



Universiteit  
Leiden  
The Netherlands

# **Producing Legitimacy in China-Africa cooperation: A discourse analysis of China-Africa cooperation and accusations of neocolonialism**

Jacobs, Evy

## **Citation**

Jacobs, E. (2026). *Producing Legitimacy in China-Africa cooperation: A discourse analysis of China-Africa cooperation and accusations of neocolonialism*.

Version: Not Applicable (or Unknown)

License: [License to inclusion and publication of a Bachelor or Master Thesis, 2023](#)

Downloaded from: <https://hdl.handle.net/1887/4288841>

**Note:** To cite this publication please use the final published version (if applicable).



# **Producing legitimacy in China-Africa cooperation**

A discourse analysis of China-Africa cooperation and accusations of  
neocolonialism

Evy Jacobs

S2467232

[e.jacobs@umail.leidenuniv.nl](mailto:e.jacobs@umail.leidenuniv.nl)

MA Asian Studies Thesis

Prof. dr. F.A. Schneider

December 15, 2025

Word count: 14.081

## Table of Contents

<b>1. Introduction</b>	<b>3</b>
<b>2. Against the current: dynamics of China-Africa relations</b>	<b>5</b>
2.1 From ideology to economy: changing ties and implications	5
2.2 Sectors of cooperation: what is China doing in Africa?	6
<b>3. Africa as a sight for competition?</b>	<b>9</b>
3.1 What is the US doing?	9
3.2 Non-interference vs. Western liberalism	10
<b>4. Neocolonialism and Chinese conduct in Africa</b>	<b>12</b>
4.1 What is neocolonialism?	12
4.2 Accusations against China: fair or Sinophobic?	13
<b>5. Discourse and media in China</b>	<b>16</b>
<b>6. Methodology</b>	<b>18</b>
6.1 Xinhua News Agency and the Global Times	18
6.2 Title protocol and case selection	18
<b>7. Analysis</b>	<b>21</b>
7.1 The Global Times	21
7.1.1. Article one: “GT Voice: China-Africa cooperation won’t be thwarted by Western anxiety” (Global Times)	21
7.1.2. Article two: “China, Africa to stay at forefront in pursuing modernization” (Fan Anqi & Liu Caiyu)	24
7.1.3. Article three: “Real choice for Africa: Not between China and US, but who does the right thing” (Victor Gao)	27
7.2. Xinhua News Agency	30
7.2.1. Article four: “(FOCAC) Xinhua Commentary: China-Africa cooperation bolsters common development of Global South” (Xinhua)	30
7.2.2. Article five: “(FOCAC) Explainer: Why it is absurd to accuse China of practising “neocolonialism” in Africa” (Chen Wangqi)	32
7.2.3. Article six: “(FOCAC) Guest Opinion: China’s modernization drive: inspirations, opportunities for Africa.” (Sithembiso Bhengu)	34
7.3 Discussion	35
<b>8. Conclusion</b>	<b>39</b>
<b>Appendix</b>	<b>41</b>
<b>Bibliography</b>	<b>81</b>

## 1. Introduction

In the fall of 2024, heads of state and other important government officials from African countries gathered in Beijing to meet with their Chinese counterparts for the 2024 Summit of the Forum for China-Africa Cooperation (FOCAC). Under the theme of “Joining Hands to Advance Modernization and Build a Community with a Shared Future,” Xi Jinping delivered a speech, welcoming his “old and new friends” (Xi, 2024). The speech outlined the warm relations between China and Africa, which were like “brothers and sisters,” and would advance modernization together side by side in a changing international system on the basis of solidarity, win-win cooperation, and tangible results (Xi, 2024). The picture painted of China-Africa relations was one of friendship and a new type of diplomacy.

From infrastructural projects to trade partnerships and loans, China’s influence in Africa has grown rapidly and intensely over the past years. This influence, however, has become a contested issue globally, as both academics and the media have leveled accusations against China, including debt entrapment (Van Mead, 2018). Such accusations have crystallized around one concept: neocolonialism, a sensitive topic considering Africa’s history of colonial suffering.

Thus far, academic studies have primarily evaluated the material outcomes of China-Africa cooperation and the effects they have had on African society. In this thesis, I will contribute to the scholarship on China-Africa cooperation by focusing on discursive production, namely, how China-Africa cooperation is legitimized through the media. Rather than asking whether China’s practices in Africa can be considered neocolonialist, this thesis seeks to examine how accusations of neocolonialism are treated and how China-Africa cooperation is portrayed to the public at large. To this end, I put forth the following research question: *What discourse did Chinese state-owned news media produce on China-Africa relations during FOCAC 2024, and how does this discourse support or resist accusations of neocolonialism regarding Chinese influence in Africa?* By answering this question, an academic gap in constructing legitimacy around China-Africa relations through discourse is filled.

This thesis is structured as follows: first, I will provide an overview of the evolving dynamics of China-Africa relations, starting from the Bandung Conference in 1955. Examples of China’s contemporary engagement in Africa will also be provided. Second, I will contrast this by outlining US influence in Africa, and the different diplomatic ideologies on which both their engagements are based on. Third, I will conceptualize neocolonialism

and provide examples of the accusations placed against China, as well as counterarguments to these accusations. This thesis is not intended to answer the question of whether China is practising neocolonialism. Still, it provides examples of these accusations to help identify possible counterarguments that Chinese media might raise in the analysis. In the final chapter of my literature review, I will outline the concept of discourse according to Foucault, its relation to power, and its implications for media, particularly in China.

Methodologically, this thesis employs qualitative discourse analysis to examine six English-language articles from two Chinese state-owned news media, namely the Global Times and Xinhua News Agency. These news outlets have been chosen for their proximity to state and party-line, yet different audiences and styles. The Global Times is often identified as a more nationalist and populist outlet, whereas Xinhua News Agency serves as China's official news agency and therefore adopts a more formal tone (Xin, 2018; Zeng & Sparks, 2020). Analyzing these different styles enables a better understanding of how a shared narrative may be constructed across them.

The main argument advanced in this thesis is that Chinese news media do not seek to rebut accusations of neocolonialism placed against them through engagement with its fundamentals, but instead make use of a binary distinction between China and the West by undermining criticism and reframing the debate in moral and historical terms through discursive strategies to present China as an ethical partner. Legitimacy is not defended; it is produced through discourse as the boundaries of what is discussed are redefined.

## **2. Against the current: dynamics of China-Africa relations**

Relations between China and Africa have evolved over the decades. Taking the Bandung Conference as a rough starting point, this chapter examines the evolving dynamics between China and African states up to the fall of 2025 and China's contemporary activities on the African continent.

### **2.1 From ideology to economy: changing ties and implications**

Taking the Bandung Conference in 1955 as a rough starting point for contemporary China-Africa relations, the Conference marks a symbolic start for cultural and economic cooperation amongst many Asian, African, and Latin-American countries, opposing the colonialism that many of the states in attendance endured at the hands of European countries (He, 2014). While the United States (US) and the Soviet Union were in conflict with each other during the Cold War, the People's Republic of China (PRC) saw an opportunity to establish itself as the leader of the developing world (Alden, 2007). Built upon sentiments of anti-colonialism, the Bandung Conference ushered in a new era of cooperation for those who felt that they had suffered at the hands of the hegemonies and their allies in the current world order. Bandung embodied hope and independence for the future (He, 2014). It is through this that cooperation after the Bandung Conference was largely determined by ideological standards.

