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### African-Chinese Relations (1991 - 2011)

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ABSTRACT

China is one of the most important emerging international powers and one of the poles of the new multipolar international system. China has adopted a clear and stable policy on the African continent for fifty years in an attempt to present itself as one of the developing third world countries to obtain a foothold in the African continent, which has succeeded in consolidating it through its constant willingness to help independent countries consolidate this independence. China has focused on its relations with Africa on establishing many significant projects and developing infrastructure to serve the countries of the African continent.

### **Keywords:**

### Introduction

The African-Chinese relations are important topics that deserve to be studied, especially after the growth of China's power and the intensification of its economic, political, and military role. To consecrate China's leading role in the international and regional arena, as well as the growing reform policy pursued by China, which made it the most significant economic power after the United States. in addition to its control over land, sea navigation methods, and which increased its economic position globally and made it one of the international actors in the international political arena. These factors prompted China to develop its economic and political relations with the African continent for many factors, including the strategic location and the abundant availability of materials in the continent's contributed countries. which

strengthening cooperation and developing relations in various fields between China and Africa.

The duration of the study was determined from 1991 - 2011 because of this period of great importance within the level of events at the regional and international levels represented by the collapse of the Soviet Union in 1991, which represents the opposite pole of the States in the international United equation politically, economically and ideologically. The transformation of the global system into a unipolar system led emergence of China the as an alternative ideological power Soviet Union globally. This made China work to strengthen its relations and interests in the African continent, which were not part of China's interest during seventies. Still. the the Chinese orientation towards Africa changed during the nineties, as China focused on the economic aspect, mainly to include that interest some strategic issues such as global security and stability.

This study also showed China's great role after the collapse of the Soviet Union and its awareness of the variables left by that communist collapse on the international scene. China's attempt to that void at all levels in its relationship with Africa and China was seeking through its emergence as a global pole at the international level to achieve several Among them are promoting economic development, ensuring safety of China's security and assuming real international responsibilities, and that the biggest challenge facing China is how to reconcile these goals and ensure their achievement in the greatest possible balance. The year 2011 was set to be the end of the research problem because China was able during this period to exploit the loopholes of the American administration, starting with the American reaction to the Asian financial crisis, all the way to the shortsightedness of the American administration in the face of terrorism after the events of September 11, 2011. Mutual respect and self-determination of people. This was reflected in China's policy in its foreign relations. Especially with the African continent. followed a policy of persuasion instead of coercion in its international relations. giving it the ability to attract others through diplomatic and cultural means. That year was also the year revolutions in some countries of the African continent, known as the Arab Spring, and the Chinese position was clear regarding those revolutions that some countries of the African continent witnessed. as China expressed position not to interfere in the internal affairs of those countries and to establish relations with them based on respect.

### The natural qualifications of Africa

The African continent is the secondlargest continent in the world in terms of area and population after Asia, with 2.30 million km2, which covers about 6% of the total land area. The population is about 1.2 billion people. It is bordered by the Suez Canal and the Red Sea, from the southeast by the Indian Ocean, and the west by the Atlantic Ocean. Africa includes 54 countries. including the island of Madagascar. The African continent was seen as the origin of human existence [1]. The African continent was also distinguished from the rest of the continents by human and characteristics. natural Among the human characteristics. Africa was distinguished by the supremacy of the African element over other elements that inhabited the continent, as climatic conditions played a significant role in the impossibility of living for European groups that concentrated in specific areas of the continent [2]. The continent of Africa approaches the Asian continent through the Bab al-Mandab Strait, and the Mediterranean separates it from the continent Europe, which of approaching Africa through the Straits of Gibraltar and Sicily [3].

The African coasts are the main natural routes and the link between Africa and the outside world. European powers made their way to the continent through these coasts, which focused their efforts on investing in natural and human resources. The roads that connect the eastern edges of Asia and the western edges of Europe, as the African continent. represented barrier that stood in the way of sea transportation between the two continents [4]. The African continent has natural resources. enormous possesses approximately 124 billion barrels of oil, which constitutes about 12% of the world's oil reserves. Oil

wealth is concentrated in Egypt, Algeria, Sudan, Libya, Nigeria, Congo, Guinea, Gabon and South Africa. The continent's natural gas reserves reach up to 10% of the total world reserves, in addition to other minerals such as gold, diamonds, platinum, uranium and iron ore, which is estimated at 90% of the total iron production in the world [5]. Agriculture is one of the most important economic activities in Africa, as many of the people of the continent depend on agriculture for their livelihood. The resources were necessary for industrial development and the search for new markets to sell its industrial products [6]. The continent of Africa accounts for 15% of the world's population, and this means that there are for large markets foreign goods. especially Chinese goods, which are now flowing to Africa in abundance through the strategic sea lanes that control the movement of maritime transport between the countries of the world, such as the Suez Canal and the Bab al-Mandab Strait [7].

