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Chinese Cooperation in Mozambique and Angola: A Focus on Agriculture and Health

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Abstract

Contrary to conventional perception that China only focuses on resource extraction, China's cooperation with Mozambique and Angola has become more diversified, not only in terms of sectors, but also with respect to the types of actors involved, with private sector firms playing a bigger role in some programs. The "Angola Model" also reflects the changing relationship between Chinese government and companies. China takes a programmatic and experimental approach in its agricultural cooperation with both Mozambique and Angola, combining assistance, investment, and transfer of technical know-how. Traditional one-sided assistance projects are shifting to infrastructure-based, recipient-driven assistance and investment seeking mutual benefit. China has no intention to ship food back to China to address the food security issue domestically; rather, it seeks to satisfy the local market in Mozambique and Angola. In the health sector, China's medical aid reform serves multiple goals, but also faces limitations and challenges.

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Introduction

China has been Africa's largest trade partner since 2009, and Africa is now China's major import source, second largest overseas construction project contract market, and fourth largest investment destination (China-African Economic and Trade Cooperation 2013). Mozambique and Angola have become two prominent cases of Chinese economic and trade cooperation with Africa. Going beyond media headlines about China's activities in the oil and extractive sectors, China's cooperation with resource-rich Mozambique and Angola has deepened and diversified, covering a wide range of development while increasing the focus on two key sectors for bilateral cooperation: agriculture and health. China has started paying more attention to the questions of how to make Sino-African cooperation more sustainable and how to extend its benefits more widely among the African population. Despite the growing research on China's cooperation in Africa, its involvement in these two sectors is still under-discussed, with the extractive sector drawing the most scholarly attention.

This paper provides an in-depth comparative analysis on how Chinese cooperation in agriculture and health has been implemented in Mozambique and Angola. First, the paper provides a broad contextualization of China-Mozambique and China-Angola relations and cooperation, paying particular attention to the changing motivations behind these ties. Second, we analyze cooperation in those two sectors with reference to concrete cases. This section also notes some of the key capacities and limitations of this cooperation. Finally, the paper discusses the main actors involved in this cooperation.

1. Broad Context of China's Relations with Mozambique and Angola

Unlike the top-down aid provided by traditional donors, China's cooperation with all African countries, including Mozambique and Angola, is demand-driven. The guiding principles underpinning this cooperation include respect for national sovereignty, equality among states, non-conditionality, non-interference in domestic affairs, and mutual benefit (win-win relations). China, which positions itself as "a developing country" in the first sentence of its 2011 White Paper on China's Foreign Aid, has deepened its ties to Africa under the umbrella of South-South cooperation.

China's political and diplomatic relations with Africa, including Mozambique and Angola, date back to the period of liberation struggle in the continent. Over the past five decades, China's strategy towards African countries evolved from ideology-oriented assistance to an integrated and development-driven approach that combines aid, trade, and investment. Political support in Africa is also one of China's key strategies to replacing Taiwan at the UN, including its permanent seat at the Security Council.

In 1963, then Chinese Premier Zhou Enlai proposed "eight principles" during his visit to Africa. Those principles have guided China's aid and cooperation in Africa, including Mozambique and Angola, though the "non-interference" principle has been constantly criticized for fear of its conflict with the Western goal of democratization and good governance in Africa.

From 1949 to 1979, China provided assistance to a variety of liberation and independence struggles throughout Africa, and these cooperation efforts were dominated by ideological and political considerations. Both Mozambique and Angola, who shared the status of Portuguese colonies, received military and financial assistance from China during their respective anti-colonial fights. During the Mozambican struggle for independence, from 1961 until 1975, China provided military and political assistance to the Liberation Front of Mozambique (FRELIMO). On 28 June 1975--three days after Mozambique gained independence--China recognized it as a sovereign state and formalized diplomatic relations, thus becoming the world's first non-African country to recognize Mozambique's independence.

In Angola, China has supported three major liberation movements during the country's anti-colonial struggle: the MPLA, UNITA, and the FNLA. After gaining independence from Portugal in 1975, Angola went through a devastating civil war between the ruling MPLA and the rebel UNITA. To counterbalance the Soviet-backed MPLA, China joined the United States in supporting both UNITA and FNLA (Campos & Vines 2008). China's longtime stress on the importance of "South-South Cooperation" became subordinate to the geopolitical considerations of constraining the spread of Soviet influence (Liu 2010). Therefore, during this period, China's cooperation with Mozambique and Angola was similarly shaped by political and ideological factors.

From 1979 to 1999, China—as well as Mozambique and Angola--experienced dramatic changes. Since the launch of reforms and its open-up policy, China experienced rapid economic growth, and resource security became one of China's top concerns. A net oil importer since 1993, China formulated its "going out" strategy to encourage companies to go abroad seeking natural resources

as well as new investment opportunities. With Africa becoming a key region within the “going out” policy, China’s cooperation with African partners shifted from ideological considerations to economic development, leaving aside the one-sided assistance model and shifting towards the mutual-beneficial approach of combining aid, trade, and investment.

In Africa, the International Monetary Fund (IMF) and World Bank pushed structural adjustment and liberalization programs starting in the early 1980s. Mozambique joined the IMF and World Bank in 1984 and agreed to structural adjustment, focusing on privatization and reform of state-owned companies. In 1987, Mozambique adopted a market-oriented economy; it was sometimes referred to as a model of cooperation with Western countries and donors in the 1990s (Roque 2009). In spite of high dependence on foreign assistance, Mozambique--once regarded as one of the most underdeveloped countries by the United Nations--became one of the world’s fastest-growing economies after the end of 16 years of armed conflict, which ended in 1992.

With Africa’s changing economic situation, China’s strategy towards Angola also changed; trade and economic relations were prioritized over ideology concerns. In 1983, China and Angola established formal diplomatic relations and strengthened bilateral ties through extensive high-level visits. The first trade agreement was signed in 1984, and a joint ministerial Economic and Trade Commission was established in 1988. The Commission, coordinated by Chinese Ministry of Commerce and Angola’s Ministry of Foreign Affairs, so far has held four meetings: two in Beijing (in 1989 and 2007), and another two in Luanda (in 2001 and 2009, respectively) (MOFCOM 2012).

Starting around 2000, Africa became the second fastest-growing continent in the world. As the graphic below shows, between 2001 and 2010, both Angola and Mozambique, along with other four Sub-Sahara African countries, appeared among the world’s top ten fast-growing economies. In the meantime, China’s economic growth and political influence arouse the fear of “China Threat”. To integrate into the international society as a responsible power, China participated in and established multilateral organizations since the 1990s, for example, ASEAN Regional Forum, Shanghai Cooperation Forum. In Africa, China’s links with Mozambique and Angola, already intensified through bilateral relations, entered a new stage with the establishment of two multilateral mechanisms: FOCAC and the Macau Forum.



Source: Economist 2011 http://www.economist.com/blogs/dailychart/2011/01/daily_chart

As the weight of Portuguese speaking countries in total trade with China increased, China, in 2003, set up the Macau-hosted Forum for Economic and Trade and Cooperation between China and Portuguese-speaking countries. The goal of Macau Forum is promoting trade relations and common development. Mozambique and Angola, together with Cape Verde, Guinea Bissau, Portugal and East Timor, are members of the Macau Forum.

With China's growing presence and influence in Africa, there is a need for China to establish a platform to discuss trade and economic relations, diplomacy, peace and security issues together with African leaders multilaterally. Facing Western criticism of China's "neo-colonialism", FOCAC, a platform for equal consultation between China and African leaders, also helps China maintain a good national image. Due to an absence of a development agency responsible for overall development cooperation in Africa, different Chinese departments involve in management of African cooperation. For example, Ministry of Agriculture is responsible for agricultural projects, Ministry of Health for health projects, Ministry of Education for education aid and etc. With the "going out" strategy, not only governmental actors, but also private companies emerge in China's cooperation in Africa. This poses a challenge for Chinese government to manage the multilateral actors. Therefore one of the reasons for China to establish FOCAC is to coordinate different department interests and sometimes collision of national interests and companies profits.

Since 2000, five FOCAC summits have been held. The establishment of FOCAC reveals Africa's importance to China's Mozambican President Armando Emilio Guebuza attended the historical FOCAC summit in Beijing Summit in 2006, during which China committed to building new strategic partnerships with Africa that would feature "political equality and mutual trust, economic win-win cooperation"(FOCAC 2006). With the instruments of Macau Forum and FOCAC, China added a new dimension to its existing bilateral relations with Mozambique and Angola.

