

**The Prospects and Challenges of Contemporary China- Africa Relations: A
Case Study of South Africa, 2010-2021**

By

Dakalo Magidi

A Dissertation Submitted for the Requirements of the Degree

Master of Arts

In

International Politics

in the

Faculty of Humanities
(School of Social Sciences)

of the

University of Limpopo

Supervisor: Dr LT Legodi

Co-Supervisor: Dr SL Vuma

Declaration

I declare that **The Prospects and Challenges of Contemporary China-Africa Relations: A Case Study of South Africa, 2010-2021** hereby submitted to the University of Limpopo, for the degree of Master of Arts in International Politics has not previously been submitted by me for a degree at this or any other university; that this is my work in design and in execution, and all material contained herein has been duly acknowledged.



Magidi, D (Mr)

11 November 2023

Surname, Initials (title)

Date

Acknowledgements

I would like to express my sincere gratitude and appreciation to everyone who has supported me throughout my master's program and the completion of this research.

First, I would like to extend my deepest thanks to my supervisors, Dr. LT Legodi and Dr. SL Vuma whose exceptional guidance and unwavering support have been crucial in shaping my research. Their patience, encouragement, and constructive feedback have pushed me to strive for excellence, for which I will always be grateful.

I am deeply grateful to my beloved family members: Magidi Avhasei, Singo Matodzi, Ndivho Magidi and Mutshidzi Magidi, for their unwavering love and support. Their encouragement has been an inspiration throughout this journey. Their sacrifices and support have enabled me to focus on my academic pursuits.

Finally, a special thanks to my colleagues from Mandlenkosi Secondary School for their valuable support and encouragement throughout this journey.

I am humbled and grateful to have had such wonderful support from all these remarkable individuals, and I hope to maintain and continue these fruitful relationships in the years to come.

Dedication

This research project's dedication is a heartfelt expression of gratitude and respect towards the late Dr Fhatuwani E. Ramudzuli, who was a critical academic supporter and mentor to the author of this research project.

Abbreviations

ADBC	Agricultural Development Bank of China
AFCFTA	African Continental Free Trade Area
AIIB	Asian Infrastructure and Investment Bank
AU	African Union
BAIC	Beijing Automotive Industry Holding Co
BRICS	Brazil Russia India China South Africa
BRI	Belt and Road Initiative
FOCAC	Forum on China-Africa Cooperation
CCP	Chinese Communist Party
CBD	China Development Bank
COSATU	Congress of South African Trade Union
CHEC	China Harbour Engineering
CRCC	China Railway Construction Corporation
CAIR	Centre for Artificial Intelligence
DFEC	Department of Foreign Economic Cooperation
DEIC	Dutch East Indian Company
FDI	Foreign Direct Investment
FTA	Free Trade Agreement
GEIDCO	Global Energy Internet Development Cooperation
ICBC	Industrial and Commercial Bank of China
IMF	International Monetary Fund
MOFCOM	Ministry of Commerce
MTN	Maritime Telecommunications Network
NGO	Non-Government Organisation

OBOR	One Belt, One Road
USA	United States of America
USSR	Union of Soviet Socialist Republic
RBCT	Richards Bay Coal Terminal Company Limited
SARS	South African Revenue Services
SACU	Southern African Customs Union
SAGIS	South African Grain Information Services
TCA	Thematic Content Analyses
WB	World Bank
WTO	World Trade Organisation

Abstract

This study delves into the prospects and challenges of contemporary China-Africa relations, with a focus on South Africa as a case study from 2010 to 2021. Despite its complex and dynamic nature, China-Africa relations have strengthened over the years, with China emerging as Africa's largest trading partner. However, this relationship has also been marred by criticisms of China's neo-colonial tactics, resulting in debates on the benefits and risks of China-Africa cooperation. This study examines the implications of China's growing presence in South Africa, with an analysis of the strategic, economic, political, social, and cultural dimensions of China-Africa relations. Using a qualitative approach, the study explores the opportunities and challenges presented by this relationship, as well as South African perceptions of China's increased involvement in the country. The results of the study highlight that while China's engagement with Africa and South Africa has brought some benefits, it has also faced significant challenges. The study underscores the need for a strategic approach that seeks to balance the economic benefits of the relationship against the inherent power dynamics. Based on this analysis, the study offers policy recommendations on how South Africa can leverage its relations with China to achieve sustainable socio-economic development for its citizens and mitigate the risks associated with the partnership.

Keywords: China-Africa relations, Neo-colonialism, Cooperation, Trade, Investment. Political relations, social relations, Cultural relations, Economic development, Power dynamics, Policy recommendations, South Africa

Declaration	i
Acknowledgements	ii
Dedication	iii
Abbreviations.....	iv
Abstract	vi
CHAPTER ONE	
Contextual Orientation of the Study	
1.1.1 Background.....	1
1.1.2 Motivation	1
1.2. RESEARCH PROBLEM	2
1.3. Literature Review	3
1.3.1 The History of Chinese Relations with South Africa	3
1.3.2 The Advantages and Disadvantages of Africa's Relation with China	4
1.4. ROLE OF THEORY IN THE STUDY	5
1.5. PURPOSE OF THE STUDY.....	6
1.5.1 Aim of the study	6
1.5.2 Objectives of the Study	6
1.6. RESEARCH METHODOLOGY	7
1.6.1 Research design	7
1.6.2 Sampling.....	7
1.6.3 Data Collection.....	7
1.6.4 Data analysis	8
1.6.5 Quality Criteria	9
1.7. SIGNIFICANCE OF THE STUDY.....	9
1.8. ETHICAL CONSIDERATIONS	10

1.8.1 Permission to conduct the study	10
1.8.2 Avoidance of academic fraud and plagiarism	10

CHAPTER TWO

Literature Review

2.1 Introduction	14
2.2.2 The history of Chinese relations with South Africa	18
2.3 The scope of China-Africa relations	18
2.4 The development partner	19
2.5 The voracious competitor	22
2.8 Africa as a resource base for China	26
2.9 China–Africa bilateral trades and investment regimes	28
2.10 Contextualizing the Relations	29
2.11. Theoretical framework	32
2.3 Conclusion	36

CHAPTER THREE

Exploration of the Chinese-South African Relations within the Broader Analysis of China’s Foreign Policy towards the African Continent

3.1 Introduction	37
3.2 China-South Africa Relations	38
3.3 China’s Foreign Policy	43
3.3.1. China’s Foreign Policy towards Africa	44
3.3.2. The Going Out Policy to the Road Belt and Initiative	45
3.4 Conclusion	47

CHAPTER FOUR

The Nature of China–South Africa Diplomatic and Economic Relations

4.1 Introduction	48
4.2 Diplomatic Relations	48

4.2.2 Soft Power.....	49
4.2.3 Security	51
4.3 Economic Relations	51
4.3.1 Trade.....	51
4.3.2 Investment.....	55
4.3.3 Debt diplomacy.....	56
4.4 Conclusion	58

CHAPTER FIVE

Prospects of Economic Growth and Challenges of Contemporary China- South Africa Relations

5.1 Introduction	59
5.2 Prospects of China-South Africa Relations in South Africa.....	59
5.2.1 Economic Growth	59
5.2.2 Trade.....	60
5.2.3 Job Creation	61
5.2.4 Skills development	61
5.2.5 Infrastructure development.....	62
5.2.6 Tourism	63
5.2.7 Diplomatic relations	64
5.3 Challenges.....	71
5.3.1 Debt-trap diplomacy	71
5.3.2 Dumping of Chinese Goods to South Africa.....	71
5.3.3 Chinese Competition on Local Industries in South Africa.....	72
5.3.4 Destination to Chinese national in South Africa	74
5.4 Conclusion	75

CHAPTER SIX

Key Lessons For South Africa From its interaction with China

6.1 Introduction	77
6.2 Reconsideration of Gateway to Africa Notion	77
6.3 Coordinating Economic Activities.....	78
6.5 Stimulating Innovation and Growth	80
6.6 Untapped Opportunities for Collaboration	81
6.7 Utilisation of Media in Strengthening Engagement between South African and Chinese Citizens.....	82
6.3 Conclusion	83

CHAPTER SEVEN

CONCLUSIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS

84

7.1 Findings.....	80
7.2 Summary of Findings	84
7.2.1 Challenges Faced by South Africa in its Relations with China	85
7.2.2 Successes and Failure in terms of CSR practised by China's companies in South Africa	87
7.3 Recommendations.....	88
7.3.1 Rethinking barriers to trade	88
7.3.2 Towards Global Reform	90
7.3.3 Heading into the Fourth Industrial Revolution	91
7.3.5 Enhancing (and harnessing) people-to-people relations.....	92
Reference.....	89

CHAPTER ONE

CONTEXTUAL ORIENTATION OF THE STUDY

1.1 BACKGROUND AND MOTIVATION

1.1.1 Background

In the post-cold war era marked the rise of China as a superpower, filling the vacuum that was caused by the demise of the Soviet Union in 1989. The collapse of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics (USSR) also marked the onset of the United States of America (USA) hegemony in the international system (Berhe & Hongwu, 2013). The Chinese emergence as a global power, enhanced its economic, political, military, and social relations with the other continents, including Africa, as a stepping stone for achieving its development plans. The contemporary relationship between China and Africa was further strengthened following the establishment of the Forum on China-Africa Cooperation (FOCAC) in 2000 (Youngman, 2017:6). The establishment of FOCAC advances ties between the Chinese government and African countries (Youngman, 2017:6).

Since 2000, the relationship between China and Africa has undergone a transformation due to the changes that China brought to the international political economy. This transformation was influenced by China's economic strength and was stimulated by its quest for natural resources (Alden, Large & de Oliveira, 2008:151). China's impact on global affairs has increased, contributing to the intensity of Chinese engagements with African countries not only in political, economic, security, and diplomatic ties but also with the apparent migration of Chinese people into African countries (Schiele, Ndikumana & Walkenhorst, 2011:1). For instance, China has become a major development partner, surpassing previous Western partnerships with Africa (Schiele et al., 2011).

1.1.2 Motivation

This research is heavily motivated by a study on the politics of China-Africa relations. The study provides exclusive information regarding several challenges that impact Africa. The study titled "China in Africa: Friend or Force?" has been widely regarded as a seminal work in the field of China-Africa relations, conducted by Botha (2015). The study has an insightful analysis of China's engagement with Africa and its impact

on the continent. The study has significant influence on subsequent scholarship in the field of China-Africa relations, setting the foundation for debates on the implications of China's engagement with Africa. In particular, the study has prompted discussions on whether China's involvement in Africa is beneficial or detrimental to the countries of the African continent. Key debates that have emerged from Botha's seminal work include the effectiveness of China's developmental assistance to African countries, the impact of China-Africa relations on local industries, and the role of Chinese companies in natural resource extraction in Africa. There are also debates around the perception of China's intentions in Africa, ranging from those who view it as an opportunity for cooperation and mutual benefit, to those who see it as a new form of neocolonialism. Therefore, this study is grounded from the debates emanating from the seminal work of Botha, the researcher can bring insights into the dynamics of China-Africa relations. By exploring these debates, researchers can gain a better understanding of the complex nature of China-Africa relations, potential challenges, and opportunities for engagement.

1.2. RESEARCH PROBLEM

China's emergence as a world power has enhanced its economic, political, military, and social relations with other continents, including Africa, as a stepping stone for achieving its development plans. Since 2000, China's interests in the African continent have drastically increased, evident in its foreign policy towards the African continent that resembles modern colonial features. Institutions such as the China Development Bank (CDB), Ministry of Commerce (MOFCOM), and Department of Foreign Economic Cooperation (DFEC) are used to facilitate Chinese relations with other countries and to pursue Chinese interests in other countries. Before 2010, South Africa was not a priority for the Chinese government, but recently, South Africa has been China's largest trading partner among all other African countries. For about nine years in a row, China has maintained its relations with South Africa as its largest trading partner on the African continent, injecting momentum for South Africa's economic development. South Africa is the top destination for Chinese investment in Africa, creating many jobs for South Africans. China and South Africa launched the China-South Africa High-level People-to-People Exchange Mechanism, the first of its kind between China and an African country.

The two nations have maintained close cooperation as major powers to reform the global governance regime. Both China and South Africa promote bilateral political trust while strengthening win-win trade and economic cooperation. South Africa's inclusion in Brazil, Russia, India, China, and South Africa Association (BRICS) in 2010 reveals the influence China has on this forum since it viewed South Africa as a gateway to Africa due to its influence on the continent. However, the Chinese government has not indicated the reasons behind its presence and interest in South Africa, whether as a donor due to its growing investment in the country or as a post-colonialist to exploit resources. As a result, the researcher intends to investigate whether China's interest in South Africa is to invest, exploit mineral resources, to offer a destination for its growing population or to use South Africa as a dumping area for its goods.

1.3. Literature Review

As per Akindele (2008:10), a literature review is the most important part of research as it assists the researcher in identifying the existing knowledge gaps from previous studies on the same topic and provides direction for conducting new research. This study will review literature focusing on two aspects: the history of Chinese involvement in South Africa and the advantages and disadvantages of relations between China and South Africa.

1.3.1 The History of Chinese Relations with South Africa

The friendship between the Chinese and South African peoples dates back to the 1950s, with the Chinese people supporting the people of South Africa in their struggle against the apartheid regime and for racial equality. They have long maintained friendly relations with black people's liberation organizations such as the African National Congress (Maserumule, 2015:200). The birth of New South Africa in 1994 paved the way for the establishment of diplomatic relations between China and South Africa, leading to the development of all-round bilateral relations between the two nations (Maseru mule, 2015:201). In 1997, the Governments of China and South Africa reached an agreement on relevant issues regarding the establishment of diplomatic relations, and in December, both countries signed the Joint Communiqué on the Establishment of Diplomatic Relations, in which the South African government affirmed its commitment to the One-China position. On 1 January 1998, China and South Africa

formally established diplomatic relations, opening a new chapter in China-South Africa relations (Tang & Brautigam, 2011:14).

Since the establishment of diplomatic ties, bilateral cooperation in political, economic, trade, and other fields such as trade and investment, infrastructure development, energy and mining, science and technology, agriculture and food security, environmental protection and climate change, tourism and culture, education and training, health and medicine, defence and security, finance and banking, aviation and transportation, media and communications, sports, and recreation and humanitarian assistance and disaster relief have continued to grow, thus bringing bilateral relations to a new high level (Chid & Rodrigues, 2011:4). In April 2000, Chinese President Jiang Zemin paid a state visit to South Africa (Naughton, 2017:15). During the visit, the two heads of state, Thabo Mbeki and Jiang Zemin, signed the Pretoria Declaration, formalizing the establishment of a 'partnership' between the two countries. The document also announced the founding of a high-level Bi-National Commission to further enhance the partnership and promote cooperation in the political, economic and aforementioned fields (Naughton, 2017:15).

1.3.2 The Advantages and Disadvantages of Africa's Relation with China

Researchers such as He (2007), Draper (2006), Shinn and Eisenman (2005), Mathavha (2021), and Huang (2008) conducted research on issues relating to China-Africa relations, focusing on how China conducts its relationships with African countries. Some researchers also examined the advantages of Chinese relations with African countries, including Tull (2006), He (2007), Taylor (2007), and Melber (2007), who looked at the generosity of China's ties with African states. There are several questions and varied reactions regarding the rapid growth of relations between China and African countries. Some economic analysts and politicians favor Chinese FDI, granting aid and loans to most African countries, and cooperation worth billions with African states. (Darper, 2006; Moyo, 2009, 2005; He, 2007; Xu, 2008; Amoah, 2014; Shinn and Eisenman, Van der Wath, 2004, Sautman and Hairong, 2007).

The rise of China as a superpower has transformed the contemporary world of politics and economics. This marked the onset of China's presence worldwide, particularly in the African continent (Shinn and Eisenman, 2005). Various notions about China's

presence in Africa emerged after the development treaties were signed between China and several African countries, with Africa now leading China's development (Edoho, 2011:103). Edoho (2011:104-110) believed that China's presence on the African continent aims to enhance its developing models, which vary from Western development and maintain its hidden zero-sum game approach. China's interests in the continent as a Western opponent in the African scramble for the exploitation of natural resources, as stated by Berhe and Hongwu (2013: iii). Furthermore, China's government offers constructions that include hospitals, communication infrastructure, stadiums, and educational institutions to African states. However, China utilizes Chinese laborers and construction companies in all these developments, which significantly hinders African construction companies and skilled labor. While the objective of developing ties between China and African states is to improve and strengthen the relationship, the contemporary era has established prospects and continuous challenges for African countries concerning the Chinese (Corkin and Lucy, 2011:12).

1.4. ROLE OF THEORY IN THE STUDY

To obtain a better understanding of the prospects and challenges in the contemporary relationship between China and South Africa, this study derives insights from the realism and post-colonialism theories of International Relations. The selection of these two theories is primarily based on their widespread use within fields that focus on the behaviour of states in international economics and politics.

The strength of realism theory contributes to multiple discourses in international politics, as it accurately explains the complex nature of war within the international system (Kheyrian, 2019:6). Realism grants countries recognition of their sovereignty and emphasizes the self-rule of nations as rational actors in international relations. Realists assume that states are the main actors and make decisions to protect citizens, interests, and property to the best of their capabilities (Kheyrian, 2019:6). However, according to Peterson (2018:2), realism theory also has its weaknesses. The theory heavily relies on gloomy perspectives of humans that stem from assumptions of constant war, making it likely to occur in human nature. The realism theory also tends to facilitate both the state and politics equally, allowing for an intervention in a continuous rival for prospects (Peterson, 2018:2).

Post-colonialism theory contributes to the establishment of facts that are based on the separation of ideas and the formation of knowledge, which promote political and economic pluralism, peace, and justice. According to Heller (2003:15), postcolonial theory exposes the cultural structure of colonialism, mainly by criticizing the legitimacy of Western nations, perspectives, norms, traditions, and culture. However, it will be shown that China's involvement in Africa can be explained well from the Realist perspective in international relations, as it is the theory that most aptly explains China's political stance towards South Africa. From the perspective of political economy, the theory of Postcolonialism is most applicable for the explanation and understanding of the political reasons for China's involvement in South Africa.

Postcolonialism and realism theories both emphasize the importance of the role of the state in the global system (O'Brien & Williams, 2014: 14). Postcolonialism argues that the state's role has not diminished because of globalization, as the process of globalization is driven and shaped by states. National economies are also considered to be the most important actors in international economic processes (Pickel, 2013: 113). A similarity with realism is that postcolonialism is also preoccupied with the utilization of power. Therefore, it is within the framework of these theoretical perspectives that China's involvement in South Africa will be analysed and understood.

1.5. PURPOSE OF THE STUDY

1.5.1 Aim of the study

This study aims to explore the prospects and challenges of contemporary China- South Africa relations between 2010 and 2021.

1.5.2 Objectives of the Study

- To explore Chinese-South African relations within the broader analysis of China's foreign policy towards the African continent.
- To examine the nature of China's investment and trade with South Africa, relative to the rest of the continent.
- To evaluate the influence of political and economic consideration within the context of China's foreign policy towards South Africa
- To determine the benefits and challenges of China-South Africa relations.

1.6. RESEARCH METHODOLOGY

1.6.1 Research design

This study is pragmatic and concerned with contributing to practical knowledge. A case study research design was used because of its capabilities in analysis and synthesis, which are suitable for answering the research questions and creating meaning within the South African context. Additionally, it will enable the researcher to gather rich and detailed data from multiple sources such as interviews, documents, and observations. The use of multiple sources of data enhances the validity and reliability of the findings. Furthermore, the case study approach will provide an opportunity to examine the complexities and nuances of Chinese foreign policy towards Africa, considering the historical and political context of both regions. This is particularly important in providing insights into how China's foreign policy towards Africa has evolved over time and the implications of these changes for South Africa and the broader African continent. The case study of South Africa will be essential in establishing a contemporary analysis of China's foreign policy towards the African continent. Meree (2019:22) notes that researchers often select case study research design to understand and explain phenomena within the framework of policy enhancement. Admittedly, a case study research design will allow the researcher to provide a detailed analysis of factors and structures that define Chinese foreign policy.

1.6.2 Sampling

In this research, academic documents, articles, reports, published journals, and books were used to gather relevant information. Purposive sampling was used to select documents on the issues of China-Africa relations, specifically South Africa. For instance, studies focusing on South Africa's social, economic, and political aspects, historical relations between China and Africa, as well as the rise of China as a superpower. The review of the aforementioned documents will continue until the researcher reaches a saturation level.

1.6.3 Data Collection

For this study, a document review was used to gather information. Lusthaus, Adrien, Anderson and Carden (2013:2) define document review as a way of collecting data by reviewing existing documents. The document review process provides a systematic

procedure for identifying, analysing, and deriving useful information from existing documents. Due to the nature of this study, the use of document review afforded the researcher an opportunity to gather background information about the study. When searching for information, document review assisted in developing other data collection methods for evaluation, and helped in determining the accuracy of the document by comparing it with documents that solicit extensive input from other sources. Document review is typically less expensive than collecting data on one's own. The purpose of using document review in this study is to review a variety of existing sources (e.g., documents, reports, data files, and other written artefacts) with the intent of collecting independently variable data and information. Since Chinese engagements in the African continent have emerged recently in the post-colonial era, this is important in providing a comprehensive understanding of these relations.

1.6.4 Data analysis

Data analysis is the process of systematically applying logical procedures that assist researchers in designating, clarifying, abbreviating, and evaluating the presented data (Ratcliff, 2013). Due to the nature of this study, Thematic Content Analysis (TCA) was employed as outlined by Rosemarie Anderson (2017). According to Anderson (2017:1), Thematic Content Analysis can be regarded as "a descriptive presentation of qualitative information". Microsoft Word software was used in various Thematic Content Analyses. The utilization of Thematic Content Analysis (TCA) involves a series of prescribed steps. Firstly, an adequate TCA entails the depiction of the thematic content evident in the texts by pinpointing common themes present in the texts selected for analysis. Secondly, in the undertaking of the TCA analysis, the researcher's epistemological position should be objective. Thirdly, the researcher amalgamates and distils a list of familiar themes from the selected texts to provide an articulation of collective voices across texts. Fourthly, the researcher makes an effort to incorporate related themes from the actual texts to categorize them in a comprehensive manner that accurately reflects the entirety of the texts under scrutiny. Fifthly, the level of interpretation of themes is kept at a minimum. Six, the researcher's subjective thoughts and emotions regarding the TCA themes hold no significance and, therefore, are irrelevant in this analysis. Lastly, the interpretation of the meaning of these themes is reserved for a later discussion in the study report. (Anderson, 2017).

