

Rostyslav Fediv

Ivan Franko National University of L'viv

THE CONTEMPORARY PRC'S POLICY IN AFRICA. ITS UNDERLYING ADVANTAGES AND CHALLENGES FOR THEIR MULTILATERAL AND BILATERAL RELATIONS

The article concerns the contemporary political and economic positions of China on the African continent. It appears to be obvious that Chinese economic ascent includes the changes in Beijing's foreign policy pertaining to different subjects of the international relations and its positions in the respective regions. The PRC's policy transformation under the new evolving conditions shapes its relations with the African states.

The object of the article focuses on the Chinese positions strengthening and policy development. Specifically, the article concerns the preconditions in which China's policy was formed and conducted in Africa. It includes the genesis of China-Africa relations arise in the 15th century and aftermath. In addition to that, it briefly describes China's positions in Africa during the 20th century. Finally, the main point is to research the contemporary policy of China towards the African states and the implications of that policy for China-Africa relations.

The subject of this article elaborates on the details of the Chinese-African interactions in the variety of spheres but mainly in politics and economics. The article encompasses some specific data largely of macroeconomic, trading and diplomatic character. In order to characterize how China's positions in Africa differ from other world powers' positions the information about the mutual trade turnover, foreign direct investments which were accrued in Africa with the PRC's origin, is provided.

Nowadays Africa is the region comprising of 54 independent states. Many world powers from all the parts of the globe demonstrate their interest to Africa, primarily, because of Africa's abundant natural resources.

China is the biggest state of the BRICS bloc economically and demographically. PRC's GDP exceeded \$ 8 trillion in 2012, and its trade turnover with Africa surpassed that of the US in 2010, and in 2011 commercial ties amounted to \$ 166 billion. Dynamically, China-African trade growth wins the competition with the EU and the US, but is comparable with the coefficients of trading growth performed by India and Brazil. That is why the article researches the sphere of the inner BRICS competition and the competition among other emerging powers for the African markets.

China's success in Africa stems from the schemes of cooperation Beijing applies to the relations with the countries of the region. The PRC conducts the policy of non-attaching any extra-conditions in its relations with Africa. Instead of the Western countries of the EU and the US which are setting the conditions of improvements in the sphere like: democratic standards and values pursuance, human rights and freedoms compliance, abidance of law and corruption tackling. China is neither enforcing nor persistently declaring all these values as the indispensable ones for further cooperation with the governments of the African countries. Because of this China gains some additional advantages in cooperation with the regimes which are taken with suspicion in the West.

The most important instrument of China's policy in Africa is economic one. China entices new partners in Africa by attractive interest rates and accessibility of its financial resource in venture projects what may entail more risks and bear some difficulties which western investors are not ready to take. Beijing realizes the importance of economic tools for its further political purposes attainment in Africa. One of them may be to rely upon the number of states in different international organizations like the United Nations where African states comprise almost quarter of the total number of the member-states.

Nevertheless, there are some drawbacks of China's policy towards Africa which the article deals

with too. Chinese investment and credit activity aims to use Chinese financial resources to buy “made in China” products for constructional works, for example. The entire scheme chain of this cooperation works in the way beneficial for the Chinese manufacturers because they sell their goods and services to the African partners who bought the stuff on the money deriving from China. In addition, Chinese workers work for the Chinese contractors whose participation in the certain projects realization is either envisaged by the contractual terms or is technically unavoidable. This deep economic involvement into the African economy aggravates the jobs deficit and makes many Africans be dissatisfied with China’s economic expansion. Some of the leaders on the continent already use it to boost their popularity criticizing Africa’s engagement with China. For the situation China is complicated by the prospect of the increasing competition with the Brazilian and Indian competitors who promote their policy in Africa and solidify their positions there using different slogans and already surpassing China’s influence in the certain countries and branches of economy of Africa.

Presumably, these factors may change the situation on the African continent. To presuppose what the outcomes of the overwhelmingly growing competition for Africa may be and whom these processes may bring some benefits and political advantages there are proposed some probable versions of the current trends development in the article.

Key words: Beijing’s foreign policy, China-Africa relations, BRICS bloc.

The People’s Republic of China is one of the most preeminent powers in the contemporary world. The Gross domestic product over \$ 8,280 billion enables the PRC to occupy a leading position in the world GDP rating, being second only to the U.S. economy which measures approximately above \$ 16,000 billion. Considering the annual almost double digit GDP growing pace for the recent thirty years, Chinese economy is predicted to overcome or at least catch up with the U.S. within the next decade or even sooner, specifically in 2016, according to the latest outlooks. The prognoses say that such a steadfast development foreshadow quite positive economic prospects for China¹.