China's foreign aid policies (for instance, as reflected in the 2011 and 2014 White Paper on China's Foreign Aid) establish the fields of agriculture, medical and health care, along with industry, economic infrastructure, public facilities, and education as priorities of Chinese cooperation with Africa. China's continuous commitment to agriculture and health in Africa was reinforced during the past three Ministerial Conferences of FOCAC, as listed in table 1.

In its 2012 FOCAC commitments, quality—rather than quantity—is stressed among the goals specified for agriculture and health cooperation. This emphasis reflects the Chinese government's growing concern for enhancing the sustainability of existing measures and fostering innovation in future cooperation efforts.

The next sections of this paper will provide a more in-depth analysis of China's cooperation with Mozambique and Angola, focusing on agriculture and health.

Table 1 : Commitment of FOCAC in agriculture and health cooperation

	Agriculture	Health
2006	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Send 100 senior experts on agricultural technologies to Africa and set up in Africa 10 demonstration centers of agricultural technology with special features • Support Chinese companies to expand investment in agriculture in Africa and get more involved in agricultural infrastructure development, production of agricultural machinery and processing of agricultural produce in Africa; • Step up cooperation with Africa in extending applicable technologies and human resources training in agriculture; • Strengthen cooperation within the framework of the Special Program for Food Security of UNFAO 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Assist African countries in building 30 hospitals and grant RMB300 million for providing anti-malaria drugs to African countries and building 30 demonstration centers for prevention and treatment of malaria • Continue to send new and additional medical teams to Africa on the basis of China’s own capacity and the need of African countries and actively explore with African countries new ways of providing such service; • Continue to provide medicines and medical supplies and help Africa establish and improve medical facilities and train medical workers.
2009	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Send 50 agricultural technology teams to Africa and help train 2,000 agricultural technicians for African countries. • Increase to 20 the total number of agricultural technology demonstration centers built for African countries. • Continue to run well the agricultural technology demonstration centers already built. • Implement the decision to contribute US\$30 million to UNFAO to set up a trust fund, and actively use the trust fund to support UNFAO Special Program for Food Security. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Provide RMB500 million yuan worth of medical equipment and malaria-fighting materials to 30 hospitals and 30 malaria prevention and treatment centers built by China for Africa in the coming three years. China will invite African professionals working in malaria prevention and treatment centers to training programs in China to ensure sustainable development of the project. • Continue to help Africa train a total of 3,000 doctors, nurses and administrative personnel. • Continue to send medical teams • Contribute US\$1.5 million to support NEPAD’s projects to train nurses and maternity assistants
2012	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Continue to send agro-technology teams and train African agricultural technicians. • Send teachers for agricultural vocational education and help Africa establish an agricultural vocational education system. • Build more agricultural technology demonstration centers and continue to give play to the function and role of such centers • Provide technical support in grain planting, storage, processing and circulation. • Encourage Chinese financial institutions to support cooperation between Chinese and African companies in agricultural planting, processing of agricultural products, animal husbandry, fishery and aquaculture. • Support UNFAO “Special Program for Food Security”. • Facilitate access for African agricultural products to the Chinese market. • Engage in publication cooperation in such fields as medical care, health, agricultural technology, culture and education 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Step up high level exchanges and hold a China-Africa high-level health development workshop • Expand exchanges and cooperation in the prevention, treatment and port control of HIV/AIDS, malaria, tuberculosis and other major communicable diseases, health personnel training, maternal and child health, health system building and public health policies • Provide support to the medical facilities it has built in Africa to ensure their sustainable development and upgrade the modernization level of the hospitals and laboratories • Continue to train doctors, nurses, public health workers and administrative personnel for African countries. • Conduct the “Brightness Action” campaign in Africa • Continue to send medical teams and send 1,500 medical workers to Africa in the next three years.

Source: FOCAC 2006, 2009 and 2012, edited by the author

1.1. China-Mozambique Relations

China has cancelled a total of US\$52 million of Mozambican debt: US\$22 million in 2011 and US\$30 million in 2007. The latter was announced by former Chinese President Hu Jintao during his visit to Mozambique in 2007 (Jansson & Kiala 2009).

In 2012, China became Mozambique's main financial creditor, with loans worth \$1.15 billion, while the overall external debt of the Mozambican government was \$1.92 billion (Xinhua 2013). The loans include both soft loans and commercial loans. China's infrastructure support to Mozambique include the Ministry of Foreign Affairs building, the Joaquim Chissano Conference Center, the national stadium, Maputo International Airport, the Public Prosecutor's Office building, the Justice Ministry and Anti-Corruption Bureau building, the China Investment and Trade Promotion Center (12,000 square meters, 16 floors), a residential area in New Military Region, and a 150-unit low-income residential building, among other projects.

In 2011, China and Mozambique signed a Trade Agreement and Agreement on the Promotion and Reciprocal Protection of Investment and established a Joint Economic and Trade Commission. In 2003, China gave tariff-free status to commodities from the least developed countries in Africa, including Angola and Mozambique. Around 60 percent of Mozambique's exports to China have been granted tariff exemption. China's trade with Mozambique grew rapidly in the last decade, although the volume is modest compared with Angola. In 2009, despite the impact of global financial crisis, the total trade volume still grew 22.5%, exceeding US\$500 million (Xinhua 2010). According to the Chinese Customs, the trade volume between Mozambique and China rose to US\$1.2 billion in 2012, a growth of 42 percent on year-on-year basis.

China's exports to Mozambique are dominated by machinery and vehicles, textiles, footwear, grain and derived products, iron, and steel articles, as well as pharmaceutical products. China's imports from Mozambique are mainly timber, iron ore and concentrates, and agricultural products such as sesame (MOFCOM 2012).

There are currently 41 Chinese companies registered in Mozambique, mainly operating in the sectors of agriculture, forestry, industry, and construction. Between 1990 and 2007, Chinese companies have created 11,214 jobs in Mozambique (Website of China's Embassy in Mozambique).

Table 2 : Sino-Mozambique Trade, 2005-2011 (US\$ million)

Year	2006	2007	2008	2009	2010	2011
Total	207.74	284.11	422.95	516.69	697.76	957.23
China's import from Mozambique	79.77	123.89	134.61	177.55	201.37	256.78
China's export to Mozambique	127.97	160.22	228.34	339.13	496.39	700.45

Source: China Custom (MOFCOM 2012 Guideline on Foreign Investment and Cooperation)

In May 2013, Chinese President Xi Jinping met with Mozambican President Guebuza in Beijing and pledged to deepen bilateral cooperation in infrastructure construction, energy, agriculture, and fisheries, as well as to promote innovative cooperation in the future.

1.2 China-Angola Relations

Angola's economic growth is mainly driven by soaring oil prices and large-scale national reconstruction provided by Chinese companies (Tang 2010). From its original "oil-for-loan" cooperation format, Sino-Angola relations have since expanded to different sectors.

Bilateral trade between Angola and China has grown steadily, especially after 2002. In 2006, Angola became China's biggest trade partner in Africa and second largest crude supplier in the world. China became Angola's biggest trade partner in 2011, and that year their bilateral trade exceeded US\$ 277 billion—a more than ten-fold increase compared with 2003 figures. Because of the global financial crisis, the trade volume declined by 32.6 percent year-on-year in 2009. In 2012, China granted a 95 percent tariff discount to exports coming from Angola. In addition, the construction of the Angola International Trade Center, jointly undertaken by Chinese and local companies, has been started. When completed, the project will be the largest commercial logistics, convention, and investment service center in South and West Africa.

Although the absence of Angolan President Dos Santos in Beijing in 2006 aroused Western doubts on uncertainty of China-Angolan relations, Dos Santos paid two visits to Beijing in 2008 to secure financing in the wake of global financial crisis. Chinese support in the aftermath of economic crisis made 2008 a milestone year of China-Angola cooperation.