The 1950s and 1960s were marked by more changes that influenced the PRC in pursuing new diplomatic relations and allies. After expelling the Nationalists from the mainland of China to Taiwan, the Chinese Communist Party (CCP) was in power, though its sovereignty was questioned internationally. China turned towards its fellow developing countries, and in particular, countries on the continent of Africa. Mao Zedong proposed his Three Worlds Theory during this time: The First World consisted of the current hegemonies, namely the US and the Soviet Union, the Second of its allies, such as countries in Europe. The Third World consisted of non-aligned developing countries, of which China would be the leader (Alden, 2007). By this, it became clear that China had distanced itself relatively from both the US and the Soviet Union, and instead opted for building a new bloc.

As tensions between the US and the Soviet Union dwindled over time, ideology became less important in pursuing relations. This had three effects with regard to Africa: one, as ideology no longer played a large part, China's range of connections across the continent became wider (He, 2014). More African countries could build relations with China. On the

other hand, the cessation of the Cold War also meant that the US and China entered what He (2014, p. 14) calls their “honeymoon period.” The need to build a strong Third World decreased, and Africa received less attention. However, the re-establishment of dominance of the Western liberal order, led by the US, meant that now the Western powers were turning their eyes to Africa to fall in line. The US started increasing pressure on African countries to follow a path of political democratization, as the socialist Soviet ideology during the Cold War had had a great impact on many African countries. This process of political democratization not only caused instability in the region but set African political systems more and more in contrast to the Chinese political system, where China had first seen Africa as a region capable of following a similar development path as them (He, 2014).

## **2.2 Sectors of cooperation: what is China doing in Africa?**

Later involvement of Beijing in African countries in the late 1990s was not marked by political or ideological considerations or on the basis of non-alignment, but by economic cooperation (He, 2014). While the economy-focused ideology already permeated diplomacy since the Deng Xiaoping era, the early years of the 21<sup>st</sup> century saw a new era of involvement, particularly underscored by the Forum on China-Africa Cooperation (FOCAC) 2006. This forum, started in 2000, is an official initiative by China and nearly all African countries to come together every three years to discuss further cooperation based upon equality and mutual benefit (Alden, 2007). At the first two meetings, Chinese leadership proclaimed that relations with Africa were “free of political conditionality and serving the interests of Africa and China.” They also warned against Western prominence in international affairs (Alden, 2007).

FOCAC has been positively received by both parties, as it promotes pan-Africanism due to its extensive coverage of nearly the whole continent, upholds high efficiency and low costs, and promotes a pragmatic approach on a ‘win-win’ basis (Alden, 2007). Through FOCAC meetings, several important steps have been taken to further China-Africa relations and cooperation, such as debt cancellations, trade agreements, and infrastructure plans (*Forum on China-Africa Cooperation Beijing Action Plan (2007-2009)*, 2006); *Forum on China-Africa Cooperation Beijing Action Plan (2025-2027)*, 2024).

China-Africa relations are underscored by the Five Principles of Peaceful Coexistence as well as mutual benefit, support, close coordination, and common prosperity. These Five

Principles include mutual respect for territorial integrity and sovereignty and mutual non-interference in internal affairs (“China’s African Policy,” 2006).

In the present day, China’s engagement in Africa plays out in a couple of major domains: infrastructure investments, trade, and aid, though it should be noted that aid and investments in the form of Foreign Direct Investment (FDI) often coincide.

China needs natural resources for its growing economy. It needs more natural resources than it has to supply critical sectors such as the development of semiautomatic conductors and electric vehicles (Rapanyane, 2021). These types of products mark an attempt to break with China’s status as the world’s factory, or, as Lumumba-Kasongo (2011, p. 240) puts it, “China is a global workshop, which is working hard to become a global laboratory.” Currently, China’s EV industry and top companies have taken over Tesla, one of the most famed electric vehicle companies worldwide (Carrai, 2025). In particular, Sub-Saharan African countries hold large deposits of mineral resources, making them interesting trading partners (Rapanyane, 2021). In 2008, China’s top five trading partners in Africa made up 62% of total Sino-African trade. All five countries have large reserves of oil and other natural resources and minerals (Lumumba-Kasongo, 2011).

African countries are of interest to China for the import of natural resources, but these countries also provide a consumer market (Debisa & Borah, 2025). Chinese trade exports consist of many different types of goods, such as infrastructure machinery, mass-produced and basic consumer goods, as well as technological equipment and clothing. These are often goods that are not produced in Africa, or are cheaper than their African equivalents. In comparison, only 8% of all imports from Africa could be considered value-added goods (Lumumba-Kasongo, 2011). Thus, China and Africa export different types of goods to each other: Africa exports mostly unprocessed, raw materials and resources to China, while China exports manufactured goods back.

Trade between the two is impeded, though, by the lack of connectivity in Africa. It is therefore that China has taken great interest in investing in Africa’s infrastructure through projects such as railways, ports, and roads (Debisa & Borah, 2025). Not only are these infrastructural projects of benefit to Africa, but most definitely to China itself. Infrastructure projects are largely based around important trade sites and routes. Chinese trade initiatives such as the Belt and Road Initiative (BRI), which has been extended to Africa, have led to large investments (Carrai, 2025). Investments in infrastructure are, however, not distributed evenly across the continent. Namely, these types of investments are particularly concentrated in the top oil-exporting countries (Lumumba-Kasongo, 2011).

The China Export-Import (Exim) Bank plays a central role in Beijing's economic ties to Africa. The Exim Bank "supports expansion of Chinese businesses by providing finance, export credit and international loans for overseas construction and investment, and offering official lines of credit" (Alden, 2007, p. 24). This government institution thus plays a critical part in foreign policy implementation. While China's Exim Bank does not decide the larger foreign policy directives of the country, it does hold considerable power in deciding upon investments and loans. Or, the Chinese government is intensely involved in Africa's infrastructural development, and decides upon the directives and the implementation of its development intermingled with its own self-interest.

The topic of aid is one that is both vague in terms of numbers and framework. This is mainly due to two reasons. One, China is not a member of the Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development (OECD), which means that it does not need to adhere to OECD rules that stipulate one must take part in the Creditor Reporting System. In other words, China is not obliged to publicize official data and figures on Chinese loans and aid to Africa (El-Shafei & Metawe, 2021). This means that one can only estimate how much each African country owes China. Second, aid and FDI policies are often aligned with each other. This means that government investments in infrastructure projects are often seen as a form of aid. (Lumumba-Kasongo, 2011).

### **3. Africa as a sight for competition?**

China is not the only country that is looking to gain more influence on the continent. As stated before, “the West,” which includes the US, has become increasingly interested in the political democratization of Africa since the end of the Cold War (He, 2014). Not only this, but with tensions rising between the US and China across various sectors, such as green development, the US also needs new resources to further its own economic development, as well as gain a foothold in Africa through liberal, multilateral institutions that promote its values (Zhang et al., 2025). As China is catching up in US-dominated areas and providing alternative relations to Africa than the West, US hegemony is challenged, heightening perceived risks. In this thesis, I have chosen to focus on the US as opposed to other “Western” countries, namely, for its hegemonic position, as well as its current conflicts with China that might result in tensions on the African continent between all actors.