Despite certain benefits, China faces new challenges on its path of development. The 30-year GDP growing period has converted the PRC into the world second biggest and still rising economic power and provided China with more foreign policy facilities and capacities. However, a lot of internal problems, in particular, environmental, demographic, separatist and so forth, remained. Since China is a heavily overpopulated country, its high overall economic volume in proportion to the total number of the country residents equals to \$ 5,300 per capita. The number is twice as little as it is in Brazil, for instance. From another viewpoint, it is roughly thrice as much as the corresponding rates of India. The Chinese economic success is fairly uneven, in terms of territorial division within the country. The commercially and industrially developed southern and eastern coasts of the PRC along with some central and north-eastern regions, the places where various manufacturing capacities are located, reflect the vision of China as the vastest global dynamic economic power, whereas other regions are far behind in excelling its overall and per capita welfare. Thus, different parts of the country are in delay of China’s economy general development².

It is obvious that China is not a homogeneous country where rural and urban territories are comparable in conciliation to its economic potential and opportunities for the inhabitants. Approximately 113.5 million Chinese citizens live on less than \$1.25 per day. Meanwhile, China has been rated second among the countries with the longest list of billionaires and in 2011 the PRC performed as the state where, at least, 115 businessmen’s assets overcome \$1 billion. Though in 2012 the respective number fell by 20 to 95 billionaires, these figures look like a stunt in the country’s conditions. Amid this and despite the certain elements of its contemporary economic appearance, the Chinese Communist Party contends that China is a country with the officially proclaimed and persuasively highlighted communist ideology³.

¹China to become largest economy by 2016. *Forecast*.

SinaEnglish.com. <<http://english.sina.com/business/2012/1111/525335.html>>.

²Central Intelligence Agency. The World Factbook. China. Economy. *Central Intelligence Agency*. <www.cia.gov/library/publications/the-world-factbook/geos/ch.html>.

³Flannery R. China leads the world in Billionaire flame-out. *Forbes.com*.

<<http://www.forbes.com/sites/russellflannery/2012/03/09/chinas-billionaire-boom-halts-country-leads-world->

Modern China is an emerging power whose economic accomplishments extrapolate on its external political feature and stance. In order to guarantee its all-out development in the long run, Beijing needs to establish and keep on good relations as well with the developed countries like the USA and the European Union member-states as with the large group of the emerging countries. Beijing's relationship towards the latter group of powers sometimes resembles the demonstration of its leader status as the country originating from the Global South. China is considered to provide itself with some backing on different flanks, acting in this way. Contemporary relations with Africa also prove this statement.

Many ages ago, China and Africa already experienced some diplomatic and commercial relations within the frame of diplomatic voyages and attached trade missions. Chinese–African commercial ties first appeared during the Song dynasty (960-1279 A.D.) and culminated in the expedition by the Chinese admiral Zheng He to modern-day Somalia and the Mozambique Channel. The trip was an unprecedented move in Chinese exploration of Africa. Later, relations between the remote “Middle Kingdom” and Africa began to ebb away. To some extent it was caused by the Europeans' move onto the African and Asian markets and bazaars, thereby Chinese were enforced to yield their positions in the region¹.

In the mid of the 20th century, after the end of the bloody civil war in China and new African states independence proclamation, China commenced with establishing relations with the newly-formed African states.

The PRC started its official diplomatic activities in Africa in the 1950s–1960s just after newly-formed African states had declared independence. Since then, China has established official diplomatic relations with fifty of fifty four African countries existing nowadays and opened its embassies in forty nine countries. China casted the large network to represent its official position in Africa on the permanent basis. The only condition which had to be fulfilled for establishing diplomatic relations with the PRC was the recognition of the one-China principle, thus, rejecting any Taipei official status. In comparison, the United States has established diplomatic relations with all fifty four African states and situated embassies in forty nine capitals².

From the 1950s until the 1990s China's economic activity on the African continent was by all estimations rather limited taking into account the EU and the US economic impact. But in the middle of the 1990s, China's trade with Africa accelerated briskly. Notably, from 2000 until 2011 the PRC and African countries multiplied their trading turnover amount approximately ten-fold from \$16 billion up to \$166.3 billion, having surpassed the United States as the main trading partner in 2009 and continued to hold the position aftermath. Specifically, the US trade turnover with all African states exceeded to \$113 billion in 2010, while the respective turnover between China and Africa amounted to \$127 billion³. Trading volume increase was mainly stirred up by the growing external economic activity of China and certain mutual interests. It was an outcome of the reforms inside the PRC, in particular “open doors” policy for attracting foreign direct investments and reversibly the driver for further reforming.