The analysis steps of TCA were effectively employed in the final analysis of gathered information. All the steps applied in the data analysis worked successfully in the final analysis of the collected data. Additionally, the researcher learned that a qualitative research method in the form of document review, which was adopted, covers the entire process, from understanding the collection of data, theme allocation, philosophical understanding, and theoretical interpretations to answering study questions and finalising the study.

1.6.5 Quality Criteria

The researcher ensured the credibility of the information by applying data triangulation. Dependability refers to the consistency and reliability of the research findings and the degree to which research procedures are documented, allowing someone outside the research to follow, audit, and critique the research process (Bryman, Becker & Sempik, 2008:15). The researcher had sufficient documentation and information of approaches to be employed to scrutinize and replicate the study. According to Polit and Beck (2004), confirmability indicates the open-mindedness and non-alignment of the information to check the potential compatibility between two independent people regarding the relevance of the data, meaning, and accuracy. To ensure confirmability in this study, the researcher certified the study's findings as the outcome of the experiences of the data rather than the researcher's interests. This was achieved by auditing the primary source data line, summaries, reduction of information, and analysis.

1.7. SIGNIFICANCE OF THE STUDY

The study was conducted within the background of the contemporary relations between China and African countries. The major importance of this study is to discover the prospects and challenges of contemporary China-Africa relations. The study fills a significant gap in terms of the South African context, enhancing understanding of the nature of ties with the Chinese government. This study seeks to explain the motive behind Chinese foreign policy towards the African continent, particularly South Africa, and how the South African government authorities respond to the rapid growth of China's involvement in the country. Additionally, this study contributes valuable information and knowledge regarding African international relations. The findings of

the study will not only stimulate further debates on the opportunities and challenges the rise of China presents, but more importantly, provide insights into policymaking measures for mutual benefits in Africa-China relations.

1.8. ETHICAL CONSIDERATIONS

1.8.1 Permission to conduct the study.

The researcher needs permission from the University of Limpopo Research and Ethics Committee to conduct this research and obtain ethical clearance. The permission is needed for protection under the University of Limpopo, and hence, the request for authorization.

1.8.2 Avoidance of academic fraud and plagiarism

Secondary information is regarded as a more ethical research practice. For instance, it minimizes the cost and value of public investment in the gathering of relevant information for the study (Maree, 2019). The researcher acknowledges the authors or owners of the reviewed documents or data. An effort was made to ensure that, unless expressly stated, all materials cited in the report to be submitted after this study were duly referenced. Direct quotes in this study were interpreted accurately while maintaining the original writers' integrity.

1.9 CHAPTER BREAKDOWN

Chapter One: Contextual Orientation of the Study

In this chapter, the reader is introduced to the background and motivation for the study on Chinese-South African relations. The chapter begins by exploring the research problem and providing a literature review to contextualize the study. The history of Chinese relations with South Africa and the advantages and disadvantages of Africa's relation with China are discussed. The role of theory in the study and the purpose of the study are also addressed. Furthermore, the chapter presents the research methodology, including research design, sampling, data collection, data analysis, and quality criteria. The author also highlights the significance of the study and details ethical considerations involved in conducting the study, such as obtaining permission and avoiding academic fraud and plagiarism.

Chapter Two: Literature Review

This chapter provides an in-depth literature review on the subject of Chinese-South African relations. The chapter begins with an introduction and a brief overview of the history of Chinese relations with South Africa. It then explores the scope of China-Africa relations and presents different perspectives on China's position in Africa. Additionally, the chapter discusses the development partnership between China and Africa and how China has become a voracious competitor on the continent. The role of Africa as a resource base for China is analysed, and different bilateral trades and investment regimes between China and Africa are presented. The chapter ends by contextualizing the relations and outlining the theoretical framework used for the study.

Chapter Three: Exploration of the Chinese-South African Relations within the Broader Analysis of China's Foreign Policy towards the African Continent

This chapter examines the relationship between China and South Africa within the broader analysis of China's foreign policy towards the African continent. The chapter begins by introducing China-South Africa relations and how they fit into China's foreign policy. The author then provides an overview of China's foreign policy towards Africa and how it relates to China's Going Out Policy to the Road Belt and Initiative. The chapter concludes by discussing the implications of China's policies for South Africa.

Chapter Four: The Nature of China–South Africa Diplomatic and Economic Relations

Chapter Four focuses on the diplomatic and economic relations between China and South Africa. The chapter starts by introducing the diplomatic relations between the two countries and analyses China's soft power and security in South Africa. Additionally, the chapter explores the current state of economic relations between China and South Africa. The researcher analyses trade, investment, and debt diplomacy between China and South Africa. The chapter concludes with an overview of the findings on the nature of Chinese-South African diplomatic and economic relations.

Chapter Five: Prospects of Economic Growth and Challenges of Contemporary China-South Africa Relations

Chapter Five focuses on the prospects of economic growth and challenges in contemporary Chinese-South African relations. The chapter begins by introducing the prospects of China-South Africa relations in South Africa and highlights economic growth, trade, job creation, skills development, infrastructure development, tourism, and diplomatic relations. Furthermore, the chapter explores the challenges that South Africa faces in its relationship with China. The researcher analyses debt-trap diplomacy, dumping of Chinese goods to South Africa, Chinese competition on local industries, and destination to Chinese nationals in South Africa. The chapter concludes with an overview of the findings on the prospects of economic growth and challenges in contemporary Chinese-South African relations.

Chapter Six: Key Lessons for South Africa from its Interaction with China

This chapter focuses on the key lessons that South Africa can learn from its interaction with China. The chapter begins by introducing the need for reconsidering the Gateway to Africa notion. The chapter discusses coordinating economic activities, stimulating innovation and growth, untapped opportunities for collaboration, and utilization of media in strengthening engagement between South African and Chinese citizens. The chapter concludes with an overview of the findings on key lessons for South Africa from its interaction with China.

Chapter Seven: Conclusions and Recommendations

Chapter Seven concludes the study by presenting a summary of the findings, outlining the challenges faced by South Africa in its relations with China, analysing successes and failure in terms of CSR practiced by China's companies in South Africa, and presenting recommendations for policymakers. The recommendations advise policymakers to rethink barriers to trade, work towards global reform, head into the fourth industrial revolution, and enhance people-to-people relations. The chapter concludes by reiterating the significance of the study and its contribution to the literature on Chinese-South African relations.

CHAPTER TWO

Literature Review

2.1 Introduction

The aim of this chapter is to conduct a literature review of the relationship between China and Africa, focusing specifically on the South African case. The chapter begins by examining European intervention in South Africa's history and China's interactions with South Africa. Through the preliminary literature review, the researcher has identified gaps in existing knowledge on the subject and received guidance on conducting the current study. China-Africa relations, especially the case of South Africa, have received limited attention from scholars across multiple disciplines such as developmental studies, economics, history, peace studies, political science, and international relations (Amusa, 2016; Bazika, 2009; Brautigam, 2011; Burns, 2016; Moyo, 2009; Rampayane; 2023). For this study, the literature review focused mainly on scholarly works in international relations and political science.

China has emerged as a significant trade and investment partner for Africa. The literature on China-Africa relations has predominantly utilized conventional foreign policy and international relations approaches (Oqubay and Lin, 2019; Alden and Jiang, 2019; Leslie, 2020). However, Alden (2019) deviates from this approach and presents three contrasting perspectives on China-Africa relations. The first perspective views China as a development partner in Africa, with mutual benefits. The second perspective perceives China as an economic adversary participating in a resource scramble in Africa; meanwhile, the third perspective contends that China is positioning itself as a new colonizing power in Africa. While each perspective highlights different dimensions of China-Africa relations, together they construct a composite picture of the intricate and dynamic connections between the two partners. Overall, the perspectives provide essential insights into the opportunities and challenges of China-Africa relations.

Additionally, the researcher explored the findings and limitations encountered by other researchers on this subject concerning China-Africa relations. Through a preliminary literature review, the researcher identified existing knowledge gaps and determined

the direction for the current study while providing a theoretical framework that serves as a guide for this research.

In the research titled "Prospects and Challenges of China-Africa Relations: A Case Study in Southern Africa," Mathavha (2019) uses the resource curse theory to examine the relations between Africa and China by contextualizing China's economic engagements in the African continent and cross-examining the implications of emerging economic development relations in Africa. Essentially, Mathavha (2019) investigates the contributions of globalization to Africa's marginalization in the world economy. The main argument in the article is that the inter-relations of China and Africa are the results of Africa's marginalization scheme in the globalization context.

Practically, Mathavha implies that China is in Africa to fill the space left out by the Western States since the end of the Cold War. In this research, Mathavha shows that Africans embracing China are fundamentally led by the issues of postcolonial dependency engagements with Western States and colonial experiences. Mathavha further shows three pictures of China in Africa. The first one depicts China as a progressive development partner, with stiff strategic economic interests in the African continent. The second one portrays China as a voracious competitor, implying that China does not intend to assist Africa in realizing genuine development, nor will it promote human rights and good governance in Africa in the process of its economic ventures. Mathavha's observation captures the practicalities of China's main attention to Africa being drawn by outcompeting and overtaking the West by dominating African markets. The last picture is that of the new colonizer which means that China wants to recolonize Africa.

Mathavha further claims that more than 800 Chinese companies are operating in Africa. Alternatively, Mathavha advances the argument that even though globalization has led to Western disengagement in Africa, the resource base remains at the heart of China-Africa relations, thus advancing the voraciousness view. What is most important in this article is the fact that it has shown that Chinese investment in Africa encompasses the areas of seaports, road networks, industrial infrastructure, railroads, power generation, and telecommunications. Even though Mathavha's research has

helped shape the direction of this study at the continental level, it falls short of narrating the role of globalization in the marginalization of African countries like South Africa in the case study.

Mohan and Lampert (2013) use the win-win game theory in their article, "Negotiating China: Reinserting African Agency into China-Africa Relations," to examine the degree of agency that African countries have in their collaboration with China. The authors argue that at different phases, African countries have shaped, negotiated, and even driven engagements with China in significant ways. However, the article is limited to the political analysis of the China-Africa collaboration and depicts China as a commanding patron with little acknowledgement of Africa's agency. The article investigates the agency of Africa with a special focus on China's investments in Angola, Ghana, and Nigeria (with a bit of emphasis on South Africa in the introduction) (Mohan and Lampert, 2013). In their section on African agency reassertion, Mohan and Lampert (2013) argue that social and political agency in China-Africa relations has a strong interest-based class element. They also argue that, in the arena of threats and opportunities raised by China's entry into Africa, the civil society response is mostly affected by protecting the privileges of African elites who played a role in getting China into Africa. Meanwhile, Chinese investments benefit a select elite group (Mohan and Lampert, 2013)

Mohan and Lampert illustrate how in Angola, state elites allowed Chinese companies to exploit the country's oil, replacing oil companies from Western states. Essentially, they show that Chinese companies are looking for new markets in Nigeria and Ghana, with local patrons' assistance in terms of their prosperity and survival to enact African agency. Their analysis shows that African countries do play a significant role in their engagements with China. However, the authors' focus on Angola, Ghana, and Nigeria as representative of Africa in their study does not mean that their engagements are the same as those in South Africa. South Africa is identified as a special case and could be a possible victim of China's nefarious fangs in Africa. Therefore, Mohan and Lampert's study limits the focus on Angola, Ghana, and Nigeria, and may not be fully applicable to the current study.

2.2. The History of Intervention in South Africa

2.2.1 The History of Europeans in South Africa

Colonialism began in South Africa in 1652 when the Dutch arrived (Shillington, 2018:85). Jan Van Riebeeck established a refreshment station for the Dutch East India Company on land used by the Khoisan. The colony grew as Dutch farmers arrived to grow crops and, shortly thereafter, slaves were imported from East Africa, Madagascar, and the East Indies. This marked the beginning of colonialism and the dispossession of indigenous South Africans by white settlers, a process that continued in various forms and by various groups for over 300 years. In 1806, Britain reoccupied the Cape, and although the colony prospered, the political rights of the various races were guaranteed, and slavery was abolished in 1838. Throughout the 1800s, European influence spread eastward as Natal settlers pushed northward into the land of the Zulu from the port of Durban. From the mid-1800s, the Voortrekkers coalesced into two land-locked, white-ruled republics, the South African Republic (Transvaal) and the Orange Free State (Shillington, 2018:85).

The year 1884 marked a significant period of foreign intervention into Africa, often described as the beginning of colonialism across the entire continent (Goucher, LeGuin, Walton, 2004:2). During this time, European powers met in the German capital city of Berlin to divide Africa among themselves, without involving African leaders. According to Schmidt (2014:12), the 17th and 18th centuries saw the spread of the Islamic religion, demoralization of Atlantic slave trade, and the growth of European influence, interest, and colonialism, which had a significant impact on the African continent. Lewis, Prince, and Wyckoff (2008:145) argue that one of the significant challenges facing Africa today is the long period of colonialism and discrimination by Europeans. These external factors contributed to the continent's underdevelopment and the persistence of poverty. European colonization of Africa created a situation in which Africans had to rely on Europeans for their development.

2.2.2 The history of Chinese relations with South Africa

There is less documentation about the Chinese involvement in the African continent than the European history in the African continent. However, the Sino-Africa relation can be traced back between 1368 and 1644 during the Ming Dynasty when a series of Chinese treks landed in the eastern part of the African continent, alongside the Portuguese explorers exploring the Atlantic coast of Africa, commanded by Admiral Zheng He (Alden & Wu, 2017:2). According to Alden & Wu (2017:2), formal political, economic, and social relations between China and Africa were forged in 1949 after the establishment of the People's Republic of China (CPP) coinciding with the wave of independence attainment by African countries.

The friendship between the Chinese and South African peoples dates back to the 1950s when the Chinese people supported the people of South Africa in their struggle against apartheid and for racial equality, establishing friendly relations with black people's liberation organizations such as the African National Congress (Maserumule, 2015:200). New South Africa's birth in 1994 paved the way for the establishment of diplomatic relations between the two countries and the development of bilateral relations (Maserumule, 2015:201). On 1 January 1998, the two countries formally established diplomatic relations after reaching an agreement on relevant issues (Tang & Brautigam, 2011:14).

Since the establishment of diplomatic ties, bilateral cooperation in the political, economic, trade, and other fields has continued to grow, thus bringing bilateral relations to new heights (Chid & Rodrigues, 2011:4). In April 2000, Chinese President Jiang Zemin paid a state visit to South Africa (Naughton, 2017:15). During the visit, the two heads of state signed the Pretoria Declaration, marking the formal establishment of a "partnership" between the two countries and announcing the founding of a high-level Bi-National Commission to further enhance the partnership and promote cooperation in the political, economic, and other fields (Naughton, 2017:15).

2.3 The scope of China-Africa relations

The past decade has witnessed a significant increase in the academic field and policy debates related to 'China-Africa relations' (Alden and Large, 2019). Considering

China's intensifying international engagement, this area of inquiry addresses China's involvement in various African countries since the beginning of the new millennium, including government agencies, state-owned enterprises, private companies, and migrant entrepreneurs. The deepening ties between China and African countries stem from a complex mix of factors, including China's interests in natural resources and new markets for low-cost manufactured goods, as well as African countries' desires for alternative sources of development finance and the ability to free themselves from "Western" conditionalities (Phaahla, 2020; Zwanbin, 2020; Oniwide, 2017; Ahmed and Huo, 2018; Ado and Su, 2016). Consequently, the nature and potential of "South-South" cooperation, particularly in diplomacy, aid, trade, investment, and migration, have become central to the exploration of China-Africa's relations in an increasingly multipolar world (Benabdallah, 2020).

The rise of China as a global superpower, along with the subsequent expansion of international relations, has also created new methodological prospects and challenges (Joneva, 2018). While China and many of the countries it engages in Africa are typically viewed as "South-South" cooperation, the bulk of theorization of their relations comes from the global North, thereby perpetuating long-standing North-South asymmetries in the production of critical scholarship that is internationally recognized (Lisimba and Lisimba, 2020). There are two parallel interpretations of the relationship between China and Southern Africa: on the one hand, it is often viewed as a microcosm of China-Africa relations due to its economic and resource elements; on the other hand, it is portrayed as an example of China's support for "pariah regimes," with no regards for human rights and good governance (Aly, 2019).

2.4 The development partner

The perspective of China as a progressive development partner in Africa posits that China is driven by its economic interest to seek a strategic development partnership with Africa. As a development partner, China will radiate its economic development impulse and model to Africa (Alden 2019). Perceived as mutually beneficial relations, China will share its technical expertise, human resources, managerial capabilities, industrial production techniques, and modernization experience with Africa (Wentao and Hong, 2019; Chen, 2016; He, 2020). This perspective holds China up as a successful development model that third-world countries, particularly African countries, should emulate.

For individuals who hold the belief that China's entry into the African continent is inevitable despite not having established a significant presence yet, the rapid expansion of China's economy serves as a key indicator of this future trajectory. China-Africa relations occur at a unique time. China-Africa relations are considered a model of South-South cooperation and development (Leslie, 2020), which is likelier to generate win-win outcomes, in contrast to the zero-sum outcomes of globalization and marginalization that Africa has suffered during much of its five decades of postcolonial relationships with the West (Siu and McGovern, 2017). This view is strongly promoted by Chinese officials (Cotula, Weng, Ma, and Ren, 2016; He, 2020), African officials such as former South African President Jacob Zuma, Benin's Minister of Foreign Affairs and Cooperation Mr Aurelien Agbenonci, Dr. Unity Dow, Minister of International Affairs and Cooperation, Djibouti's Director of International and Regional Integration, H.E Admasu Nebebe, State Minister of Economic Cooperation Division Ethiopia, Sudan's General Director of Foreign Cooperation Mr Margani Abdalla Glood and the Minister of Finance, Planning and Economic Development Uganda, and some scholars (Kohnert, 2018; Yuyuan, 2016).

The official stance held by China is that the relationship between China and Africa is mutually advantageous due to the framework of equal partnerships, shared interests, and reciprocal respect in its construction. (Cotula, Weng, Ma, and Ren, 2016; He, 2020; Yuyuan, 2016). Akin to this is the presupposition that both partners face the same economic challenges, have the same internal needs, and share identical development goals, based on shared history, and reinforced by common normative values: "Sincerity. Equality and mutual benefit; solidarity and common development: these are the principles guiding China-Africa exchange and cooperation" (Embassy of China in South Africa 2006). Chinese President Hu Jintao epitomized this thinking when he emphasized peace, development, and cooperation as the bedrock of collaboration: in his address to the Nigerian National Assembly on 27 April 2006, he claimed that "Peace, development, and cooperation is the calling of the times." He asserted that "Working together to share opportunities, meet challenges and achieve common development is the desire of all peoples" (Hu Jintao, 2020).

The perspective that China's engagement in Africa will benefit the region is shared by some officials in the Western foreign policy establishment (Kohnert, 2018). For instance, in a speech to the Nigerian National Assembly in February 2006, Jack Straw, the British

Foreign Minister, discussed British policy towards Africa: he considered “China's engagement in Africa good news, noting that such an engagement should support good governance, transparent business practices, economic growth and poverty reduction, and respect for human rights and the rules of law (Lumumba and Kasongo, 2019). Robert Zoellick, President of the World Bank, has stated on several occasions that China's investment in Africa's infrastructure is good for the region: he has indicated that the World Bank is willing to take China as a partner in a joint effort to alleviate poverty in Africa (Alden, 2019).

According to Siu and McGovern (2017), Africa is well-endowed with natural resources and has market potential, but it lacks the know-how and technological capabilities to develop its resources and market. Since China has evolved endogenous technologies appropriate to its economic needs and circumstances, it is in a better position to bring to Africa effective practices, know-how, and cumulative years of experience it has gained in the process of modernization. Thus, China-Africa relations should be grounded on developing and nurturing “knowledge-based cooperation, such as capacity building, human resource training, and science and technology exchanges; to promote value-added processing of primary products; to upgrade traditional industries; and to enhance social development for local communities” (Cotula, Weng, Ma and Ren, 2016:91).

This view of China as a progressive development partner is echoed by Oqubay and Lin (2019), who believe that Chinese investment will create jobs, expand economic opportunities, and help African entrepreneurs access production technologies that they can easily adapt to their economic environment. Oqubay and Lin (2019) claim that Chinese investment in Africa will help leverage idle local capital. More importantly, “Chinese firms as catalysts and models could offer incentives for some of that wealth ([that] corrupt African officials stashed in foreign banks) to return to a capital-starved region, much as Japan did when its firms began to relocate to Southeast Asia's ‘little tigers’ decades ago, and as Korea did in Bangladesh” (Alden and Jiang, 2019). Also positing China as a progressive development partner, Siyabonga Cyprian Cwele, South Africa's former minister of International Relations and Cooperation, has stated that “There is no doubt China has been good to South Africa. . . . They are bringing investment, world-class technology, jobs, and value addition. What more can you ask for?” (Ziso, 2018).

2.5 The voracious competitor

The second perspective posits that China is a fierce economic competitor in Africa, with no genuine interest in supporting the continent's development or advocating for good governance, the rule of law, and human rights. This perspective suggests that due to its adoption of a Western-style capitalist system, China is driven solely by its own interests and willing to compromise environmental sustainability and sustainable livelihood for the sake of competing against Western interests (Ademola, Bankole and Adewuyi, 2016). Numerous studies have highlighted the negative effects of joint ventures between foreign firms and African governments on environmental sustainability and local livelihood (Leslie, 2016). The globalization phenomenon further amplifies China's aggressive competition with Western countries in Africa, overriding the need for environmental stewardship and accountability (Nowak, 2016; Besada and O'Bright, 2017; Diawara and Hanson, 2019; Adem, 2016).

Upon assessing the long historical narrative of Western involvement in Africa, those who believe that China is an aggressive competitor claim that its main interest in the region is resource exploitation. Essentially, the same factors that drove Western interest in Africa are driving China's presence there, including the availability of vast cheap raw materials and abundant natural resources (Stahl, 2017). According to this viewpoint, China's sustained and robust economic growth has enabled it to develop its technological capabilities, production capacity and wealth accumulation (Diawara and Hanson, 2019). However, China-Africa relations are characterized by an inherent asymmetry, which could compromise local technical skills and hinder economic development in the region (Adem, 2016). Despite providing "no-strings" assistance and aid, China could easily jeopardize good governance, political reforms, and anti-corruption efforts in Africa, as it doesn't adhere to Western aid conditionalities (Stahl, 2017).