Table 3 : Sino-Angola Trade, 2003-2011 (US\$ 100 million)

Year	Total		China's export to Angola		China's import from Angola	
	Sum (US\$)	Growth %	Sum (US\$)	Growth %	Sum (US\$)	Growth %
2003	23.52	104.8	1.46	137.8	22.06	102.9
2004	49.11	108.8	1.94	32.7	47.17	113.8
2005	69.55	41.6	3.73	92.6	65.82	39.5
2006	118.27	70.1	8.94	139.9	109.33	66.1
2007	141.20	19.0	12.31	38	128.89	18
2008	253.11	79.3	29.3	138.2	223.82	73.7
2009	170.62	-32.6	23.86	-18.9	146.76	-34.4
2010	248.17	45.4	20.0	-16.0	228.13	55.4
2011	277.06	11.6	27.84	39	249.21	9.2

Source: China Custom and Angola National Statistic Bureau.
(MOFCOM 2012 Guideline on Foreign Investment and Cooperation)

China's imports from Angola are overwhelmingly crude oil, accounted for 90 percent of total bilateral trade (GAO 2013). However, China is still a small player in the oil sector compared with Western companies such as Chevron, Exxon, Total, and BP, which have the biggest shares and operation rights in Angolan oil fields.

China is among the top three largest investors in Angola. In 2010, Chinese investments in Angola focused on industry (71 percent of the total), while agriculture and agro-industry accounted for 2 percent (Chichava 2013). China pledged to invest US\$13 billion in industrial, tourism, mining, and energy projects over the five years since 2010 (Reuters 2010).

The “Angola Model”

China established diplomatic relations with Angola in January 1983, but China only became one of Angola's most important partners after Angolan civil war. In 2004, two years after the end of the conflict, Angolan government--which urgently needed financial support for the reconstruction of the country--repeatedly asked for funding from Western countries and international financial organizations, without reaching any agreement (Hackenesch 2011). The reason lies in Angola's unwillingness, in contrast to Mozambique, to comply with the political conditions imposed by the IMF and the Paris Club even after several rounds of consultations. China's no-political conditions-attached policy played a role in Angola's decision to receive China Exim Bank's first credit line. However, this is not the only reason the deal was reached. China's strength in infrastructure meets the most urgent need of Angola's government, while other donors can only provide finance. Angola's ruling party, MPLA, came under the political pressure before legislative elections held in September 2008, and thus felt an urgent need to complete construction projects as a way of demonstrating to voters its development capacity. The provision of large-scale infrastructure ended up playing an important persuading role in MPLA's landslide victory in those elections.

The “Angola Model” also reflects a changing relationship between the Chinese government (especially MOFCOM), state-owned enterprises and private sector firms in China's cooperation with African countries.

According to Wang Chen'an, deputy director of Department of Foreign Aid, MOFCOM, Angola model is a cooperation among companies under the government framework (Zhang 2012). Therefore the role of MOFCOM changed from a direct actor into an indirect guider. Instead of involving MOFCOM directly into the cooperation, more autonomy has been given to Chinese overseas companies. Without being given responsibility to expand China's political space, those Chinese overseas companies only need to abide by market rules. This decentralized model is different from previous government-driven and -dominated management in China-African aid and trade relations.

In March 2004, China's Export Import Bank (EXIM) Bank signed a framework cooperation agreement with Angolan Financial Ministry to extend a line of credit worth 2 billion USD for Angola's large-scale infrastructure. In this model, credit is secured through future oil production. The agreement facilitated China's access to oil production in Angola. In 2004, Chinese state oil company-Sinopec was granted exploration of half of Block 18, sharing with BP. In 2007, China and Angola signed two more agreements, worth 500 million and 2 billion USD (Tang 2010). In 2011, a fourth agreement worth 3 billion USD were signed. This innovative model of cooperation, dubbed the “Angola Model,” includes the following features:

1. The loan is paid directly to the Chinese companies undertaking the construction work, which effectively avoids corruption of Angolan officials.
2. The interest rate of loans provided by Exim Bank is generally 1.5 percent over LIBRO, lower than the commercial interest rate. The loan was repayable over 17 years, including a grace period of five years (Corkin 2011).
3. The cooperation is comprehensive. Under the framework agreement, China not only built roads, bridges, railways, government buildings and affordable housing for Angola, but also hospitals and schools. This wide scope brings visible and tangible benefits to ordinary Angolan people through infrastructure improvement.

According to China's Economic and Commercial Counselor's Office in Angola, there are currently 56 major Chinese companies registered in Angola by May 2012, mainly state-owned companies in the sectors of construction and contract, including SinoHydro, CAMC (zhongnongji), SinoMach, ZTE, SINOPEC and CITIC construction.

China-Angola relations are complementary, as President José Eduardo dos Santos said during a 2006 visit by then Chinese Prime Minister Wen Jiabao to Angola: "China needs natural resources and Angola wants development." However, China's interest in Angola definitely reaches beyond oil, to include the development of Angola.

Due to the dominance of oil in Sino-Angola trade, China has faced criticism regarding its resource-driven diplomacy and "non-interference" policy, which is viewed as undermining Western donors' goal of good governance. However, this accusation ignores the truth. On the one hand, the oil-dominant trade and trade imbalance with China is caused by Angola's economic structure and low level of industrialization. EIU statistics show that 95 percent of Angola's exports to other countries are also crude oil. On the other hand, China-Angola relations have been undergoing transformation since the establishment of a strategic partnership, in 2010. Going beyond news headlines about oil, China has been developing a more involved engagement with Angola, with cooperation expanded and diversified, including in the sectors of agriculture and health. In 2009, the China Development Bank announced a US\$1 billion fund for agriculture investment in Angola, without an oil guarantee, drawing a dividing line with previous loans extended by China EXIM Bank (CCS 2009). However, the new dynamics emerging in Sino-Angola relationships have received little attention within Western scholarly and political circles.

2. China's Agricultural Cooperation with Angola and Mozambique

Western donors have shown little interest in African agriculture over the past two decades, with only 4 percent of total ODA directed to the agricultural sector in 2008 (compared with 14 percent in 1980) (China-DAC study group 2011). Instead, they hoped that “liberalization and market would foster development” (Brautigam 2009). In contrast, China identifies agricultural development as a priority area within its cooperation with Africa.

China's agricultural experience, feeding more than 20 percent of the world's population with only 8 percent of the world's arable land, has attracted a lot of attention from the international community, especially the African countries. Under the FOCAC framework, China's commitment to establish more agricultural demonstration centers and send more agricultural experts to Africa reflects the growth in African interest and demand for China's agricultural know-how and rural development model.

2.1 Sino-Mozambique Agricultural Cooperation

In the 1970s and 1980s, China's agricultural cooperation with Africa consisted mainly of building farms and offering technical aid. These efforts were led by government, with the motivation of political and diplomatic support. China's agricultural cooperation with Mozambique started in 1975, when Mozambique became independent. The Sichuanese provincial government was designated to provide agricultural aid to Mozambique. In 1976, a Chinese agro-technology team composed of 29 experts and technicians was dispatched to work in two Mozambican farms: Niassa farm and Matama farm, covering a total of 7,000 hectar. With four years of experiments and efforts, the production of wheat in Niassa farm succeeded, with an average production of 233 kg per hectar and the highest reaching 400kg per hectar. In Matama farm, test production of corn, wheat, potatoes and vegetables was successful too. China also helped Mozambique build the country's only gravity irrigation canals at that time- “the solidarity canal” (China's Economic and Commercial Counselor's Office in Mozambique, 2007). During the ten years between 1975 and 1985, Sichuan Province had dispatched all together over 120 agro-experts and technicians to Mozambique, assisting in building farms, land reclamation and production of food and vegetable.

Since the creation of FOCAC in 2000, China took innovative and diversified mode to extend agricultural assistance to Mozambique. In 2002, China signed an agricultural MoU with Mozambique, which serves as a framework for bilateral agricultural cooperation. Table 4 listed projects of China's development cooperation projects with Mozambique in the agriculture sector.

