Direct Investment partly responds to it where the win-win situation is highly invisible.

During the scramble and partition of Africa, in addition to the search for labour, the land was the centre of it. Africa has been endowed with gold, diamond, copper, tanzanite, graphite, uranium, titanium, iron, and hydrocarbons. Africa is blessed with vibrant soil and a favourable climate for agriculture. Natural forests, water bodies, and wildlife have

graphical fact cannot be conceived easily through maps and pictorial representations of Africa. The conceived truth has a strong bearing on understanding spatial coverage and, hence, the place of Africa. What is presented may mean, "You cannot take a child to the elders' meeting".

The scramble for Africa's land and natural resources intensified during the post-independent era. The former colonialists continued to siphon the minerals and other resources through unfavour-



# When Memberships Collide: The Spaghetti Bowl of Africa's Economic Communities!

*Addressing the complexities of multiple and overlapping memberships in Regional Economic Communities (RECs) is crucial for enhancing cooperation among African nations and achieving the broader goals of continental economic integration. This paper explores the outcomes and challenges of overlapping memberships in RECs to critically understand the dynamics of regional integration in Africa with reference to Tanzania and the potential of emerging economies in the efforts to pursue African economic integration.*

By Venance R. Mutayoba, Mwalimu Nyerere Memorial Academy, Tanzania



SADC Council of Ministers deliberates on regional integration agenda, ahead of the 43rd SADC Summit in 2023. (File photo)

## Overview of Regional Economic Communities (RECs) in Africa

Regional Economic Communities (RECs) in Africa are essential frameworks to promote economic integration among member states within specific subregions. Established through various treaties, these communities serve as building blocks for the broader African Economic Community (AEC) and continental integration. The concept of RECs was formalized in the 1980 Lagos Plan of Action and further reinforced by the Abuja Treaty of 1991, which outlined a structured approach to regional and continental integration

over several decades.

There are currently eight recognized RECs by the African Union (AU): the Arab Maghreb Union (AMU), Common Market for Eastern and Southern Africa (COMESA), Community of Sahel-Saharan States (CEN-SAD), East African Community (EAC), Economic Community of Central African States (ECCAS), Economic Community of West African States (ECOWAS), Intergovernmental Authority on Development (IGAD), and Southern African Development Community (SADC). Each REC has unique objectives, governance structures, and membership

criteria, reflecting their member states' diverse economic landscapes and historical contexts. The primary goals of RECs include fostering trade, enhancing economic cooperation, promoting peace and security, and addressing socio-economic challenges collectively. Importantly, they also play a crucial role in implementing policies that align with the AU's broader developmental agenda, thereby underlining their strategic importance.

In recent years, initiatives like the Tripartite Free Trade Area Agreement (TFTA) have sought to harmonize efforts across COMESA, EAC, and SADC

as part of a broader strategy toward establishing the African Continental Free Trade Area (AfCFTA). Launched in 2020, AfCFTA aims to create a single African market, thereby enhancing trade and economic collaboration among member states. The AU envisions that the successful implementation of AfCFTA will boost intra-African trade, facilitate deeper economic ties, and improve overall socio-economic conditions on the continent. This ongoing integration process reflects Africa's commitment to overcoming historical divisions and fostering sustainable economic growth through collaborative efforts among its nations.

While these overlaps offer opportunities for enhanced cooperation and resource access, they also create significant hurdles that complicate governance structures and impede the overall integration process within the continent. Efforts to rationalize these overlapping memberships have been discussed at various African Union summits, highlighting the need for a more streamlined approach to regional integration that aligns with the objectives outlined in the Abuja Treaty.

## Outcomes of the multiple and overlapping memberships

Overlapping memberships in Regional Economic Communities (RECs) in Africa can yield several positive outcomes despite their present challenges. One significant advantage is the enhancement of bilateral trade among member states. For instance, research has shown that overlapping memberships can lead to increased trade within blocs like ECOWAS, where countries benefit from multiple trade agreements that complement one another. This multiplicity allows nations to access a broader market and leverage various trade policies, ultimately enhancing economic activity and member cooperation.

There are emerging opportunities from emerging economies like China that can collaborate with fragile states, including certain IGAD member states. China and African countries can foster and promote the combination of China-Africa cooperation with African



Leaders from Africa at the IDA21 Replenishment Summit called for an increase in donor contributions to the low-income financing arm of the World Bank. (File photo)

regional integration to achieve mutual cooperation complemented by multilateral collaboration. Another positive outcome is the diversification of economic partnerships. Countries belonging to multiple RECs can tap into different markets and resources, which can help mitigate risks associated with reliance on a single trading partner or economic bloc. For example, a country like Tanzania, a member of the East African Community (EAC) and SADC, can engage in diverse trade negotiations and initiatives catering to its varied economic sectors.