#### **3.1 What is the US doing?**

Unlike China, the US is part of the OECD, and thus is required to report to its Creditor Reporting System. Aid is also much less conflated with infrastructural investments than in China, as over 50% of aid goes to humanitarian assistance, such as healthcare, education, and food security. Most of the US goes through the United States Agency for International Development (USAID), a government body in charge of allocating US aid to different areas and countries (Aghogho, 2025). However, USAID has become subject to uncertainty, as the Trump administration has cut back on aid expenses (Zhang et al., 2025). Carrai (2025) notes that China’s BRI expansion into Africa might provide a more consistent, long-term option to humanitarian causes than the US.

Trade with Africa has become increasingly important for the same reason it has become increasingly important to China: raw materials. Considering the trade war between the US and China, the race for natural resources to further technological enhancements has become more intense. Both countries have similar import and export products, namely oil and natural resources, and machinery and other produced goods, respectively (Zhang et al., 2025). Still, the US trade volume does not hold up to China’s trade volume. Adding to this, Trump has imposed tariffs on African goods, while China has eliminated tariffs for the 21 least-developed countries (Ecofin Agency, 2025).

As China tries to offer an alternative model to the US, this is met with parallel efforts from the US side. Infrastructural development in Africa, closely tied to investment, is still

being led by China. However, in 2022, after outbidding Chinese companies, Washington signed a project in the Lobito Corridor, a key infrastructure project linking the port of Lobito in Angola with the mining regions of the Democratic Republic of Congo (DRC) and Zambia (Carrai, 2025). The project underscores Washington's strategic push to reassert influence by offering alternatives to China's Belt and Road Initiative (BRI) (Carrai, 2025).

It is important to keep in mind that the US and China, despite their perceived competition, are not the only actors seeking to engage with Africa. Japan, for example, has long formed relations with African nations as well to promote trade and a "Green Economy." Japan, too, wants access to Africa's resources to further this Green Economy and provide customers with products such as electric cars (Madamombe, 2025). So, it is important to note that while China and the US are definitely operating and possibly competing with each other in different sectors of cooperation with Africa, they are certainly not the only ones.

### **3.2 Non-interference vs. Western liberalism**

As opposed to China's earlier ideological and political basis for forming diplomatic relations with African countries in the 1960s, foreign policy is now directed on the basis of "no political strings." This stands in contrast with the US's conditionalities imposed on African countries in many instances. In order to receive assistance or aid, African countries must meet some conditions that the US, or US-led multilateral institutions, have set, mostly based on democratic and liberal norms (Zhang et al., 2025). This is also where the two clash: while the US continues to impose conditions on African countries for loan provision, China maintains that "business is business" (Lumumba-Kasongo, 2011, p. 256). This marks a clear ideological division in foreign policy.

China's non-conditionality and non-interference approach offer an appealing alternative to the West and its institutions for African countries. China holds onto the principle that "China supports African countries in selecting political systems and development paths which best suit their actual conditions, while opposing foreign interference in African affairs" (He, 2014, p. 8). This difference in conditionality and non-interference became clear, for example, in 2023, when the Ugandan government implemented the Anti-Homosexuality Act. Whereas it faced suspensions from the World Bank, Uganda received 150 billion USD from China's Exim Bank (Zhang et al., 2025). Here, China seems to respect African countries' sovereignty and agency more, which appeals to

African leaders. Not only this, but China offers alternatives to these LIO institutions through its own platforms and initiatives, such as the BRI and FOCAC (Zhang et al., 2025).

While the US does not have a history of colonialism in Africa, its presence still causes discomfort. For one, its Western institutions are largely made up of previous colonizers. Its usage of conditionalities for aid also brings about feelings of humiliation that can be traced back to colonialism and the lack of agency and sovereignty African countries held (Alden, 2007). China uses this to appeal to African countries, as well as its early relations were based upon anti-colonialism. This has led to some degree of favorability in different domains of diplomacy (Rapanyane, 2021).

There is thus a clear difference in diplomatic ideology that undermines the other's influence and political ideals. There seems to be not just a competition over critical minerals, but an ideological competition on the African continent, pertaining to a larger debate on China's growing role in the international order. Challenging US narratives on democracy and liberalism, the US sees China as a threat to the LIO and US hegemony (Zhang et al., 2025).

## 4. Neocolonialism and Chinese conduct in Africa

China's engagement with Africa has not been without criticism, as China in particular has become the subject of scrutiny from "the West." These accusations, based on the concept of neocolonialism, have called into question the intentions that the CCP projects. This chapter will seek to conceptualize neocolonialism, as well as provide an overview of some of the major accusations placed against China and counter-arguments advanced in response.

### 4.1 What is neocolonialism?

Neocolonialism is a concept that is defined diversely, several of which are discussed in this chapter. The prefix 'neo' suggests a revitalization or re-establishment of already existing concepts, namely colonialism. Neocolonialism became a more popularized term in the 1960s as decolonization took place, and countries across the world sought to engage with decolonizing countries anew, raising fears of a new type of colonization (Jian & Frasher, 2014). Neocolonization, according to Jian and Frasher (2014, p. 186), is "a transnational and imperial system in which colonizing powers always exploit colonized countries or regions in economic areas directly by political control or by force if necessary." The neocolonialist engages with the neocolonized country through unfair economic relations, namely by importing resources, raw materials, and unprocessed goods at a low price, while exporting manufactured goods to their markets that outcompete or prevent the further development of local, regional, or national goods. As Jian & Frasher (2014) state, the colonizing country holds high control over key areas and industries of the colonized country, holding their economy hostage to some degree.

Rapanyane (2021) proposes several understandings of neocolonization. One of these states that neocolonialism "comprises new hegemonic dispositions that are inter-linked in a progressively dispersed procedure including economic and military sectors, environmental, financial, and technological dominion as opposed to the old colonialism that directly involved territorial arrangements. At the centre of neocolonialism is the neo-liberal economisation agenda..." (Rapanyane, 2021, p. 94).

This much is clear: neocolonialism involves practices in which a neocolonialist country makes use of economic power to gain control over the neocolonized country's economy and, with it, society. These neocolonized countries are also often previously colonized countries that still deal with their painful history, though they can also include new

countries, just as neocolonizers can be both previous colonizers as well as newly emerging hegemonies.

## **4.2 Accusations against China: fair or Sinophobic?**

Despite variations in interpretations, these definitions do shed light on possible malpractices that China may be performing in African countries, at least according to Western countries such as the US. These can be broken down into three categories: taking advantage of the African post-colonial markets, debt entrapment, and negligence of ESG standards. Most of these accusations blend into each other, but for the sake of clarity of arguments, I will attempt to explain them separately.

Accusations on the basis of malpractice in Africa's trade market are mostly based on its supposed exploitation of energy sources and natural materials, and flooding African markets with products that outcompete domestic goods. Namely, importing large amounts of oil and critical minerals from Africa while dumping products into the country has resulted in a major trade deficit (Rapanyane, 2021). This puts major pressure on the domestic industries of African countries, as they can no longer keep up with their Chinese equivalents (Rapanyane, 2021). As African industries are outcompeted and closed down, the trade deficit will continue to rise, leading to more unemployment and a stagnation in the industrialization development of Africa, which China was supposed to support under developmental support. Instead, the African trade economy is growing more dependent on China. For example, Rapanyane (2021) reports that Chinese textile goods have outcompeted Nigerian companies so far, and that over 80% of domestic companies have closed down. In 2024, trade resulted in a 61.93 billion USD trade deficit.