Since the late nineteenth century, many colonial powers have embarked on a significant campaign of jostling to occupy most of the African continent and turn many of the continent's countries into an occupied state [8]. Independence movements in Africa gained momentum after World War II when most African gained their independence countries peaceful relatively through However, this was not achieved in other countries, such as Egypt and Algeria, until after a violent struggle against the colonial countries, although South Africa was one of the first countries of African independence [9]. Although countries gained their independence, suffer they still from instability, corruption. violence authoritarianism. The vast majority of African countries are republics that have adopted the presidential system

government. Despite this, some countries have maintained democratic government systems, but many of them were amid coups—military updated dictatorial regimes [10].

### **Instability Factors in African countries**

During the period extending from the early sixties to the late eighties, many African countries witnessed more than 70 military coups and 13 presidential assassinations. Regional conflicts and border disputes are common issues imposed by colonial countries on the continent [11]. International conflicts during the Cold War also played a major role in the instability of the African continent, even after those countries gained their independence, so they had to align with one of the two powers, and this led to a dangerous escalation between the African countries, which were divided in their orientations towards the eastern and western camps, which made matters worse in the country [12]. It seems that the instability in Africa after the end of colonial control has left military systems that include a group of military leaders who are ignorant governance issues and their inability to manage the country properly, which created a state of instability and worsened the country's conditions. Despite the abundance of natural resources, Africa remains the poorest and most backward among the world's continents due to corrupt governments that often commit serious human rights violations, failures in central planning, high levels of poverty and illiteracy, outbreaks of deadly diseases, and lack of access to foreign capital. To military and tribal conflicts, guerrilla warfare and genocide [13]. A large proportion of the population of the African continent has been affected by poverty, malnutrition, illiteracy, an insufficient supply of water, the deteriorating health potable situation, the failure of economic liberalization programs led by companies and foreign governments, in addition to the failure of local government policies, which are among the most influential factors on the political, economic, social and health reality in Africa. These factors may have motivated China to move towards Africa to increasingly establish economic and trade relations in all fields [14].

### General directions of China's foreign policy

As for China, the geographical location has played a large and important role in determining the general directions of the foreign policy of any country. It is important to identify the features of the geographical field of China, which is the third-largest country in the world in area after Russia and Canada. China enjoys a strategic location in the East Asian region, which is a factor. It is crucial in strengthening the strategic defense aspect of China, which also oversees the transportation and trade routes in the world, whether the land routes represented by the Silk Road or the maritime transportation routes overlooking the Pacific Ocean and the South and East China Seas [15]. Given the geographical extension of China, this has contributed to the diversity of the climate, the diversity of regions and the multiplicity of wealth, which positively affected the Chinese economy, which witnessed a tangible development, which began with the emergence of the People's Republic of China in 1949, when China adopted the socialist model that was used in Russia, after which the country turned into a central planning system And then to the system of five-year plans with an emphasis on the development of heavy industries, after which the model of mass mobilization was adopted with the intensive use of staffing, which contributed to the economy achieving reasonable rates development during that period [16]. China has economic adopted important reforms. represented by leaving the economy-oriented towards a socialist market economy, which combines the public sector with the private sector. China's emergence as an important player in global trading markets [17]. The economic variable was one of the main factors and had a significant role in promoting China's foreign policy towards Africa. One of the main

objectives has a clear impact on China's relations with various sensitive issues in the world. Given the transformation taking place in international relations and the importance of expanding those relations and ioining international blocs, China sought to keep pace with this development, as it increased its bilateral relations, joined many trades and agreements, contributed security international organizations and provided the necessary support in security issues and at the international level [18].

The African-Chinese relations have gone through multiple stages. The Chinese interest in Africa came as an important area in the strategic conflict between the Soviet Union and the United States of America. A center for liberation movements in the African continent during the fifties of the last century to liberate from Western control [19].