This flexibility allows for a more robust economic strategy adapting to changing market conditions. In addition, the trade share of the European Union (EU) and the United States of America (USA) with Africa has been falling rapidly. In contrast, the region's trade share with emerging markets, including China, has multiplied. This signals China's growing importance in Africa.

Furthermore, overlapping memberships can facilitate knowledge sharing and best practices among member states. Countries participating in multiple RECs often have access to various experiences and strategies for addressing common challenges such as infrastructure development, trade facilitation, and regulatory harmonization. This exchange of ideas can lead to improved policy frameworks and more effective implementation of regional ini-

tatives. For example, the collaboration between COMESA and EAC has resulted in joint efforts to streamline customs procedures, benefiting all member states. Additionally, overlapping memberships may encourage political stability and security cooperation. By being part of multiple RECs, countries are more likely to engage in dialogue and collaboration on issues such as conflict resolution and governance.

This interconnectedness can foster a sense of regional solidarity that contributes to peace and security efforts across borders. Finally, overlapping memberships can act as a catalyst for deeper integration efforts. The presence of multiple RECs encourages countries to harmonize their policies and regulations to avoid conflicts arising from different agreements. This push towards coherence can ultimately lead to more robust regional integration frameworks that align with the broader goals of continental integration, as envisioned in initiatives like the African Continental Free Trade Area (AfCFTA). In summary, overlapping memberships in African RECs present challenges but offer numerous positive outcomes, such as enhanced bilateral trade, diversified economic partnerships, knowledge sharing, political stability, and deeper integration efforts. These benefits highlight the potential for overlapping memberships to contribute positively to regional cooperation and economic development across the continent.



*AfCFTA African Continental Free Trade Agreement headquarters in Accra, Ghana. (File photo)*



### Challenges of overlapping memberships

Overlapping memberships in RECs in Africa present several major challenges that complicate the integration process. One of the most significant issues is the complexity of competing commitments. Countries that belong to multiple RECs often face conflicting obligations, which can lead to confusion and inefficiencies in policy implementation. For example, a member state may struggle to balance differing regulations and tariff regimes from various RECs, resulting in high trade costs and undermining the intended benefits of regional integration. In Tanzania, Kenya, and South Africa, the main problems of overlapping membership are the proper administration of tariffs, enforcement of rules of origin at borders (which may also breed corruption), and confusion due to a lack of coordination amongst regional integration initiatives.

Another challenge is the duplication of efforts and resources. Overlapping memberships can lead to wasted resources as countries must attend numerous meetings, implement multiple agreements, and fulfill various financial obligations. This redundancy not only strains national capacities but also dilute the effectiveness of regional initiatives. Many countries report low attendance at meetings and inadequate payment of contributions due to the overwhelming demands placed on them by multiple memberships. For instance, Tanzania's decision to withdraw from COMESA due to high subscription fees exemplifies how financial pressures influence membership dynamics.

The political implications of overlapping memberships also pose significant hurdles. Countries may experience divided loyalties, leading to a lack of commitment to fulfilling their obligations in all RECs to which they belong. This situation can stall progress on critical initiatives and even threaten the viability of certain RECs. Tanzanians are concerned that the EAC's ultimate political federation objective, which the member nations have envisaged, will affect their close relationship with several SADC countries.

Additionally, overlapping memberships complicate harmonization and coordination among member states. The existence of different legal frameworks and protocols within overlapping RECs creates obstacles for countries trying to align their policies effectively. As a result, nations may find it challenging to implement coherent strategies that promote regional integration. For instance, the problem of overlapping membership has arisen with the current Economic Partnership Agreement (EPA) negotiations with the European Union. It should be observed that within the same regional bloc (SADC), there are member states, such as Tanzania, that are not in the SADC- EPA arrange-

ment, but they would still be affected because their industrial products will have to compete with those from the EU who are enjoying customs duty-free as SADC member states.

Finally, the technical impossibility of adhering to multiple customs union agreements further complicates matters. Since a country cannot apply two different common external tariffs (CET), this situation creates a legal and operational conundrum that must be addressed as RECs move towards deeper integration.

In summary, overlapping memberships in Africa's RECs lead to complex challenges, including competing commitments, resource wastage, political implications, difficulties in harmoniza-

tion, and technical impossibilities concerning customs unions. Addressing these challenges is crucial for advancing the continent's integration agenda effectively.