Second, China faces backlash over its lending practices to African countries, which have been argued to amount to neocolonialism. Rapanyane (2021) provides several examples for this argument. In 2015, over 82% of Djibouti's external debt was owed to China, which has led to fears over China's possible seizure of Djibouti's port. In 2021, Angola owed China around 60 billion USD. Instead of being allowed to sell oil reserves on the global market, oil reserves are deployed to repay debts to China directly. These are not common practices in the international market. In Kenya, China has offered the government the opportunity to give it a major port to settle its debt, as the odds of paying the debt back are low, and in Zambia, Lusaka International Airport, amongst other national assets, has been collateralized. Meanwhile, China continues to provide new loans to African countries despite worries that

these countries will not be able to pay them back, making critical assets collateral for China's own interest. Exactly how large these amounts of debt are is often unknown due to China's vague or non-existent bilateral aid numbers. The World Bank has stated that 18 states in Africa are at high risk of debt distress (El-Shafei & Metawe, 2021).

Third, there are concerns regarding malpractices that put ESG factors in danger through Chinese infrastructure projects, market takeovers, and the non-interference policy. As discussed above, domestic companies often suffer due to Chinese exports to Africa, resulting in a lack of industrial development and job losses. Locals also suffer through Chinese endeavors as they often disregard environmental risks, as well as through bad work conditions and wages (El-Shafei & Metawe, 2021). Non-interference, as attractive as it is to the elite, also has negative effects for the countries and their people. China supports countries such as Sudan, which are labeled as "rogue states." Cooperating with such states that suffer from an authoritarian or even dictatorial system impedes democracy, human rights, and livelihood, which are stated to be goals of African countries themselves in the Constitutive Act of the African Union (He, 2014; El-Shafei & Metawe, 2021). Supporting rogue states and corruption does not benefit Africa in equal respect, but instead upholds relationships between China and the African elite out of their own self-interests.

However, some scholars also identify inconsistencies or counterarguments. One, under principles of economic sovereignty and international trade law, bilateral trade relations are based on voluntary participation and free competition (Jian & Frasher, 2014). This means that no trade agreements are forced upon African countries: African countries have the full agency to discuss, accept, or deny these. Trade with Africa also does not seem to be as important to China as often imagined. While trade has soared since the early 2000s and continues to grow as part of China's total foreign trade, the absolute volume is still limited. In addition, China-Africa's growing trade pattern seems to match trade patterns of other Chinese partners (Jian & Frasher, 2014).

In terms of debt entrapment, China has cancelled portions of African debts, namely over 1.3 billion USD, over the past years to ease debt burdens and promote development (Zhang et al., 2025). In terms of its non-interference policy, China maintains that it offers an alternative model to the Westphalian one promoted by the US that Africa was forced into. American-European institutions are dominated by militarism and economic protectionism despite the dogma of free trade, leading to a deep dependence on the West (Lumumba-Kasongo, 2011). To counter accusations made against it, China has continued to hold onto its principles of equality and win-win cooperation, as well as its goodwill relations

with Africa in the past, in opposition to Western countries that colonized them, as well as the US, which tries to exert influence through liberal systems and conditionality. This still creates the belief that China would never do the same. Whether this is true or not, it is too early to say. Lumumba-Kasongo (2011) goes as far as to say that it is Sino-phobic to stereotype China's engagement as similar to previous colonizers.

The point of this research is not to attempt to decide whether China is a colonialist state or not. Instead, in this chapter, I have tried to present different understandings of what neocolonialism and neoimperialism are, and what type of arguments are made in favor of or against China being a colonial state. Understanding what the different arguments are on China's involvement in Africa and where they come from is important for trying to come to an understanding of *why* these arguments are made and to what end.

Related to the topic of colonialism and colonial legacies, I have mostly used the terms "Africa," "African countries," or "the African continent." It is important to recognize that Africa consists of a total of 54 recognized sovereign states as represented in the United Nations. As with other continents, no country is alike, and the whole continent of Africa thus consists of many different cultures, languages, and practices. Acknowledgement of this diversity, however, is still lacking in much of the literature, leading to a generalization of Africa, as well as China's involvement in Africa (Lumumba-Kasongo, 2011). It is through this that colonial legacies are still structurally functioning in academia, as there is a lack of African representation, which imposes a limitation in understanding the individual workings of diplomatic relations through monolithic understandings. However, it is also important to note the promotion of pan-Africanism through platforms such as FOCAC, as well as the common experiences of colonialism and consequent underdevelopment. Thus, while authors should employ more nuance in speaking of 'Africa' and countries' individual experiences, a certain level of generalization is not completely unwarranted (Lumumba-Kasongo, 2011). Part of these colonial legacies that are still present in literature is the notion that Africa is an unwilling bystander. African countries are, in fact, active participants in foreign affairs. While they still suffer the negative consequences of their colonized past in their current economic states, the power competition between the US and China can give them more strategic choices and agency, and offer more possibilities to leverage their resources against beneficial conditions. Namely, US-China competition over critical minerals for tech enhancements has already led to a strengthening of African countries' resource diplomacy. Projects by both countries in overlapping regions also show that Africa has the capability to diversify partnerships (Zhang et al., 2025).

## 5. Discourse and media in China

Words are not just words, according to Foucault. They are inherently tied to concepts such as knowledge and power. Discourse is a system of thought, which refers to the way we speak, think, or discuss topics. Systems of thought are bound to time and place, and with it impose boundaries upon what can be said with what Foucault (1972, p. 27) calls “rules.” Discourse, therefore, creates subjective knowledge. This knowledge, in turn, shapes what we see as the “truth” to make sense of the world around us.

Discourse is also strongly related to power. Those in positions of power possess high levels of influence, money, and other types of tools. These tools can be used to shape discourse, and in turn, truth to their advantage (Foucault, 1978). Truth, therefore, is not only ever-changing through time, but most definitely also through, for example, political climate. Those who are in power, such as politicians or state leaders, have such tools at their disposal that they can direct narratives around politically sensitive topics. Due to their status, they also have a large audience at their disposal who will listen. Discourse is not just words, but shapes what “we” know, discuss, and believe is true at any moment, at any place, through those in power who shape said discourse. Subsequently, there is then the important question which merits analysis: “what was being said in what was said?” (Foucault, 1972, p. 28).

News media in China, as well as other information flows, are still largely under the control of the state. Control over different types of media has varied over time, with its height being during the Cultural Revolution by the Party. While the Deng Xiaoping era ushered in a degree of commercialization in the media world, which led to financing from external parties, the Party and its institutions, such as the Central Propaganda Department, still hold the highest level of control over what topics are discussed and what is said about them (Zhao, 2008). This is also strengthened by self-censorship to attract investors and gain or maintain licenses provided by the state, as well as the fact that many media workers are themselves party members (Zhang, 2011). So, while news media have enjoyed a sense of liberation since the Opening Up Period, this pertains mostly to “soft” topics such as sports, and they continue to be, to a high degree, a political mouthpiece for the Party and its agenda. Discourse used in news articles thus supports political communication and the “party line” as part of strategic communication by the Party (Schneider, 2025). Analyzing discourse in the case of this research paper is thus of importance to understanding the political message that the CCP wishes to send out regarding its relations with Africa. Not only this, but it is essential in understanding the material and social consequences this may have for China-Africa relations.

In this paper, I will analyze a set of articles published by Xinhua News Agency and Global Times, the choice for which will be further discussed in the methodology section below.