China's involvement in Africa is seen as a strategic move intended to eventually displace the West, which has traditionally been Africa's main destination for oil, gas, and other raw materials (Amoah, Hodzi and Castillo, 2020). According to this perspective, China is seeking to outcompete and surpass the West so that it can dominate the African market for its low-cost manufactured goods. Driven by its internal economic imperatives and globalization, China is primarily motivated to search for

energy and market, rather than to help develop the African continent (Haugen, 2019). China has essentially come to Africa to challenge Western interests and establish its dominance over the region. Therefore, Africa's valuable resources are necessary for China to effectively sustain the intensity of its modernization efforts and its fast-paced industrialization. As Eom, Brautigam, and Benabdallah (2018) explain, "China believes that the future of Africa is critical to its growth" (p. 4)

2.6 The new colonial master

The emergence of the concept of the "new colonial master" coincided with the rising investment and influence of China in African countries. The term was coined to describe China's position in Africa, with some critics contending that it is a new form of colonialism. Several scholars have examined this provocative topic, offering divergent perspectives on whether Chinese investment in Africa represents a new type of colonialism or not. Despite the debate, most scholars posit that Chinese investment has positive implications for Africa. For example, Brautigam (2008) contends that Chinese investment has contributed positively to Africa's economic development by investing in infrastructure projects including roads, railways, and ports. Nevertheless, scholars such as Alden (2007) caution African nations to take heed of the possible risks of Chinese investment, especially regarding environmental degradation, labour rights, and debt management. In addition, they note that the employment of Chinese workers by Chinese companies with little local involvement is indicative of a lack of dedication to the advancement of the host country (Brautigam, 2011).

African states' embrace of Chinese investment has also raised concerns over the potential erosion of democratic governance systems and political autonomy (Harman, 2018). According to Harman (2018), African countries should be wary of the potential long-term political implications of deepening economic ties with China. The debate on whether Chinese investment in Africa represents a new form of colonialism is far from over. However, scholars such as Brautigam (2011), Clarke (2019), Matondi, Mawere, and Pendelani (2020), and Zhou (2017) argue that Chinese investment has been beneficial to the continent's economic development while acknowledging the potential risks and challenges that come with broader engagement.

There exists an argument that China, as a new colonial master, presents China–African relations as paving the way for China to replace the West and emerge as a new colonizer of the region (Alden, 2019). This view is a radical extension of the previous theorization about China as a voracious competitor; but in the present context, the proponents argue that China's hidden interest is to recolonize Africa. More than eight hundred Chinese firms are doing business in forty-nine African countries, with 480 of them involved in joint ventures with African firms (Alden, 2019).

Accompanying these deepening China–Africa relations has been the influx of Chinese individuals to Africa (Dye and Alencastro, 2020). Estimates vary (Adem, 2016), but probably more than three-quarters of a million Chinese migrants are living in Africa (Mlambo and Mubecua, 2018), “arguably among the new shapers of development in Africa” (Adem, 2016). Thus, the leaders of Nigeria and South Africa have been warned against creeping Chinese neo-imperialism (Dye and Alencastro, 2020). Michael Sata, a Zambian opposition politician who ran his presidential campaign on the anti-China platform, argued that China's “interest is exploiting us, just like everyone who came before. They have simply come to take the place of the West as the new colonizer of Africa” (Alden and Large, 2018).

Hillary Clinton, the U.S. Secretary of State, in what is believed to be a veiled statement against China's growing interest in Africa, warned against “creeping colonialism” from foreign investors and governments. She argued that “it is easy to come in, take out natural resources, and leave... We don't want to see new colonialism in Africa” (Leslie, 2020). The fear that China–Africa relations might replay the classic Western approach that began with positive trade, then slave trade, and ultimately colonization of the region runs deep. “China is not in Africa for a philanthropic reason,” but “another imperial power pursuing its national interest, and it can be an unreliable partner despite its claim to build a truly equal partnership with Africa” (Phaahla, 2020).

Kathina, Khayeka-Wandabwa, Muchiri, Wamalwa, Gichuru, Marinda, and Tambo (2018) questioned whether China–Africa relations should be “characterized as a resource scramble reminiscent of the ‘age of empire.’ Their answers are both yes and no. There is an ingrained fear that China might see Africa as merely a source of raw materials for its industries, and a destination for Chinese manufactured goods.

Moeletsi Mbeki, deputy chairman of the South African Institute of International Affairs, articulated the issue forcefully at a 2005 Beijing conference organized by the Chinese Parliament. He stated that the pattern of trade between China and Africa is “dangerous” and unsustainable for several reasons: “First Africa needs to preserve its natural resources to use in the future for its industrialization. Secondly, China's export strategy is contributing to the de-industrialization of some middle-income countries. . . . It is in the interest of both Africa and China to find solutions to these strategies” (Joneva, 2018:5).

2.7 Filling the vacuum

A contemporary view on China-Africa relations is that China is stepping in to fill the void created by the West's disengagement from the region. A study by Lisimba and Lisimba (2020) suggested that various factors shape China's foreign policy towards the region. The Chinese model of revolution and development, as well as exporting these ideals to Africa, seem significant in this relationship. The authors argued that this is to demonstrate the superiority of Maoism, particularly the Chinese version of Marxism-Leninism, over Western capitalism. Furthermore, Lisimba and Lisimba (2020) suggested that China's involvement in Africa stems from a desire to occupy the vacuum left by the withdrawal of colonial powers from the continent. They pointed out that China views the decolonization process as the dispersion of capitalist ideals, leaving an ideological void that it intends to fill. Despite African leaders having been granted political independence by colonial powers, African economies continue to be under the control of departing colonial overlords.

Political decolonization did not imply that the West had given up economic control. Therefore, it has been argued that although the Western colonizers had granted African countries “flag independence,” they had institutionalized “neocolonialism” (Krukowska, 2016). The literature of the 1970s and 1980s was replete with theories on the need for African countries to create “autonomous development” strategies to attain true “economic independence.” Supporters of this viewpoint contend that realizing economic independence would amount to the “second liberation” of Africa from neo-imperialism.

The epistemological assertion of this study posits that the economic void created by Western colonialism in Africa is a post-Cold War phenomenon, which has been amplified by globalization. This sharply diverges from the ideological vacuum expounded by Hutchison (1975) during the 1960s. The economic vacuum was not a consequence of decolonization but rather was instigated by the collapse of the Soviet Union, the end of the Cold War, and the growing influence of globalization as the defining feature of the twenty-first century. As attention from Africa was redirected by the U.S. and European Union towards the rebuilding of Eastern Europe, they disengaged from Africa and left an economic void that is presently being occupied by China. This notion resonates with Aly's (2019) argument regarding the European role in Africa, whereby "Europe used to be the lifeline for Africa; however, the engagement of Europeans in Africa has been detrimental to the region, so 'Today, the Africans have suffered from capital flight and brain drain which benefits the Western world, thus leaving a vacuum for those like the Chinese to fill'" (Aly, 2019). The West's economic disengagement from Africa is evident in its passive and insensitive reaction to the excruciating poverty and persistent socio-economic upheavals in the region. Such complacency has led to a void that China is filling through equitable bilateral trade, channelling of investment, and construction projects.

2.8 Africa as a resource base for China

At the heart of China–Africa relations is the region's resource base. Thus, the view that China is a voracious competitor for African resources holds. Some African countries boast significant shares of mineral resources relative to the world reserves (table 1). Guinea alone accounts for 13% of global bauxite reserves; Zaire (45%) and Zambia (10%) jointly account for 55 per cent of global cobalt, as well as 6 and 8 per cent, respectively, of copper; Algeria holds 16% of the world's mercury, while Gabon holds eight per cent of global manganese reserves (Dye and Alencastro, 2020; Leslie, 2018; Lumumba-Kasongo, 2019).

FIGURE 1: Africa's mineral reserves versus world reserves

<i>Commodity</i>	<i>World (reserves)</i>	<i>Africa (reserves)</i>	<i>Africa as % of world</i>
Platinum group metals (t)	71,000	63,000	89

<i>Source:</i>	Diamonds (million carats)	580	350	60
	Cobalt (t)	7,000,000	3,690,000	53
	Zirconium (t)	30	14	37
	Gold (t)	35,941	10,059	28
	Vanadium (t)	13,000,000	3,000,000	23
	Uranium (t)	4,416	656	15
	Manganese (kt)	380,000	52,000	14
	Chromium (1000t)	810,000	100,000	12
	Titanium (kt)	660,000	63,000	10
	Nickels (kt)	62,000	4,205	7
Coal (mt)	984,453	55,367	6	

Presentation by Sam Jonah, former president of AngloGold Ashanti, University of South Africa, 2005, in Dye and Alencastro (2020).

Although African resources have contributed to the industrialization and economic development of the West, the region remains underdeveloped and impoverished, resulting in the paradox of Africa's wealth and poverty (Lumumba-Kasongo, 2019). This paradox has led to the emergence of the resource curse theory (Nnadozie 1995; Pegg 2005). Unfortunately, due to the deficiency of viable options and resource gaps, foreign partners have frequently exploited Africa, leading to the exploitation of its masses and consequent impoverishment (Kohnert, 2018:117). Most African countries majorly rely on a single or a few minerals for an inordinate proportion of their export earnings. For instance, Nigeria obtains more than 90% of its foreign exchange revenue from the crude oil export, Sierra Leone relies on diamonds for over 60% of its foreign exchange income, and Zambia depends on copper mining for its 85% foreign exchange revenue. Despite Zambia's copper mines being inactive for a long time, the country's economy has continued to perform well due to the surge in copper prices from 75 cents per pound in January 2003 to more than US\$3 per pound in 2007, which was stimulated by the growing Chinese demand that pushed the copper mines to record production (Yuyuan, 2016). African monoculture economies are vulnerable to the uncertainties of the global market, making them the victims of external economic circumstances beyond their control, leading to cyclical economic booms and busts in Africa.

FIGURE 2: Oil production and reserves in sub-Saharan Africa

<i>Country</i>	<i>Production* (bbl/day)</i>	<i>Proven reserves** (000's barrels)</i>
Nigeria	2,211,000(15)	37,500,000(10)
Angola	1,948,009(17)	13,500,000(15)

Sudan	486,700(31)	8,800,000(20)
Congo, Republic of the	274,400(39)	1,600,000(37)
Gabon	241,700(41)	2,000,000(35)
South Africa	191,000(43)	15,000,000(87)
Chad	115,000(51)	1,500,000(39)
Cameroon	77,310(55)	200,000(58)
Cote d'Ivoire	58,950(60)	250,000(57)
Congo, Democratic Republic of the	16,360(78)	180,000(61)

*Production figure is for 2009.

**Proven reserves as of 29 April 2011.

Figures in parentheses are world rankings.

Source: CIA World Factbook.

Figure 2 depicts the crude oil production levels in 2009 and the proven reserves as of 29 April 2011. It shows that Nigeria and Angola are the principal crude oil producers in the region. Notably, Chad, Sao Tome and Principe, Mauritania, Guinea Bissau, and Uganda did not have any oil production up to 2009, but they possess oil in commercial quantities. According to the CIA (2011), Uganda's proven oil reserves are estimated at 1,500,000,000, ranking it thirty-eighth globally. The joint venture of China in the oil industry has intensified upstream activities, leading to more oil discoveries and production. In comparison to the Middle East, Africa's contribution to the total global oil production and reserves is insignificant. The region holds a meagre 9% of the global proven oil reserves compared to the Middle East's significant 62%. Nevertheless, Africa is known for potentially having substantial undiscovered reserves. Lumumba-Kasongo (2019) estimated that the Gulf of Guinea would generate at least one out of every five new barrels of oil for the global market, with Angola and Nigeria being the primary contributors.

2.9 China–Africa bilateral trades and investment regimes

The Forum on China–Africa Cooperation (FOCAC) was established in 2000, and ever since, China's growing presence in Africa has resulted in expanded trade and investment. The impact of FOCAC is that China has abolished tariffs on 190 types of imported goods from twenty-eight of the least-developed African countries (He, 2020). In 2001, China established trade ties with fifty-three African countries; it signed bilateral trade agreements with thirty-nine of them, made an agreement for encouragement and protection of investment with seventeen, and signed an agreement on avoidance of double taxation with four. Additionally, there were nineteen African countries whose bilateral trade with China had exceeded the US\$100 million mark (Yu, 2018).

FOCAC has resulted in a significant surge in trade volume. In 2004, the volume of trade between China and Africa reached a new record high at US\$29.46 billion, an increase of 58.9% over the previous year. China's export to Africa was US\$13.82 billion, growing by 35.7%, while its imports from Africa were US\$15.65 billion, an increase of 87.1% from 2003 (Eom, Hwang, Atkins, Chen, and Zhou, 2017). The aggregate trade volume between China and Africa continued to surge, attaining US\$10.598 billion in 2000, which was a 63.3% increase from the previous year, a record high in the history of China–Africa bilateral trade relations. A breakdown of trade data shows that China's export to Africa was US\$5.043 billion, an increase of 22.5%; China's imports from Africa reached US\$5.555 billion, a 13.9% increase over the previous year. This implies that Africa had a historic trade surplus of US\$512 million with China (Xu, 2017).

2.10 Contextualizing the Relations

By disengaging from Africa, the West has compromised its dominant status in African affairs. The retreat from Africa by the West is attributed to the collapse of the former Soviet Union and the end of the Cold War. During the Cold War, economic assistance and military aid were used by the United States and the Soviet Union to extract and maintain the loyalty of African States. According to Kathina et. al (2018:87), the downfall of the Soviet Union resulted in the drying up of funds and thus diminished the need for the US to use foreign aid and investment to reward strategic partners. Consequently, the end of the Cold War downgraded Africa's status among its strategic allies from the West.

Africa has experienced proxy wars frequently in the past five decades, with internal conflicts, ethnic rivalries, and genocidal civil wars plaguing the region (Krukowska, 2016). Western colonialism contributed to these conflicts, raising contradictions that dovetailed into the unrest. Poverty in Africa has long been synonymous with the region (Oniwide, 2017:1). In the 1980s, a Western aid official, quoted in *The Financial Times* of London, suggested that recolonization of Africa would necessitate "sending smart white boys to tell them how to run their countries" (quoted in Timberlake 1985:203). African leaders were said to accept post-colonialist guidelines and were convinced that the white man's medicine could be adopted or Africanised to cater to their

countries' needs. Similarly, in the 1990s, an American diplomat remarked that "in the next five years, Africa will be begging to be recolonized" (Michaels 1993:104).

Negative perceptions and images of Africa have permeated the Western foreign-aid establishment's mindset. The Western perspective that Africa is a "never-to-be-developed world" (Zwanbin, 2020:2) persisted as the region was belittled, and global situations were deemed solvable if Africa were wiped off the map. A top French diplomat anonymously wrote in *Le Monde*: "Economically speaking, if the entire black Africa, except South Africa, were to disappear in a flood, the global cataclysm would be approximately non-existent" (as quoted in Chege 1992:148). As the Cold War ended, the United States' assistance to Africa diminished from \$1.7 billion in 1985 to \$1.2 billion in 1992. In 1994, the US Agency for International Development closed eight of its thirty-five missions in Africa, mirroring Western firms' divestment from Africa, consistent with their countries' foreign policies. Consequently, capital outflows and an economic downturn led to the region's economic crisis (Cotula, Weng, Ma and Ren, 2016). The inflow of foreign direct investment dropped by 50 percent to \$2.2 billion in 1990, from 1989's level, consequently exacerbating the region's marginalisation, as commented by UNCTAD (1992). The Western investment in the entire region in 1990 was slightly higher than what Portugal received in that same year, emphasising concerns about this worrying trend. As Africa disappeared from the global development map, the West welcomed its "prodigal sisters and brothers" back to the "common, white European fold," where they could boast and patronise as Johnson (1991:109) notes "it is ironic that after decades of first plundering and then neglecting the African continent, Western European countries now appear to suggest that the reconstruction of Eastern Europe is a much more pressing need" (Batchelor and Zhang, 2017)

The end of the Cold War resulted in the relegation of Africa to the background and a focus on Eastern Europe. This shift coincided with an accelerated pace of globalization, where individual countries' global economic status was no longer solely determined by their military might but by their competitive ability in the global market (Leslie, 2016; Nowak, 2016). Globalization has created a new map of global economic development which marginalizes and excludes Africa (Alden, Alao, Chun, and Barber,

2017; Besada and O'Bright, 2017). The West did not display a strong commitment to integrating Africa into the global economy by increasing trade, investment, and the opening of their markets to African goods. Consequently, African countries have not been able to benefit from globalization (Diawara and Hanson, 2019). Because of disappointing economic performances, African countries have become dependent on loans from the International Monetary Fund, which has imposed austere structural-adjustment programs with devastating conditions for such loans. As Adem (2016:98) noted, "The World Bank puts in 20 percent of all multilateral funding, manages 80 percent of all the new conditionalities and controls almost all data coming out of Africa." In contrast to Western investments, China's investment and infrastructural development projects in Africa come without strings or conditionalities. China provides technical assistance, debt write-offs, foreign aid, and offers preferential access to goods from Africa in its market. It is evident that China is pursuing its economic interest in Africa, as noted by Alden (2019), Stahl (2017), Eom, Brautigam, and Benabdallah (2018), Xu (2017), and Huang, An, Viglia, Buonocore, Fang, and Ulgiati (2017). However, opportunistic lending by China threatens donors' efforts, as evidenced by accusations (Amoah, Hodzi, and Castillo, 2020), leading Haugen (2019) to suggest that Beijing's efforts in Africa aim to create a paradigm of globalization that favours China. Nonetheless, China's interests in Africa may not be any worse than or different from Western interests.

Previously, the West perceived Africa as a burden, whereas China regards the region as a largely untapped territory with abundant potential and economic opportunities. For Africans, who have suffered exhaustion physically and intellectually due to two decades of economic "reform" driven by Western governments, donors, and International Financial Institutions (IFIs), China represents hope for the possibility of a different world (Dye and Alencastro, 2020:38). China's increasing involvement in Africa contributes to the rise of a "new multipolarity in international development and growing sources of investment and aid 'outside' of the western axis that has dominated for much of the last century" (Mlambo, Mlambo, and Mubecua, 2018:4). As such, Africa should concentrate its collective efforts on how to maximize the benefits of China's engagement with the continent.

Ultimately, Africa must set the terms and define what it needs from China and its relationship with the country. China cannot dictate terms and conditions for Africa. The region should acknowledge the possibility of conflicts of interest between China's economic interests and its own interests in economic growth and development. To leverage its relationship with China effectively, Africa must consider how to ensure mutual benefit. It is vital to avoid allowing China's interest to continue the past pattern of big powers that treated Africa mainly as a source of raw materials, cheap labour, and a market for finished goods (Adem, 2016). Consequently, a critical assessment of the prospects and challenges of China-Africa relations is necessary to arrive at a mutually beneficial approach.

In the article "Globalization and Marginalization of Africa: Contextualization of China-Africa Relations," Edoho (2011) uses the resource curse theory to investigate the implications of China's engagement with Africa, evaluating the economic relationship between the two and examining its impact on Africa's economic situation. By contextualizing China's engagement with Africa in economic development, Edoho scrutinizes the effects of globalization on Africa's marginalization in the world economy, proposing that the intersection between China and Africa is a result of Africa's marginalization in the context of globalization.

2.11. Theoretical framework

To obtain a comprehensive understanding of the current relationship between China and South Africa, this study employs insights from the theories of realism and post-colonialism in International Relations. These two theories were primarily chosen due to their widespread use in fields that concentrate on state behaviour in international politics and economics.

Realism Theory

The strength of the realism theory lies in its contribution to the numerous discourses in international politics by accurately explaining the complex nature of war in the international system (Kheyrian, 2019:6). Realism acknowledges a country's sovereignty and emphasizes self-rule as a rational actor in international relations. It

considers states to be the primary actors, who make the best decisions possible to safeguard their citizens, interests, and property (Kheyrian, 2019:6). According to Peterson (2018:2), realism theory exhibits certain weaknesses. Firstly, it heavily relies on gloomy perspectives on human nature, assuming that constant war is a likely consequence. Additionally, realism tends to equate states and politics equally as a continuous contest for opportunities (Peterson, 2018:2). The theory does not adequately articulate how states make decisions in international relations. Realism draws a distinction between the state and the international system, with minimal attachment to enhancing the impact of non-state actors within the system (Peterson, 2018:3).

Post-Colonialism theory

Post-colonialism theory plays a crucial role in establishing facts based on the separation of modes of ideas and knowledge formation, promoting political and economic pluralism, peace, and justice. As Heller (2003:15) suggests, the theory exposes the cultural structure of colonialism, mostly through the formation of legitimacy for non-Western nations, often critical of Western perspectives, norms, traditions, and culture. The strengths of post-colonialism theory lie in its ability to challenge assumptions, values, and norms that form the status quo in the international system. However, as Loomba et al. (2005) indicate, this theory exhibits certain weaknesses, including the belief that colonialism no longer exists and limitations in its toolkit to address contemporary global issues. Furthermore, post-colonialism theory targeted omitted problem areas such as geographical challenges. Finally, the theory's stand on anti-colonial movements and a struggle-based model of politics is contrary to revolutionary political practices (Niazi, 2021). While the involvement of China in Africa can be situated within the Realist perspective in international relations, which best explains China's political stance towards South Africa, the political reasons for China's participation in South Africa are better understood and explained using the Political Economy theory of Postcolonialism.

Morgenthau's perspective argued that the national interest is defined within the context of politics and culture in foreign policy formulation (Morgenthau, 1973: 9). Therefore, the definition of power and its application relies on the current political and cultural milieu (Morgenthau, 1973: 9). In this context, China's foreign policy and external

behaviour are seen as responsive to the ever-changing dynamics of the international environment (Zhao, 1996: 12).

For instance, the concept of 'energy security' has become a strategic objective for powerful states. In this context, states such as China, whose behaviour is explained in terms of Realism, place great emphasis on securing trade routes and ensuring relations with export countries that favour continuing energy trade (Heller, 2013: 355). China's foreign policy has been linked to the quest for resource security, and energy security is a critical focus. China's 'go out policy' aims to acquire energy resources and strategic assets globally to strengthen its economic and political power (Zhang et al., 2006). Thus, acknowledging Morgenthau's argument, it can be argued that the national interest is heavily influenced by the context of politics and culture. In this way, powerful states such as China have prioritized acquiring energy resources and ensuring energy security as a crucial aspect of their foreign policy objectives, prioritizing strategic assets to boost their economic and political power in the global system.

Realism can significantly assist in understanding and analysing China's foreign policy behaviour. The Realist concepts of self-interest and moral scepticism can help explain why China's foreign policies have been described as "generally self-serving and often ruthless" (Roy, 2013: 229). However, it is essential to avoid limiting the scope to Realism while assessing China's involvement in Africa. This idea is encouraged since China's African policy challenges some of Realism's key assumptions. For instance, China's focus on economic security over military security contradicts Realism's rigid contention that states prioritize military security over economic security (Roy, 1998: 235).