### Conclusion and Recommendations

The phenomenon of overlapping and multiple memberships in Regional Economic Communities (RECs) in Africa presents a complex landscape that significantly impacts regional integration efforts. While these memberships can offer certain advantages, such as increased access to diverse markets and resources, they often lead to more profound challenges that undermine the intended integration goals. The compli-

cations arise from the conflicting obligations and regulations countries must navigate, resulting in a "Spaghetti Bowl Effect" characterized by confusion and inefficiency. One of the primary implications of overlapping memberships is the duplication of efforts and resources. Member states are often required to attend numerous meetings, implement multiple agreements, and fulfill various financial obligations, leading to wasted time and effort. This redundancy strains national capacities and dilutes the effectiveness of regional initiatives. For instance, countries like Zambia, which are members of both COMESA and SADC, face difficulties reconciling differing trade policies and customs regulations,

complicating their ability to engage in coherent trade practices.

Moreover, overlapping memberships can create political tensions and divided loyalties among member states. Countries may prioritize their commitments to one REC over another, leading to inconsistent policy implementation and a lack of commitment toward fulfilling obligations across all memberships. This fragmentation can stall progress on critical initiatives to enhance regional cooperation and economic development. The technical challenges of being part of multiple customs unions further complicate matters. Since a country cannot apply two common external tariffs (CET), nations must grapple with legal and operational conundrums as they navigate their memberships.

This situation necessitates urgent decisions regarding which REC will best serve their interests, often resulting in difficult trade-offs. Despite these challenges, there are pathways toward mitigating the negative impacts of overlapping memberships. Recommendations include rationalizing REC memberships to streamline commitments, enhancing coordination mechanisms among RECs, and building capacity within member states to manage their obligations better. Engaging a broader range of stakeholders can foster a more inclusive approach to regional integration, ensuring that diverse perspectives are considered in decision-making processes.

Overlapping memberships in Africa's RECs present significant challenges hindering effective regional integration. They also highlight the need for strategic solutions that promote coherence and collaboration among member states. By addressing these complexities through rationalization, coordination, and stakeholder engagement, African nations can work towards achieving the broader goals of regional integration and economic development envisioned in initiatives like the African Continental Free Trade Area (AfCFTA). The journey toward effective integration requires commitment and cooperation among all stakeholders shaping Africa's economic and political landscape.



A tourist on Zanzibar spice farm adventure in stone town. (File photo)



## How Spices are central to Economic Development in Zanzibar

*It is an open fact that spices are not only used for cookery but also play a significant role in boosting the economic status of the people in Zanzibar. Based on the significance of spices, the purpose of this article is to analyse how spices contribute to the economic development of people in Zanzibar.*

**Herry Zacharia Matinda, The Mwalimu Nyerere Memorial Academy, Karume Campus Zanzibar**

Zanzibar is one of the famous islands in the world, with beautiful beaches and fertile soil suitable for spice farming. For centuries, Zanzibar has been producing spices. History

shows that spices were brought to the soil of Zanzibar many years ago. For centuries, spices have been an important product for the livelihood of people in this beautiful spice island. Through spices,

many people have changed their economic status in Zanzibar. People have been engaged in different economic activities such as spice tour, selling of products originated from spices such as spices for

cooking and baking, medicines, perfumes, soaps, and oils.

### Spices and Economic Development

The term spice can be defined as a seed, fruit, root, bark, or other plant substance primarily used for flavouring, colouring, or preserving food. In Zanzibar, there are many types of spices, but cloves dominated as the island's most valuable product since the 18th and 19th centuries. Clove is also known as the "black gold" of Zanzibar. These spices are highly wanted due to their intense flavour and medical benefits.

Before independence, the Sultan of Oman recognized the potential of Zan-

zibar's spice trade in economic development and decided to establish a clove monopoly on the island. Under this system the ruling elite-controlled clove cultivation, production, and trade. The trust allowed the Sultanate of Oman to amass significant wealth and propelled Zanzibar into an era of success that attracted merchants and traders from around the world. It has been found that, even though cloves dominated in the spice trade in Zanzibar, there was production of other expensive spices, such as, black pepper, turmeric, chill, nutmeg, cinnamon and cardamom. These spices are still produced and exported to other nations in Africa,

America, Europe, and Asia. In 2021, after lockdown ends due to Covid19, the number of tourists has started to increase in Zanzibar. Based on the current tourism statistics, Zanzibar recorded 68,223 international visitors in July 2024 which is an increase of 16.2 per cent compared with 58,711 visitors recorded in July 2023. The increased number of tourists has a positive impact on the economic development of people working in the spice industry, since many visitors like to buy spices and pay to visit spice farms.