Another reason which backed Chinese–African relations ascend was the China's need to get the amicable attitude of the region where a lot of states are situated and the African countries' need to find an alternative to the post-colonial ties. Africa needed to disentangle from the all-round attachment to the former colonial empires in affairs of politics, economics and military enhancement of their own continental positions. Modern Chinese stand in the United Nations, for example, is sustained by the developing countries in a bulk share. Africa's 50 representatives that have diplomatic relations with the PRC constitute over a quarter of the total UN member-states of 193. Three temporary members of the UN Security Council are also Africa's quota in this only one imperative body of the organization. Thus, in matters like human rights abuse or minority oppression, when China is most often confronted by several dozens of the Western powers, Beijing along with the assistance of the African recently-allied partners and other developing countries may easily deflect the torrent of criticism and hinder or even block all inconvenient resolutions. Such diplomatic background empowers the PRC to widen the scope of situations when China is in power to choose what to defy or defer among the statements and resolutions produced collectively in any international organization.

in-forbes-list-drops/>.

¹Kwok K. China's Influence in Africa. *Fair Observer.com*. <<http://www.fairobserver.com/node/33977>>.

²The Ministry of Foreign Affairs of China // Missions Overseas // Chinese embassies // Africa. *Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the PRC.gov*. <<http://www.fmprc.gov.cn/eng/wjw/zwjg/2490/2493/>>.

³Qi L. The 'secrets' behind the success of China-Africa relations. *ChinaDaily.com*. <http://www.chinadaily.com.cn/opinion/2012-07/20/content_15603361.htm>.

Furthermore China stands up to the U.S. and the EU in the issues which are not directly connected with China, but which are important for its national interest in Africa, like blocking some tougher sanctions imposing against the authoritarian regimes (Sudan or Zimbabwe). China also has some vested interests beyond the continent like those pertaining to Iran and Syria's concerning issues. Though there is no permanent unanimous voting on all the issues on the international agenda between China and Africa, the situations like these occur more than just once in a while and don't seem to be simply coincidental. From time to time, they are made by Beijing in defiance and taking little notice of what is considered by the International community, or by the states, mostly the Western powers, whose boldly voiced positions are often perceived with some opposition and annoyance by China.

Besides diplomatic advantages and mutual reinforcement of the international political stature which are caused considerably by the two decades of warming in Chinese-African relations, the PRC has discovered a lot of other beneficial opportunities which can be used in its partnership with Africa. They are far more than only assent in voting on some issues. The continent whose state nowadays is described as a field, which is desired to be torn again among different governmental and non-governmental subjects, is crucial for supplying some recently emerging Asian and Latin American economies. The corresponding states' minerals and energy consumption increase is an attendant factor of their multi-faceted development. They consider it to be an uttermost benefit to get vested in exploring for Africa's undiscovered resources and profitably exploiting them or some resource basins which are still less intensively exploited.

Basically, contemporary interests of China on the African continent correlate to four key priorities: (1) maintaining or increasing access to energy, minerals, timber and agricultural products; (2) developing good relations with all African countries so that China can count on their support in regional and international forums and organizations; (3) increasing significantly China's export to Africa, especially as the economies of African states become more economically robust and Africans increase their disposable income; (4) ending Taiwan's official diplomatic presence in Africa and replacing it with recognition of Beijing. It should be said that only four countries Swaziland, Burkina Faso, Gambia, and Saõ Tome and Principe still recognize Taipei. China insists on the one-China principle what keeps the following interest on the agenda. Since President Ma Ying-jeou was elected in 2008 there has been a truce between Taipei and Beijing concerning efforts to undermine each other's diplomatic partnerships in Africa. But this probably temporary regime may be breached if new leadership on Taiwan will hold more hostile policy in relation to Beijing in pursuit for the ambition of the official separation from China. Incidentally, China does not object or impede to Taiwan's economic activity on the continent unless Taipei's authority alter its current foreign policy course¹.