Therefore, it is necessary to view China's involvement in Africa from a broader perspective, which includes postcolonialism. Postcolonialism theory establishes facts concerning the separation of modes of ideas and knowledge formation, promoting political and economic pluralism, peace, and justice. As Heller (2003: 15) suggests, this theory exposes the cultural structure of colonialism, primarily through the formation of legitimacy for non-Western nations, often critical of Western perspectives, norms, traditions, and culture. Therefore, viewing China's involvement in Africa both through

the lenses of Realism and postcolonialism can provide a comprehensive understanding of the country's foreign policy objectives and behaviour on the continent, considering both self-interest and historical dynamics. Moreover, keeping an open mind is crucial in understanding China's foreign policy behaviour and its involvement in Africa as the international environment continues to evolve.

Postcolonialism and Realism theories highlight the significance of the state in the global system (O'Brien & Williams, 2014: 14). Postcolonialism strongly argues that globalisation has not diminished the role of the state, as the process of globalisation is driven and shaped by states. Moreover, the national economies are the most essential actors in international economic processes (Pickel, 2013: 113). Similarly, realism is preoccupied with power and asserts that states utilize power to make decisions in the global arena.

Therefore, it is imperative to view China's involvement in South Africa through these theoretical perspectives. Postcolonialism and Realism ideologies provide a comprehensive framework for analysing and understanding the circumstances surrounding China's intervention in South Africa. Understanding the role of the state in the global system and the utilization of power by international actors provides valuable insights into China's actions in the region. In addition, acknowledging the complementary nature of these two theories can provide a broader and more nuanced understanding of China's involvement in South Africa. For instance, Realism may explain why China prioritizes economic interests in its engagement with South Africa. On the other hand, Postcolonialism may shed light on how China's policies in the region interact with South Africa's historical context and its aspirations to assert its identity and independence. Therefore, a combined analysis through Postcolonialism and Realism offers a unique insight into China's behaviour in South Africa, considering both contemporary and historical aspects of international relations. It positions us better to understand China's motivations, interests and objectives, and its impact on the region's political, economic, and social dynamics.

2.3 Conclusion

From the information presented above, it is conclusive that China's involvement in Africa is not a new discussion. Thus, China's engagement with Africa goes back to the early 1950s. This collaboration with Africa which is mostly seen at the multilateral level continues to be a significant part of the Sino-Africa relations up to this day. The establishment of FOCAC in the early 2000s has since taken over to drive these relations and remains the engine of China-South African relations which date since the 1950s. China's presence in Africa has drawn much controversy within the academic community and centres of power because of its specific features and guiding principles. Some experts, in the West, perceive China as a purely realistic country, seeking to achieve its own political, economic, and ideological interests, hence imposing hegemony in Africa. Nevertheless, some see China particularly in Africa as a development partner on an equal basis with African nations, notably knowing that China adopts a policy of non-interference in the inner affairs of African countries. In addition, it does not attach any political conditionality to loans and economic assistance to Africa in contrast to Western countries. This study represents an opportunity for further academic research to deeply understand the nature and driving elements of Chinese actorness in South Africa.

The next chapter gives an analysis of China-South Africa relations within a broader analysis of China's Foreign Policy towards Africa. In essence, this chapter explores China's engagement with South Africa within the context of its foreign policy in Africa.

CHAPTER THREE

Exploration of the Chinese-South African Relations within the Broader Analysis of China's Foreign Policy towards the African Continent

3.1 Introduction

This chapter undertakes an in-depth analysis of the relationship between China and South Africa, within the broader context of China's foreign policy towards Africa. In recent years, the renewed attention to the relationships between China and African countries, including South Africa, has made China's economic and political interests in the African continent a core aspect of its foreign policy. The chapter focuses on exploring Chinese-South African relations while encompassing the broader analysis of China's foreign policy towards Africa. Firstly, it provides an overview of the China-South Africa relationship, including its historical context and the key drivers of China's engagement with South Africa. Here, the researcher explores the evolving relationship between China and South Africa, and its historical foundations, highlighting the political and economic dimensions of the partnership. Secondly, the chapter delves into China's foreign policy towards Africa and the factors that have influenced the nature and scope of their cooperation.

The exploration of China's foreign policy towards Africa draws on the broader context of global economic governance and institutional change, particularly the impact of China's rising economic power on the international relations order. The analysis of China's approach to engaging with Africa brings to light vital factors influencing the partnership's dynamics, including geopolitical, historical, and institutional factors. Through this analytical approach, the researcher aims to provide a comprehensive understanding of China's foreign policy approach to South Africa and Africa as a whole. The exploration of the key factors, drivers and dimensions of the partnership offers insights into the ever-evolving dynamics of China-Africa relations. Consequently, this analysis is crucial in providing policymakers with valuable insights that can help shape the goals, objectives, and strategies for the future engagement of the two partners in Africa.

3.2 China-South Africa Relations

The bilateral relationship between South Africa and China is a dynamic and complex one that has been shaped by deep historical ties and the demands of modern trade. South Africa's unique position within Africa and global affairs, as well as its resource-based economy, has made it an ideal strategic partner for China, the largest developing country in the world. However, this partnership is not without its challenges. South Africa's commitment to democracy and the diversity of its civil society, as well as its own economic and political aspirations on the continent, may represent obstacles to the deepening of ties beyond a certain point (Adem, 2016, Mlambo, and Mabecua, 2018, 2018, Dye and Alencastro, 2020).

Despite these challenges, the two nations have forged a unique and comprehensive strategic partnership, operating at bilateral, continental, and multilateral levels. China's growing media presence, the concentration of Confucian Institutes, and the largest and oldest Chinese community in Africa have created a fertile ground for the strengthening of this partnership. The pace of trade and investment has also accelerated, coupled with closer international cooperation with Beijing through the G-20 and the BRICS grouping, positioning South Africa-China ties as a significant force on continental and global affairs. Nevertheless, the relationship between the two nations is not without its paradoxes (Ademola, Bankole and Adewuyi, 2016). In contrast to the conventional resource extraction and infrastructure financing that typify China's engagements with other African countries, economic ties between China and South Africa are extending beyond these conventions. Although two-way trade continues to accelerate, South African investment in China currently exceeds that of China in South Africa (Leslie, 2016; Nowak, 2016).

The year 1998 marked the beginning of formal diplomatic relations between South Africa and China, a period marked by gradually intensifying political engagement and initially limited economic involvement. Despite one of the largest business delegations fielded by Beijing accompanying the first official Chinese visit to South Africa, private interests played a crucial role in driving the economic momentum (Leslie, 2016). In May 1999, Mandela embarked on the first official trip by a South African head of state to Beijing. This trip was followed by a series of bilateral declarations and agreements

that reflected a deepening of formal political ties between the two nations, while the economic outcomes were initially limited. This initial period of formal diplomatic engagement between South Africa and China was marked by cooperation and cautious optimism. A notable highlight was the signing of the Pretoria Declaration by President Jiang Zemin in April 2000 during an official visit (Alden, Alao, Chun, and Barber, 2017). The declaration focused on the establishment of a bi-national commission that aimed to create conditions conducive to mutual economic benefit. In particular, it focused on the expansion of trade and investment in natural resources, mining, and manufacturing. Since then, the South Africa-China relationship has matured substantially, with increased cooperation and engagement, particularly in economic terms. The signing of numerous agreements and partnerships aimed at deepening the economic and political ties between the two nations has enabled them to capitalize on each other's strengths and to collaborate on a range of strategic projects. As a result, the partnership between South Africa and China is an essential part of the global political and economic landscape, a testament to its resilience and adaptability in an ever-changing world.

The rapid pace of China-South Africa economic relations is a remarkable indication of the extensive progress achieved by the relationship in a relatively short space of time. Remarkably, a decade after establishing formal diplomatic ties in 1998, China became South Africa's primary import and export trade partner (Batchelor and Zhang, 2017). By 2011, China's total foreign trade with South Africa had grown exponentially to an annual growth rate of 77%, amounting to approximately \$45 billion (Li, 2016).

Although bilateral trade has experienced a steadily upward trajectory since 1998, inconsistencies in data produced by both countries pose a challenge for analysts. According to the African Economic Research Consortium, statistical inconsistencies arise due to technical and political factors, smuggling, currency fluctuations, different timing, and the role of intermediaries such as Hong Kong (Krukowska, 2016). As of 2006, agreement over respectively produced data had not yet been reached. For instance, South Africa's gold and diamond trade is a subject of dispute. These items are frequently sold via third markets and are not accounted for as national exports to China, while China considers these items as South African imports (Wentao and Hong, 2019). Nevertheless, the overall available trade data indicates a consistently upward

trajectory in the bilateral relationship, demonstrating the potential for even greater cooperation between these two significant nations.

The experiences of South African manufacturing firms as they confront Chinese competition have become emblematic of some of the challenges between the two countries, more than any other dimension of the bilateral economic relationship. In 1995, the industry employed 230,000 South Africans and served as the country's sixth-largest exporter; however, between 75,000 and 85,000 manufacturing jobs were lost due to direct competition with Chinese imports (Oqubay and Lin, 2019). The persistent job losses experienced in the manufacturing industry due to Chinese imports have resulted in the Congress of South African Trade Unions (COSATU) becoming one of its most vocal critics. Until 2013, Zwelinzima Vavi, the general secretary of the trade union movement for almost a decade, condemned China's role in undiplomatic terms, referring to its policies as "colonial" and analogous to the exploitative relations with the traditional Western industrialized economies (Oniwide, 2017). However, possibly reflecting a change in leadership, other unionists have expressed a more positive attitude towards the Chinese impact. COSATU's international secretary, Bongani Mosuku, believes that deeper economic engagement with China will yield more positive impacts over the long term, especially in terms of technological advancements and knowledge transfer (Zwanbin, 2020).

Despite the South African government's public concern over the adverse impact of Chinese competition on manufacturing, privately held beliefs suggest that certain sectors, such as textiles, are not sustainable in a globalized trade environment (Oniwide, 2017). In official South African and Chinese communiqués, there is an emphasis on introducing "beneficiation," particularly regarding employment creation and technology transfer, as features of Chinese foreign direct investment (FDI) in the mining and manufacturing sectors. This is to counteract the destructive effects of competitive imports. However, according to a study titled "China and Africa: Changing Economic Relations and Their Implications for Youth Employment in South Africa and Ghana. Sustainable Development," solid evidence suggests that until 2010, the impact of Chinese investment remained heavily weighted against the possibility that it could offset job losses in other sectors (Phaahla, 2020). Furthermore, this study also stated that South Africans lost a 10% market share in neighbouring economies due to

competition from China. Outside the manufacturing sector, South African construction firms such as Murray and Roberts and Group 5 have also raised concerns that the practices of Chinese construction firms are unfair (Ahmed and Huo, 2018).

Chinese telecommunication companies compete in some African markets with South Africa, for instance, the competition between MTN and Huawei. The competition between MTN, a telecommunications network provider, and Huawei, a mobile gadget producer, can be best understood in the context of their respective offerings and market positioning (Le Pere & Xiao, 2013). MTN, as a network provider, is primarily focused on providing reliable, high-speed connectivity to its customers. Huawei, on the other hand, produces a range of devices such as smartphones, tablets, and laptops that leverage the connectivity provided by network providers such as MTN. One area of competition between the two companies revolves around the development and marketing of 5G technology (Ng, 2019). MTN has invested heavily in rolling out 5G networks across various African countries, while Huawei has been at the forefront of developing 5G infrastructure and devices. As such, Huawei could be seen as a potential competitor to MTN in the race to provide cutting-edge 5G connectivity to customers in Africa. In addition, the two companies also compete in the mobile device market. While MTN does not produce its own devices, it partners with various device manufacturers to offer a wide range of devices to its customers (Reuters, 2016). Huawei, as a device producer, is a key player in this market and competes directly with other device manufacturers that partner with MTN. Despite this competition, MTN and Huawei also have a complementary relationship. MTN relies on Huawei's expertise in developing and maintaining network infrastructure, and Huawei relies on MTN's extensive customer base in Africa to sell its devices. As such, while there is competition between the two companies, there is also a degree of interdependence and collaboration that is necessary for their success in the African market (SMEA, 2020).

China–South Africa ties are not merely high-level engagements driven by elite interests. There are also informal and subtle spaces (described by Park and Alden (2019) as the 'downstairs' dimension) where un-orchestrated engagements potentially shape the agenda of the more formal relationship. Just as China's public diplomacy is more pronounced towards the continent, the public's reaction to Chinese engagement

is more assertive. A recent opinion piece by author-journalist Howard French suggested that Africa's vibrant advocacy and civil society groups are the stakeholders that will increasingly challenge formal representations of the relationship as a 'win-win' (Leslie, 2020). In the case of South Africa–China relations there are interventions from 'downstairs,' highlighted by public sentiment over and perceptions of these relations and the complex role of the Chinese community. While there are deeper national interest concerns, commentary is a window to public understanding of the relationship. Emotive commentary can enter popular spaces at the risk of becoming preferred narratives. There are other examples of public sentiment that have accompanied China's burgeoning ties with the continent and South Africa in particular. Following the 2012 public outrage over the 455 rhinos that had been killed illegally for their horns in South Africa, the journalist Julian Rademeyer commented 'there's this stereotype being sold in South Africa of this evil, Fu Manchu Asians trying to kill our wildlife' (Siu and McGovern, 2017).

The popularized term 'Fong Kong' has also become part of the South African lexicon, denoting goods that are cheap imitations and cannot be trusted (Phaahla, 2020), and has been linked to goods originating from China. The phrase even became the title of a popular kwaito – a South African music genre – hit in 1998, speaking to the transforming relations between the continent and China (Phaahla, 2020). The longstanding perception of inferior quality could in turn further affect China's presence in South Africa. In a China Daily edition, Huawei (telecommunications) and FAW (vehicle manufacturer), two major Chinese companies that are competitive forces at home, noted that their biggest challenges in South Africa remained the public's reluctance to accept Chinese goods in a market dominated by Western products (Zwanbin, 2020). Linked to this is the notion that in a country where there is nearly 32.6% unemployment, 'Chinese workers are increasingly taking jobs away from unemployed South Africans.' For instance, Chinese workers in South Africa are often employed in areas such as manufacturing, construction, and mining. Some of the specific jobs that Chinese workers may hold in these industries include mining engineers, welders, electricians, machine operators, and construction workers. Chinese citizens are also employed in other sectors such as retail, hospitality, and transportation. However, the nature of Chinese employment in South Africa can vary depending on the specific business or industry.

3.3 China's Foreign Policy

China's policy towards Africa has been in effect for the past five decades, as established in previous studies. During this time, China has experienced tremendous economic growth, accompanied by significant policy changes in its trade and diplomatic relations with Africa (Chief Economist Complex, 2010). The study acknowledges that China's approach to Africa evolved from diplomacy to information and economics, which led to the Asian tiger gaining a strong foothold in Africa. Therefore, it is crucial to focus this analysis on China's economic motivations concerning Africa to understand a complete narrative of China's African policy. To accomplish this, academics should emphasize the historical economic references, particularly in the context of the African continent. As previously noted, China's economic involvement in Africa dates back to before the 1950s (Chief Economic Complex, 2010: 15). Over time, China's relations with Africa have expanded to encompass trade, investment, financials, and economic aid, aimed primarily at boosting Africa's extensive infrastructure development agenda.

It is worth noting that China's growing influence in Africa often raises concerns among its Western counterparts, both in Africa and elsewhere. A 2008 study by the IMF demonstrated that China had become Africa's leading partner and investor, followed by the EU and the USA (Wang & BioTchane, 2008). In another IMF study conducted in 2010, it was shown that Africa's trade with Western countries had declined significantly (Chief Economist Complex, 2010). This shift is primarily attributed to China's increased exports to the African continent. Consequently, the declining trade figures with Western countries can be largely attributed to this trend, which illustrates the challenges faced by African countries in their imports from Western nations. This implies that China has substantially contributed to Africa's economic growth, as evidenced by the positive impact of the increased trade partnership between China and Africa as identified by The Economist (2011). Therefore, one can argue that China's current economic progress is a result of its international relations established with African and European countries, as these partnerships have been critical in fostering China's economic development.

3.3.1. China's Foreign Policy towards Africa

The preceding discussion has illuminated China's engagement with South Africa and African nations more broadly. This shift towards an examination of China-Africa relations has spurred the researcher to investigate the guiding principles underlying China's international engagement with the African continent (Dynamic, 2015). Specifically, this study considers the Chinese Africa policy white paper of 2006, which outlines mutual support, companionship and fairness, trustworthiness, trade-offs, correlative welfare, continual habitual influence, and interactive subsistence as the pillars of Chinese engagement with Africa. As Dynamic (2015) noted earlier in this chapter, these tenets persist as drivers of China-Africa relations. Furthermore, Dynamic (2015) suggests that, as of 2015 and in keeping with the context of this study, China continued to place considerable importance on these principles. However, by that time, China had explicitly added support for mutual integrity, strategic collaboration, and interactive benefit as among the primary tenets of their foreign policy towards Africa.

To support the analysis presented in this study, both Barton (2014:3) and Strauss (2009) have demonstrated that the majority of investments made by China in Africa date back to the 1978 "Open Door Policy" era. Building on this foundation, China's developing economic win-win partnership in 1982, the African white paper on policy in 1996, and the Chinese white paper on Africa policy in 2006 further underscored the importance of ensuring that Africa and China "treat each other as equals, develop sincere friendship, strengthen solidarity, and cooperation, and seek common development" (Barton, 2014:3). Moving beyond these earlier policy initiatives, this study is situated in the context of the Belt and Road Initiative (BRI), which now guides China's international relations with Africa more broadly (Phiri, 2018). The BRI is renowned as the most substantial investment and infrastructure policy initiative in global history. This policy is intended to enable China to engage regions across the globe, including Europe, Africa, and Asia, by addressing infrastructure gaps and supporting economic development initiatives (Phiri, 2018).

In its inception, Xi announced the Belt and Road Initiative (BRI) as a foundational policy to govern China-African relations. Its primary objective was to develop Africa's

telecommunications, sea, railways, air travel, and road and maritime infrastructure to enable and accelerate infrastructural development (Mwamba, 2018). While specific countries are primarily poised to benefit from this initiative, South Africa stands to gain as well. Nonetheless, it is important to note that the BRI initiative should not be viewed as separate from the earlier 1996 and 2006 white paper policies on Africa implemented by China (Lubinda & Jian, 2018). This can be attributed to the vast amount of economic aid, loans, and significant investments promised to Africa. China has also committed to fair trade practices with African nations within the context of FOCAC. Though free-market access is a critical factor that underpins resource engagement, it is not simply an opportunity for the Asian tiger to access Africa's vast mineral resources (Lubinda & Jian, 2018).

3.3.2. The Going Out Policy to the Road Belt and Initiative

From the "Going Out" policy, characterized by Chinese businesses entering global markets, China has since embraced the Belt and Road Initiative (BRI) (2013-present), primarily advocated by Xi, who coined the term "One Belt, One Road" (OBOR) in 2013. OBOR aims to promote economic growth and development by connecting China, Southeast Asia, East Africa, and Southern Europe via the seafaring "long road" economic belt and Central Asia via the overland "Silk Road" (Tow, 2017). OBOR intends to establish custom cooperation and trade agreements among the regions it connects, as well as encourage collaboration in areas such as resources, sciences, tourism, NGOs, and environmental protections (Breur, 2017). All business deals within this framework are typically financed by the Export-Import Bank of China (China Exim Bank), or by the Chinese "treat each other as equals, develop sincere friendship, strengthen solidarity, and cooperation, and seek common development" governmental financial initiatives (Barton, 2014:3). Around 80 countries in South America, Asia, Europe, Africa, and the Arab region are members of the Asian Infrastructure Investment Bank (AIIB), a team that can raise approximately "100 billion USD" annually for this initiative each year (Breuer, 2017:7).

In 2017, BRI was officially adopted into the constitution of the 19th National Party Congress (NPC) of the Chinese Communist Party (CCP), as part of the efforts to achieve "shared growth through discussion and collaboration" (Wo-lap, 2016). As Xi assumed his second term in office, he implemented his initiative to promote China's

global engagement through a strong economic strategy that had been endorsed by the country's leadership (Balding, 2017). BRI accommodates around 80 countries with a prolonged investment loan of about \$8 trillion for developing the world's energy, transportation, and telecommunication networks (Wo-lap, 2016; Hurley, Morris and Portelance, 2018:1). It is a policy that focuses significantly on foreign policy, security matters, and economic motives for the Chinese government. The foreign policy banks of China, such as the China Development Bank (CDB), China Exim Bank, and Agricultural Development Bank of China (ADBC), also play a significant role in financing BRI (CPEC, 2017). While China does not disclose the figures of its trans-border projects, there are periodic projections calculated at the national level to check BRI's success, though these figures are not made public (CPEC, 2017).

Despite policy commercial banks in China providing figures of BRI investments, the information is not consistently disclosed and not accompanied by specific financial figures (Hurley, et al., 2018: 8). Ultimately, Chinese-AU relations have led to significant infrastructure growth during the contemporary period under study. Li Keqiang, Chinese premier, stated in 2014 that China would support the dream of linking all African countries with speedy railways, as postulated by Nkosazana Dlamini Zuma, the former Chairperson of the AU Commission, in her January 2014 speech to the AU (Keqiang, 2014). Soon after, a "memorandum of understanding (MoUs)" was signed between China and Africa to build a "cross-continental infrastructure development" and a "whistle-stop train network," which remains a fundamental objective of the AU's 2063 agenda.

During the 2017 BRI Forum held in China, the State Grid Corporation of China (SGCC) supported MoUs on energy collaboration with the AU continent through the "Global Energy Internet Development Cooperation Organisation" (GEIDCO) (Breuer, 2017:2). The endorsement of these MoUs has demonstrated OBOR's significant role in China's foreign policy towards Africa over time. Although the pillars of OBOR have remained relatively consistent, they have evolved to incorporate new realities. However, in Chinese-Africa relations, Africa often experiences trade difficulties, particularly when raw materials trade terms become unsympathetic and volatile, reflecting unequal power relations between them and the big power. Nonetheless, despite these challenges, Africa is still part of the BRI initiative, with infrastructural loans being used for infrastructural

development to promote trade between Africa and China (Longwe, Chinang and Chipenzi, 2018).

3.4 Conclusion

When discussing China-South Africa relations, it is important to focus on the two phases of 2000-2010 and 2010-2021 to highlight significant events that have impacted both countries' socio-political and economic relations. As such, scholars should consider China's foreign policy at a continental level since China engages in multilateral agreements with Africa. This is not to say that China doesn't engage in individual country-specific agreements, but its policies, such as the Open-Door policy and the BRI, are targeted at entire continents such as Africa, Europe, America and Asia. In this chapter, the researcher has explored the fundamental pillars of China's Africa policy including the two policies of the Open Door and the BRI initiative to illustrate China's engagement with Africa and South Africa over the last five decades, since the Asian tiger arrived in Africa.