It has been revealed that spices are used as one of the tourism attractions in Zanzibar. Since most of the people are in this industry, they get their daily income from the tourists who visit the spice farms to see and learn the history of spices in Zanzibar. In these farms, there are tour guides who are experts on describing different spices available in spice farms. Tour guides describe how best to use these spices while visitors can go all out, smelling and tasting spices and tropical fruits like banana, coconuts, papaya, oranges, and mangos. Many of the spice farms were created specifically for showing spices to tourists for business matters. Through guiding the tourists to different spice farms, tour guides get their pay from visitors. The income collected helps them run their daily life and hence leads to economic growth among the people in Zanzibar. On the other hand, the wealth of spices in Zanzibar contributing a lot in creating employment among the people. Many people have been employed and others employed themselves into the spice industry. Through spices, there is a number of people employed in spice farms as tour guides, cleaners, and spice farm keepers. From these jobs, people are earning their daily income.

Furthermore, based on the economic development of people in Zanzibar, the trend shows that the spices industry is growing every day. People are buying and selling various products such as soap, oil, perfume, medicine, and ornaments originating from spices. There are many people from different areas, coming to Zanzibar markets



and spice farms, to buy spices and other products originated from spices.

On the other side, there is a rising awareness among the people about the health benefits of spices products. Spices like clove, ginger and cinnamon are increasingly popular for their perceived medical benefits. From this economic opportunity, people in Zanzibar are producing and selling products originating from spices for medical uses and profit gain. Additionally, there are local and foreign currencies collected from spice farms and markets every day in Zanzibar. From these incomes from spices industry, the Revolutionary Government of Zanzibar collects revenues. The money collected helps develop infrastructures and establishment of development projects such as roads, port, water systems, education, health, markets, electricity, and airport expansion. In fact, all these projects are fruitful for the economic development of people on the Island.

Moreover, it is important to understand that spices are not only benefiting people of Zanzibar, but also others from various parts of the African continent. Through spices, many countries in Africa have developed economically, and other facets of development. Due to spices industry, in recent years Africa is rising as a major player in the global spice market. In 2023 the spices industry contributed approximately \$ 1.5 billion to African Gross Domestic Product (GDP).

#### Challenges Facing Spices Industry

Just like any other industries, the spices industry in Zanzibar faces several challenges. Some of the issues industry faces are safety, quality and struggles to gain access to markets that support fair trade. Also, there are challenges associated with climate change, eruption of diseases, global conflicts, and financial challenges in the spices industry.

Starting with climate change. One of the threats to the spices production is climate change. Due to climate change, the production of spices may be affected in terms of productivity and quality. These effects can lead to poor production and hence lead to poor economic



*Zanzibar Spice Markets will offer common spices like Turmeric, Gingers, Black Peppers, Cinnamons, Cardamoms and Cloves. (File photo)*

development among the people in Zanzibar.

Another challenge is the eruption of diseases. We can learn and take the experience of COVID-19 in 2019/2020. The eruption of COVID-19 affected the spice industry a lot, from production to the market level. Many people stopped producing and even those who were producing it has been extremely hard to reach the markets. The substantial number of tourists stopped coming, so many spice businesses were closed. In short, the eruption of Covid19 and other diseases affected a lot, the economics status of the people engaged into spices industry in Zanzibar.

On the other hand, global conflicts such as Russia and Ukraine conflict and the current conflict in Israel, are also challenging the spices industry. These conflicts reduce the number of visitors from the affected countries. Also, the conflicts have the impacts on the economic systems in commodities prices and transportation charges. Global conflicts have affected the spices industry either directly or indirectly.

On top of that, the spice industry is highly competitive, with both large multinational companies and small-scale producers vying for market share. To survive in this industry, it needs enough capital and financial literacy if one must prosper. The challenge is,

most of the local people engaged in this industry are not well financially and literacy equipped, enough to compete with other traders from outside the island and developed countries. In general, the ministry responsible needs to address these challenges, to ensure the sustainability and quality production of spices in Zanzibar.

To address the challenges there is a need to involve the community members in a participatory way so as they can give their opinions and a way forward in the entire process of economic development through spices industry.

#### Conclusion

Analysts have concluded that in achieving economic development, spices have been one of the job creators among the people in Zanzibar. Many people have been employed and run their daily life through spices. Also, there are a number of people employed in spice industry as tour guides, cleaners, storekeepers, shop sellers, distributors, and many others work in spices industry. In general, spices are the heart of economic development in Zanzibar. There is a need to improve and address the challenges facing the spices industry to ensure sustainability of spices production, creation of job opportunities and hence economic development of people in this land of black gold.



*A teacher guides trainees from Guinea on how to use measuring instrument at Tianjin Railway Technical and Vocational College in north China's Tianjin, Nov. 11, 2024. About 40 trainees from Guinea would take a 90-day vocational training on railway-related technology at Tianjin Railway Technical and Vocational College recently. This training, which is valued by those trainees, is a paradigm of China's international vocational education cooperation that supports the Belt and Road Initiative and deepens cultural exchanges. (Xinhua photo)*





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