Today's Africa is a continent with the population of over 1 billion people. Mutual trade is one of the most important dimensional facets of Chinese-African relations. Traditionally, Africa plays an important role in the world supply of mineral and energy resources. China, as well as India, EU and US, is a net-importer of oil and natural gas. One-third of the contemporary Chinese oil consumption is provided by imported oil. In its turn, one-third of that imported oil is purchased from Africa's most prominent oil exporters like Angola and Sudan, in a bulk share, and less from Nigeria, Algeria, Libya and the Democratic Republic of the Congo. Crude oil imports total to within 64 – 70% range share, according to different sources, in China's overall import volume from Africa. Almost 15% of Africa's exports to China are raw materials (mostly minerals). Thus, in general some 85% of Africa's exports to China are raw materials and energy resources². Such qualitative China-imports structure in trade with the African countries means that Africa remains mainly the resources provider for China in their commercial relations. While African exports content has not changed essentially for the recent years, China's exports to Africa has made a shift from textile and clothing (28%), machinery and transportation equipment (27%) and other manufactured goods (26%) in 2000 to high end capital goods, especially communication equipment (20%), road transport vehicles (19%) and electronic machinery (18%) until 2009³. This qualitative trade imbalance seems to be the one which favours Chinese manufacturers.

¹Shinn, D.H. China-Africa Relations: The Big Picture. *International Policy Digest.org*.

<<http://www.internationalpolicydigest.org/2011/12/06/china-africa-relations-the-big-picture/>>.

²Shinn, D.H. China-Africa Relations: The Big Picture. *International Policy Digest.org*.

<<http://www.internationalpolicydigest.org/2011/12/06/china-africa-relations-the-big-picture/>>.

³Shinn, D.H. China's Growing Role in Africa: Implications for U.S. Policy. *International Policy Digest.org*.

<<http://www.internationalpolicydigest.org/2011/11/04/chinas-growing-role-in-africa-implications-for-u-s-policy/>>.

China – Africa trade relations are not constituted by the countries of the continent equally. Recently, there have been four key import partners of China in Africa: these are Angola, Sudan, the South African Republic and the Democratic Republic of the Congo (Kinshasa), which all together are exporting approximately 70% of commodities (encompassing crude oil and minerals) from Africa to the PRC. These countries and some other important oil and natural gas exporters like Nigeria, Algeria and Libya have enjoyed surpluses in their trade balances with China. So, we may consider them to be more favoured than other countries in trade with China. China's export to the continent is most successfully sold in six countries. In all, 60% of the Chinese exports to Africa are purchased by the South African Republic, Egypt, Nigeria, Algeria, Morocco and Benin. That export increasingly comprises machinery, automobiles and electronic products. Meanwhile, the worst deficit which China's African partners are afflicted by is inherent in Sub-Saharan foreign trade imbalances. This reveals the fact that the trade with the PRC is not a purely supportive tool for the means inflow into Africa¹.

Africa has been influenced by various foreign actors. Until the 1990s, the PRC was not so well represented economically and politically on the African continent as the EU and the US whose trading predominance in the region was apparently unchallenged. Nonetheless, during the 1990 – 2000s, China's considerable expansion in trade and investments was taking place, meanwhile several other countries, specifically Brazil, India, Turkey, South Korea and South Africa were outperforming economically to be ranked as the emerging powers. These countries' foray to Africa eventually coincided with the African countries economic growth acceleration. It turned out to be a background for further African return to the global arena as an indispensable subject of a great interest. African states have performed 5.1% GDP average growth in the last decade (2000–2010). Though it looks quite modest amid other emerging markets, especially if compared with the People's Republic of China and the Republic of India or even the Federative Republic of Brazil, but that is higher than 2.9% of the world-wide GDP average growth².

Since the first decade of the 21st century was unprecedentedly successful in terms of the global economic growth in countries which had played the role of outsiders before, several comparatively new powers stepped up for the competition in Africa.

In 2000, China's trade turnover with Africa was over \$16.3 billion, India's respective figure totaled to over \$1 billion and the respective number of trade between Brazil and Africa was likewise. Until 2010, three emerging powers had increased the number of merchant goods and services in trade with Africa and reached \$ 127 billion for China, almost \$50 billion for India and surpassed \$20 billion for Brazil. Albeit considered not to be foes, eventually all the BRICS members have found themselves in competition with each other.

By means of multiplying their trade, China, India and Brazil (BRICS bloc countries) acquired qualitatively new facilities how to promote and overwhelmingly apply their economic capacities in Africa. Due to the objective factors, the next stage of economic relations activation was an increase in Foreign Direct Investments (FDI). Non-western states commenced with flowing and saturating African markets.