This chapter delves into the key drivers of China's foreign policy towards South Africa. The primary objective of this chapter is to examine and clarify the facts and misconceptions regarding Chinese involvement in South Africa. The aim is to gain a broad understanding of China's continental and national interests in Africa in relation to South Africa.

The following chapter will explore, the nature of China-South Africa diplomatic and economic relations.

CHAPTER FOUR

The Nature of China–South Africa Diplomatic and Economic Relations

4.1 Introduction

This chapter examines the nature of China-Africa diplomatic and economic relations. The significant expansion of China's presence and influence in South Africa during the last decade is noteworthy. The two countries have been in a "honeymoon" phase, and many are questioning how far this relationship can extend in the future. China, as the world's second-largest economy after the US, is considered central to important regional and global development issues (World Bank, 2020). South Africa, on the other hand, is one of the continent's largest economies, along with Nigeria (International Monetary Fund, 2019). The evolving relationship between these two countries raises larger questions about its impact on regional and global affairs.

China has taken advantage of the opportunity to deepen its engagement with South Africa, and the latter has welcomed China with open arms. According to Laribee (2014:5), South Africa can be described as the "China" of Africa, given their many similarities (Laribee, 2014). However, as this relationship becomes more intense, criticisms arise both inside and outside South Africa, ranging from accusations of "Chinese neo-colonialism" and "propaganda of China's South-South solidarity" to "China is buying South Africa's silence." What sets the nature of China's engagement with South Africa apart from other African countries? This chapter aims to provide some insights in response to these questions. However, the complex and multi-faceted nature of this relationship means that the chapter can only scratch the surface of exploring it. The chapter builds on the previous one which analysed Chinese-South African relations within the broader context of China's foreign policy towards the African continent, providing useful perspectives for future policy development.

4.2 Diplomatic Relations

4.2.1 Diplomacy and Strategic Partnership

The formal diplomatic relations between China and South Africa began with the signing of the Pretoria Declaration in 2000. This declaration focused on the establishment of a bi-national commission with a commitment to improving favourable conditions for

mutual economic benefits, particularly in expanding trade and investment in natural resources, mining and manufacturing (Ministry of Foreign Affairs of PRC, 2000). Following the declaration, relations between the two countries evolved rapidly, marked by coordination on various levels, including the work of the established bi-national commissions, the launch of China's Forum on China-Africa Cooperation (FOCAC), negotiations between China and the Southern African Customs Union (SACU) to establish a Free Trade Agreement (FTA) in 2004, the G8-Africa summit in 2005, and the induction of South Africa into the BRIC grouping in 2010. This has positioned South Africa as a strategic geopolitical partner of China and a major player on the African continent (Papatheologou, 2014:8).

A second phase of diplomatic relations was initiated after the 2010 Beijing Declaration when the Chinese government upgraded South Africa to the diplomatic status of Strategic Comprehensive Partner (Ross, 2016). This strategic partnership between the two countries has political implications, as it helps to limit the international space of Taiwan. To this effect, China stipulates non-recognition of Taiwan as a prerequisite for any future investment and financial aid (Papatheologou, 2014:11).

In 2013, China introduced the Belt and Road initiative, which opened numerous investment opportunities for Chinese enterprises in sectors such as ocean economics, renewable energy, seafood, and marine tourism. During Chinese President Xi Jinping's state visit to South Africa in 2015, the two countries signed 26 agreements with a combined value of \$16.5 billion (South Africa Government, 2015). At the G20 Summit in Japan and the meeting of BRICS leaders in 2019, Presidents Xi Jinping and Cyril Ramaphosa renewed their commitment to strengthen the alignment of the Belt and Road Initiative and the eight major initiatives agreed upon at the 2018 Beijing Summit of the Forum on China-Africa Cooperation. The two countries plan to deepen cooperation in areas such as infrastructure construction, the digital economy, and high technology (Xinhua, 2019).

4.2.2 Soft Power

Based on Nye's definition of the pillars of soft power, which include a country's culture, political values, and foreign policy (Nye, 1990), the "Beijing Consensus" - a set of principles that are grounded in Chinese Taoist tradition and emphasize non-

hegemony, no-interference, and no alliances (Naidu, 2007) - places China's soft power strategy in an advantageous position relative to other global players.

China's soft power strategy is reflected in the concentration of Confucius Institutes in South Africa, which are joint ventures between Chinese and foreign universities established to promote a broad understanding of Chinese culture. These Institutes provide an opportunity for China to enhance its influence over South African society and the African continent. Additionally, the launch of the Asian Infrastructure Investment Bank (AIIB), proposed and launched by China, is another mechanism that seeks to strengthen China's relationship with African countries, particularly South Africa. In contrast to the Western approach, China's use of soft power through the AIIB is evident as it allows greater respect for the borrower's development preferences and imposes minimal political conditions (Huang, et al., 2016). Although South Africa has not formally joined the AIIB, it is anticipated that South Africa will soon become a founding member, which will further cement China's influence and diplomatic relations in the region.

4.2.3 Security

The strategic relationship between South Africa and China is characterized by "complementary advantages." South Africa has a strong defence industry and benefits from its alliances with many world-class research institutes, while China, on the other hand, is a renowned manufacturer and industrial producer. Therefore, the two countries derive mutual benefit from collaborating on defence technology research labs and exchanging technologies (Wingrin, 2019). In 2000, the Pretoria Declaration was signed, which paved the way for the establishment of a Chinese-South African defence committee (Ministry of Foreign Affairs of PRC, 2000). The military cooperation between the two countries involves providing electronic equipment to the South African National Defence Force and training South African soldiers. Since 2000, commercial transactions between South Africa's armaments and the Chinese military have increased, along with academic and research exchanges in the security sector, following the signing of the Beijing Declaration. In 2011, the Chinese and South African police signed an agreement aimed at improving cooperation on international crime, thereby consolidating and exchanging intelligence information pertaining to illegal activities such as drug trafficking, illegal immigration, money laundering, arms smuggling, and human trafficking (Xinhua, 2013).

4.3 Economic Relations

4.3.1 Trade

Over the last several years, the trade relationship between China and South Africa has burgeoned, cementing their positions as crucial trading partners for each other. Remarkably, China has been South Africa's largest trading partner for the past 12 years, while South Africa is China's largest trading partner in Africa. Over the years, bilateral trade between the two nations has soared from \$10 billion in 2010 to \$25.4 billion in 2021, underscoring the momentous expansion in trade between them (South African Embassy in China, 2021). It is important to note that the balance of trade is skewed in China's favour, with South Africa importing more from China than exporting to China mainly due to China's mammoth manufacturing industry capable of producing goods in bulk at relatively competitive prices. However, the two countries have strengthened their trade relations through the ratification of a slew of trade agreements as of late, signalling a more robust partnership. These trade accords have opened opportunities for increased

investment and joint ventures between Chinese and South African firms. This, in turn, creates employment and facilitates the transfer of technology and skills (Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the People's Republic of China, 2021).

4.3.1.1 Imports and Exports between China and South Africa (2010-2021)

As of 2021, China has emerged as a significant recipient of South Africa's exports, accounting for 9.4% of the country's exports, and South Africa's imports have surged to 20.2%, indicating the enormous trade relationship between these two nations (South African Revenue Service [SARS], 2021). The figures in terms of rand are staggering, as exports to China summed up to R188.4 billion, while imports worth R367.4 billion, resulting in a trade surplus for China of approximately R179 billion. A significant portion of South Africa's exports to China comes from two primary categories - mineral products and iron and steel products (SARS, 2021). The mineral products consist of raw materials such as iron ore, manganese, coal, and chrome ores, which are integral to China's colossal steel industry. China accounts for a substantial 57.4% of total global steel production in 2021, underscoring its preeminent position in the global steel industry (World Steel Association, 2021). Consequently, China's colossal demand for South Africa's raw materials has a substantial impact on the country's economy while also providing South African producers with a broader market for their products.

The export market of South Africa to China is dominated by two major categories- mineral products and iron and steel products, which are both crucial inputs to China's steel industry and essential for the country's economic growth. Mineral exports to China are dominated by raw materials such as iron ore, coal, chrome, and manganese ores, which has led to a total of R120.4 billion in exports or a massive 63.9% of the overall exports of South Africa to China. Furthermore, products of iron and steel exports stood at R37 billion, accounting for 19.6% of total exports to the Chinese market (South African Revenue Service, 2019). These two categories collectively accounted for 83.5% of South Africa's exports to China. Precious metals- including platinum group metals and gold- account for the third-largest export category amounting to R8.1 billion or 4.3% of exports to China (Engineering News, 2022). Notably, recent exports of yellow maize to China have shown promising signs of growth in the fruit and vegetable category previously at R7.6 billion or a 4.1% share. It

is expected that this category's growth will exceed that of precious metals in the coming years, with more opportunities for increased trading volume (South African Grain Information Service [SAGIS], 2022). In 2022, the only other export category that exceeded R4 billion was wood pulp and paper, with a 2.1% share, highlighting the vast opportunities for bilateral trade relations (World Bank, 2020).

Figure 3: South Africa Exports to China

Exports in South Africa increased to 181261.07 ZAR Million in August from 173424.89 ZAR Million in July of 2023



Source: (South African Revenue Service, 2021)

Imports from China are dominated by machinery and products of iron and steel, but together they only account for 55.7% of imports. Machinery imports amounted to R169.9bn or 46.2% of imports, while products of iron and steel totalled R34.6bn for a 9.4% share (World Bank, 2020). Chemicals were the third largest import category at R33 billion or 9.0% share. Textiles are next at R27bn, with a 7.6% share. The increased penetration of Chinese brands into the South African vehicle market is shown in the fifth largest import category at R20.5 billion for a 5.6% share. In total, there were 12 import categories where imports exceeded R4 billion, which shows that Chinese exports to South Africa were far more diversified than South African exports to China, where only five categories exceeded R4 billion (SARS, 2021)

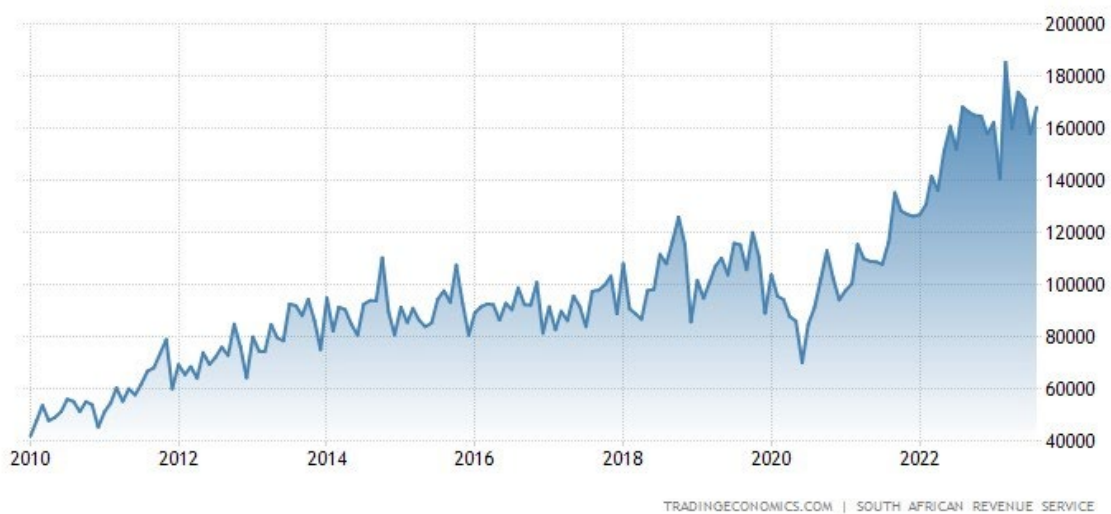
The bilateral trade relationship between South Africa and China is extensive, with imports from China as diverse as they are substantial. Machinery and iron and steel

products are the two largest import categories from China but together account for only 55.7% of the total imports (World Bank, 2020). Machinery imports totalled R169.9 billion, accounting for 46.2% of total imports, while the products of iron and steel amounted to R34.6 billion or a 9.4% share. The third largest import category from China is chemicals, which totalled R33 billion or a 9.0% share (World Bank, 2020). The textile industry is the fourth-largest import category at R27 billion or a 7.6% share. The increased penetration of Chinese brands into the South African vehicle market is shown in the fifth-largest import category, with R20.5 billion for a 5.6% share, reflecting the expanding trade relations between the two countries. Notably, there were 12 import categories where imports exceeded R4 billion, which highlights the diverse nature of Chinese exports to South Africa compared to South African exports to China, where only five categories exceeded R4 billion (South African Revenue Service, 2021). As the bilateral trade relationship continues to grow, South Africa remains a significant trading partner with China, highlighting the importance of a healthy two-way trade balance.

The following references support the information provided in the paragraph:

Figure 4: South Africa Imports to China

Imports in South Africa increased to 167982.35 ZAR Million in August from 157981.48 ZAR Million in July 2021



Source: (South African Revenue Service, 2021)

4.3.2 Investment

The bilateral investment relationship between China and South Africa has proven to be advantageous to both countries in several ways. China's investment in South Africa has been a significant driver of the country's economic growth, demonstrating the deep economic ties between the two nations (Alden, Large & Soares de Oliveira, 2010). By investing in critical sectors such as infrastructure, energy, and telecommunications, China has provided support for South Africa's economic development, which has positively impacted both countries. Through Chinese investment, job opportunities have been created in South Africa, particularly in the construction and engineering sectors, improving the country's employment rate (Taylor and Hgaza, 2019:18). The development of critical infrastructure projects like ports, railways, and roads has required significant manpower, which has been sourced locally, contributing to the growth of local industry.

Furthermore, the relationship between China and South Africa has facilitated knowledge transfer, technological innovation, and skills development through jointly funded research projects, which have positively influenced both countries' economies. This exchange has helped the two nations to better understand each other's strengths and weaknesses, leading to greater cooperation in research and technology. China's investment in South Africa's telecommunication sector has led to considerable technological advancement and the creation of technological jobs in the industry, thus contributing to the long-term economic growth of South Africa (Taylor and Hgaza, 2019:21). As the two nations continue to deepen their economic ties, it is essential to ensure the creation of equitable economic policies and appropriate regulations to ensure that both countries benefit equally.

China's investment in South Africa's telecommunications industry has resulted in significant technological advancements, fostering growth and development in the country. For instance, Huawei, a leading Chinese telecommunications company, has partnered with South African telecommunications companies to develop advanced 5G wireless networks (Alden and Schoeman, 2018:21). This partnership has led to increased employment opportunities in the technology industry and has positioned South Africa as a key player in the development of new telecommunications technology at the continental and global levels. Moreover, through investments in

essential sectors, such as mining and agriculture, China has created new opportunities for South African exports. These investments have played a significant role in increasing trade between the two countries, allowing South Africa to capitalize on China's massive market for its goods and services (Gao, 2018:117). By investing in South Africa, China has demonstrated its commitment to deepening the economic ties between the two countries, creating favourable prospects for cooperation, growth, and mutual prosperity (Ma, 2020:155). Though challenges and concerns remain, the benefits of their investment relations continue to create opportunities for both countries to work together, realizing their shared goals of sustainable development and equitable economic policies.

South Africa's reliance on China's loan model for infrastructure investment has generated significant concerns among some policymakers and stakeholders. One of the primary concerns is related to the potential for unsustainable debt burdens. Many of the loans provided by Chinese banks and institutions carry high interest rates and have a shorter repayment period, leading to fears that some South African projects funded by China may turn out to be unprofitable or may not generate sufficient returns to repay the loans (Brautigam, 2019:22). In this regard, there are concerns of unsustainable debt burdens that could impede South Africa's economic growth in the long run. Another significant concern is the lack of transparency associated with loan agreements between China and South Africa. Many of the loan agreements between the two nations are not made public, generating uncertainty about the scope and terms of such deals, including interest rates, collateral, and loan conditions. This opacity exacerbates the risk of South Africa falling into a debt trap, with ill-defined or unduly restrictive loan conditions leading to an inability to repay loans (Brautigam, 2019:25).

4.3.3 Debt diplomacy

South Africa's relationship with China has come under scrutiny due to its significant debt obligations to the latter. According to estimates, the country owes about four percent of its annual gross domestic product to China, with concerns being raised about the opaque conditions and links to corruption surrounding some of these loans (Collocott and Charles, 2019:14). One such loan is the \$2.5 billion controversial loan

from the China Development Bank to the state-owned South African electrical utility Eskom, which was arranged during the Jacob Zuma administration. Additionally, a \$2.5 billion loan from Huarong Energy, a private Chinese company, was implicated in the Zondo Commission of Inquiry into state corruption as improper. As a result, Eskom chairperson Jabu Mabuza claimed that the company would not repay the loan due to irregularities and corruption involved in the loan process (Dludla, 2017).

Recently, during Cyril Ramaphosa's presidency, the South African government secured an additional R370 billion (\$25.8 billion) loan from the China Development Bank to promote an economic stimulus package in 2018. The government initially described the loan as a "gift"; however, there was a lack of transparency surrounding the loan agreement, generating controversy. While the government justified the loan, stating that the interest rate was not exorbitant, it could not be disclosed due to a confidentiality clause. The loan came under criticism by the opposition Democratic Alliance for the risk to the country's financial stability as it raised the possibility of a "debt trap" scenario (Ncana, 2019, Ross, 2018, Mail and Guardian, 2018, News24, 2018).

Critics have raised concerns about the potential corruption and nepotism associated with Chinese-funded projects in South Africa. Due to China's practice of using its labour and equipment for these projects, employment opportunities that should go to South Africans are given to Chinese workers instead, reducing local economic contributions and employment opportunities in the country (Naidu, 2018:26). Furthermore, Saliu and Delgado (2020:103) have expressed concern over China's infrastructure investments in South Africa, which may not be distributed evenly to different regions and could exacerbate existing economic disparities in the country. The government has also raised concerns about the lack of transparency regarding the tendering process for infrastructure projects awarded to Chinese firms. These contracts tend to favour Chinese companies over local ones, resulting in the uneven distribution of infrastructure development that disproportionately benefits Chinese firms (Strauss, 2019:350).

4.4 Conclusion

The diplomatic and economic relations between China and South Africa are significant for several reasons. First, China is South Africa's largest trading partner, and South Africa is China's largest trading partner in Africa. The bilateral trade between the two countries has grown significantly in recent years, providing essential markets for South Africa's mineral resources and opening opportunities for Chinese investment and manufacturing in South Africa. This relationship has been instrumental in fostering economic growth and job creation in both countries. Secondly, the diplomatic and economic relations between China and South Africa have played a significant role in shaping the broader China-Africa relationship. South Africa, as the most developed country on the continent, has an important role to play in advocating for Africa's interests and promoting its development. Its strategic partnership with China has allowed it to leverage its economic and political power to further these goals, while also providing China with a gateway to engage with other African countries. Lastly, the relationship between China and South Africa has strategic implications beyond economic ties. Both countries are members of the BRICS grouping of emerging economies and share a common goal of reforming the global governance system to better reflect the interests of developing countries. They also have similar views on several global issues, such as climate change and multilateralism. Their partnership has allowed them to collaborate on these issues and advocate for their shared interests on the world stage.

However, there are also concerns about the imbalance in the balance of trade, where South Africa imports more from China than it exports, and the potential social and environmental costs of China's investments. This relationship is complex, and debates on its nature continue to evolve. Nevertheless, it is evident that China and South Africa's diplomatic and economic relations are crucial for both countries' growth and development and will continue to play a significant role in shaping the future of China-Africa relations. The following chapter will focus on the prospects and Challenges of contemporary China-South Africa relations.

CHAPTER FIVE

Prospects and Challenges of Contemporary China- South Africa Relations

5.1 Introduction

The diplomatic and economic relations between China and South Africa, two of the world's largest emerging economies, have undergone significant changes in recent years. China has become South Africa's largest trading partner, while South Africa is China's largest trading partner in Africa. Besides economic ties, the China-South Africa relationship has evolved to include strategic partnerships focused on fostering economic growth and development in both countries. However, while opportunities for collaboration and mutual benefit exist, various challenges require addressing. This chapter aims to explore the prospects and challenges of contemporary China-South Africa relations. Specifically, the study will examine areas of cooperation between the two countries, such as trade, investments, and infrastructure development, while also analysing the challenges that could hinder the potential growth of this relationship. The researcher aims to provide a comprehensive analysis of the contemporary state of China-South Africa relations and highlight the opportunities and challenges that both countries must navigate to strengthen and expand this partnership in the years ahead.

5.2 Prospects of China-South Africa Relations in South Africa

5.2.1 Economic Growth

South Africa's economic growth has been positively impacted by its ties with China. China is South Africa's largest trading partner, and the country has benefited from increased trade and investment, technology transfer, and job creation. One significant way in which South Africa has benefited from its ties with China is through increased access to Chinese markets (Enca, 2017). China's growing middle class has created a significant demand for South African products, particularly in the mining and agriculture sectors. South African businesses have been able to tap into this demand, leading to increased exports and revenue generation for the country. Chinese investment in South Africa has also had a positive impact on the economy. Chinese companies have invested heavily in infrastructure, including ports, railways, and power plants, which has improved the country's connectivity and efficiency. This has had a

multiplier effect on the economy, creating jobs and boosting economic activity. In addition to infrastructure investment, Chinese companies have also invested in other key sectors of the economy, including mining, construction, and finance. These investments have led to the transfer of technology and skills, allowing South African businesses to become more competitive globally (Le Pere and Shelton, 2022:14)

5.2.2 Trade

China's significance as a trading partner for South Africa has grown significantly over the years, with bilateral trade surging to over \$30 billion in 2019. This growth has enabled South Africa to access a massive market for its goods and commodities, facilitated by China's increasing demand for raw materials, as well as its growing middle class, which represents an emerging market for South African manufactured goods. China's demand for South Africa's raw materials has driven a significant portion of the bilateral trade between the two countries (Taylor and Gomes, 2020:98). South Africa is rich in minerals and metals such as gold, platinum, and diamonds, of which China is a significant consumer. Additionally, South Africa is a major supplier of precious metals such as palladium and rhodium, essential in the manufacture of catalytic converters used in the automotive industry. China's demand for these metals has led to an increase in exports from South Africa, providing valuable revenue for the country's economy (Taylor and Gomes, 2020:99).