Table 4 : List of Chinese-assisted Agricultural Cooperation Projects in Mozambique

Projects before 1997		Chinese partner
1976	Agricultural technical cooperation in Niassa farm and Matama State farm	Sichuan province
	Building of “solidarity” irrigation canal, the only gravity irrigation canal of Mozambique	Sichuan province
1983-1985	Agricultural technical cooperation 1983 – At the request of Mozambican, a agro-technology team consisting of 26 Chinese experts was dispatched to farms in Maputo 1984 – Interest-free loan and assistance of mechanical equipments 1984 and 1985 – Chinese agro-technology team went back to China due to civil war in Mozambique	Sichuan province
1976-1998	Agricultural technical cooperation in Maputo	Sichuan province
1986-1989	Agricultural technical training April 1987 – International Agricultural Training Center of Sichuan trained 30 agro-technicians and management personnel in Chengdu	Sichuan province
1989-1995	Well digging in Maputo	Sichuan province
1997-2001 projects		Chinese partner
36 well repairing projects		
Aquaculture and fishing		
Anshan Farm		
Projects after 2001		Chinese partner
2004	Dispatch study group of hybrid rice and study group of preventing cashew diseases and insect pests to Mozambique	
2005	2 Training class for 30 Mozambican technicians in China on: Prevention of cashew diseases and insect pests. Agricultural processing plant construction projects (including cotton processing plant, the cornmeal flour mill, rice processing plant) in Zambezi Valley	
2011	Prevention of cashew diseases and insect pests	Hubei Lianfeng Overseas Corporation

Source: edited by the author according to website of China’s Economic and Commercial Counselor’s Office in Mozambique: <http://mz.mofcom.gov.cn/aarticle/zxhz/sbmy/200207/20020700033969.html>, <http://mz.mofcom.gov.cn/article/ztdy/200603/20060301771650.shtml>.

2.1.1 China Aided-ATDC in Mozambique

At the governmental level, the Agricultural Technology Demonstration Center (ATDC) is one of the highlights in China's agricultural cooperation with Mozambique. The centre in Mozambique was the first among 14 centers decided upon at FOCAC 2006, namely Benin, Cameroon, Congo, Ethiopia, Liberia, Mozambique, Rwanda, South Africa, Sudan, Tanzania, Togo, Uganda, Zambia, and Zimbabwe.

The construction of the ATDC in Mozambique commenced in July 2009 and was completed in November 2010. In July 2011, the center was handed over to the Mozambican government. Located in the district of Boane, Maputo, the center covers an area of 52 hectares. The ATDC in Mozambique is undertaken by Hubei Lianfeng Overseas Agricultural Development Corporation, a Chinese state-owned company affiliated with Hubei Provincial Agricultural Reclamation Bureau.

With the "government-guided, company-dominated and market-oriented" principle, the establishment and implementation of ATDC follow the procedures as below (Zhou 2012 and Ye Anping's introduction at China-DAC study group conference 2013).

1st step: Feasibility study. A Chinese study group did field trip to consult with different levels of Africans to listen to their needs and draft the center's plan based on needs assessment of local agricultural development (1).

In Mozambique's case, Foreign Economic Cooperation Center of Chinese Ministry of Agriculture did a field trip to Mozambique between 30 May and 6 June 2007. Coordinated by Mozambican Ministry of Agriculture and Ministry of Science, China exchanged views with Mozambique counterparts on selection of sites, focus areas of cooperation and technology. Mozambique proposed two areas, Moamba in northwest of the capital and Umbeluzi in Southwest of the capital. China decided to construct ATDC in Umbeluzi as for its closer location to Maputo and better infrastructure in terms of water, electricity and roads (China's Economic and Commercial Counselor's Office 2007).

2nd Step: Consult Africans on their advice and modify the plan. Chinese government provides RMB 40 million yuan (over US\$ 6 million) financial support for each center (Zhou 2012).

3rd Step: China assists to construct infrastructure of ATDC. When completed construction, Mozambican center includes administrative offices, laboratories and housing for researchers, technicians and trainees along with other facilities, as well as fields to carry out agricultural production tests, implement irrigation systems and space for livestock production.

4th Step: Technology cooperation, e.g. cooperation between Chinese agricultural experts, technicians and African counterparts, personnel training as well as technology demonstration. In the first three years after establishment of the center, China will provide free assistance to recipient countries for necessary equipments, production materials and training of local personnel. In Mozambique, the center's focus is soybean and com cultivation and processing demonstration and training (Sun 2011).

5th Step: Business operation. According to bilateral agreement between China and Mozambique,

(1) Ye Anping's speech at Effective Development Cooperation: Drawing Lessons from Agricultural Development in Africa, 18 June 2013 Beijing, organized by China-DAC study group. Ye Anping is division chief of Department of International Cooperation, Chinese Ministry of Agriculture.

the center should be independently run by Lianfeng Overseas for 3 years and jointly run with Mozambique for 10 years (He 2012).

6th Step: Hand over the center to recipient African government after three years operation run by Chinese partner. Sustainability after hand-over is now the major concern of both China and African government.

According to the Document on promoting sustainability of ATDC, jointly issued by MOFCOM and Ministry of Agriculture in 2011, the objectives of China's ATDC are a mixed motivation of diplomacy, food security, economy and investment. First, serve China's foreign strategy and improve bilateral relations; Second, increase the agricultural production, improve agro-technology and enhance the food security of recipient countries; Third, provide a platform for investment of Chinese companies in Africa and promote the "going out" strategy of agriculture. Through ATDC's platform, eight state-owned farms and companies from Hubei Province are now "going out" to Mozambique to expand agro-business.

ATDC in Mozambique also took an advanced step in providing a platform for multilateral cooperation. Bill & Melinda Gates Foundation had project cooperation with the center and South Korea has used the center to conducted trainings (2). Bill & Melinda Gates has tested 30 rice varieties for its "Green super rice for Africa" project at the site of China's ATDC in Mozambique. (CRI 2014) Agriculture and health, as least disputable sectors that rarely involve ideology and political system, can serve as starting point of cooperation between China and Western countries (Zhang & Huang 2012).

2.1.2 "Wanbao" in Mozambique: from friendship farm to agriculture investment

China's agricultural investment in Mozambique served as a model in the white paper of China-Africa Economic and Trade Cooperation (2013).

"In Mozambique, for example, 300 hectares of experimental paddy fields supported by Chinese investment yielded 9-10 tons per hectare for three successive years. With the help of Chinese rice experts, local farmers see their paddy fields yield five tons per hectare, two tons more than previous yields. In Malawi, Mozambique and Zambia, Chinese companies and the China-Africa Development Fund jointly invested in a cotton planting and processing project modeled on having companies work with farming households. The project was able to involve tens of thousands of local growers, effectively enhancing local capabilities in cotton processing."(CAETC 2013)

In the new phase of agricultural cooperation, not only state-owned companies, but also increasingly more private agricultural companies are investing in Mozambican, which gives new impetus to the country's agricultural development. The case of "Wanbao", a Chinese private company, explains why and how China combines assistance and investment and how Chinese agricultural companies "go out".

(2) Zhang Yahui's introduction at Effective Development Cooperation: Drawing Lessons from Agricultural Development in Africa, 18 June 2013 Beijing, organized by China-DAC study group. Zhang Yahui is Deputy Director, Foreign Economic Cooperation Center, Chinese Ministry of Agriculture.

In 2008, Hubei Lianfeng Overseas Agricultural Development Corporation, subordinate of Hubei Reclamation Bureau and the one who runs ATDC in Mozambique, set up Hubei-Gaza friendship farm, based on a provincial agreement between Hubei and Gaza province. Lianfeng's task is to help local communities improve the productivity and transfer technology. However, the "inability" of Lianfeng "mainly due to financial and material difficulties" (Chichava 2013) forced a more sustainable solution of the farm.

In 2011, through the effort of China Development Bank, Wanbao Grains & Oils, a private Chinese company was empowered to fully take over the development and construction of the Friendship Farm, based on its agreement with Hubei Reclamation Bureau. With an investment of US\$95 million (Hubei government 2012), Wanbao successfully completed the development and construction of the first phase - the trial sample farm of 5,000-mu (equivalent to 75000 hectare.), involving land reclamation, water conservancy construction, rice planting, harvesting and other work.

Wanbao now plans a new investment of a total of US\$ 289 million (3) in 3-5 years starting from 2012 to build 300,000 mu (equal to 4,500,000 hectare) of farms for planting its own grains (Wanbao website). Wanbao also commits to technology transfer, with the objective to benefit small farmers in Mozambique. An agriculture technical training center has been set up to provide training on Chinese rice production technologies to local farmers and promote advanced cultivation techniques.