## **6. Methodology**

Discourse is intrinsically linked to power, and the CCP and the state hold the power to shape discourse through their high degree of control over the media ecology of China. In the next chapter, I will be using discourse analysis loosely based on Schneider's work to analyze a set of six articles published by two Chinese news media outlets, namely Xinhua News Agency and Global Times, to dissect what type of discourse these news outlets produce regarding China, Africa, and the US, and to what purpose this discourse might be produced.

### **6.1 Xinhua News Agency and the Global Times**

Xinhua News Agency is one of the biggest state-controlled news agencies and is recognized as the official news provider of China. It therefore closely follows the Party line. While Xinhua Daily has tried to change according to popular journalism, it still continues to be one of the most influential CCP mouthpieces (Xin, 2018). The Global Times is under the flagship of the People's Daily, the official newspaper of the Central Committee of the CCP. It is therefore intrinsically linked with the Party and its ideology. While the Global Times is under the leadership of the People's Daily, it enjoys a greater degree of freedom. The Global Times also has a different audience than that of the People's Daily or Xinhua News Agency: while it does uphold the Party line, it is not aimed at party cadres, but rather a "popular" audience (Zeng & Sparks, 2020). Because of this, combined with its greater freedom, the Global Times generally adopts a higher Chinese nationalistic perspective to appeal to a bigger audience. Its news reports are far more sensational and nationalistic than Xinhua News Agency, which is focused more on upholding credibility and legitimacy, leading to a more formal tone (Zeng & Sparks, 2020). Analyzing both outlets' articles and their contents, therefore, will provide useful insights into the CCP's attempts at controlling discourse around the US, China, and Africa, and how stances and tones might differ between the two news outlets.

### **6.2 Title protocol and case selection**

To narrow down the articles used in this analysis, I have opted to make use of a title protocol in which each article produced within a certain timeframe and with certain keywords will be outlined to gain an understanding of general themes within each news agency and ensure generalizability.

For the time frame of publication, I have decided upon August 31<sup>st</sup> to September 10<sup>th</sup>, which is four days' time before and after FOCAC 2024 (4-6<sup>th</sup> September 2024). FOCAC is, as stated before, a summit that takes place every three years. It thus marks an important event for China-Africa relations, and it can be expected that the quantity of articles concerning Africa will be higher.

As for keywords, I have used two combinations for both news agencies, namely a combination of "Africa" and "China" in the title of the article, as well as "US" and "Africa." The use of "FOCAC" as a keyword was left out, as this included a high volume of news flashes for Xinhua News that offered little commentary. Such articles include "(FOCAC) Xi holds welcome ceremony for Zimbabwean president"<sup>1</sup> and "Mauritanian president arrives in Beijing for 2024 FOCAC Summit."<sup>2</sup> These news flashes solely reported on the event itself, and no clear commentary from the author(s). I chose to use "US" as a keyword to discover what Chinese news agencies might have to say about US influence in China on account of the ongoing trade war and other bilateral issues. While neither news outlet posted any article with both Africa and the US in its title, Global Times did post articles in which the US was mentioned in the content. Articles in which the mention of the US was of relevance to the content have therefore also been included for Global Times. As Xinhua News Agency is the officially recognized news provider of China, its articles are often republished by other news agencies, including Global Times (Zhao, 2008, p. 25). Hence, these articles have been filtered out using the advanced research mechanism on the Global Times website. Articles unrelated to themes discussed in the background chapters of this thesis, articles consisting solely of imagery or videos, and articles consisting of less than one paragraph of text have been omitted by hand as well.

Derived from the title protocol, there are differences in themes discussed within the news articles for each outlet. For the Global Times, I have determined the following main recurring themes: the West, China-Africa solidarity, and high-level cooperation. For Xinhua News Agency, such themes include: infrastructure, inspiration, real help, and high-level cooperation. This does, of course, not cover all themes discussed in all articles, nor does this mean that the Global Times never mentions infrastructure, but these are instead arguments that recur to a noticeable extent within their respective news agency.

---

<sup>1</sup> Xinhua (2024, September 3). Xi holds welcome ceremony for Zimbabwean president. *Xinhua News Agency*. <https://english.news.cn/20240903/8fb7e780b29c4a0d883201bcc41127d0/c.html>

<sup>2</sup> Xinhua (2024, September 3). Mauritanian president arrives in Beijing for 2024 FOCAC Summit. *Xinhua News Agency*. <https://english.news.cn/20240903/be5c3ce9e312489cb047c52f52fbd461/c.html>

I will analyze six articles in detail, making use of an iterative approach to ensure the articles are analyzed in depth. I have selected these six articles based on their topical relevance as they speak of most of the recurring themes mentioned above, while also assuring there is a variety of authors, genres, and sub-topics. I have given special attention to articles discussing the West, even when it was not one of the main recurring themes within Xinhua News Agency, to research similarities and differences between both outlets and their approach to the West and its critique of China. The analysis will be structured per article, concluding with a discussion. I have chosen this structure to emphasize methodological transparency. While a thematic structure may provide a smoother read, this structure prioritizes nuanced interpretation. I will employ the unit of “statement” for this analysis, so as to leave room for shorter or longer arguments presented in the articles.

## 7. Analysis

### 7.1 The Global Times

*7.1.1. Article one: “GT Voice: China-Africa cooperation won’t be thwarted by Western anxiety” (Global Times)*

Article one was posted on the Global Times website on September 2<sup>nd</sup>, 2024, two days prior to FOCAC 2024. The article falls under the category of “GT Voice,” presumably short for *Global Times Voice*. Notably, the article is also attributed to “Global Times,” whereas most other articles published by the news outlet state a clear author or authors. This is likely an intentional choice that could have been made for a number of plausible purposes. One possibility is that its content is politically sensitive, and the Global Times has therefore chosen to protect its author’s identity. Yet, upon reading the article, its contents do not substantially vary in what could be considered political sensitivity from other articles from the Global Times, which did state clear author(s). A more plausible reason for the choice to make “Global Times” the author of this article is to convey an institutional voice. This positions the article as official messaging rather than an opinion piece by an individual. This is in line with “GT Voice,” which further reinforces the interpretation that this is the voice of an institution.

The article’s title reads: “GT Voice: China-Africa cooperation won’t be thwarted by Western anxiety.” Again, GT Voice is referenced. Not only does this repetition reaffirm the notion of institutional authorship, but the word “voice” itself does as well. This choice of terminology brings about an image of proclamation and physicality, by which the Global Times is actively letting the public sphere hear its voice by speaking loudly.

I would like to further highlight two specific sections of the article’s title: first, “won’t be thwarted.” The use of “won’t be” is directed to make the reader believe that it is not just improbable, but virtually impossible that China-Africa cooperation will be undermined. The verb “thwarted” in turn refers to deliberate hindrance. Second, the term “anxiety” is notable. Anxiety refers to worry or unrest over uncertain future outcomes. It thus brings about a certain degree of irrationality. Together, the title can be read as follows: The Global Times is firmly opinionated that, despite the West’s intentional attempts at interfering with China due to their irrational fears, it is impossible that China-Africa cooperation will be stopped. The accompanying image presented under the title further cements this message: the image

depicts two hands clasped together, containing three visual references, namely, who is presumably an African woman in front of a train, agricultural labor, and a plane (Figure 1). While the references in the hands are not outwardly related to African or Chinese cultural symbols, the hands presumably represent China-Africa cooperation across different sectors, reinforcing the claim that cooperation remains resilient. The choice to present these specific images of trains and planes could serve as a symbol for the modernity that characterizes China-Africa cooperation, according to China's narrative.