South Africa is also a significant producer of agricultural products such as fruits, vegetables, and wines, which have found a ready market in China. China's growing middle class has increasingly become a consumer of such products, creating a massive demand for high-quality, safe, and organic African agricultural products. For instance, South Africa is the world's second-largest producer of citrus fruit, with most of its oranges and lemons going to China, valued at around \$484 million in 2019. Such exports help boost South Africa's agricultural sector by providing revenue from exports. In addition to raw materials and agricultural products, China has also become a significant market for South African manufactured goods such as automobiles, chemicals, and appliances. The growth of China's middle class has driven demand for these products, creating export opportunities for South African producers. China's significance as a trading partner for South Africa has grown significantly, with bilateral trade totalling over \$30 billion in 2019. South Africa's exports of raw materials,

agricultural products and manufactured goods have tapped into China's demand for commodities, creating new markets and growth opportunities (Republic of South Africa, 2019).

5.2.3 Job Creation

Private firms in China are making significant investments in different sectors of the South African economy. For instance, Hisense has invested \$32.5 million in South Africa, creating more than 650 jobs in the process. The company has also expressed interest in expanding production to cell phone manufacturing in 2020, which will boost employment opportunities in the country further. Similarly, Beijing Automotive Industry Holding Co (BAIC), one of China's largest automakers in terms of sales, has invested \$773 million in a joint venture with the Industrial Development Corporation at its new manufacturing base in South Africa. Through their cooperation, the companies plan to invest \$316 million and \$457 million in Phase I and Phase II, respectively. The automotive manufacturers have estimated production of up to 100,000 cars a year since its establishment in 2018, which also created 10,600 job opportunities. With such strategic ventures into South Africa's economy, Chinese firms have the opportunity to expand their market and increase their business footprint in Africa while creating employment opportunities and generating revenues. Furthermore, these investments have a significant role to play in boosting South Africa's economic growth, which is critical for long-term prosperity in the country.

5.2.4 Skills development

China has invested in skills development programs in South Africa, including providing scholarships for South African students to study in China. This has helped strengthen human resource capacity in South Africa and increased knowledge and skills transfer in critical fields. One of the most notable initiatives is the scholarship program offered by Chinese universities to South African students. These scholarships offer opportunities for South African students to pursue degrees in various fields, including engineering, science, and business, at top Chinese universities (Madrid-Morales & Wasserman, 2019:389). For instance, in 2018, China's Tsinghua University offered scholarships to 21 South African students to study at the university's School of Economics and Management. These scholarships provide valuable opportunities for South African students to learn from leading experts in their field and to get exposed

to cutting-edge research and technologies (Madrid-Morales & Wasserman, 2019:400). The program builds long-term partnerships between China and South Africa while strengthening human resource capacity in critical fields. Another example of China's investment in skills development in South Africa is the joint initiative between the two countries' governments to launch the China-South Africa Joint Research Centre on Agricultural Biotechnology. This initiative aims to improve food security in South Africa by transferring knowledge and technology in agricultural biotechnology to the country. Through the program, Chinese and South African researchers collaborate to develop biotechnology solutions that address challenges affecting South Africa's agricultural sector. Furthermore, China's Sino-hydro Corporation has established a skills development program in South Africa to train and develop local talent in the renewable energy sector. The program offers on-the-job training for local graduates, providing them with valuable hands-on experience. The training focuses on developing skills in renewable energy technologies such as solar power, wind energy, and hydropower, preparing them for careers in the growing renewable energy sector in South Africa (Khoza, 2019).

5.2.5 Infrastructure development

China has been involved in various major infrastructure projects in South Africa, providing significant funding and construction expertise. These infrastructure projects span various sectors including transport, energy, and telecommunications, aimed at addressing infrastructure bottlenecks and promoting economic growth. For example, the China Railway Construction Corporation (CRCC), in collaboration with South African partners, has constructed several major railway lines in the country. One of the most notable projects is the Gautrain Rapid Transit railway system, which connects the city of Johannesburg with the capital city of Pretoria, providing a fast and efficient means of transport for commuters (Edwards & Jenkins, 2019:268). The project was completed in record time, and it has helped to ease traffic congestion in the region, promoting economic growth in the area. Another significant infrastructure project that China has been involved in is the Medupi Power Station, located in Lephalale, Limpopo Province. The coal-fired power station is one of the largest of its kind in the world and can generate 4,800 MW of electricity. The project was financed in part by the Industrial and Commercial Bank of China (ICBC), which provided \$500 million to

support the construction of the power station (Edwards & Jenkins, 2019:269). The project has helped to address the country's electricity shortages, providing a reliable source of power, which has in turn facilitated economic development. In the telecommunications sector, China's Huawei has played a significant role in developing South Africa's broadband infrastructure. Huawei has partnered with local telecommunications companies to tender for and construct various telecommunications infrastructure projects, including laying fiberoptic cables, upgrading mobile networks, and deploying 5G network infrastructure. Huawei's involvement in the projects has helped to provide faster, more reliable internet access to South Africans, promoting economic development through enhanced communication and access to information (Edwards & Jenkins, 2019:270).

5.2.6 Tourism

The establishment of direct flights between South Africa and China has been a crucial factor in boosting tourism in both countries. South Africa is known for its natural assets such as safaris and game reserves, while China's unique culture, rich history, and incredible landmarks have long attracted tourists from around the world. However, the long distances and stops involved previously made it cumbersome and expensive to travel between the two countries (Wu and Alden, 2020:13) The introduction of direct flights has helped to make these destinations more accessible and affordable for tourists, particularly for Chinese consumers. The influx of Chinese tourists into South Africa has had a significant impact on the tourism industry, generating new revenue streams and creating opportunities for job creation and economic growth. According to the latest figures, Chinese tourists spent an estimated \$1.7 billion on travel to South Africa in 2019, creating jobs and supporting the economy. Furthermore, the growing interest of Chinese visitors in the culture, lifestyle, and wildlife of South Africa could potentially encourage more Chinese investment in the country's hospitality tourism industry. Wu and Alden, 2020:14). On the other hand, the establishment of direct flights from South Africa to China has also provided South Africans with opportunities to travel to China, opening new markets and opportunities. Increased interactions between people from different cultures have promoted cultural exchange, stimulated trade, and foreign investments, and created new business opportunities in sectors such as hospitality, retail, and manufacturing (Wu and Alden, 2020:15).

5.2.7 Diplomatic relations

South Africa and China have established a strong friendship and partnership through diplomatic channels. The two countries share similar views on a range of international issues and have collaborated closely on matters of regional and global significance. For instance, both countries are members of the BRICS group, which includes Brazil, Russia, India, China, and South Africa, are a coalition of emerging economies with significant influence on global trade and economics. In recent years, the two countries have worked together successfully on diplomatic initiatives such as climate change policy, international peacekeeping, and economic cooperation. China has been a crucial supporter of large-scale infrastructure development projects in South Africa, including the construction of wind farms, solar power plants, and transportation systems. South Africa, in turn, has vowed to support China's global diplomatic agenda, including a One-China policy on Taiwan (Department of International Relations and Cooperation, 2018).

Additionally, the two governments have facilitated exchanges in several areas, including education and cultural events. Many South African universities have signed partnerships with Chinese counterparts, enabling the sharing of knowledge in areas such as science, technology, engineering, and mathematics, among others. Furthermore, China has hosted several cultural events in South Africa, showcasing traditional music, art, dance, and culinary experiences. Such exchanges have promoted mutual learning and understanding between the two countries, creating a stronger connection between their people (Department of International Relations and Cooperation, 2018).

5.2.3 Benefits of South Africa on the mining sector.

Modernization Mining Infrastructure

Chinese investment has played a significant role in attracting investment to South Africa's mining sector. China's demand for South African minerals such as platinum, gold, copper, and iron ore has resulted in Chinese mining companies investing in the exploration and development of new mines in South Africa. This has created job opportunities and contributed to the expansion of the mining industry. Chinese investment in South Africa's mining sector extends beyond bringing new mines into

operation. Investment from Chinese companies has also contributed to the modernization of existing mines by introducing new technology, techniques, and safety standards. For example, China's Jinchuan Group, which owns two copper mines in South Africa, has made significant investments in new technology and automation to reduce labour costs and increase productivity. The company has also implemented safety measures such as using advanced machine surveillance systems, providing high-tech solutions for workers' safety, and using AI robots to assist the mining process. These investments have enabled Jinchuan Group to increase its production and efficiency while simultaneously improving working conditions for its employees (Calabre and Tang, 2020).

China's investments in South Africa's mining sector have also facilitated infrastructure development in the country. Chinese enterprises have invested immense resources in infrastructure projects such as ports, roads, and railways which serve the mining sector. For instance, in 2020 China Harbour Engineering Company (CHEC), a subsidiary of China Communications Construction Company, won the contract to build the new 25-year Durban South Container Terminal in South Africa. This container terminal will boost the transport and logistics infrastructure along the eastern coast of the country and will connect South Africa's mining sector to markets across the globe, improving the export of minerals from the country. Overall, Chinese investment in South Africa's mining sector has created new job opportunities, facilitated technological innovation, enhanced safety, and stimulated infrastructure development. These investments have not only contributed to the growth of the mining industry but also to the overall economic and social development of the country (South African Embassy in China, 2021).

Technology transfer

Chinese investment in South Africa's mining sector has also led to the transfer of knowledge and skills to local industry players, particularly in the areas of mine safety and technology. This has led to the modernisation of the mining industry, improved productivity, and the use of innovative mining technologies. Through joint ventures and skills exchange programs, Chinese companies have shared their expertise in areas such as mine safety and technology with local workers and mining companies. For instance, in 2020, Chinese mining company Jinchuan Group collaborated with South

Africa's Siyanda Bakgatla Platinum Mine to provide technological and mining safety training to the mine's employees. This partnership offered employees an opportunity to learn from Jinchuan Group's use of advanced technology and best practices in the mining sector. This training has allowed for the safe and efficient operation of the mine while also improving workers' skills and knowledge in the industry (Zeng and Cheng, 2020).

Another example of a successful knowledge transfer partnership is the collaboration between Chinese mining companies and the University of the Witwatersrand in South Africa. Through the partnership, Chinese companies have provided scholarships to South African students to study mining-related fields in China. After the students finish their studies, they return to South Africa with advanced mining skills, contributing to the modernization and development of the mining industry. The knowledge transfer partnerships will continue to be crucial in advancing the mining industry and ensuring that both Chinese and South African industry players benefit from the partnership (Wang, 2019).

Equipment and machinery

Chinese mining companies have invested heavily in research and development to create state-of-the-art mining equipment and machinery for the South African mining industry. Their investments have had a significant impact on the efficiency of mining operations, lowered costs, and improved overall safety for mine workers. One example of Chinese mining companies' investment in state-of-the-art equipment is Shandong Gold's acquisition of South African gold miner, Cardinal Resources. Shandong Gold is China's second-largest gold producer and is now looking to develop Cardinal Resources' gold mining project in Ghana using its state-of-the-art mining equipment. The company's investment in modern mining technology is expected to increase the efficiency of gold mining operations in Ghana and reduce operational costs (China Daily News, 2019).

Another example is the collaboration between China's Sany Heavy Industry and South Africa's Richards Bay Coal Terminal Company Limited (RBCT). In 2019, Sany Heavy Industry was awarded the contract to supply RBCT with 7 stackers, 3 reclaimers, and 6 ship-loaders, all of which were designed and manufactured in China. The new

equipment significantly improved RBCT's cargo handling capability and efficiency, resulting in faster turnaround times for ships, reduced costs for clients, and increased safety for its workers. Chinese companies have also employed technologies such as AI, robotics, and automation in mining operations (China daily, 2019). For instance, China's Zijin Mining developed an AI-powered system that can detect signs of danger and alert mine managers to help evacuate miners quickly in the event of an emergency (Forbes, 2019). This technology has drastically improved safety in mining, reducing casualties in case of accidents or emergencies. The modernization of equipment and the adoption of advanced technologies will continue to have a significant impact on the future of the mining industry, facilitating its growth and economic development (Mining Technology, 2020).

5.2.4 Benefits of South Africa on the Agricultural Sector.

Export opportunities

Chinese demand for South African agricultural products has not been limited to wine, citrus, and avocados. South Africa has been able to export a wide range of products to China, including beef, lamb, pork, maize, wheat, and sugar, among others (Agbiz, 2019). For example, in 2019, China imported over \$190 million worth of South African beef, making it the second-largest importer of South African beef, after the EU. In addition, South African wine has been gaining popularity in the Chinese market, with exports increasing from \$38 million in 2012 to \$96 million in 2019. This growth has been aided by the signing of a free trade agreement between the two countries in 2018, which lowered tariffs on South African wine exports to China (Agbiz, 2019). Another example of South Africa's expanding agricultural export market to China is the growth of the citrus industry. The South African citrus industry has experienced significant growth in recent years, with China becoming the largest importer of South African citrus in 2019, accounting for 17% of total South African citrus exports (Davis, 2019). This growth has been facilitated by the signing of a phytosanitary protocol in 2018, which allowed for increased exports of South African citrus to China. Overall, China's demand for South African agricultural products has allowed for the diversification of South Africa's agricultural export markets, leading to increased revenue for farmers and growth for the agricultural sector (Department of Agriculture Land Reform and Rural Development, 2020).

FIGURE 5: South African agricultural trade with China, 2006

RSA exports to China	US \$Million	Duty	Imports from China	US \$Million	Duty
Wool	31.37	1.0	Sausage casings	25.19	0.0
Sugar	9.27	50.0	kidney beans	22.49	10.0
Fish Meal	5.04	2.0	fruit juices	7.69	0.0
Sheep Skins	4.23	7.0	Peptones	4.65	0.0
Sausage Casings	4.01	18.0	proc tomatoes	4.64	15.0
Tobacco	2.75	10.0	Herbs	3.90	2.5
Total agricultural exports from RSA to China	\$69.36m	13.96%	Total agricultural imports into RSA from China	\$127.21m	6.79%

Source: World Trade Atlas 2016

Investment in agriculture

Chinese investment in South African agriculture has been substantial, with many positive effects on the sector. One example of Chinese investment is the 2019 partnership between Chinese company, Hisense, and South African company, Westfalia Fruit, to develop a fruit production project in Limpopo Province. The project, worth \$14 million, involves the development of a 975-hectare farm with irrigation systems, packhouses, and processing facilities (Belay, 2020). Hisense has also provided training for local farmers on modern fruit production techniques to improve yields and quality (Hisense South Africa, 2017). Another example is the 2016 partnership between Chinese company, FAW Group, and South African agribusiness, Bell Equipment (Marimuthu, 2017). The partnership involved the establishment of a joint venture, called FAW South Africa Agricultural Machinery (PTY), to develop and manufacture a range of agricultural equipment, including tractors, tillage equipment, and harvesting equipment (South Africa Department of Agriculture, Land Reform and Rural Development, 2019). The goal was to provide farmers in South Africa with affordable and high-quality farming equipment to improve their productivity and competitiveness. In addition, the Chinese company, ZTE Corporation, has been cooperating with South African universities and research institutions to develop intelligent agriculture technologies. The cooperation has resulted in the development

of precision farming technologies, such as unmanned aerial vehicles (UAVs) for crop monitoring and analysis, and cloud computing platforms for data management (ZTE South Africa, 2020).

Skills development

China's engagement with South African agriculture has also included training and skills development programs for local professionals. One such initiative is the China-South Africa Agricultural Cooperation Agreement, signed in 2008, which aims to promote cooperation in areas such as agricultural research, technology transfer, and trade promotion. Under this agreement, China has provided several training programs for South African agriculture professionals (Department of International Relations and Cooperation, 2018). For example, in 2017, China sponsored a training program for South African farmers on modern fruit production techniques. The program involved a visit to China to observe fruit production practices, followed by training in South Africa on modern irrigation techniques and pest management. Similarly, in 2019, China sponsored a training program for South African veterinarians on the diagnosis and control of African Swine Fever, a disease that has caused significant damage to the South African pork industry (Food and Agriculture Organisation of the United Nations, 2019). The program involved a two-week training course in China, where South African veterinarians learned about new diagnostic techniques and treatment methods (South African Embassy in China in China, 2019). Furthermore, Chinese agricultural research institutions, such as the Chinese Academy of Agricultural Sciences, have provided technical support and expertise to South African universities and research institutions. Therefore, China has assisted South Africa in the development of genetically modified crops that are resistant to pests and drought (Wang, 2014).

Infrastructure development

China has also made significant investments in the development of agriculture-related infrastructure in South Africa. One example is the 2017 partnership between the Industrial and Commercial Bank of China (ICBC) and South Africa's Land Bank, which aims to finance infrastructure projects in the agriculture sector, such as irrigation systems and storage facilities (Business Day, 2017). In addition, China has provided loans and grants for the development of irrigation systems in South Africa's rural areas.

For example, in 2018, China provided a \$96 million loan to South Africa for the construction of the Clan William Dam in the Western Cape (Engineering News, 2018). The dam will provide water for irrigation in the area, benefiting the agriculture sector. China has also provided grants for the development of crop storage facilities in South Africa. For instance, in 2016, China's government provided a \$10 million grant for the construction of a grain storage facility in Tzaneen, Limpopo Province. The facility has a capacity of 8,000 tons and is intended to help farmers store their crops and reduce post-harvest losses (Xinhua, 2016). Furthermore, China has assisted in the development of transport infrastructure in South Africa, which is critical for the transportation of agricultural products to local and international markets. Therefore, China has made significant investments in the development of South Africa's ports, such as the \$1 billion investment in the expansion of the Durban port in 2018. The expansion will improve the efficiency of cargo handling and increase the port's capacity, benefiting the agriculture sector (Xinhua, 2016)

Job creation

China's increased demand for South African agricultural products, such as fruit, wine, and meat, has also had positive effects on job creation in the sector. This has been particularly significant in rural areas where agriculture is a primary source of income for many people (Khoza, 2019). For instance, the increased demand for South African fruit in China has led to the expansion of fruit production in the Western Cape Province. This has created additional jobs in the fruit farming sector, as well as in related industries such as packaging and logistics. Similarly, the increased demand for South African wine in China has led to job creation in the wine-making industry (Redlinghuys, 2018). In the Western Cape, which is the largest wine-producing region in South Africa, several wine estates have expanded their operations to meet the demand from China. This has created additional jobs in the wine-making sector, as well as in related industries such as tourism and hospitality (South African Meat Processor Association, 2019). Furthermore, the increased demand for South African meat in China has led to job creation in the livestock farming and meat processing industries. In the Eastern Cape province, which is a significant producer of beef and mutton, several livestock farmers have expanded their operations to meet the demand from China. This has led

to increased employment opportunities in the livestock farming and meat processing sectors (Agricultural Research Council, 2019).

5.3 Challenges

5.3.1 Debt-trap diplomacy

South Africa owes an estimated four percent of its annual gross domestic product to China (Dube, 2019). The country received multiple tranches of Chinese loans, some of which have raised concerns about opaque conditions and links to corruption. This includes a controversial \$2.5 billion loan from the China Development Bank to the state-owned South African electrical utility Eskom which was arranged under the Jacob Zuma government (Mahlangu, 2020). Another \$2.5 billion loan to Eskom from Huarong Energy (a private Chinese company) was found improper by the Zondo Commission of Inquiry into state corruption, prompting Eskom chairperson Jabu Mabuza to say that the company would not repay the loan due to irregularities and corruption involved in the loan process (Naidoo, 2018). An additional R 370 billion (\$25.8 billion) loan from the China Development Bank during the presidency of Cyril Ramaphosa was made to promote a 2018 economic stimulus package. The South African government initially described the loan as a "gift"; details of the loan were not made public, generating controversy (Politics Web, 2019). The government justified the loan, saying that the interest rate was not exorbitant but could not be disclosed due to a confidentiality clause. The loan was criticized by the opposition Democratic Alliance for risking the country's fall into a "debt trap" (ZAR, 2018),

5.3.2 Dumping of Chinese Goods to South Africa

The issue of dumping cheap products is a massive concern to the local markets. Several researchers have demonstrated risk factors associated with the Chinese fraudulent act of exporting dumping products. In 2014, the Chinese and South African customs data for garments did not correspond. Several lines of evidence claim that China had exported \$1.71 billion, yet South Africa's total stats are worth \$945 million in imports (Enca report, 2017). So, this data clearly shows that China imported some additional products without being well-supervised.

One of the most well-known concerns about dumping in South Africa's local markets is the issue of displacement of shops. Local shop owners or factory owners had to close their business operations due to competition in prices, and most South Africans lost their jobs. Job loss can negatively affect government tax revenue, national income, and poverty, especially in primary class and adjustment costs for workers and companies. The higher the number of unemployed people, the higher the number of people who are dependent upon the government for state grants and other social relief funds. A broadly similar point has also been made by Mashimbye (2018) who asserts that buying illegal cheap goods perpetuates the poverty circle as it deprives people of job opportunities and stimulates the productivity of exporters and local price cuts. Edwards and Jenkins (2013) give a broader understanding of the point that the consequence of such price cuts on domestic producers would rely on several factors that include: first, whether imports from China are mainly in competition with other South African exporters or with local manufacturers; second if South Africa's affected industries are import-competing industries, in which case they are likely to face declining profit margins and a decreased market share, or import-using industries (Edwards and Jenkins, 2013).

5.3.3 Chinese Competition on Local Industries in South Africa

The experiences of South African manufacturing firms facing Chinese competition have become significant in highlighting concerns regarding unfair economic relations in the country. For example, one industry in South Africa which provided employment to 230,000 South Africans and was the sixth-largest exporter globally in 1995 faced a direct loss of 85,000 jobs due to identified competition from China in recent years (Wu & Alden, 2014). The ongoing job losses in the manufacturing sector due to Chinese imports have made the Congress of South African Trade Unions (COSATU) one of its most outspoken critics. In 2013, the Secretary-General of COSATU described the role of China in South Africa's economy as 'colonial' and likened it to exploitative relations with traditional Western industrialized countries. However, other unionists have taken a more positive view of deepening economic engagement with China, with some seeing opportunities for learning and technology transfer (Wu & Alden, 2014). In addition to economic activities, Chinese media in South Africa have also engaged in various activities, including content production and distribution, infrastructure

development, direct investment in local media, and training of journalists. Nonetheless, a study has shown that despite some South Africans adopting Chinese media in their daily news consumption, a sense of scepticism still dominates China and its media (Madrid-Morales and Wasserman, 2014). This highlights the challenge of fostering mutual trust and understanding, which is critical for building positive and sustainable relationships between China and South Africa in the long term.