Wanbao's recent cooperation with CAD Fund (China-Africa Development Fund) and China Development Bank highlights the importance of Wanbao's new agro-project in Mozambique. In addition, Wanbao received US\$10 million from the Fund for Cooperation between China and the Portuguese-speaking countries in November 2013, with Mozambique becoming the first Portuguese-speaking country to benefit from the Cooperation Fund (Macauhub 2013).

CAD Fund, one of the eight measures announced by former President Hu Jintao at 2006 Beijing Summit, was established with committed funding of US\$5 billion in 2007, aiming at encouraging and supporting Chinese companies to invest in Africa. The fund's core plan is to expand Chinese farming investments and support agriculture development in Africa, partnering with African local agriculture companies and development banks (Xinhua 2012).

Wanbao's success is viewed by the Mozambican government as a new hope for addressing the country's rice deficit. Mozambican President Armando Guebuza is optimistic that Mozambique will cease being a net importer of rice (Allafrica 2013). However, concerns are voiced on displacement of farmers, water management, the winners and losers of the cooperation (Chichava, S. et al 2013), land grabbing and environmental degradation.

(3) According to Xiangyang Daily (13.09.2013), the total investment is US\$197 million, consisting of a joint investment of \$118 million by CADFund and Wanbao and a loan of US\$79 million granted by China Development Bank.

2.2 Agricultural cooperation with Angola

Compared with the spotlight of China-Mozambique agriculture cooperation gained from media and academia, China's agriculture projects in Angola got much less attention. In June 1986, China donated 2,000 tons of corns to Angola plagued with South Africa aggression and economic plight (Liu & Li 2011). In March 2009 China Development Bank committed to provided 1 billion US dollar to support the agriculture sector of Angola. In 2010, Xi Jinping, then Chinese Vice-President and today's President visited Angola and established strategic partnership in a joint communiqué with Angola. Both China and Angola showed support to companies and financial institutions to expand bilateral trade and investment, where agriculture, coupled with industry, infrastructure, urbanization, energy and mineral resources exploration is on top of the priority list of both sides (People's Daily 2010).

In May 2014, Chinese Premier Li Keqiang paid his first visit to Africa, including Ethiopia, Nigeria, Angola and Kenya. This shows the importance of Angola in China's Africa policy. During Premier Li's visit, China Development Bank committed to providing a new credit line of \$2.5 billion to Angola for infrastructure, transport, agriculture, hospitals, schools, hydro power and etc.

Agriculture is also a key priority on the Angolan government's agenda in diversifying the nation's oil and diamond-based economy. China's agricultural cooperation with Angola is in line with the Angolan government's ambition to make the country self-sufficient in agricultural production.

2.2.1 Agriculture and health infrastructure

Under the Framework Cooperation Agreement between China and Angola, health and agriculture are two of the priority sectors. China contributes to the building and improvement of hospitals and agricultural infrastructure ruined during the civil war in Angola. Under the first framework agreement (2004-2007), China financed 10 projects in health and 4 in agriculture, as shown in Table 5.

A classic project is Andrew Agriculture Institute constructed by Sinohydro Corporation. Covering an area of 11,000 square meters, its main buildings include one classroom building, three student dormitories, 16 villa apartments and other corollary equipment. A large number of agricultural technicians has been trained for Angola and thus contributed to the agricultural development on Bie Province and peripheral Malanje Province. Based on infrastructure, China's cooperation with Angola values both hardware and software.

Table 5 : Projects Financed by the first credit line of EximBank of China to Angola (Phase I and Phase II)

Sector		Number of Contracts	Total Value (US\$)
Health	Phase I	9	206,100,425.42
	Phase II	1	43,805,500
Education	Phase I	8	217,158,670.63
	Phase II	3	229,642,314
Energy and Water	Phase I	8	243,845,110.58
	Phase II	3	144,902,615
Agriculture	Phase I	3	149,753,214.00
	Phase II	1	54,006,958
Transport	Phase I	1	13,840,468.00
Social Communication	Phase I	1	66,905,200.00
Fisheries	Phase II	3	266,847,509
Post and Telecommunications	Phase II	4	276,307,189
Public Works	Phase I	1	211,684,100.65
	Phase II	2	89,490,000
TOTAL	Phase I	31	1,109,287,188.28
	Phase II	17	1,105,002,085

Source: Angolan Ministry of Finance (2007), cited by Campos & Vines (2008), modified by the author.

2.2.2 Agriculture Engagement

In 2011, CAMCE announced that it signed two agricultural cooperation contracts for farm development with Angola's Ministry of Agriculture, Rural Development and Fisheries. The Camabupa project will reclaim 5000 hectares land with budget of 88 million USD and the "Guimba" farm will reclaim 2960 hectares land with 79 million USD. China will provide reclamation, irrigation works, farm machines, storage and farmland technology training.

During Chinese Premier Li Ke Qiang's visit to Angola in May 2014, China EXIM Bank signed with Angolan Ministry of Finance three agreements of a total value of \$170 million, including an agreement for providing credit of 68 million from China EXIM Bank to Guimba farm.

Another example is CITIC Construction, a Chinese state-owned company which also explored new investment opportunities in agriculture sector after finishing the first phase of Kilamba Kiayi Social Housing Project in the south suburb of Luanda. CITIC Construction is supporting agricultural development in the Angolan provinces of Uíge and Malanje by establishing agricultural study and research centers. Uíge is the largest overseas agricultural comprehensive projects of Chinese enterprise. In the case of Malanje the project is at a more advanced stage, as a modern agricultural research centre has already been built and concrete training on local agriculture such as treatment of seed is undergoing (Allafrica 2012). Started in August 2010, test plots in Malanje achieved success in planting corns, dry rice, wheat and soybeans.

Chinese agro-investors in Angola also provide training to improve the capacity of Angolan agro-professionals. In 2013, CITIC Construction sponsored 19 Angolan agricultural technicians to go to Shihezi University in Xinjiang, China to attend a one-year professional training program in agricultural technology and farm management, covering the theory and technology of high-yield, high-quality and high-efficiency crop cultivation, digital farming and agricultural information technology, the theory and technology of livestock breeding, agricultural laboratory operation technology and farm management (CITIC Construction 2013). The trained Angolans are expected to ensure the functioning of the agricultural center set up by CITIC and train more local people. Another plan of CITIC is to invest in and build a vocational technician training school capable of 500 trainees for various 2-year training programs.

Table 6 : China's Agriculture-related Assistance, Loans, and Investment in Angola

Year awarded or signed	Project	Creditor/ Investor	Value (\$million)
2005	Donation of 300 agricultural equipments and other farm tools	Chinese government	1
	CMEC built a after-sales service center in Luanda, including maintenance workshops, accessories warehouse and offices.		
2006	Kwanza-Sul Cotton production	China Exim Bank	40
2006	SinoHybro irrigation project:		
2007	Irrigation system in Bengo, Huila, Moxico & Kwanza Sul	China Exim Bank	54
2008	CATETE farm	Xinjiang Beixin	5
2009	Rehabilitation of Ganjiela Reservoir		
2010	Longa agro-industrial project	CDB, CAMCE	76.58
2011	Malanje Agriculture development project	CDB	120
2011	Uige agriculture development project	CITIC Construction	129.6
2011	Camacupa Agro-industry Project	CITIC Construction & Xinjiang Beixin	88.64
2011	Guim Farm	CAMCE	79.56

Source: the author, according to China's Economic and Commercial Counselor's Office in Angola, Macauhub, Website of China Agricultural Machinery, CITIC and Sinohydro

2.2.3 From CATETE farm to ATDC

China Xinjiang Bingtuan Construction & Engineering (Group) Co. Ltd., also called Beixin Construction & Engineering (Group) Co. Ltd., is a large scale State-owned multi-company group which consists of scientific research, design, construction, industrial installation, real estate development, building material production, trading and logistic distribution. With the strategy of “foot in Xinjiang, expand out of Xinjiang, go global”, Xinjiang Beixin Co. actively engaged in the agricultural cooperation in Angola.

In May 2008, Xinjiang Beixin was contracted by CITIC Construction for the first phase of Kilamba Kiayi Social Housing Project, which includes 170 buildings covering an area of 800,000 square meters. The initial objective behind the CATETE farm was to feed their ten thousand employees of the housing project. CATETE farm has now 244 employees: 42 Chinese and 183 Angolans, with a total investment of US \$5 million. The farm, managed through Beixin’s “Bingtuan” agricultural approach, has successfully planted corn, soybeans, sunflower, vegetables, fruits, breeding, as well as corn processing and oil production. After three years, Xinjiang Beixin redesigned the strategy of CATETE, from being self-sufficient for Chinese and Angola employees to satisfy the local market (4). CATETE was then used as a model for the Malange and Uige projects.