**Figure 1**

*Illustration of China-Africa cooperation*



**Note.** Illustration from *GT Voice: China-Africa cooperation won't be thwarted by Western anxiety*, by L. Rui, 2024, *Global Times*. Copyright 2024 by *Global Times*.

<https://www.globaltimes.cn/page/202409/1319100.shtml>

The article is structured as a refutation of these alleged Western anxieties. Its argumentation can be divided into roughly three components: 1) the West is anxious about China's expanding role in green development with Africa; 2) these concerns are unfounded as cooperation has yielded mutual benefits for China and Africa; and 3) China-Africa cooperation will remain unaffected and will continue to grow. The argumentative structure is slightly muddled in the article, but this makes up the central argument that the article tries to convey to its audience.

The opening paragraph starts with a quick extension of its title, namely that “it is not surprising to see some Western media outlets again targeting China’s deepening green cooperation with African countries,” but that “these anxieties will not impede the progress.” While the latter part is practically a reiteration of the title, the former reveals new information: that criticism and anxieties from the West are not new. The phrasing of the sentence with expressions such as “not surprising” and “again” even makes it seem as though these critiques are continuous and increasingly tiresome. This delegitimization of Western sentiments is further continued throughout the article, with expressions such as “Western media outlets claimed...” and “Western concerns or slander.” Both of these portray Western sentiments as unreasonable and unsubstantiated.

Up to this point, the article has not provided any concrete evidence supporting the claim that these criticisms are invalid, nor does it specify any sources. Readers are to take at face value that there are Western media outlets that criticize China’s actions in Africa, but are not told what these outlets are, where they come from, or what the foundations for their criticism are. Rather, the article presents China’s dominating presence in the African market as a linear, additive conclusion: if Chinese products are dominating the market, and African countries choose products that best suit their needs, then it is Chinese products that are best suited to Africa. The implication stretches further: as Chinese products are the best, they are consequently *better* than Western products, hence Western irrational anxieties over China’s presence: China is a threat to Western influence, and Western criticism stems from jealousy.

This moral positioning is kept up through the middle section of the article. For example: “Its [China-Africa cooperation] value cannot be measured in terms of money, as it goes beyond simple economic interests and reflects China’s commitment to and support for sustainable development in Africa.” This is followed by: “Unlike cooperation with the West, China-Africa cooperation prioritizes mutual development and long-term interests. Western efforts at collaboration, influenced by political factors, frequently involve more conditions...” Not only is the practical effectiveness of Chinese cooperation and Western cooperation with Africa compared in favor of China as seen through the discursive choice of “*efforts* at collaboration,” but also the moral grounds on which they take place. This draws back to the earlier discussion on the non-conditionality principle, in which political background purportedly does not play a role in China’s cooperation, versus the conditionality associated with the US’ aid. The West’s political motives of self-interest make it morally inferior to China. This is used as a rhetorical counter-argument against the West’s criticism, though it is

not an actual rebuttal, as it does not address the substance of Western anxieties or fears about China's influence in African green development.

The article subsequently ventures into some of the achievements that China has accomplished in Africa's green development, stressing that these are "joint efforts" that improve economic development and livelihood and are "a testament to the strong partnership" and showcase "China's cutting-edge and effective green technology." The latter seems to be particularly aimed at further reinforcing the idea that Africa will choose what it actually needs, and that, in this case, China is the pioneering actor that is able to provide that. The final paragraph employs terminology such as "strong foundation", "promising prospects", "cooperation deepens and strengthens", "the opportunities for collaboration will expand", and "injecting a continuous stream of vitality". This makes up an enumeration of the same points within only four lines of text: China-Africa cooperation will only grow stronger.

The article thus presents China-Africa cooperation as immune to outside interference and a process that will only continue to grow stronger based on the values of morality and effectiveness. These values are established through the parallel discrediting of the West's own presupposed effectiveness and morality. The article implies that the superiority of China-Africa cooperation has led to envy and anxiety around declining hegemonic influence in the West. So, in this article, China-Africa relations are largely framed through comparison with a third party instead of on its own. China is moral, rational, and effective, while the West is jealous, fearsome, and irrational.

While there is no explicit mention of the concept of neocolonialism, the article does mention that Western anxieties arise from the false belief that China is pressuring Africa into buying its goods. These anxieties probably do refer to the trade accusations presented above, though they are not outwardly stated as such.

#### *7.1.2. Article two: "China, Africa to stay at forefront in pursuing modernization" (Fan Anqi & Liu Caiyu)*

Article two was posted in the Global Times' Diplomacy section on September 5<sup>th</sup>, the second day of FOCAC 2024, and was written by two identified authors named Fan Anqi and Liu Caiyu. Limited information is available on Fan Anqi, apart from their frequent reports on a variety of topics centered around politics and diplomacy for the Global Times. Liu Caiyu, however, has a publicly accessible profile on the Global Times website, which describes her as a "Global Times reporter on society, artificial intelligence and diplomatic relations"

(Global Times, n.d.). Her other publications suggest that Liu has a moderate to relatively negative view of the US.

The title for this article is more direct than that of the first, a difference that could be credited to their different classification. Still, the title “China, Africa to stay at forefront in pursuing modernization” leaves space for interpretation. One notable choice is the pairing of China and Africa with a comma. This puts China and Africa together syntactically as actors who are jointly pursuing the path of modernization. This conveys a sense of unification, which is reinforced by the image below the title, which shows Xi Jinping, his wife Peng Liyuan, and African foreign leaders together in front of a large painting of the Chinese Wall (Figure 2). A second element worthy of note about the title is the phrase “to stay at forefront.” This suggests that China and Africa are currently in the lead in the process of modernization and will continue to be. The term “forefront” implies that when there are those in the front, there must be those behind them. Who the latter is in this hierarchy is not explicitly stated, but can be determined through the rest of the article. Moreover, “forefront” may evoke associations with battle or struggle, as such language is closely related to war terminology. This frames pursuing modernization as a battle that China and Africa are winning over others.

## Figure 2

*Xi Jinping and African leaders at FOCAC welcome banquet*



**Note.** Photograph of Chinese President Xi Jinping and his wife Peng Liyuan posing with foreign dignitaries before a welcome banquet for guests attending the 2024 Summit of the Forum on China–Africa Cooperation, September 4, 2024, Beijing. Photo by Xinhua. From Global Times. Copyright 2024 by Xinhua.

<https://www.globaltimes.cn/page/202409/1319267.shtml>

The article is sectioned into three parts: the opening paragraphs, a subsequent part with the subheading “New blueprint,” and a final part called “Another option.” Part one does not have a title itself, but speaks of the immense scale that is FOCAC, the amicable nature of China-Africa relations, and events undertaken during FOCAC thus far. Part one is characterized by positive reinforcing vocabulary such as “traditional friendship,” “friendship that remains robust,” “growing stronger ... no matter how the world changes,” and “China-Africa community with a shared future,” of which the latter is continuously used throughout the article. Additional examples are present throughout the first paragraphs, but all serve to reinforce the same point: China-Africa relations are not just good, but deep, and they are as close as friends. Not only this, but it is exemplary for the rest of the Global South: China and Africa make “the voice of the Global South stronger” and “spearhead the modernization drive of the Global South.” In doing so, China positions itself as the leader of the Global South, continuing a role that it has been pursuing following the Bandung Conference, as noted before. Collectively, this discursive strategy cultivates a feeling of togetherness and connection, which could very well resonate with readers in the Global South.