Chinese investors appeared to be superiorly successful among others concerning the scale of economic footprint made and financial outcomes conducted. Chinese public and private firms have accrued an immense capital inside China and also set up new capital assets overseas. African vector has become one of the most attractive and preminent. According to the Xinhua Agency, the PRC foreign direct investments into the African countries had surpassed \$40 billion until 2011. Yet China's FDI accrued in Africa compose only a minor part of all foreign direct investments which have been accumulated in the countries of the region for the period of their independence, in contrast to the respective EU and the US' investments shares³.

Beijing has gained some advantages which now seem to be surpassing the competitors in some aspects. There is a range of facets whose thorough elaboration reveals the nature of the recent success of China's comprehensive economic engagement and attendant Africa-centered policies:

¹Shinn, D.H. China-Africa Relations: The Big Picture. *International Policy Digest.org*.

<<http://www.internationalpolicydigest.org/2011/12/06/china-africa-relations-the-big-picture/>>.

²Gupta, A.K., Haiyan, W. Myths about China and India's Africa race. *The Economic Times. The EconomicTimes.indiatimes.com*. <http://articles.economictimes.indiatimes.com/2011-09-24/news/30198189_1_china-and-india-india-s-africa-south-africa>.

³Shinn, D.H. China's Growing Role in Africa: Implications for U.S. Policy. *International Policy Digest.org*. <<http://www.internationalpolicydigest.org/2011/11/04/chinas-growing-role-in-africa-implications-for-u-s-policy/>>.

China's sending FDI overseas, in particular into Africa, is performed by both private and public companies. Their money is streaming into specific projects or is allotted to the companies' affiliated subsidiaries. Such companies owe their economic activity in Africa to the unofficial or veiled support of the Chinese authorities which provide the necessary guaranties;

Another reason why China's African economic policy is carried on successfully may consist in the sound internal cooperation between the Chinese private and public enterprises. They are common in their intention to work with the African vis-à-vis sustainably relying upon their own financial and capital means, labour force, technological capacities etc.

The very reason which could be rated as the most stimulating for the vigorous cooperation between these two regions (which are fairly remote geographically but hardly reluctant politically) is the PRC's official bolstering. It implies not just declaration within the Council of China–Africa Cooperation. Even though this Council is the major International Forum which is keen to enroll China and Africa as if they were natural geopolitical allies, it provides Chinese state-run companies, corporations and conglomerates with an important practical backing and official guaranties. These measures warrant the safe implementation of various economic and vast social projects largely in Zambia, Nigeria, the Democratic Republic of the Congo, the Sudan and most profoundly and prominently in Angola.

Africa is interesting for China in terms of raw materials supply and getting on new markets. Besides, Africa presents for China diplomatic interest as the place where numerous sovereign states are situated. Mainly, Chinese commercial ties with Africa stem from the scheme in conciliation to which Beijing purchases crude oil and minerals and bids for the rights, like concessionary ones, to exploit Africa's natural resources at site, while in return China offers pretty beneficial loans and long-term credit lines. These are distributed for some infrastructure objects construction, esp.: roads, railways, airports, seaports, laying fiber optic communication and so forth. Some types of social packages are also very popular in the Chinese–African cooperation. Chinese construction firms are building schools, hospitals, social care and protection centres all over the continent¹.

Perhaps, in average the largest facilitator for the sound contemporary Chinese–African economic and political interactions is a principle of non-attaching political preconditions. This is the underlying principle due to which China treats its partners in Africa. Instead of following the lead of the US and the EU whose requirements, either declarative or factual, for abiding human rights, structural reforms implementation and tackling corruption preclude some of loans, aids, and credits apportioning to the African states, Beijing is acting in another way. The PRC enforces, at least publicly, nothing political bar the items of business contractual obligations and regulations fulfillment and complying by. So far, this policy has benefitted some African rogue regimes like those in Sudan and Zimbabwe whose leadership has been claimed by the West to stop consistent ethnic minorities oppression and/or human rights violations, let alone a call on them to excel in their internal governance.

Despite many facilitators for the Chinese–African relations rendered above which reveal the reasons why China's African policy is succeeding, there are several challenges which may impede the pace of China-Africa cooperation. Several newly arisen facts essentially undermine the positives of the multilateral China–Africa growing cooperative relationship.

Firstly, the list of drawbacks begins with the structure of trade between China and Africa. The technical level of the Chinese exports is quickly growing to the machinery and manufactured goods with the higher added value, and it happens so, on the background of the Africa's raw materials 85% share in its exports to China. Communication equipment, road transport vehicles and electronic machinery compose 3/5 of the PRC's contemporary exports to Africa.