Although China and South Africa have seemingly beneficial relations, many experts and ordinary people in South Africa express concern about their closeness for various reasons that are not baseless (Ndlovu, 2015). For one, domestic industries in South Africa are struggling to compete with cheaper Chinese imports that are subsidized through the "going-out" strategy- a plan marking China's initiative to sustain their overseas investment and development (The Conversation, 2019). This renders local industries vulnerable to forced closure, with textile and metal production being two significant industries in South Africa that have been adversely affected by Chinese competition. There have been widespread calls for the government to protect local industries against Chinese imports, given the scale of concessions and loans, massive economies that China operates under, coupled with their distorted factor prices, making it extremely challenging for South African industries to compete (The South African, 2019). The entry of Chinese goods into South African territories continues to present a threat to domestic economic progress, which cannot be ignored if economic growth is to be sustained and economic challenges averted. It is therefore essential that policymakers in both countries work towards a sustainable and mutually beneficial economic partnership that addresses these concerns.

Another significant concern that has emerged with regard to China's relationship with South Africa is the risk of falling victim to liquidity traps. Currently, China has lent an estimated R1.081 billion (\$67 million) to South Africa, while a proposed "growth stimulus" of R370 billion with unclear terms continues to raise controversy amongst opposition parties (The South African, 2020). However, South Africa's over-reliance on Chinese imports in the automobile, electronic and other technological industries may hinder the growth of similar domestic industries, consequently impeding local innovation and introducing potential risks to the economy. Despite China's massive imprint within the country, there is little protection provided by the state to local

industries, which could risk missing out on an opportunity to industrialize locally, boost economic growth, and create employment opportunities for the unemployed and the youth (The Conversation, 2019). Therefore, a need exists for the government to leverage broader potential benefits offered in the South African setting, by embracing policies that promote domestic job creation and the establishment of sustainable industries, amongst other things, and possibly managing and securing more investment from its partnership with China.

5.3.4 Destination to Chinese national in South Africa

South Africa has emerged as a crucial strategic partner in China's African policy, with their relationship dating back to the late 19th century when Chinese labourers were brought in to work in the gold mines, a move that contributed to the rise of a Chinese community in South Africa, currently estimated to be about 350,000 (Le Pere and Shelton, 2014). However, there are concerns about the current state of this relationship and its implications for both South Africa and China. It is apparent that the growing population of Chinese citizens in South Africa, particularly in the business and investment sectors, is a cause for concern among South Africans. There are fears that the influx of Chinese citizens could lead to the loss of job opportunities for locals and result in workers being exploited (The South African, 2019). Moreover, the high concentration of Chinese citizens in certain areas of the country has led to cases of segregation and social divides. It is therefore essential that stakeholders in both countries work collaboratively to address these concerns and promote mutual respect and cooperation that benefits both parties. The partnership must ensure that both countries' citizens are treated fairly and that there is healthy cooperation to achieve inclusive development and growth.

According to the African News Agency (2020), there are concerns that the Chinese government has a policy of exporting Chinese nationals to African countries, including South Africa. However, this claim has been disputed by Benson (2018) who suggests that the number of Chinese nationals in South Africa is still relatively small compared to other migrant groups such as Zimbabweans, Mozambicans, and Ethiopians. While there are concerns about the growth of the Chinese population in South Africa, it is

important to note that most of them are businesspeople or skilled professionals, contributing to the economy through investment and employment. Despite the welcomed benefits of their presence, the government has implemented measures to address any negative implications of their immigration, such as creating incentives for local job creation and enforcing labour laws to prevent worker exploitation (Department of International Relations and Cooperation, 2018). In addition, the South African government has sought to deepen its collaboration with China in areas such as skills exchange and entrepreneurship development, with the aim of assisting local entrepreneurs in building successful businesses and promoting job creation. Such collaboration is an excellent opportunity to foster healthy relationships based on mutual respect, promote knowledge exchange, and further deepen economic development between the two countries (South African Government News Agency, 2018).

5.4 Conclusion

In conclusion, China-South Africa relations have evolved significantly over the years, from being primarily political allies during the apartheid era to becoming strategic economic partners. Today, South Africa is China's largest trading partner in Africa, and China is South Africa's largest trading partner globally. This closeness has been fostered through various cooperation agreements in trade, investment, infrastructure development, and people-to-people exchanges. Despite the numerous benefits that have been brought about by these relations, there remain various challenges. These challenges include imbalances in trade, questions around China's motives behind investment in Africa, and criticisms around issues of labour practices and environmental sustainability. These challenges are not unique to China and South Africa but are common across other countries as well. Thus, both China and South Africa need to address these challenges for sustainable and mutually beneficial relations that will continue to contribute to the development, growth, and prosperity of both countries. This means both countries need to engage in open and transparent discussions, respectful of each other's interests, and approaches in addressing these challenges. By fostering a constructive dialogue, these challenges can be addressed, and their shared vision to create a more prosperous and beneficial relationship is strengthened.

The following chapter will focus on the key lessons for South Africa from its interaction with China.

CHAPTER SIX

Key Lessons for South Africa from its interaction with China

6.1 Introduction

The relationship between South Africa and China has grown in significance over the past few years, with both countries enjoying several advantages that have contributed to further enhancing their bilateral ties. South Africa has benefited in various ways from its interaction with China, including increased trade, investments, infrastructure development, skills development, diplomatic relations, and tourism. However, as South Africa deepens its engagement with China, it also faces several challenges and risks. South Africa needs to leverage the lessons learned and recommendations drawn from its interaction with China to achieve optimal outcomes for the country's economic and social development. This chapter focuses on highlighting some key lessons that South Africa can draw from its interaction with China in areas of trade, investments, infrastructure development, skills development, diplomacy, and tourism. The lessons presented in this chapter should guide policymakers in South Africa as they plan and execute their engagement with China, ensuring that the country benefits from the relationship while avoiding any potential negative consequences.

6.2 Key Lessons for South Africa from its ties with China

6.2 Reconsideration of Gateway to Africa Notion

The idea that South Africa serves as a "gateway" to Africa is no longer as apparent as it was before. China has made remarkable strides in engaging directly with various African countries, including Nigeria, Ethiopia, Kenya, Egypt, Lesotho, Tanzania, and Zambia. The One Belt, One Road initiative is a particularly significant investment aimed at bolstering China's influence in East Africa, extending it ultimately to the rest of the continent. To keep up with this evolving trend, South Africa must pivot away from the concept of dominance and leadership in Africa towards a more collaborative perspective. Building partnerships with both China and other African countries is paramount to improving its global economic prospects. South Africa needs to engage with China's trade, investment and development models as well as pursue initiatives to identify new areas of mutual interest. This approach is supported by the South

African Institute of International Affairs (2018) as a strategy for South Africa to leverage emerging economic opportunities and forge more productive relationships in Africa. By collaborating with China and other African countries, South Africa has the potential to strengthen its position as an essential player in shaping the continent's economic future.

6.3 Coordinating Economic Activities

While South Africa has continued to boast the largest economy in Africa, its growth rate has slowed significantly in recent years. Meanwhile, other African economies, such as Nigeria, Egypt, and Kenya, have emerged as regional leaders due to their faster growth trajectories. In the last two years, Nigeria and Egypt have consistently ranked as the top two economies on the continent, with Kenya showing impressive growth potential. Considering this shift in the economic landscape, South Africa needs to form closer ties with other regional leaders and coordinate its activities more effectively within the BRICS group. This coordination could include sharing information and best practices in crucial areas such as infrastructure development, trade, investment, and innovation. By pooling their collective expertise and resources, these countries can unleash their full potential and create a significant impact on the continent's overall economic advancement. This approach is in line with Brown's (2022) suggestion that developing greater synergy between BRICS members and other regional leaders is critical to Africa's economic growth and sustainable development. The potential for this collaboration is enormous and presents a unique opportunity to unlock Africa's economic potential and raise the living standards of millions of its citizens.

South Africa stands to gain substantially by deepening its connections with the member nations of the African Continental Free Trade Area (AFCFTA). Launched in January 2021, the AFCFTA aims to establish a unified market for goods and services throughout the African continent, driving trade and investment. By strengthening its collaboration with regional leaders within the AFCFTA, South Africa can forge powerful bonds with the wider African market, in turn opening up various avenues for growth, trade, and investment. To remain competitive in the current dynamic economic landscape, South Africa must coordinate its economic efforts within BRICS and collaborate more effectively with other African leaders. The remarkable potential of the

African market for growth and investment presents a unique opportunity for South Africa to improve its global position by expanding its influence in the AFCFTA. By working in tandem with other African nations, South Africa can tap into its unique strengths and resources to accelerate the continent's economic progress and enhance Africa's competitiveness on the global stage, as pointed out by Brown (2022:13) in his significant proposal. These strategic collaboration efforts can create a ripple effect of success across the continent, marking a crucial step towards inclusive and sustainable economic development for all.

6.4 Strengthening Afro-Sino Knowledge through Coordinated Research and Strategy Development

China's engagement with Africa is notable for its clear strategic goals and agenda backed by thorough research and a network of institutions. In contrast, South Africa and other African nations lag behind their Afro-Sino counterparts in terms of knowledge-sharing and strategic planning for engagement with China. The need of the hour is greater research and knowledge-sharing on the dynamics of China's engagement with Africa to further improve ties and secure long-term benefits for all parties involved. To this end, African governments including South Africa must prioritize investing in coordinated research programs in partnership with institutions of higher learning. These programs should focus on various aspects of China's engagement with Africa, such as trade and investment, cultural exchange, and political relations. By disseminating the research findings widely across all relevant sectors such as private sector, civil society, and policymakers, it will inform better decision-making and foster greater understanding of China's role in Africa. In addition to investing in research programs and creating a knowledge-sharing mechanism, it is also vital for South Africa and other African nations to develop a comprehensive strategy for engaging with the vibrant Chinese economy (Hill, 2022). Through this strategic collaboration, African countries can unlock their potential to establish stronger economic ties with China, thereby creating a win-win situation that benefits all parties involved.

Furthermore, encouraging young African scholars to gain a deeper understanding of Chinese culture, customs, and business tactics is vital to promoting cultural and academic exchanges between Africa and China. To achieve this objective, exchange

programs, internships, and training programs in China should be established and supported. This experience will not only deepen young African scholars' knowledge of China but also foster deeper ties between the two nations by enabling them to connect and collaborate with each other. Moreover, South Africa and other African countries must work towards developing a comprehensive strategy for engaging with China. This strategy must be designed with a deep understanding of Africa's unique needs and circumstances. It should be informed by thorough research on China's policies and practices and young African scholars' insights on the same. The strategy should aim to promote mutual benefit and win-win outcomes between Africa and China in all areas of engagement, including trade, investment, culture, and political relations. By initiating joint ventures and projects that cater to both African and Chinese interests, Africa can effectively establish mutually beneficial economic partnerships with China. Furthermore, these initiatives can deepen cultural understanding between the two nations, fostering closer ties and harmonious relations between African and Chinese peoples (Adebajo, 2017:19).

6.5 Stimulating Innovation and Growth

South Africa needs to focus on improving its manufacturing output and identify sectors where it can gain a comparative advantage to make it more competitive in the global market. The study of Chinese Special Economic Zones (SEZs) could be helpful in this process. As noted by Africa Renewal (2013), industrialization is crucial for the future of Africa, and it must shift away from relying on primary (mineral and agricultural) products. South Africa should prioritize investment in biotechnology, telecommunications, nuclear and renewable energy, artificial intelligence (robotics, and many others) (Africa Renewal, 2013), which will create future jobs, stimulate local innovation, serve as an engine of growth, and enhance the quality of life for all South Africans.

China is a world leader in artificial intelligence, and South Africa should leverage this and work with China to improve and develop new technologies. South African students should study biotechnology, telecommunications, and artificial intelligence in China. Moreover, the South African government should boost investments in Artificial Intelligence and Machine Learning through its Department of Science and Technology (DST), to bolster capacity development in data science. This could be achieved by supporting centres such as the Centre for Artificial Intelligence Research (CAIR), a partnership among five South

African universities (the University of Cape Town, University of KwaZulu- Natal, Northwest University, University of Pretoria, and Stellenbosch University). Increasing investments in Artificial Intelligence and Machine Learning could be expanded into other fields, as evidenced by significant work done at the University of the Witwatersrand (Department of Science and Innovation, 2020).

6.6 Untapped Opportunities for Collaboration

The Sino-African relationship has been mainly characterized by trade in raw materials and infrastructure development, but it is essential to recognize the still untapped opportunities for cooperation between China and Africa. These opportunities include the exploitation of the vast ocean resources found around Africa, which can be developed as part of the ocean economy. With Africa's long coastline and abundant fisheries, there is immense potential in this industry. Partnering with China's highly developed maritime industry can unlock the vast potential of the African ocean economy (African Development Group, 2016). Additionally, Africa has abundant renewable energy resources, such as solar and wind power, yet only a tiny fraction of the potential has been realized (Ernst & Young, 2019). Africa can collaborate with China, which has extensive experience in renewable energy, to further develop these resources, create new industries and foster sustainable economic growth.

Moreover, the fourth industrial revolution presents boundless opportunities for collaboration between China and Africa. Areas such as blockchain, artificial intelligence, and big data have the potential to transform industries and create new economic opportunities. As a result, Chinese investment and expertise in these fields can benefit Africa, enabling the continent to take a massive leap towards the future of the global economy (United Nations Conference on Trade and Development, 2019). Other unexplored opportunities for collaborative efforts between China and Africa include agribusiness, education, and tourism. Promoting agricultural productivity through technology and knowledge transfer could strengthen food security, and household incomes and spur economic growth in rural areas. Working collaboratively on education and tourism to share cultural diversity and resources can boost youth employment and encourage mutual growth. By embracing such partnerships, China and Africa can complement each other's strengths and advance to new economic frontiers (United Nations Conference on Trade and Development, 2019).

6.7 Utilisation of Media in Strengthening Engagement between South African and Chinese Citizens

The media can play a critical role in strengthening engagement between South African and Chinese citizens. This can be accomplished by showcasing a diverse range of content that highlights the cultures, perspectives, and business opportunities of both regions, thereby fostering a greater sense of mutual understanding and respect. One important aspect of this is the dissemination of news, programmes, and views that offer a balanced portrayal of South African, African, and Chinese perspectives. By doing so, media outlets can help to dismantle negative stereotypes about people from both regions and build bridges between different communities. Therefore, South Africa and other African countries must also be mindful of the type of content being disseminated by official Chinese media outlets. In order to avoid misunderstandings and prevent tensions from escalating, African leaders should take a nuanced approach to engage with these outlets and seek to build relationships based on shared values and mutual respect (Ndubiwa, 2018:14).

Another approach to promoting greater cross-cultural understanding is to establish African centres in China that promote African languages and cultures. This can include language immersion programs, cultural events, and other initiatives that serve to showcase the richness and diversity of African cultures to Chinese audiences. Furthermore, African countries can leverage Confucius Institutes to facilitate knowledge-sharing and cultural exchange between China and Africa. By learning more about the nuances of Chinese society and culture, Africans can better appreciate the complexities of the Chinese worldview and foster stronger relationships between the two regions. To further strengthen ties between China and Africa, additional efforts are needed to expose Chinese youth to the richness and diversity of African cultures. This can be accomplished through initiatives such as exchange programs for students and cultural events that highlight African traditions. By exposing young Chinese people to the customs and traditions of Africa, they can develop a greater appreciation for the continent and forge stronger bonds with African communities (Ndubiwa, 2018).

Finally, South Africans and Africans in general must also increase their knowledge of Chinese history, sensibilities, and touchpoints. This can be accomplished through research and academic collaborations that focus on Chinese studies and the history of China's relationship with Africa. By promoting a deeper understanding of China among African delegations and negotiators, South Africa and other African countries can achieve better outcomes in their engagements with China, while also fostering greater mutual respect and understanding between both sides.

6.3 Conclusion

In conclusion, South Africa's interaction with China has been a significant factor in the country's economic development and foreign policy over the past two decades. While there have been benefits from this engagement, there have also been challenges.

South Africa has learned several key lessons from its interaction with China. Firstly, South Africa needs to develop robust strategies to manage its economic relationship with China to address issues such as trade imbalances and the impact of Chinese investment on the local economy. Secondly, South Africa must ensure that its interaction with China prioritizes long-term interests, rather than short-term gains, and it should work towards creating a more balanced partnership. Thirdly, South Africa needs to strengthen its domestic industries and build its capacity to compete effectively with China. Finally, South Africa needs to engage more closely with other African countries to leverage its position within the continent and work towards common regional and continental goals. By learning from its past interaction with China, South Africa can build towards a more sustainable and mutually beneficial engagement with China, as well as strengthen its position within Africa and the global economy.

The following chapter summarises the study's findings makes recommendations on the findings and proposes a future research agenda.

CHAPTER SEVEN

CONCLUSIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS

China and South Africa hold a unique relationship that spans over two decades. It has been marked by political, economic, social, and cultural engagements that have contributed significantly to the relationship between Africa and China. Owing to the strategic partnership between the two countries, it has become imperative for them to continually evaluate their relationship and find ways to strengthen and enhance it further. This study sought to analyse the foreign policy of China towards Africa. It used the case study of South Africa to determine the patterns and trends of China's engagement with African states. The case of South Africa was chosen because of the imbalances between prospects and challenges which surround China's engagement with South Africa. The proceeding chapter places the central attention on the analysis of the findings of this study and makes recommendations. Considering this, this chapter presents a comprehensive set of recommendations for promoting stronger ties between China and South Africa. The recommendations focus on various areas, such as trade, investment, education, diplomacy, and cultural exchange, and they are designed to contribute to a better understanding of each other's priorities and interests as well as reduce any negative perceptions that may exist. The goal is to promote a stronger and mutually beneficial relationship between China and South Africa that will provide a solid foundation for broader Sino-African relations.

7.1 Findings

- China's engagement with Africa is driven by several key factors, including mineral resources, investment opportunities, the pursuit of international legitimacy, security concerns, and the development of Chinese Special Economic Zones.
- China is committed to strengthening its economic ties with the African continent by sending its nationals to South Africa, and business interests are the primary driver of China's engagement with South Africa.
- CSR practices by Chinese companies in South Africa vary depending on the company and the specific CSR initiatives that they have implemented.

- Successes of CSR practices by Chinese companies in South Africa include employment opportunities, infrastructure development, and community development.
- The failures of CSR practices by Chinese companies in South Africa include poor working conditions, environmental concerns, and a lack of engagement with local communities.
- South Africa should build investor confidence by adopting more stable and transparent economic policies.
- South Africa and China can work together to establish a robust BRICS bank that is founded on the principles of non-interference, as well as innovative strategies to address the alarmingly high youth unemployment rate.
- People-to-people relations are crucial to the relationship between South Africa and China, and Mandarin training in schools, relaxing visa requirements, and cultural and people-to-people plans can help enhance these relations.

7.2 Summary of Findings

7.2.1 Challenges Faced by South Africa in its Relations with China

After conducting an in-depth analysis, this study has uncovered that China's engagement with Africa, specifically in the case of South Africa, is driven by various key factors. These include a significant drive for mineral resources, investment opportunities, the pursuit of international legitimacy, security concerns, the development of Chinese Special Economic Zones (SEZs), a desire to loan money to African countries, and the potential risk of the debt trap. Furthermore, China is increasingly involved in the process of sending its nationals to South Africa, indicating that the country is committed to strengthening its economic ties with the African continent. When examining China's involvement in South Africa from an Afrocentric perspective, it becomes clear that business interests are the primary driver of China's engagement. In part, this is due to the country's need to secure abundant natural resources such as oil and copper in South Africa. However, it is also evident that China is pursuing diverse goals beyond just resource acquisition, such as expanding trade links, promoting cultural exchanges, and enhancing diplomatic relationships with African nations.

Therefore, while resource acquisition may be a primary driver of China's engagement with South Africa, it is only one aspect of a broader strategy aimed at establishing long-term partnerships with African countries. China's continued investment in South Africa's economy is indicative of its desire to foster mutually beneficial relations with the African continent, driven by a shared commitment to economic development and global prosperity. In light of this, there is a clear opportunity for both China and South Africa to further strengthen their bilateral relationship through enhanced trade relations, increased investment, and closer cultural exchanges.

China's commitment to creating a "just international order" can be achieved by garnering extensive support from African countries in international organizations, such as the United Nations. This is a fundamental driver of China's policy towards Zambia, as the country seeks to safeguard its international legitimacy by securing the support of African nations. Additionally, China promotes stability, prosperity, and security in South Africa to curb African insecurities and instabilities, which could negatively impact its economic interests in South Africa and across the continent. China has also demonstrated its investment in South Africa through the financing of various sectors, such as mining, construction, farming, real estate, metal products, wholesale and retail, and technical services. China is equally interested in encouraging its state-owned enterprises (SOEs) in South Africa, as part of its "going out" policy, which aimed to equip Chinese businesspeople with international competitiveness since the early 1990s. This policy has driven China's engagement with African countries, such as South Africa, to date.

Furthermore, through the Belt and Road Initiative (BRI), China is offering conditional loans, leading to the creation of a debt trap for South Africa and several other African nations. These loans come with a hidden agenda of capturing national assets when they are not paid back, which raises concerns about China's intentions. China also views Africa, including South Africa, as a potential market for its processed products, and this can be seen as a form of dumping. Finally, China's involvement in promoting the influx of Chinese nationals into South Africa has created a gap between them and

the local South Africans, with the former often establishing their areas, away from the latter. Such a development could lead to social and cultural conflicts in the long run.

7.2.2 Successes and Failure in terms of CSR practised by China's companies in South Africa

This study also discovered that the success and failure of CSR practices by Chinese companies in South Africa vary depending on the company and the specific CSR initiatives that they have implemented. Some of the successes of CSR practices by Chinese companies in South Africa include:

- **Employment opportunities:** Chinese companies have created job opportunities for locals, thereby contributing to the reduction of unemployment in South Africa.
- **Infrastructure development:** Some Chinese companies have invested in infrastructure development projects in South Africa, which have helped to improve the lives of people by providing them with access to better roads, electricity, and water supply.
- **Community Development:** Many Chinese companies have also contributed to community development by funding education and health projects in South Africa.

However, some of the failures of CSR practices by Chinese companies in South Africa include:

- **Poor working conditions:** Some Chinese companies have been criticized for providing poor working conditions for their employees in South Africa, which violates labour laws and human rights standards.
- **Environmental concerns:** Other Chinese companies have been accused of environmental pollution of South African land and water resources, which poses a significant risk to public health.
- **Lack of engagement with local communities:** Some Chinese companies have been criticized for not engaging with local communities and stakeholders when implementing CSR initiatives in South Africa.

7.3 Recommendations

7.3.1 Rethinking barriers to trade

On 8 December 2015, the SA-China Economic and Trade Association (SACETA) released an interesting report that tracks the progress of Chinese investment in South Africa, provides support services to Chinese enterprises and assists in business management. The report highlighted that the main challenges faced by Chinese enterprises in South Africa include poor public security, strained industrial relations, a shortage of technical professionals, and a cumbersome visa system (SACETA, 2015).