The second part, called “New blueprint,” reinforces the role of China as a leader. Chinese modernization is described as a “paradigm that can be borrowed.” This is curious, considering that the title had placed Africa and China on an equal pedestal in jointly pursuing modernization. Now, however, it seems as though China is guiding Africa. This section of the article also answers the question “who are they at the forefront of?” The second through fourth paragraphs of this part serve two functions: first, to directly juxtapose China and the West, and second, to draw back upon historically shared colonization with Africa and subsequent negative feelings towards the West. The second paragraph begins by asserting that the West views itself and Africa as two separate entities, in which the West is elevated above Africa. This is phrased as “the developed and developing,” implying an unequal relationship. To readers familiar with colonial history, such phrasing might evoke feelings of historical injustice. Subsequently, in the following paragraph, the first sentence reads “China is saying ‘let’s go together’.” The text is thus deliberately structured as a parallel, which accentuates the contrast between the West and China that the authors try to bring across to readers. The third paragraph then doubles down on the language of victimhood with terminology such as “heavily interfered by,” “suffered,” and “colonial plunder.” However, after constructing an

image of historical exploitation, it then presents readers with a solution: dispelling the misconception that modernization equals Westernization. The second section then proceeds to explain how Chinese modernization might be of inspiration to Africa. This part is thus carefully and argumentatively structured to appeal to images of separation and destruction by colonization, to then offer a way to decolonize as the Chinese themselves have done: by breaking away from the Western standard. It also, however, further diminishes the earlier portrayal of China and Africa as equals in a joint pursuit.

The final section of the article, “another option”, further appeals to shared historical grievances at the hands of the West. The titular “other option” presented by China is highly different from approaches associated with the old colonial powers, namely “finding a path more suited to a country’s own conditions.” This can be interpreted as a critique of the US’ conditionality and efforts to steer Africa towards a Westphalian, liberal-democratic route. Not only this, but “China is establishing new pillars for a fairer system,” according to the author. This might also evoke favorable feelings towards China by those who still feel wronged by historical grievances by the West. In summary, this article presents the West as an actor who has historically wronged Africa and will continue to do so, whereas aligning with China on a (contradictory) equal footing would lead to a better world.

*7.1.3. Article three: “Real choice for Africa: Not between China and US, but who does the right thing” (Victor Gao)*

The final article examined for the Global Times portion of this analysis was published on September 6<sup>th</sup>, the final day of FOCAC 2024. It was written by Victor Gao, who does not have a public profile on Global Times, but is, as indicated at the bottom part of the article, a chair professor at a Chinese university, as well as Vice President of the Center for China and Globalization, a prominent Chinese think tank. He is an expert on international relations, and his views can be characterized as nationalist in light of his positions on Hong Kong and Taiwan, as well as his critique of NATO and other Western liberal institutions (Mitchell & Hille, 2021). Victor Gao has written for Global Times frequently and remains active.

The article appears under the “Opinion / Viewpoint” section of Global Times, which includes a lot of Global Times editorials and individual commentaries. While neither is stated explicitly in the title of the article, its first-person perspective is used to reaffirm the idea that this is, in fact, an individual opinion piece. This stands in contrast with article one, which was authored by “Global Times” and presented as the institutional “voice” of the Global Times. Through first-person expressions such as “I think”, stating the author’s name and publishing

it under “opinion”, this article is underscored by an individual perspective. Still, the Global Times remains a highly controlled news outlet under the direction of the People’s Daily, the official CCP newspaper, despite its greater degree of freedom in comparison to news outlets such as Xinhua. Consequently, while this article might represent an individual’s opinion, its arguments can most likely be generalized for the Global Times’ orientation as well.

The title of the article, “Real choice for Africa: Not between China and US, but who does the right thing,” contains several notable elements. One, this title immediately establishes a highly moral and elevated tone. It presents itself as more insightful by effectively offering a correction to a purportedly false assumption that has been made about Africa’s cooperation with either party. The adjective “real” functions to establish epistemic authority. The author possesses a type of knowledge that has thus far been left out of the equation, and will now be expressed towards the readers. Readers will now learn what they should really know, instead of the prevailing false narrative thus far. This sense of authority is continued in the final section of the title, “who does the right thing.” The author does not solely understand what strategic considerations are at play, but also what ethical motivations underpin them. The author possesses an authority over knowledge, and thus over morality.

At the same time, the title attributes agency to Africa and does not consider it a passive actor, but an active decision-maker. This positions Africa on an equal footing. Lastly, the title cuts through the binary of China and the US. This could imply a rejection of a zero-sum game in favor of win-win cooperation, which China often speaks of, but this interpretation is dependent on how that “right thing” is ultimately defined by the author.

The title is followed by an image of a man with a red-white striped hat with a star spying over the globe with a hand-held telescope to see two hands shaking, dubbed China and Africa. The man, presumably the US by the pattern used or the generalized West, seems disgruntled, visually reflecting the West’s growing negative perception of China-Africa relations from afar (Figure 3).

### **Figure 3**

*Illustration depicting Western observation of China-Africa cooperation*



**Note.** Illustration from *Real choice for Africa: Not between China and US, but who does the right thing*, by L. Rui, 2024, *Global Times*. Copyright 2024 by *Global Times*.

<https://www.globaltimes.cn/page/202409/1319377.shtml>

The article is highly morally framed through a string of stylistic and discursive choices that present the author as elevated. Gao employs metaphors, such as “the taste of the pudding is really in eating it,” suggesting that one can only experience the true value of something by trying it. He extends this metaphor by stating that “it should be African countries who should eat the pudding and tell the whole world which pudding they like best.” At this stage, the author does not imply that China is that “pudding”. However, this apparent neutral attitude changes in the following paragraph, when Gao asks the rhetorical question: “If China does the right thing, why should African countries walk away from China?” This rhetorical question presents Western criticism as illogical, especially when the author again takes on a moral high-ground when he states that any country is free to cooperate with Africa, including the US, elevating China above the US in righteousness in an indirect comparison.

In the final paragraph of the article, Gao asserts that China wants Africa to achieve “modernization with African characteristics.” This phrasing immediately evokes the concept of “socialism with Chinese characteristics,” the Chinese ideological framework that mixed Marxist ideas with market-based economic reforms. This parallel aligns the ideological path

that China followed, and the development path that Africa should follow. While the author does not explicitly state that China is the “right thing,” this does situate China as a point of reference for Africa rather than the West. Gao’s insistence that Africa must follow their own path can be interpreted as a critique of the West’s political democratization efforts in Africa.

As in the title, these sections of the article provide a great deal of agency to African countries. The article portrays the West once again as an irrational actor with unfounded accusations, this time directly mentioned as “neo-colonialism” and “debt trap.” The author refutes these accusations with a moral fallacy that again doubles down on concepts of equality and non-conditionality, advertently portraying the West as the opposite of said values. Similarly to article one, China is presented as an ethical actor in comparison to the West. Who the actor is that does that “right thing” is thus framed to be China, despite any outward confirmation. Gao never really answers the question of what the “right thing” is. We readers never get a real answer. The “real thing” is instead left as an intangible idea that readers can project their own values or ideas onto, so the author does not need to commit to a specific framework.