After the emergence of China as a major economic power, it was natural for it to seek to expand its relations with various countries of the world, relying on primary energy sources, including oil, which became the main engine of Chinese diplomacy and the main guarantee for the growth and development of the Chinese economy. Therefore, China expressed its desire to establish major projects and develop infrastructure. In African countries, China has adopted more than a thousand vital projects on the African continent [20]. It seems that the Chinese orientation towards the African continent is related to its raw primary resources, which constitute basic raw materials to meet China's needs in the industrial field, in addition to the population density of the African continent, which constitutes important market for the export of Chinese products to that country. China began its relations with African countries through its support for the liberation movements in the countries of the continent during the sixties and seventies, where there was support for African socialist regimes. This support continued until the nineties when those relations turned towards economic investment, expanding trade exchange and investing unused natural resources in the African continent In line with economic development and meeting the country's needs of raw materials necessary for the domestic industry in China [21]. During the eighties, China adopted advanced and rapid programs to develop the local economy, so it made important changes in its trade, structural and institutional policy in the field of trade and foreign investment, as the country opened up to foreign investment and became an attractive environment for foreign investment [22]. With the end of the Cold War and the collapse of the Soviet Union. China's interest in Africa dramatically. established increased It determinants of Chinese-African relations that based on purely economic commercial foundations. China also adopted an active policy towards Africa after the end of the Cold War, whether at the political level or through visits, consultations, and joining institutions Regional and international and China adopted this in its relations with Africa [23].

Economically, China looked to Africa to feed its industrial base, which needs many of the raw materials that China needs. Therefore, we note the great activity in the active trade movement between China and African countries, as China imports oil, copper, platinum, gold and iron ore from Africa [24].

## The most important pillars of China-Africa relations

The Sino-African relations were based on the economic factor, as China viewed Africa as an important source of supplying the industrial base in China, which needs large quantities of raw materials to maintain the economic growth rates that China is witnessing [25]. Oil was an important factor in enhancing the extent of economic cooperation between Africa and China, so we note the great activity in the active trade movement between the two parties in the field of oil import, as the oil requirements of China were increasing at a high rate, and this contributed to the expansion of trade movement with African countries so

that in 1993 China became one of the countries The primary importer of African oil [26]. Crude played significant has a strengthening economic relations between China and Africa. To keep pace with the industrial progress in China, China has been keen to strengthen its economic relations with African oil-producing countries, and since 1995 has adopted the foreign oil economy policy, which took into account the average cost of oil production in the Chinese coasts compared to At the cost of importing it from African oil or Middle Eastern oil [27].

Cooperation in the oil sector has enhanced the capacity of Chinese companies operating in the oil sector in Africa and contributed to the development of oil fields in oil-producing countries. Within the framework of its relations with African countries, China has sought to enhance trade exchange and cooperation in science, culture, health and education. China has supported African countries in building their economic and political capabilities and has sought to enhance cooperation with them in international organizations, including the United Nations. China has also supported the legitimate demands of the peoples of this continent with its appeal to the international community to show more interest and support development in the African continent [28]. China has worked to establish the China-Africa Development Fund with a balance of five billion dollars to encourage Chinese companies to invest in Africa and provide assistance to the countries of this continent, with China's support for the efforts of these countries to evaluate themselves through unity and support the African integration process [29]. In addition, China has cancelled all debts and government loans that are due for repayment for the heavily indebted and least developed countries in the African continent, with China seeking to open its markets for duty-free goods exported from African countries to it [30]. We conclude from this that the Chinese orientation towards Africa is linked to a set of economic tools adopted by China as part of its foreign policy that contributed to strengthening SinoAfrican relations, which are related to the proportionality of raw materials in Africa with China's needs for those raw materials. China has continued its moves to expand trade and economic exchanges and give new impetus to China-Africa friendly relations through the Forum on China-Africa Cooperation. China has implemented new partnership programs to support development in Africa and enhance cooperation at all levels. The Chinese government also called on the international community and international and regional organizations to intensify its efforts to settle the conflicts in the African continent [31].