With Xinjiang Beixin having established a good reputation through the CATETE farm project, it was then given the responsibility of constructing the new ATDC in Angola. The Agricultural demonstration center in Angola is one of the six new centers that China committed to in the 2009 FOCAC. Although China submitted a proposal on the construction of ATDC to Angolan Ministry of Agriculture, so far it has not been approved by the Angolan side.. The Xinjiang Production and Construction Corps or Xinjiang Bingtuan (XPCC) is assigned by MOFCOM and Chinese Ministry of Agriculture to run the center in Angola. XPCC is an import part of Xinjiang Uygur Autonomous Region under the direct supervision of Chinese central government. Beixin, due to its profound experience in development agriculture in Angola, is thus designated by XPCC to build the ATDC in Angola. The reason of Angola’s delay in approving the ATDC plan remains unknown, but it also shows that the cooperation is equal and Angolan side plays an active role in the cooperation.

2.3 A comparative analysis of China’s agriculture cooperation with Mozambique and Angola

Both Mozambique and Angola target agriculture as a key priority of their respective national strategies. Although the agricultural sector accounts for 70 percent in Mozambique and 65 percent in Angola of each country’s labour force, agriculture only contributed a mere 7 to 9 and 9.2 percent of the country’s GDP (He 2012, Chen 2012). Both countries are rice importer.

However, both Mozambique and Angola have large potential in agricultural development. The arable areas of Angola are expected to expand to 900 million hectare, a nearly two fold of current 500 million hectare. The Angolan government’s strategy of economic diversification gives more pulse to agricultural development. The Mozambican government makes agriculture a priority within its poverty alleviation and economic development strategies, and it encourages foreign investment.

From the comparative perspective, China’s agricultural cooperation Mozambique and Angola also have some differences. In Angola, leading forces are Chinese state-owned companies, mostly

(4) Implementation plan of Angola’s Agricultural Technology Demonstration Center.

non-agriculture companies who are major contributors in Angola's after-civil-war construction. They are self-motivated to expand agriculture business in Angola and choose agriculture as a profitable sector. In Mozambique, Chinese government was at first the active leader of agricultural cooperation, which was demonstrated in the construction of first African ATDC in Mozambique. However, the limitations of government actors forced the introduction of market measures and leadership of private partners (mainly professional agricultural companies) to make the government initiative sustainable. For instance, Wanbao, a private company "going out" to Mozambique through government-facilitated ATDC, took over the leadership of a farm originally run by state-owned company and further expanded agro-business in Africa.

In both countries, Chinese companies (public and private) now took the lead of cooperation through government-backed platforms. In agricultural sectors, Chinese companies in Angola are mainly state-owned giants, while in Mozambique actors are more diversified, with a growing number of small and medium-sized investors engaged.

In both countries, China's cooperation covers technology demonstration, personnel training and agricultural infrastructure. Compared with Angola, China's cooperation with Mozambique is more comprehensive, with more experience in "software", such as capacity building. China's presence in Angola is more visible in "hardware" – agricultural infrastructure, one of China's strengths and a priority under the first framework agreement (2004-2007) between China and Angola. However, the Angolan government's strategy of economic diversification and China's long-term strategy of development-driven cooperation with Angola lead the Sino-Angolan cooperation more balanced in both "software" and "hardware".

However, no matter in Mozambique, Angola or any other African countries, one thing is in common, that is the aim of China's agricultural cooperation is to improve Africa's food production capability and food safety, rather than satisfy the food demand of China itself. Although it was suggested by individual Chinese companies, for example Sinohydro, to develop export-oriented agriculture and guarantee Chinese food security through agricultural cooperation in Angola, Chinese official tune remains unchanged (Tu, Li & Wang 2009). As Mr. Lu Shaye, director-general of Department of African Affairs of China's Foreign Ministry reaffirmed, "China has never taken a single grain from Africa". Production of investment by private and public companies in both countries are targeted the local market, instead of Chinese domestic market.

To sum up, China takes a programmatic and experimental approach in its agricultural cooperation with both Mozambique and Angola, combining assistance, investment, and transfer of technical know-how. Traditional one-sided assistance projects are shifting to infrastructure-based, recipient-driven assistance and investment seeking mutual benefit.

First, it is an approach China learnt from its own rapid economic growth and rural development. With the reform and open-up policy in 1978, Chinese government adopted creative measures to promote agriculture and rural development, including household responsibility system and township and village companies. Farmers and market, supported by the government, become driving force to the agriculture growth (China-DAC study group 2011). China's own experience in integrating the forces of state, market and small farmers has reflected in its assistance and cooperation with Mozambique and Angola.

Second, the key motivation for public-private cooperation is sustainability. When China help Africa built farms in 1970s and 1980s, most projects were successful in the first stage, but could not remain

sustainable due to the problems of recipient countries (China-DAC study group 2011). Therefore actors in China's agricultural cooperation become more diversified today and the leadership shifted from governments to state-owned or private companies facilitated by the government through credit and demonstration centers..

Third, China never called its cooperation approach as a model, rather "a process of learning (He 2010)." China learnt from its own failure, but also is learning through multilateral cooperation. Besides bilateral cooperation, China also pledges to deepen Sino-African cooperation within the frameworks of the United Nations Food and Agriculture Organization (UNFAO) and the International Fund for Agricultural Development (CAETC 2013). China, Mozambique, and Angola (along with seven other African countries), have also started collaborating with UNFAO on new trilateral cooperation initiatives, implementing South-South Cooperation in food security and agricultural development.

Fourth, China's cooperation with both countries is not only driven by resources, but mutual benefit. Although China's principle of no political conditions attached and non-interference remains unchanged, this does not mean China ignores the political stability, sustainable development and people's livelihood of both countries. As agricultural cooperation shows, China has a long-term strategy in Africa. Unlike the Western donors, China offers the norms and practices of traditional China "strengthens the current system via capacity building..., rather than dismantle it under the good governance aid criteria, only deeming it as a major institutional constraint blocking development" (Li 2012). China's assistance and investment in the agriculture sector benefits both China and recipient countries.

Fifth, China's agriculture aid is based on the needs expressed by the government of recipient country. Without a request from the recipient country, China is not able to initiate cooperation. The procedure of ATDC's establishment shows how China engages with Mozambican government.

China's agricultural cooperation with both countries not only helps to expand business and market for Chinese companies, but beneficial for poverty alleviation and food security of both countries.

Challenges ahead

China's agricultural cooperation initiatives have hailed by political elites of both countries, but its approach also faces challenges. First, there is still room for improvement in the adaptation of Chinese technology to local demands and in the integration of Chinese experts and companies into local communities. The agricultural experts dispatched by China are "specialized with Chinese domestic experience, but not familiar with the African context" (Buckley 2012). Due to the language and cultural barriers, training in Angola and Mozambican society, culture and agriculture varieties should be included in the preparation of personnel.

Second, the alignment of aid and investment may lead to collision between national concern and private business interests. For example, in the case of ATDC, diplomatic, economic and commercial goals are not matched all the time, thus "disconnect between government statements and the behavior of their companies" could undermine the government's effort for food security (Tugenhat 2013).

Third, although Africa is keen on Chinese agricultural development, the negative side of China model draws little attention, including agricultural environmental pollution caused by subsidizing fertilizers and pesticides, degradation of natural resources resulting from highly intensified investment and

development (China-DAC study group 2011). Africa should learn from Chinese experiences, but also lessons.

Another controversy is the use of land. Although “land grabbing” of China is proved to be lack of evidence in Mozambique (Brautigam & Ekman 2012), the risk of China’s investment in large-scale agricultural projects cannot be ignored. Only 10 percent of Africa’s rural land is registered, while the remaining 90 percent is undocumented and informally administered (World Bank 2013). China, like many other countries, perceives that much fertile land in Africa is unused. However, most of the land is likely to be already used and claimed by local farmers (Cotula 2010). When use of large land involved, either granted or leased by the host government, land rights issue could lead to tensions with local community. How to integrate into local community and bring benefits to small farmers beyond the elite group poses a big challenge to China.