Secondly, that goods torrent is surging Africa's market having already pushed out some local producers from it. It must be highlighted that such a state of affairs heavily affects the African manufacturers of the textile clothes and garments etc. China's exports hinder the development of some African local machinery industries endangering their very existence whereas some of them are still in conception and cannot stand up to the Chinese competitors. Even traditional textile industry development is impeded by imports from the PRC. Consequently, it causes a backlash from the African entrepreneurs and people, enforcing their leadership to counter such a jeopardizing trend.

¹China funds construction of House of Chadian Woman. *China–Africa Cooperation Forum.org*.
<<http://www.focac.org/eng/zfgx/t987797.htm>>.

Thirdly, it would be nice to clear up that China's financial aid, social packages, encompassing hospitals, schools construction and so forth should not be taken for granted as it is not a typical aid given free of charge. Hospitable conditions of China's loans, credit lines and technological support are provided on the condition that Africans make use of these means in a certain way. They have to purchase Chinese construction materials and sign the contracts with the Chinese contractors for carrying out the envisaged works. Thus, in an outcome, African partners use China-manufactured goods and services hiring Chinese workers and creating jobs not only for the locals but also for the Chinese taking PRC's money likewise.

These negatives cause some consequent implications for China in its policy in Africa. China's image is somewhat spotted in the minds of some local Africans. They hardly see the PRC as a neocolonial power which the EU and the US are often convicted. However, it is alleged that China arises as a threat for the African manufacturers' qualitative development. Albeit such allegations are rejected by most African governments which consider them to be the former colonizers' endeavours to create controversies in Chinese-African cooperation, the fact of quite assertive Chinese competitive advantages pressure on the African markets is yet truly apprehensive for them. That may transform into ominously problematic issue in their relationship in the long-run prospect. The negative attitude towards China among some African population strata is supposed to influence internal politics inside African countries, for instance, in Zambia where Michael Sata won election campaign fairly owing to his criticism of the Chinese investors. In his view, they do not properly keep up to the labour legislation of Zambia¹.

The second implication for China-Africa cooperation is a rising disparity of importance in trading partnership. For Africa China constitutes 13% of their external trade turnover, whereas Africa as a trading partner covers only 4% share of China's external trade turnover. Though now the PRC serves as a growing alternative market for Africa, the structure of trade remains almost the same as it is with Europe and other Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development member-states. In addition, the negative technology and machinery imbalance has tended only to deteriorate until now.

On the other hand, all these negatives do not make the West be heedless concerning China's growing interests in Africa. The PRC's interest excesses economics and shapes Africa's attitude to the West giving the African countries some extra options to become more assertive and contentious in their posture towards Europe and the US. Hillary Clinton and David Cameron's recent statements calling for Africa being cautious about Chinese plans and aims in the continent reveal the wariness of the Western powers of Beijing's possibly concealed leading position aspirations². Western apprehension about China's overwhelming and evolving engagement in Africa is conspicuous. So far, the Western countries haven't taken any vivid measures to down the China-African relations durable and reckless upward trend. Moreover global economic crisis tremendously afflicted international investments flow, thus, the most effective Western "soft power" instruments have partially dissipated in Africa and Chinese have substituted them in their niches.

Nevertheless, it is impossible to state that China dominates in Africa. The EU remains the biggest trading partner of the continent totaling to 42% share in general turnover, though China dominates in trading with Africa as a single country. The United States is the third Africa's partner in trade. India has arisen as another state which is hasty in engaging commercially in Africa. New Delhi reached \$52 billion trade volume with Africa in 2011 that makes it the fourth economic partner of Africa. Indian and Brazilian evolving partnership with the African countries stands on and is driven by the private initiative in contrast to China's state-run companies whose bulk share representation in cooperation with Africa cannot be ignored³.

It is clear that private business is more volatile in terms of business climate and is much more susceptible to the excessive risks when it has no hedge in the form of state backing. In spite of that, private initiative of other BRICS countries has already succeeded in some spheres of the African economy and is competing with the Chinese firms. For instance, Brazil building company is a leader on Ghana's social housing market. Pharmaceutically, India has got the strongest positions in Africa among the other emerging powers like China, South Africa, Brazil, Turkey or Indonesia. Incidentally, in countries like Zimbabwe or

¹Alessi, C., Hanson, S. Expanding China-Africa Oil Ties. Council on Foreign Relations. *Council on Foreign Relation.org*. <<http://www.cfr.org/china/expanding-china-africa-oil-ties/p9557>>.

²Kermeliotis, T. Is the West losing out to China in Africa? CNN. Marketplace Africa. *CNN.com*. <http://edition.cnn.com/2011/BUSINESS/09/08/america.losing_influence.africa/index.html>.