Among the directions of China in its foreign policy is that it adopted the strengthening of its relations with the countries of the third world, especially the countries of the African continent, where this trend was of a political and economic nature in the wake of the Cold War, which later turned to economic interest so that developing countries benefit from the experience and Chinese aid in exchange for benefiting China is one of the raw materials exported from those countries that feed the local industry in China [32]. To strengthen its presence in Africa, China resorted to many tools such as providing scholarships for African students, training them in Chinese institutes, and sending many Chinese doctors to work in various African countries. These trends prompted China and Africa to establish the Forum on China-Africa Cooperation, which was held in the capital, Beijing, in 2000, which It constitutes a support force for strengthening the bilateral relations between the two parties, which are based on mutual trust and are the foundations adopted by China in building its relations at the international level [33]. The Chinese-African Ministerial Conference touched on new development and African-Chinese friendship and cooperation relations and how to develop those relations. It also emphasized encouraging investment, providing African countries with Chinese expertise, eradicating poverty, supporting agricultural and sustainable development, and cooperating science, education and health.

conference also issued a Beijing Declaration on China-Africa Cooperation in the field. Economic, cultural and political [34].

Within this framework. the Chinese government has moved gradually to increase aid provided to African countries within the framework of the Forum on African-Chinese Cooperation, open Chinese markets for goods coming from Africa, increase capital in the African Development Fund for Human Resources, encourage cooperation between Chinese and African companies, and motivate Chinese companies to invest in the African continent [35]. Within the framework of this cooperation, China focused on developing the health sector for African countries by providing direct government support and through Chinese care for medical and health programs related to the citizens of African countries, as well as medical teams and missions, and providing the health sector with free medical devices. In 2002, China trained medical personnel in Africa on techniques preventing and treating infectious diseases such as malaria and tropical diseases [36]. The China-Africa Forum reviewed the progress made by the two sides in the political and economic fields. The officials focused their support discussions on new ideas to cooperation between the two parties in various fields, with a common understanding of many issues common interest [37].

On the other hand, China and Africa agreed on many developments and cooperation programs in various fields. The two parties decided to make more efforts to build a comprehensive partnership and cooperation characterized by stability and mutual benefit. China attaches great importance to cooperation with developing countries, including African countries [38]. The year 2005 witnessed a clear increase in the rates of economic growth that reached the countries of the continent that were characterized by high growth rates, such as Sudan, Equatorial Guinea and Angola, where these countries worked to increase the rates of oil extraction. Investment in the oil sector of these countries [40]. It appears that the Chinese move in the African continent is characterized by stability, development and non-interference in the internal affairs of the countries of the continent. In light of these developments and dimensions in Sino-African relations, the United States is making great efforts to accommodate the new trends in China's economic policy towards Africa and try to understand them and then take appropriate decisions based on clear information about China's orientation towards the African continent 39]. It has also sought to preserve its vital interests and prepare its future role through which China seeks to be one of the active forces in the new international order.

### China-Africa diplomatic relations

Diplomatically, during the African-Chinese Ministerial Conference held in Addis Ababa in 2003. China stressed the continuation of cooperation and the development of the partnership pattern that is characterized by stability and mutual benefit in all sectors, which contributes to economic development and improving the standard of living of the peoples of Africa. The conference also stressed the need to develop and strengthen Chinese diplomatic relations With China's emphasis on providing diplomatic support to African countries in international forums [37]. In the framework of China-Africa cooperation, in 2004, China sent more than 500 experts and professors to African countries to help them train human cadres in agriculture, science, medicine and vocational education, and work on developing the infrastructure of the continent's countries [38]. In its foreign relations with African countries, China focused trade relations, which witnessed a significant boom in the value of Chinese exports to Africa, which amounted to 20 billion US dollars in 2005, with China continuing to provide the countries of the continent with technical expertise and support for small development projects. This is the interest that China attaches to partnership relations With Africa in general and the Horn of Africa in particular; it sees the necessity of consolidating these relations at all levels because many

challenges face the Chinese influence on the African continent represented by international competition represented by the United States of America and Europe [39].