3. China’s Health Cooperation with Angola and Mozambique

Health is one of the historical focus areas of China’s foreign aid and South-South Cooperation. According to the Report of China-Africa Economic and Trade Cooperation (CAETC 2013), from 2010 to 2012, China helped build 27 hospitals, sent 43 medical teams to 42 African countries and regions, treating over 5.57 million patients. During the past 50 years, China has sent more than 17,000 medical workers to 48 countries in Africa, treating nearly 200 million people on the continent. By 2012, China had built more than 30 hospitals and 30 anti-malaria centers in Africa.

China’s cooperation with Mozambique and Angola mainly covers building hospitals and medical centers, donating drugs, dispatching medical teams and capacity-building of African health professionals, such as organizing medical training programs and provide scholarships to Africa. Beginning out of ideological and diplomatic concerns (CSIS 2011), China’s long history of health assistance in Africa started with the first Chinese medical team (5) arriving in Algeria in 1962. Mozambique is among the top ten countries that receive most Chinese medical teams . The average members of each medical team dispatched to Africa are above 30 (Zhang 2010). Since 1976, China has successively dispatched 18 medical teams, a total of 279 doctors to Mozambique, curing more than 1.3 million patients in Mozambique and training more than 2,000 doctors and nurses. The 19th medical team started a two-year service in Maputo from September 2012 (China’s Economic and Commercial Counselor’s Office in Mozambique 2012).

The first Chinese medical team arrived in Angola was in 2009, 33 years later than the one to Mozambique. This implies an only recent interest of health cooperation from the Angolan side, since China’s medical aid is initiated by the recipient government. Table 7 lists health-related cooperation between China and Angola. China and Angola signed the first agreement of dispatching medical teams in 2006, sending doctors to Angola’s Hospital Geral de Luanda, a project constructed by China. The planned dispatch in 2007 was postponed due to the unsolved housing problem from Angolan side. The first medical team, consisting of 18 doctors and two support personnel arrived

(5) The other nine countries are Morocco, Algeria, Cameroon, Botswana, Tanzania, Niger, Sudan, Mali, Madagascar and Brundi.

in Angola in 2009. According to the second agreement signed in 2011, 16 doctors and 1 Portuguese interpreter from Sichuan province went to Angola in 2011 for another two-year medical assistance. The third agreement of sending 11 Chinese doctors to Angola was signed in October 2013. (Website of China’s Economic and Commercial Counselor’s Office in Angola)

Table 7 : China’s cooperation with Angola in health sector

Year started	Projects
2004-2005	Construction of Luanda General Hotel under the first Framework Cooperation Agreement
2005	Donation of medical devices to combat Marburg haemorrhagic fever
2006	Donation of US\$200,000 cash to combat cholera
2009	Donation of antimalarial drugs
2011	Donation of antimalarial drugs
2012	Free donation for renovation and expansion of the Luanda General Hotel
2013	A grant of 23 million dollars to build a paediatric ward in Beira Central Hospital, and a soft loan of 23 million dollars for the construction of residence for the 12 Chinese doctors currently working in Maputo (Fifth Macau Forum)

Source: the author edited according to China’s Economic and Commercial Counselor’s Office in Angola.
<http://ao.mofcom.gov.cn/article/zxhz/zzjg/>

A new Chinese initiative is “Brightness Action,” aiming to treat cataract patients, provide mobile hospitals, build bilaterally-run eye centers, and help build demonstration and training centers for diagnosis and treatment technologies (CAETC 2013). In September 2011, the medical team of “Brightness Action” arrived in Mozambique for the first time and provided free operation for 300 cataract patients in 6 days (China’s Economic and Commercial Counselor’s Office in Mozambique 2011).

3.1 Common features and functions of China’s medical aid

China’s engagement in Africa health, as demonstrated both in Mozambique and Angola, is also infrastructure-based and demand-driven.

The Chinese foreign aid medical teams have some common features, both in Mozambique and Angola. First, the dispatch is based on the protocol on medical and health cooperation between governments. Different from free services before 1995 foreign aid reform, China covers the

training before leave and doctors' salaries, while recipient countries provide medical facility, pharmacies, devices and doctors' housing (Li 2009). Second, the concrete dispatch of medical teams is undertaken by provinces "twined" with recipient countries (Brautigam 2009). For example, Sichuan province is responsible for sending doctors to Portuguese-speaking countries, including Mozambique and Angola. Third, today's medical teams have multi-functions, serving both political and economic goals. Facilitating Chinese companies to "go global" and expand markets for Chinese products become a new mission of Chinese medical teams in the new century. In July 2006, during the training of medical teams, Liu Xiaofeng, vice governor of Sichuan province stated, "foreign aid medical work should not only serve the country's diplomatic goals, but also provide a bridge for economic development between China and recipient countries. (Nanfengchuang 2006)"

Pharmaceutical trade between China and Africa has been boosted by health aid. In 2012, China's exports of pharmaceutical products to Africa reached 20 billion USD, a year-on-year growth of 13 percent (Xu 2013).

Historically the key motivation of the medical teams is to enhance China's national image and soft power. On the 26th UN General Assembly, China won the seat of UN Security Council by passing with an overwhelming majority a resolution to restore the lawful rights of PRC, sponsored by Albania, Algeria and other 21 countries. Among the 23 countries that proposed the resolution, 11 have received Chinese media team (Li 2009), including Mozambique.

The medical team in Mozambique also contributes to the "one-China" policy. Jiang Yongsheng, a Chinese doctor came to Maputo in 1990 on foreign aid medical team and became a personal physician of two Mozambican presidents, is a founder of Mozambique Association for Promotion of Peaceful reunification of China in 2002. Through Jiang's personal efforts, the former president of Mozambique Joaquim Chissano and the current Armando Guebuza became honorary chairman of the reunification association, showing great support to the "one-China" principle. The dispatched doctors played a key role in strengthening relations with political leaders, which is irreplaceable by diplomats (Li 2009).

In addition, dispatching of medical teams is the least disputable project of China-Africa cooperation. Almost all other cooperation areas caused outside concerns and debates, but the international perception of Chinese foreign aid medical teams are overwhelmingly positive (Zhang 2010).

3.2 Challenges and Reform in China's medical aid

The development of medical team also faces difficulties and challenges. First, dispatch of qualified doctors become more difficult, mainly because of insufficient financial support, doctors' concern of career development and lack of coordination among departments to help doctors function well (Ministry of Health 2003). Second, domestically, China is experiencing an unprecedented doctor-patient conflict partly due to the insufficient number of high-qualified doctors confronted with increasing patients. Under the current dispatching system, the best doctors have been selected to serve the medical teams, with very few nurses. When sent to recipient African countries, those doctors are usually not treated as high-level, but occupied with all kinds of patients. Sometimes those top doctors have to undertake the role of nurses. Third, although doctors receive half-year language training before sending abroad, there are no unified training materials or standards. A gap of training including security, tropical disease management, local culture and religious awareness, should be bridged (Chinafrica 2013). In addition, the rotation of doctors in two-years service makes the integration into local health system even harder.

Difficulties pushed China to rethink the sustainability of traditional aid, shifting to a strategy of linking medical aid and investment and encourage public-private partnership. Reform of China's medical aid started in 1999, when China's Ministry of Health announced to short list high-quality supplies of domestic medicine and equipment for future aid work. Free services such as medical teams would gradually be changed into jointly run hospitals, pharmaceutical factories. The goal of the reform was ultimately to promote the export of Chinese pharmaceutical products and medical services (Brautigam 2009). Ministry of Health (2003) regarded the medical team as part of China's "going out" strategy and called for more business cooperation for pharmaceutical sectors. At the Beijing Summit of FOCAC 2006, China pledged to establish 30 malaria prevention centers, as listed in table 1. Brautigam (2009) takes the new malaria centers as a business-oriented response to reforms of medical aid.

Although Chinese medical teams are popular in Africa, donations of drugs and equipments are not well functioned in recipient countries. Part of the reason is lack of skilled medical personnel in Africa to operate the machines from China. Instructions of medicines and equipments, which are mainly written in Chinese, give rise to understanding obstacles. Taken the new malaria centers for example, China can build the infrastructure, but the operation relies on local doctors. In Tanzania, advanced Chinese malaria medicines even "sit in a corner and collect dust for almost two years" (Yin 2012). Although training on operations has been provided, local doctors complaint that the training was too short for sophisticated Chinese machines (Yin 2013). A field-study is thus needed to explore the situation in Mozambique and Angola to prove if the assumption that similar problems exist in both countries is true.