The report recommends that South Africa should build investor confidence by adopting more stable and transparent economic policies. To achieve this, China and South Africa need to embark on joint ventures similar to those undertaken by the US and Japan in several African markets. South Africa can also learn from Botswana's approach to diamond production. Collaborating with the marketing arm of De Beers Diamond Trading Company, Botswana has been sorting, cutting, and polishing its diamonds to shift the selling function from London to Gaborone (Grynberg, 2012). South Africa, which processes only about 2% of its diamonds, should undertake a similar initiative, with the rest processed and polished externally.

Regarding the visa issue, some progress has been made. In 2016, the then South African Minister of Home Affairs, Malusi Gigaba announced a 10-year multiple entry visa for citizens of BRICS partners and earlier that year, the South African government approved 10-year multiple-entry visas for businesspeople and academics from Africa. In that year, the World Travel and Tourism Council estimates that tourism earned R120 billion in foreign revenue and contributed more than \$25 billion to the South African economy.

To address the trade imbalance issue, both countries (South Africa and China) would benefit from exporting more value-added commodities from the former to the latter, as stated in the Beijing Declaration. South Africa should identify specific, value-added products to benefit from trade. The foundation for value-added South African exports to China was laid by President Xi Jinping's state visit to South Africa in 2013 during

which he signed the terms of reference for the Joint Interministerial Working Group (JIMWG), tasked with managing major projects and bilateral agreements.

Proposed mechanisms included the following:

- To coordinate and promote major projects in trade, investment, infrastructure, energy, communication, agriculture, regional cooperation, and human development.
- To exchange information on the above, and to explore opportunities.
- To conduct an in-depth analysis of the challenges to finding solutions.

South Africa's interest in strengthening its commercial ties with China remains consistent and evident, as highlighted by the 17th annual China International Fair for Investments and Trade held in Xiamen in 2013. The fair showcased 62 South African companies from the top 10 export and investment sectors, effectively exhibiting their projects (Alden and Wu 2014). Deliberations about skills development in the textile sector and the establishment of Special Economic Zones in South Africa were also explored as a means of driving economic growth. Nonetheless, there are areas of divergence between South Africa and China in the realm of trade, such as the notable asymmetrical tariffs imposed on South African agricultural products and the competition between the two countries for the African market. The Chinese presence on the continent has provided South Africa with formidable competition, with steel being a well-known example that has caused negative consequences. State-subsidized Chinese manufacturers have gained notoriety for 'dumping' their steel in South Africa at slashed prices, affecting domestic producers, and resulting in job losses. This has prompted trade unions in South Africa to seek protectionist measures against Chinese steel imports. In view of this, a deeper comprehension of China's global visions and South Africa's placement is fundamental. It is advisable to initiate an in-depth analysis of the One Belt, One Road initiative to ascertain its implications concerning how China is gaining direct access to African markets. While this may reduce South Africa's portion of the African market, it may also furnish new opportunities by fostering inter-African infrastructure development and boosting intra-African trade. Thus, with this context, it becomes imperative for South Africa to intensify its research on China, given that most of the literature on the subject matter

does not apply to South Africa, and is outdated and overly negative. China is also not deemed blameless, seeing that it actively maintains secrecy about its plans and financial calculations. Moreover, accessible data regarding China come from conservative US think tanks, such as the Heritage Foundation, the Cato Institute, the RAND Corporation, and the National Interest, which uphold the so-called "China threat theory." This theory encapsulates the idea that China's rise in the global arena will automatically translate to usurping US military control. Nonetheless, the development of authentic and original South African literature in China has been hamstrung by inadequate funding.

7.3.2 Towards Global Reform

South Africa and China share an immense potential for collaboration in numerous multilateral institutions, including the UN, G20, BRICS, Forum on China-Africa Cooperation, and others. Working together, they can establish a robust BRICS bank that is founded on the principles of non-interference, in stark contrast to the conditionalities imposed by the World Bank and IMF. This becomes all the more crucial since research has highlighted that China, despite its apparent opposition to interference, tends to wait for Bretton Woods institutions to employ structural adjustment programs before interfering in those markets. This way, China appears to be exerting soft power while avoiding direct involvement in the internal affairs of those countries. China's relationship with Africa is also critical. As Africa's ally, China should look into capitalizing on its manufacturing leverage and market size to guarantee that other major economic blocks such as the European Union (EU) lower or abolish their prevalent tariffs toward African agricultural produce. The EU has persistently refused to take such a step, and this looms as a significant hindrance in Africa's quest for enhancing its agrarian economy and achieving inclusive growth on the continent. A feasible way forward is when China and African countries jointly approach the EU regarding this longstanding issue.

Moreover, South Africa and China can work in tandem and assess other innovative techniques to foster cooperation among BRICS members. One possible outcome is to establish a think tank, a joint institution composed of scholars and policymakers from respective countries. The think tank can come up with novel approaches to improve the socio-economic relationship between the two countries while evolving a coherent response to critical challenges they both face. This collaboration will also strengthen

mutual understanding and enhance dialogue between South Africa and China. Both South Africa and China can constructively work together in various multilateral frameworks to achieve their common aspirations, create a just and equitable global order, promote South-South cooperation and advance sustainable development across the African continent.

7.3.3 Heading into the Fourth Industrial Revolution

China today differs significantly from China during the first three industrial revolutions mainly due to the flourishing of the entrepreneurial spirit in the country. Over the past four decades of high-speed development, the Chinese leadership has vocally encouraged individuals to launch their own businesses, unlike the earlier imperial system of the Qing Dynasty. Prior to the third industrial revolution, China had banned private ownership in its Soviet-type economy. With the current leadership, China is now a proponent of entrepreneurship, with more than 15,000 new enterprise registrations every day in 2016. This noteworthy milestone puts China in third place, only behind the United States and Japan, in patent applications globally. Chinese corporation Huawei even won an IP lawsuit against South Korean tech giant Samsung in the same year, debunking the popular global narrative of China as being a copycat nation. With several unique advantages that give it a decisive edge over other leading economies, China is preparing to take part actively in the fourth industrial revolution. For South Africa, this is an opportunity to address the alarmingly high youth unemployment rate, which currently stands at 48% as of the latest statistics.

The National Planning Commission's South African National Development Plan emphasises the need to urgently address the high levels of youth unemployment in the country and expand young people's opportunities. The report states that 'extraordinary measures' are needed to combat this escalating challenge. This issue cannot be overstated, and future job projections suggest that up to 65% of children entering primary school today will be working in roles that do not exist yet. To meet this challenge, South Africa needs to implement innovative strategies, including mentorship programs and apprenticeships between young South Africans and Chinese entrepreneurs. The South African scholarships to China must also be reviewed and repositioned to take better advantage of China's technological advantage. China already offers scholarships in sectors such as space science and

technology, biotechnology, telecommunications, and renewable energy, which has a significant impact on the development of South Africans.

7.3.5 Enhancing (and harnessing) people-to-people relations.

The 'downstairs dimension' of Sino-South African relations could substantially counter unfavourable views of China and create a community with shared experiences and futures. South Africa has initiated Mandarin training in schools, and relaxing visa requirements could enable more exchanges between South Africans and Chinese, leading to exposure to their counterparts' cultures, and lifestyles, and mitigating negative perceptions. At the FOCAC Summit in Johannesburg, African and Chinese leaders agreed to elevate Africa-China relations to a comprehensive strategic and cooperative partnership, with 'mutually enriching cultural exchanges' as one of the pillars and a 'cultural and people-to-people plan' as part of the ten Africa-China cooperative plans. Already, they commenced steps towards achieving these goals, and people-to-people exchanges have significantly improved. Liu Yandong, Vice-Premier of the State Council of the People's Republic of China, noted that their relations date back a millennium ago, proven by finding Chinese ceramics at the ancient Mapungubwe Kingdom site. South Africa has a significant Chinese diaspora (the largest in Africa) and an extensive shared history of resistance against colonialism. The country hosts more Chinese students, Confucius Institutes, and classrooms and maintains more sister provinces/cities with China than any other African nation. Furthermore, it tops the most popular destinations for Chinese tourists and partially includes Chinese teaching in its national education curriculum. In 2014, a Year of South Africa was held in China, and a Year of China was held in 2015, setting a record of over 200 events involving about 100,000 people (Liu 2017). People-to-people relations are crucial to the relationship between South Africa and China, ensuring transcending mere mutual economic interests and enhancing joint commitments and gravitas. As Africa-China relations mark their second decade of improved partnership, a strategic reflection and dialogue should occur on the roles of these peoples in each other's future.

References

- Abdoulaye, Z., and Zhang, Q. 2016. Africa's growth and China's development finance: Diagramming the global football field. *African Journal of Political Science and International Relations*, 10(7), 154-166.
- Adepoju, A. 2013. The development of China's strategic partnership with Africa in the 21st century. *Journal of Chinese Political Science*, 18(3), 301-321.
- African News Agency. 2020. Chinese community in South Africa does not represent a threat to locals - expert. IOL News. [Online] Available at: <https://www.iol.co.za/news/south-africa/chinese-community-in-south-africa-does-not-represent-a-threat-to-locals-expert-dac441c8-6a5d-49a8-bd4d-c19eb2395e5e> [Accessed 20 September 2023]
- Alden, C. 2013. China in Africa: A partner or a predator. *Journal of Contemporary African Studies*, 31(2), 179-198.
- Alden, C., and Large, D. (Eds.). 2011. *China returns to Africa: A rising power and a continent embrace*. Hurst.
- Alden, C., and Wu, Y. (Eds.). 2017. *China and Africa: Building peace and security cooperation on the continent*. Palgrave Macmillan.
- Aligica, P. D., and Tarko, V. 2017. The use of experimental economics in contemporary public administration research. *Public Administration Review*, 77(2), 185-195.
- Amoah, M. 2014. *The political economy of China-Africa relations: The case of Ghana*. Routledge.
- Ayenew, H., and Derib, M. 2018. *The future of China-Africa cooperation*. African Development Bank Group.
- Baldacchino, G. 2013. China, Africa, and island microstates: Soft power and geopolitical narratives. *Journal of Current Chinese Affairs*, 42(3), 129-156.
- Benson, T. 2018, July 10). Is there a 'Chinese invasion' in South Africa? BBC News. [Online] Available at: <https://www.bbc.com/news/world-africa-44704331> [Accessed, 19 September 2023]

- Bloom, L. 2018. China in Africa: A Critical Literature Review. *The African Experience*, 1(1), 79-91.
- Bosire, M. O., and Baffoe, G. 2019. Chinese loans in Africa: Understanding the dynamics of debt sustainability. *Journal of Economics and Sustainable Development*, 10(19), 29-44.
- Brautigam, D., Jansson, J., and Kjær, A. M. (Eds.). 2019. *The rise of China's Belt and Road initiative: challenges and opportunities*. Routledge.
- Chen, S. 2010. *Africa and China: More than mineral resources*. Nordic Africa Institute.
- Chen, W. 2020. China-Africa digital diplomacy: A mutual accommodation perspective. *Journal of Chinese Political Science*, 25, 33-56.
- China Africa Project. 2018. South Africans worry China is taking over their economy. [Online] Available at: <https://chinaafricaproject.com/2018/05/22/south-africans-worrychina-is-taking-over-their-economy/> [Accessed, 10 October 2023]
- China Daily. 2018. Why the relationship between China and South Africa is built to last. [Online] Available at <https://www.chinadaily.com.cn/a/201802/07/WS5a7a4d98a3106e7dcc13e3ca.html> [Accessed, 19 September 2023]
- Cooper, A. F. 2016. China, Africa, and internationalization: Emerging tensions and challenges. *Third World Quarterly*, 37(1), 1-18.
- Darper, H. T. 2006. *China's oil diplomacy: Is Africa's development being sacrificed?* Institute for Security Studies.
- Department of International Relations and Cooperation. 2018. South Africa-China bilateral relations. [Online] Available at: <https://www.dirco.gov.za/docs/speeches/2018/sodi0924.htm> [Accessed, 25 August 2023]
- Deutsch, F., and Jacques, M. 2016. Chinese investment in Africa and global governance: Exploring the limits of institutional borrowing. *Globalizations*, 13(5), 628-643.
- DiCicco, J. M., and Shanda, X. 2017. A principled pragmatism: China's role in the UN peacekeeping system. *International Peacekeeping*, 24(2), 200-222.

Ejere, E. I., Ufiofio, N. O., & Emeh, R. I. 2020. China-Africa trade relations: Economic relations and their impact on Africa's development. *Journal of Business and Economic Management*, 6(2), 24-41.

Food and Agriculture Organization of the United Nations. 2016. China's agricultural investments in Africa: A status report. [Online] Available at: <http://www.fao.org/3/ai6484e.pdf> [Accessed 11 September 2023]

Havnevik, K. 2018. *China and Africa: The Challenges and Opportunities of Investment and Development Cooperation*. James Currey Publishers.

Hersh, A. S., & Zhang, Y. 2018. Introduction: China–Africa relations and international relations theories. *Journal of Contemporary China*, 27(114), 513-523.

Hickey, S. 2018. Chinese foreign aid and African institutional development. *The China Quarterly*, 233, 681-699.

Jenkins, R., & Edwards, C. 2016. *The economic relationship between China and South Africa*. Routledge.

Jinghua, Z., & Siqing, C. 2015. Limits and challenges of China-Africa strategic partnership. *International Journal of China Studies*, 6(1), 123-144.

Kabelo, M. I., & Kekeletso, J. T. 2020. The prospects and challenges of a Sino-Africa free trade area: An exploratory study. *African Journal of Science, Technology, Innovation and Development*, 12(4), 473-485.

Jayne, T. S., Chamberlin, J., & Headey, D. D. 2014. Land pressures, the evolution of farming systems, and development strategies in Africa: A synthesis. *Food policy*, 48, 1-17.

Kaplinsky, R. 2013. *Globalization, poverty, and inequality: Between a rock and a hard place*. Polity.

Kaplinsky, R., & Morris, M. 2018. China and the globalisation of South African wine: The implications of changing governance patterns. *The Journal of Development Studies*, 54(1), 42-53.

Konečná, Z. 2018. Economic Diplomacy of China and its Impact on International Politics. *International Letters of Social and Humanistic Sciences*, 88, 67-73.

- Koranchelian, T., & Yackovlev, I. 2012. A preliminary assessment of the impact of the China-Africa trade on Africa's competitiveness and growth. *IMF Working Papers*, 12(61), 1-25.
- Li, A. 2019. Invisible capital: The role of the Chinese in South Africa's post-apartheid development. *The China Quarterly*, 240, 723-742.
- Lu, F., & Sun, Y. 2019. China's investment in Africa: A new era or more of the same? *Journal of Contemporary China*, 28(117), 434-449.
- Lucas, R. E. 2016. Understanding business and government relations in Africa and China. *International Journal of Trade and Global Markets*, 9(3), 213-222.
- Makumbe, J. 2018. China in Africa: Insatiable buyer of commodities? *World Economy*, 41(6), 1684-1705.
- Mawdsley, E. 2015. China and Africa: New friends engaging or old rivals learning to evade? *Geopolitics*, 20(3), 536-556.
- Mbeki, T. 2015. Advancing South-South cooperation: What role for BRICS and IBSA? *South African Journal of International Affairs*, 22(1), 9-34.
- Moyo, D. 2005. *Dead aid: Why aid is not working and how there is a better way for Africa*. Penguin UK.
- Moyo, D. 2009. *Chinese aid and Africa: Friend or foe?* Centre for Global Development.
- Mungai, J. W., & Matelong, D. N. 2020. China's global trade and investments: An analysis of its impacts in African countries. *International Journal of Research and Analytical Reviews*, 7(2), 881-891.
- Mutasa, T., & Kaseke, D. 2020. China-Africa trade relations: Trends, challenges, and potential. *Journal of Economics and Sustainable Development*, 11(8), 12-19.
- Ndlovu-Gatsheni, S. J. 2015. South Africa and the rising China: Critically engaging the discourse of China in Africa. *Africa Insight*, 45(1), 32-49.
- Ndubiwa, M. (2018). Africa must learn more about China's history, sensibilities, and touchpoints. *African Arguments*. Retrieved from <https://africanarguments.org/2018/09/20/africa-must-learn-more-about-chinas-history-sensibilities-and-touchpoints/> [Accessed: 22 October 2023]

- Njoroge, B. 2019. China and Africa trade relations: Dynamics, challenges, and opportunities. *World Journal of Management and Behavioral Studies*, 7(1), 1-9.
- Oyeleye, O. O., & Lauda, H. N. 2018. China-Africa economic relations: An emerging outlook. *Journal of Accounting, Finance and Economics*, 8(1), 11-28.
- Perugini, N., & Li, K. 2017. Two scenarios for China's role in international trading: An empirical examination. *DSS Working Papers*, 18, 1-13.
- Phaahla, A. 2020. China and Africa: Changing economic relations and their implications for youth employment in South Africa and Ghana. *Sustainable Development*, 28(3), 603-615.
- Rabie, M. A., & Bheki, N. T. 2019. Chinese foreign direct investment in Africa: Characteristics, opportunities, and challenges. *Journal of Economics and Sustainable Development*, 10(17), 7-13.
- Ramphele, M. 2016. South Africa and the African Union: From politics to neoliberalism. *South African Journal of International Affairs*, 23(3), 251-266.
- Reckford, K. A. 2019. China's investment in African timber: An analysis of traditional governance in export-oriented trade in Mozambique and Gabon. *Journal of Agrarian Change*, 19(4), 611-635.
- Renwick, N. J., & Clifford, M. J. 2018. The contribution of Chinese development finance to Africa: Facts, figures, and implications. *Globalizations*, 15(6), 938-955.
- Riverson, J. 2014. South Africa's foreign policy towards China in the era of economic diplomacy: Existing policies and future challenges. *Acta Academica*, 46(4), 21-43.
- Shinn, D. H., Eisenman, J., & Van der Wath, E. 2004. *China and Africa: A century of engagement*. University of Pennsylvania Press.
- Sautman, B., & Hairong, Y. 2007. Friends and interests: China's distinctive links with Africa. *African Studies Review*, 50(3), 75-114.
- Shen, Y., & Sun, Y. 2018. From aid effectiveness to development effectiveness: Progress and challenges in China's efforts to promote African development. *Development Policy Review*, 36(s1), o728-o746.

South African Government News Agency. 2018. South Africa and China strengthen economic ties. [Online] Available at: <https://www.sanews.gov.za/south-africa/southafrica-and-china-strengthen-economic-ties> [Accessed 12 August 2023]

Taylor, I., & Hengari, R. 2011. The 'scramble for resources' and African underdevelopment: Conflicting perceptions of China's involvement in Africa. *Third World Quarterly*, 32(4), 647-667.

Thee, K. W., & Zhang, Y. (Eds.). 2013. *China's economic engagement with Africa: Perspectives from the South*. Routledge.

Ukeje, C., & Nyinguro, J. 2020. The emerging leadership of the global South: A case study of the China-Africa partnership. *Journal of Political Sciences & Public Affairs*, 8(2), 1-9.

Vink, N. 2019. Soft power, ideology, and the Sino-South African relationship. *South African Journal of International Affairs*, 26(1), 23-38.

Wang, J. 2014. China's agricultural cooperation with Africa: An overview of the dynamics, achievements, and implications. *Journal of Contemporary African Studies*, 32(4), 481-497.

Wang, H. 2018. China's aid and soft power diplomacy in Africa: The case of education cooperation. *China: An International Journal*, 16(3), 38-55.

Wei, K. Z. 2017. African states and China's investment in the continent as an engine for economic growth. *American Journal of Economics*, 7(1), 1-7.

Wen, W. 2019. Toward an Afro-Sino power shift? China, Africa, and the global order. *Journal of Developing Societies*, 35(2), 117-141.

Wu, H. 2020. The divergence in China's foreign investment policy between developed and developing countries: A case of South Africa. *Journal of Chinese Political Science*, 25(1), 57-73.

Xing, L., & Li, X. 2016. An empirical study of China–Africa trade and FDI cooperation based on a mutual benefit-based matrix. *Economic Research-Ekonomska Istraživanja*, 29(1), 1230-1243.

- Xu, W. 2008. China's involvement in Africa: Need for a strategic shift. Institute for Security Studies.
- Xu, W., Ma, X., Wang, X., Cao, W., & Pan, S. 2019. China and South Africa's trade dynamics: A quantitative study. *Journal of Chinese Economic and Foreign Trade Studies*, 12(3), 214-230.
- Ye, L., & Wang, C. 2019. The rise of China's power in Africa and the implications: A case study of Namibia. *Contemporary International Relations*, 29(3), 156-182.
- Yin, H. 2016. The significance of China–South Africa FOCAC 2015: A non-state actor perspective. *Journal of Contemporary African Studies*, 34(1), 131-138.
- Yu, P., Feng, N., & Wang, H. 2020. Exploring the integration of industry and the Internet and its application in China-Africa economic and trade cooperation. *Journal of Industrial Engineering and Management Science*, 1(1), 47-59.
- Yun, Z., & Lu, X. 2019. The role of international governance in China's Belt and Road initiative: Challenges and opportunities. *Journal of International Development*, 31(3), 245-262.
- Zafar, M. W., & Kalim, R. 2020. An empirical investigation of China-Africa trade relations: Prospects and challenges. *Journal of Economic Development*, (45), 47-67.
- Zeng, Z. 2013. Research on the "China-Africa" mode of strategic partnership: A success? *Journal of Chinese Political Science*, 18(3), 345-365.
- Zheng, Y. 2018. The future of China–Africa relations in the “Belt and Road” era. *Journal of African Trade*, 5(1-2), 3-16.
- Zhou, X., Tiao, J., Tang, H., & Wang, Z. 2017. Evolution and policy implications of China-Africa investment relations since the turn of the century. *Land Use Policy*, 69, 180-189.



University of Limpopo
Department of Research Administration and Development
Private Bag X1106, Sovenga, 0727, South Africa
Tel: (015) 268 3935, Fax: (015) 268 2306, Email: tukiso.sewapa@ul.ac.za

TURFLOOP RESEARCH ETHICS COMMITTEE
PERMISSION LETTER

Date: 09 April 2024

PROJECT NO: TREC/04/2023 [NEI]- **Renewed**

Title: The Prospects and Challenges of Contemporary China- Africa Relations: A Case Study of South Africa, 2010-2021
Researcher: D Magidi

This serves to confirm that the abovementioned study involves secondary use of data and has no ethical implication. After review of the study protocol, the Turfloop Research Ethics Committee (TREC) hereby grants the researcher permission to proceed with their research.

PROF D MAPOSA
CHAIRPERSON: TURFLOOP RESEARCH ETHICS COMMITTEE

The Turfloop Research Ethics Committee (TREC) is registered with the National Health Research Ethics Council, Registration Number: **REC-0310111-031**