³Ramachandran, S. India's African "Safari". The Diplomat. *The Diplomat.com*. <<http://thediplomat.com/2012/12/04/indias-african-safari/?all=true>>.

Tanzania Brazilian mining companies present a great competition to the Chinese, the US and the European respective enterprises.

Specifically, Brazil holds several infrastructure projects in Africa. This Latin American country doesn't search for resources in Africa because it is rich in them at home. Thus, it is entirely interested in profitable and successful business from the marketing viewpoint. Brazil is heavily promoting itself in Africa by underscoring that it is second only to Nigeria as the "black population" inhabited country in the world. The argument most often voiced by almost entirely "white leadership" of the country. Interestingly, India can promote the common colonial traits of its history as one of self-advertising tools in Africa as a result China's promoting slogans seem a bit less persuasive than Indian and especially Brazilian¹.

Actually, Brazil is supposed to become an oil net-exporter in a visible prospect, so crude oil is not its main interest in Africa on the contrary to China. The same can be told about India which is less active on the mineral resources search field than China. Despite that, BRICS member-states have a lot of common interests in Africa, largely because they all represent alternatives to Europe, the US, Japan or even Australia for the African countries in terms of economics as well as political and humanitarian cooperation.

Anyway, BRICS countries are not seen altogether similar in Africa. Their vision of priorities differs, even though now they cannot compete in high technologies with the classic hegemonies like the Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development members. Consequently China, Brazil and India venture in the complex projects, infrastructure, new resource deposits exploitation etc. However, China's expansion seems to be the most extensive and bulky in comparison with the other BRICS members. Brazil and India make another emphasis on the projects undertaken by the private capital, although they may not be as large quantitatively as those of China. Thus, pretty soon some of their mostly common interests today are supposed to diverge. That ensures us of the presumption that China as well as the other participants in this new grab for African resources is bound to face an upward slope in competition level in the continent. Eventually, this may require from them to formulate more resourceful and diversified policy in relations with most African states².

Africa's role in providing China with energy and mineral resources is supposed to grow steadfastly in the prospect. Partially, it is so because of the Middle East instability. On this backdrop China is probably going to become more dependent on the critical imports. In order to warrant such imports durability and relevant agreements credibility, Beijing's African policy ought to be more careful in relation to the African people social affairs.

Deep involvement into packaged contractual obligations cooperation with the African partners may be too burdensome for the Chinese companies to fulfill comprehensively in the future. Because of that China's economic policy dimension in Africa may convert into more resemble to the contemporary Western one. Cooperation may transform into signing more restraint and constricted objects and subjects of the contracts, narrowing the scope of the packaged obligations. From the business viewpoint, it would favour Chinese-African partnership transparency. The PRC's financial aid may be streamed more distinctively, going alone without being implied as a social part in the complex loan contract as it recurs now. On the other hand, it seems misty what could be the conditions of possible aid to Africa. Either they may become more Western-like demands for better governance or less corruption or both including some western-like and remaining Chinese peculiar ones at the same time.

In conclusion it should be said that China projects its political and economic capacities in Africa. Beijing is going to be careful enough in relations with the US and the EU which are strategic partners for the PRC. Likewise in its Africa policy adjusting for China and Africa earning maximum benefits, Beijing shall not avert one's look from the growing apprehension over a looming neocolonial menace. The arguments of that menace are often produced in the West. It is caused by the West positioning itself the way to mitigate the negatives of one's losing out the monopoly stand in Africa. Other emerging powers, preeminently India and Brazil, also dare claim for good share of benefits in their forage in Africa. They too, as well as the PRC, are expected to sustain the continuous activity and stay on the continent on the permanent basis. This may be fertile soil for possible contending among these new powers.

¹A new Atlantic alliance. Brazilian companies are heading for Africa, laden with capital and expertise. Brazil in Africa. *The Economist*. *The Economist.com*. <<http://www.economist.com/news/21566019-brazilian-companies-are-heading-africa-laden-capital-and-expertise-new-atlantic-alliance>>.

²Fundira, T. A glance at Africa's engagement with the BRICS. *International Centre for Trade and Sustainable Development.org*. <<http://ictsd.org/i/news/bridges-africa-review/134367/>>.

It is necessary to mention that some relatively rich African states or at least those wealthier than their borderers like South Africa, Algeria and Angola have obtained some new tools in their foreign policy maneuvering. Amid their poorer African compatriots they would like to gain an updated and of course upgraded status. In their relationship with the overseas partners they want to translate their comparatively solid economic state into qualitatively different approach in which their partners should treat them. It is deemed to become one of new aspects in composing and adjusting China's policy pertaining to Africa too. Ultimately, we may presumably assess these factors as complicating ones for the accomplishment of the different states' plans linked to Africa.