Health aid to Mozambique and Angola are still driven by the government and the cooperation between the governments and companies in the health sector is at the initial stage. Lucy Chen, executive-secretary of China-Africa Health Collaboration Taskforce, thinks it is time to "encourage Chinese companies to join this government-led partnership. (Chinafrica 2013)". In Angola, Chinese and Angolan businessmen cooperated to build pharmaceutical companies in Amboim, Kuanza Sul to produce anti-malaria medicines (macauhub 2013). Joint venture with local companies is a possible way for pharmaceutical cooperation. Lucy Chen identified two biggest challenges that Chinese small and medium-sized companies are confronted with: lack of knowledge and lack of funds to develop the African health care market. She asserts that "government support is necessary for the greater participation of Chinese SMEs in supplying much-needed medical products in Africa." Chinese medical companies were frustrated because their participation in government donation projects is till today not commercially profitable. How to win the large African market by exporting cheap and quality Chinese medical products pose a big challenge to Chinese pharmaceutical companies. Chinese government also needs to rethink its approach. A country-based evaluation of current operation of Chinese donations, hospitals and malaria centers is needed. When health infrastructure completed, follow-up training and instructions on safe medication and maintenance of medical equipments should be organized for local medical personnel. Stronger government support is helpful for Chinese pharmaceutical companies to set foot in Africa, which will in turn benefit the African people with low-cost and high-quality Chinese medical products.

Similar to agriculture, health is also an area China showed more willingness to cooperate with the Western government and NGOs in Africa. As pledged at FOCAC 2012 to step up high level exchanges and hold a China-Africa high-level health development workshop (Table 1), China launched the Ministerial Forum of China-Africa Health Development in 2013. The forum is unprecedented in its inclusiveness of global partners, companies and civil society. First, the "Beijing Declaration" was jointly formulated by the Ministers in charge of health affairs in China and African countries, as

well as representatives from African Union, WHO, UNAIDS, UNFPA, UNICEF, World Bank, Global Fund to Fight HIV/AIDS, TB and Malaria, and GAVI Alliance, showing China's willingness for joint learning and multilateral cooperation in African health issues. Second, the cooperation between government and non-government organizations in the health sector started with the NGOs included in the action plan. China committed to implement the "China-Africa friendly civil partnership plan" including non-governmental health organizations through the platform of FOCAC.

In response to the outbreak of Ebola virus in West Africa since 2014, China is stepping up efforts by sending medical teams to Guinea, Sierra Leone and Liberia. Through close collaboration with the international community, China's medical teams become an important part of the international network against Ebola, but not an independent system managed by Chinese central government. This provides an evidence of China's willingness to integrate into the international medical aid.

4. Main Actors of China's Cooperation with Mozambique and Angola

The making of China's policy towards African countries involves inputs and coordination from multi-layered actors. Absence of a development agency makes China's aid system fragmented. The list of Chinese government organizations and financial institutions that have involved in agricultural and health cooperation with Mozambique and Angola includes:

- Ministry of Commerce: takes the lead in formulating and implementing policies on trade, aid, investment, including agricultural and health cooperation.
Department of Western Asia and Africa
Department of overseas investment and economic cooperation
Department of foreign aid
- Ministry of Foreign Affairs: Coordinates for aid issues
- Ministry of Finance: Supervise and audits implementation of foreign aid budget
- China Development Bank (CDB): promote trade and investment by providing large-scale, long-term funding for construction of infrastructure and industrial projects; overseas China-Africa Development Fund
- Export-Import Bank of China (Exim Bank): supports government policy to promote Chinese exports and investment through export credits, international guarantees, concessional and non-concessional loans for overseas investment and official lines of credit
- Ministry of Agriculture: provide advice on agriculture cooperation, lead the ATDC in Africa

together with MOFCOM International Division

- Ministry of Health: responsible for dispatch of medical teams and other medical aid
- Provinces. Twined with recipient countries to undertake ATDC project and send medical teams; play an active role in promoting “go out” of provincial companies.
In the case of Mozambique and Angola, the responsible province is Sichuan.
- Think tanks and research institutes. Conduct feasibility study, provide consultancy to government. In both agricultural and health cooperation, China is oriented by the need of grant-recipient countries and the two sides jointly decide which projects will be provide through grant channels (China Daily 2012). For example Peking University’s Institute for Global Health (IGH) and China Agriculture University has led research communities in China to seek the opinions of Africans and international organizations.

- State-owned and private companies
Before 1980s, cooperation in agriculture sector has been mostly foreign aid program, mainly driven by state-owned companies. With the rapid development of foreign investment and development in agriculture, the participating actors become more diversified. Especially in Mozambique, private companies become leading forces for agricultural cooperation.

The different actors, which have different agendas and sometimes conflicting priorities makes coordination an urgent issue. An inter-agency coordination mechanism is established, but the coordination of concerned departments still has to be improved.

Regarding agricultural cooperation, there are two coordination and liason mechanisms. Ministry of Commerce, Agriculture and Finance leads the inter-ministry coordination team for “go out” of agriculture, made up of 10 ministries and related departments. The other is inter-ministry mechanism for overseas agricultural resources development, led by Ministry of Commerce and Agriculture and composed of 12 departments (Chen et al 2009).

Unlike Western countries, very few Chinese civil society organizations involve in China’s cooperation with African countries. Most of Chinese NGOs still focus on domestic issues, especially environmental protection, however, the internationalization of Chinese NGOs is still at an initial stage. There is also a lack of expertise familiar with African politics, culture and community issues. The majority of professionals working in China’s aid and cooperation projects are technical experts, but not those specialize in international cooperation. They are agriculture and health specialists who work domestically and then participate in one or more projects abroad, but they lack sufficient knowledge and training in the localization of African countries.

Conclusion

Despite the news headlines about China's involvement in African oil and natural resources, China's cooperation with Mozambique and Angola are far more diversified, and now extended to areas that are key to the welfare and development, especially in agriculture and health.

Not only does China's cooperation contribute to poverty alleviation, food security, and human health in both Mozambique and Angola, it also serves a wide variety of Chinese domestic and foreign policy goals and strategies, including diplomacy, soft power, and boosting overseas commercial interests. Combining cooperation with trade and investment has made these ties more sustainable in the long run. China's cooperation with both Mozambique and Angola is infrastructure-based and development-driven. In addition, China's interest in both countries is not only about short-term gains in natural resources, but rather a long-term strategic partnership. In the agriculture sector, cooperation is led by China's state-owned and private companies, with the government playing a role of facilitation. However, the public-private partnerships emerging in China's health cooperation in these countries is still at the initial stage, and Chinese cooperation in health faces challenges despite the solid reputation of Chinese medical teams.

Looking into the future, emerging countries such as China offers new opportunities to Mozambique and Angola. In July 2014, Brazil, Russia, India, China and South Africa agreed to establish a new BRICS Bank and a contingent reserve arrangement, as an alternative to the World Bank and IMF. Thanks to good relations with Brazil, China and other BRICS countries, Mozambique and Angola now not only has an alternative of obtaining credits for their infrastructure construction and development projects, but also more freedom in choosing development models appropriate for them.

Abbreviation:

ATDC	Agriculture Technology Demonstration Centre
CADF	China-Africa Development Fund
CAMACO	China-Africa Machinery Corp
CAMC	China National Construction & Agricultural Machinery Import & Export Corporation
CAMCE	China CAMC Engineering Co., Ltd
CMEC	China Machinery Engineering Corporation
CDB	China Development Bank
CR 12	China Railway 12th Bureau Group Co.,Ltd
CITIC	China International Trust and Investment Corporation
EXIMBANK	Export-Import Bank
FOCAC	Forum on China-Africa Cooperation
MOFCOM	Ministry of Commerce of the People's Republic of China
UNFAO	UN Food and Agriculture Organization
SINOMACH	China National Machinery Industry Corporation
Xinjiang Beixin	China Xinjiang Bingtuan Construction & Enigneering (Group) Co. Ltd., or Beixin Construction & Enigneering (Group) Co. Ltd.

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