The emergence of China as a global power that must maintain its influence in Africa and China's new partnership and strategy towards African countries were revealed during the convening of the China-Extraordinary Summit participation of 48 African countries in 2006. China asserts that it will continue to provide aid to the continent's countries in various fields [40]. China's role in the African continent was not limited to the commercial, economic, and cultural aspects but also its participation in the United Nations peacekeeping forces in Africa. In 2007, China participated in about 1,800 soldiers in these forces, including military and civilian observers and policemen, to participate in peacekeeping operations in the continent [41]. China has become Africa's largest trading partner since 2009 and the largest foreign investor, as the number of Chinese companies operating in Africa exceeded 700 companies. The volume of trade exchange between the two sides increased to more than two hundred billion dollars in 2009, and the volume of Chinese investments in Africa reached more than 21 billion dollars. China also established the China-Africa Development Fund with a budget of five billion dollars, accompanied by commitments from China to African countries to provide soft loans in the fields of roads, the oil sector, railways, ports and the transfer of industrial technology to Africa [42].

### China's growing economic role in Africa

It seems that China's growing economic role in Africa has led to the expansion of its economic interests in the continent, along with the growing political role of China and its involvement in the continent's issues and conflicts, and China's participation in international peacekeeping forces stationed in areas of tension in Africa. The economic and trade relations between China and Africa have improved the standard of living of African

people and provided strong support for China's social and economic development. It also strengthened cooperation between the two parties, as China is now competing with France and Israel in investments in the African continent through the huge projects that China has adopted in ten African countries. Frenchspeaking, China owns ten thousand factories in Africa, contributing about 12% of the continent's production, equivalent to 60 billion dollars annually, and the private sector constitutes about 90% of Chinese industrial enterprises working the field in manufacturing industries. services. construction and the railway sector [43].

One of the African countries that received the most Chinese investments in Nigeria is one of the most oil-exporting countries, which occupies 90% of its exports, as the volume of trade exchange with China increased to nearly 2.8 billion. Despite this. China has strengthened its economic and trade relations with Cameroon to strengthen its position in this country [44]. The growing Chinese influence in Africa has repercussions for both parties by providing job opportunities for both countries, as Africa has become a promising market for Chinese products and goods in return for China opening its markets to African exports, and this has contributed significantly to strengthening the Chinese presence in the region and ensuring more success and confidence in Africa. The basic rule adopted by China in consolidating its relations with African countries is that it is based on clarity in the vision based on historical and civilized communication that is reinforced by economic and strategic interests based on mutual trust between the two parties. Therefore, China was able to transfer some foreign exchange reserves to investments in Africa, giving China greater power in distributing its wealth over the largest possible area in Africa [24]. China's relationship with African countries was not limited to the economic aspect but went beyond that to the military field, as China provided African countries with weapons and conventional military equipment, as well as

provided military training to many countries of the continent such as Cameroon, Kenya and Sudan, where the total weapons supplied by China to Africa amounted to about 10 % of all conventional arms destined for Africa [46].

### General scope of China-Africa relations

China has been working hard to enhance its economic and commercial influence with the African continent by providing economic aid, making investments and granting total loans in an attempt to enhance its position and presence in the brown continent and to gain the confidence of the African people so as not to lose that important market with primary resources. The raw materials that China needs in the development and maintenance of the industrial and development sector in the country. Diplomatically, China has sought to follow a diplomatic system that works not to interfere in the affairs of all countries and to follow the language of dialogue to solve all the problems that the world suffers from according to diplomatic dialogue. To work with African countries to develop and support that partnership characterized by stability and mutual respect between the two parties [47]. The Chinese government believes that it has the same goals and interests as African countries, especially concerning achieving democracy in international relations. Therefore. the Chinese government provided more aid to Africa within the framework of the Africa-China Cooperation Forum to open Chinese markets to African goods and without customs duties for some Commodities, offering mutually beneficial cooperation between Chinese and African companies and encouraging Chinese companies to invest in Africa [48]. Therefore, China has increased cooperation with African countries in the health sector by providing government support and Chinese care for health programs in those countries, which has strengthened the confidence of official and popular authorities in Chinese aid to the people of this continent [24]. It seems that China-Africa cooperation has contributed

promoting the principle of traditional friendship between China and the African continent through mutual support and helped overcome the difficulties facing the development of those countries.

Politically, China had an active role in this aspect, which is no less important than the rest of the other aspects. The events in African countries had a prominent role in monitoring those events, including what happened in Sudan, especially when the violent events erupted in Darfur, which prompted the United States of America to internationalize those events. On the other hand, China's position was to reject American interference in the internal affairs of those countries, as China believed that the internal problems between the conflicting parties in Darfur should be resolved through dialogue and not to internationalize this issue in international forums [50]. Chinese officials discussed the situation in Darfur with Sudanese officials in an attempt by the Chinese convince the government to Sudanese authorities of the need to find a solution to the conflict in Darfur through talks constructive dialogue between the conflicting parties. China saw the need to involve the United States regarding the Darfur problem [51].