Through the inner economic-borne transformation of the mentioned African powers into the invigorated interest representatives on Africa's behalf in international relations, such powers can obtain the status different from others in Africa. It may gradually result in a more rigid stance and demanding positions of Africans bargaining for better conditions from the Chinese bidders. Eventually it may widen the chasm of difference in the variety of national interests which the African states would like to follow. Finally, China may face either several partners in Africa which would not agree for the traditional resource sale in exchange for the complicated loans scheme contracts because they will have a wide range of the bidding alternatives, though most of the African states are not expected to attain such capacities. Or, from another viewpoint, external powers including the PRC may conduct their policies, promote their interests and bargain even more successfully in Africa via these developed partners mediation. Consequently, the exceptional position of several more economically successful African states may sporadically provoke some political divisions, cracks and economic disputes among the nations of the region.

In the end, general bilateral collisions of interests occurring now between China and the West in Africa are quite possible to aggravate to multilateral collisions among the developed and emerging countries and even inside the emerging countries group forgetting high yields in Africa. Unless the trend diverts significantly, African countries will have a chance to make use of it to earn more profits.

References

1. A new Atlantic alliance. Brazilian companies are heading for Africa, laden with capital and expertise. Brazil in Africa. *The Economist*. *The Economist.com*. <<http://www.economist.com/news/21566019-brazilian-companies-are-heading-africa-laden-capital-and-expertise-new-atlantic-alliance>>.
2. Alessi, C., Hanson, S. Expanding China-Africa Oil Ties. Council on Foreign Relations. *Council on Foreign Relations.org*. <<http://www.cfr.org/china/expanding-china-africa-oil-ties/p9557>>.
3. Central Intelligence Agency. The World Factbook. China. Economy. *Central Intelligence Agency*. <www.cia.gov/library/publications/the-world-factbook/geos/ch.html>.
4. China funds construction of House of Chadian Woman. *China-Africa Cooperation Forum.org*. <<http://www.focac.org/eng/zfgx/t987797.htm>>.
5. China to become largest economy by 2016. Forecast. *SinaEnglish.com*. <<http://english.sina.com/business/2012/1111/525335.html>>.
6. Flannery R. China leads the world in Billionaire flame-out. *Forbes.com*. <<http://www.forbes.com/sites/russellflannery/2012/03/09/chinas-billionaire-boom-halts-country-leads-world-in-forbes-list-drops/>>.
7. Fundira, T. A glance at Africa's engagement with the BRICS. *International Centre for Trade and Sustainable Development.org*. <<http://ictsd.org/i/news/bridges-africa-review/134367/>>.
8. Gupta, A.K., Haiyan, W. Myths about China and India's Africa race. *The Economic Times*. *The Economic Times.indiatimes.com*. <http://articles.economictimes.indiatimes.com/2011-09-24/news/30198189_1_china-and-india-india-s-africa-south-africa>.
9. Kermeliotis, T. Is the West losing out to China in Africa? *CNN. Marketplace Africa. CNN.com*. <http://edition.cnn.com/2011/BUSINESS/09/08/america.losing_influence.africa/index.html>.
10. Kwok K. China's Influence in Africa. *Fair Observer.com*. <<http://www.fairobserver.com/node/33977>>.
11. Qi L. The 'secrets' behind the success of China-Africa relations. *China Daily.com*. <http://www.chinadaily.com.cn/opinion/2012-07/20/content_15603361.htm>.
12. Ramachandran, S. India's African "Safari". *The Diplomat. The Diplomat.com*. <<http://thediplomat.com/2012/12/04/indias-african-safari/?all=true>>.
13. Shinn, D.H. China's Growing Role in Africa: Implications for U.S. Policy. *International Policy Digest.org*. <<http://www.internationalpolicydigest.org/2011/11/04/chinas-growing-role-in-africa-implications-for-u-s-policy/>>.
14. Shinn, D.H. China-Africa Relations: The Big Picture. *International Policy Digest.org*. <<http://www.internationalpolicydigest.org/2011/12/06/china-africa-relations-the-big-picture/>>.
15. The Ministry of Foreign Affairs of China // Missions Overseas // Chinese embassies // Africa. *Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the PRC.gov*. <<http://www.fmprc.gov.cn/eng/wjw/zwjg/2490/2493/>>.