China's position rejecting the internationalization of the Darfur issue by the United States of America is to not allow further interference by external parties in the internal affairs of Sudan and to resolve the dispute in Darfur between the conflicting parties through dialogue without outside interference. especially the United States. During the visit of Chinese President Jinta (Hu Jintao) To the United States in 2011, he held talks with US officials about the problem of the conflict in Darfur; the two sides issued a statement confirmed in which the United Agreement and China to provide complete peace process in Sudan and support the implementation of the peace agreement Sham in Darfur, and the need to respect the Sudanese for the results of the referendum on Darfur, The necessity of achieving progress in the

political talks or the political process in Darfur to achieve comprehensive peace and permanent [52].

China's position was evident in supporting the political settlement of the Darfur issue, and it saw the necessity of fully activating the tripartite committee that includes the United Nations, the African Union and Sudan to solve the Darfur problem. China also welcomed the peace agreement between the Sudanese government and the Liberation and Justice Movement, as it called on other opposition groups in Darfur to join the political negotiations in the country. About the events in Tunisia and Egypt, China was silent about the political events that afflicted both countries. In Tunisia and during the popular revolution that came out against the Tunisian regime in 2011, China was silent and closely observing what would happen to the country's affairs after the revolution and once the country overthrown. The ruling regime in Tunisia until China announced its position and support of respecting the will and choice of the Tunisian people and its desire to continue relations at all levels with the new Tunisian government [53]. Following the success of the revolution and the formation of the new government, the Chinese Foreign Minister held talks with the Tunisian government in 2011. The discussions included the political situation in the country. The Chinese Foreign Minister stressed that China would remain committed to developing its economic, commercial, and cultural relations, developing friendly relations with Tunisia, and strengthening bilateral relations in all fields, including serving both countries' interests [54].

As for the political events that Egypt witnessed during the Egyptian revolution to overthrow the rule of President Hosni Mubarak in 2011, China remained silent and was closely monitoring all Egyptian political developments, as there was great interest from the government about the events in Egypt, and as soon as the revolution triumphed and Hosni Mubarak was removed From power until China began its efforts to consolidate its relations with the Republic of Egypt, where Chinese

officials made official visits to Egypt, the aim of which was to emphasize the necessity of continuing the strategic relations between the two countries [55]. To confirm China's support for the change taking place in Egypt, the Chinese Foreign Minister visited the continent after the victory of the Egyptian revolution and assured the Egyptian Foreign Minister that the Chinese government respects the will of the Egyptian people and supports the efforts of the Egyptian government to achieve stability and economic development. China also supported Egypt in international forums, especially when some countries tried to internationalize the Egyptian issue in international forums and discuss it in the Security Council. Still, China rejected these attempts and called for respect for the Egyptian internal affairs and the right of the people to decide their fate [56].

It seems that all the efforts made by China to improve its image at the regional and international levels have been met with many difficulties and obstacles, including the growing American concern about the increase in Chinese aid to African countries that are not linked to any humanitarian or political conditions, as do Western countries that provide conditional aid to African countries and others.

### Conclusion

Through the study, it can be said that China's relationship with African countries was based on intelligent diplomacy, a strategy that China relied on building its economic, cultural and military relations, which led to the consolidation of that presence significantly on the African continent, in addition to that China did not link the aid that was It provided it to African countries under any humanitarian or political conditions, unlike the aid provided by Western countries, and this trend was the focus of attention by the United States of America, which saw in this a great danger threatening its interests in the region, as well as China's positions towards the political developments witnessed by many countries in the African continent What is known as the Arab Spring

revolutions against the ruling regimes, as the Chinese position was not to interfere in the internal affairs of those countries and to respect the will of the peoples to determine their destiny. The efforts made by China to strengthen its influence in Africa and improve its image among the local people, but it faced difficulties from the local people, especially From some industrial classes who saw in Chinese goods a real threat to the national industry in the country, and this increased China's fears that these would affect the nature of relations between the two sides.

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