## **7.2. Xinhua News Agency**

### *7.2.1. Article four: “(FOCAC) Xinhua Commentary: China-Africa cooperation bolsters common development of Global South” (Xinhua)*

Article four, the first Xinhua News Agency article examined in this analysis, was posted on September 1st, two days prior to FOCAC 2024. No clear individual author is listed, as is the case for Xinhua (Table 1). The title of the article is relatively simplistic, though it is worth noting that this article falls under “Xinhua Commentary.” This, in combination with a lack of individual authorship, strengthens the notion that this article can be understood as an institutional voice.

This article places primary emphasis on unity and a global framework, rather than bilateral relations. This unity becomes clear through the construction of a Global South block. From the outset, China-Africa relations are described using language such as “solidarity”, “friendship”, “practical cooperation”, “a high-level community with a shared future”, and “withstood the test of time.” Its scale is also described as “from Cairo to Johannesburg” and “across sectors from healthcare to infrastructure.” The geographical scale, followed by the cooperative scale in this phrase, reinforces the notion of an all-encompassing friendship that amplifies the vastness of China-Africa relations.

The West is mentioned again for its conditionality approach, juxtaposed with China's "five-no approach," including non-conditionality. While this juxtaposition does imply criticism of the West, it has a different primary function: while the argument does serve to speak of China's high moral character, its main goal this time around is not to do so comparatively when speaking of African countries in bilateral relations. Its place there is to underpin the good nature of China-Africa relations and their shared history of Western colonization, so as to create a mutual front in the global international order. This is underpinned structurally. Thus far, most articles have been built upon Western criticism of Chinese involvement in Africa, and consequently, moral fallacies to rebut these. In this article, there is no preliminary Western criticism that needs to be rebutted, but rather the article discusses criticism of the West to build upon a stronger, global front, rather than their actions in Africa. The article builds a moral ground for countries to unite and stand together. This could draw far less skepticism for a reader since there is no criticism of China to be discussed, and fewer comparisons in cooperation to be drawn.

As such, Xinhua constructs its argument on a more stable foundation, namely that the West has historically failed both Africa and China, and that the latter two are now jointly working to change the international system into a more equal, multilateral framework. Its objectives include "defending the development rights of Global South nations." This speaks of a global level of change that could appeal to readers in developing countries. Concrete examples as to how Africa has furthered its involvement in global institutions are provided, further showcasing how China and Africa are changing the international order, without having to deal with critique from the West on their on-the-ground actions. Appeals to readers from other developing countries are reinforced by repeatedly mentioning how China-Africa cooperation "exemplifies" the entirety of the Global South and its future possibilities. The article employs positive language throughout, focused on defending the developing world, jointly advancing modernization, and strengthening multilateralism. Overall, the article prioritizes unity. This emphasis on unity recalls earlier calls for a Global South bloc with China as its spearhead against the then-hegemonies in the twentieth century. Motivations go beyond economic considerations, but also include sovereignty, equality, and anti-colonization.

7.2.2. *Article five: “(FOCAC) Explainer: Why it is absurd to accuse China of practising “neocolonialism” in Africa” (Chen Wangqi)*

Article five was published September 2nd and written by Chen Wangqi, which is notable considering most of Xinhua’s articles do not state a clear author. This practice may serve to, as discussed before, convey institutional unity on a subject. As Xinhua News is considered to be the official news provider of China, it is unlikely that its contents would be of such sensitivity that authors’ identities would be protected. While for this article a clear author is stated, her name is preceded by “Xinhua writer,” which still emphasizes the idea of an institutional voice. Cheng Wangqi is a Xinhua reporter whose work predominantly seems to focus on international relations and technology.

The title itself seems pretty direct, but there are some interesting elements to be noted. First, the title begins with “Explainer,” which positions the author or Xinhua with some authority on knowledge. The title introduces the article as an exposition, in which the author will defend a position or clarify misconceptions. That the author seems to be privy to some type of understanding that readers do not is reinforced by the adjective “absurd.” Such phrasing creates the feeling that the author believes it is foolish to even consider such an idea, and that it is perhaps even redundant to discuss why these accusations are misplaced. It pre-emptively delegitimizes any criticism that may be expressed before it is even expressed. Additionally, the use of quotation marks around “neocolonialism” also further draws into question the credibility of accusations, as it creates distance between the label that external actors use for China and what the author would believe to be true.

This dismissal of Western criticism continues throughout the article. In the opening paragraph, the author speaks of “hyping up the notion of “neocolonialism”.” Not only does the same point here stand as it did earlier with regards to the usage of quotation marks, the choice to phrase this as “hyping up” and “notion” also further diminishes credibility, as it undermines seriousness, presenting it as immature behavior and a whimsical idea. Continuing on, the author asks a string of ostensibly “important”, yet rhetorically framed questions, such as whether China’s cooperation could be “truly” considered neocolonialism, and why the West remains so committed to advancing the narrative of Chinese neocolonialism. Due to the article’s pre-emptive dismissal of Western criticism in the title and opening paragraph, as well as an absence of what these accusations are built on, the questions lead the readers towards an assumed conclusion.

To construct a contrast between China and the US, or the West at large, a distinction that shifts throughout the article, the author points out differences in approach to Africa based on moral orientation. The author spends a substantial portion of her article enumerating a list of “tangible” accomplishments on China’s side in Africa. This marks a discursive pattern that can be observed across multiple articles, as can be seen in their descriptions in Table 1. In contrast, US involvement is described as exploitative. This framing is reinforced by the mention of Western colonization in both China and Africa, linking China and Africa closer together. The rhetorical move to position this argument immediately after the accusation of exploitation by the US also links Western contemporary cooperation together with colonization. This reverses accusations of neocolonialism against the US. This is backed up by citing the Center for Strategic and International Studies (CSIS), an authoritative institution on knowledge. The CSIS is, in fact, an African institution, which further diminishes Western credibility by lending authority to African voices themselves.

Western motivations are further scrutinized in the subsection “Customization instead of control.” This subheading juxtaposes the Chinese and Western approaches to Africa further. The Western countries “prioritize the promotion of their values” and “aid is often tied to political and economic conditions [...] which often cause civil strife.” These claims are again supported by African scholars and officials to validate the author’s point and reinforce the impression that this knowledge is understood and these critiques are widely shared within Africa. In contrast, China is depicted as non-conditional and refrains from “civilizing former colonies” like the West is trying to do.

The article also criticizes Western actions and results by both the author and African authorities once more. Aid from the West is of “no value” and has “absolutely no role in lifting Africa.” The subsection of the article concludes with a quote from the CSIS official: “We want more investment. We want more trade.” Uncoincidentally, this criticism of Western involvement and this citation is then followed up by details on China’s trade and investment figures that quantitatively outweigh the West.

The author seems to initially set out to answer whether or not China is practising neocolonialism in Africa. This question is made redundant, however, as the author has already dismissed these accusations as absurd. The article does not seek to answer this question, nor does it substantively engage with the foundations of these Western accusations, as described in the background chapters above. Instead, the article constructs a series of binary comparisons: tangible results vs. non-effective aid, ex-colonized vs. colonizer, global interests vs. self-interests, and agency/non-conditionality vs. conditionality for China and the

West, respectively. This oppositional framing is drawn up to not just make it seem “absurd” that China would be practicing neocolonialism, but that, given history and contemporary practices, it is the West that is less morally just than China, and possibly more capable of colonial behavior than China.

*7.2.3. Article six: “(FOCAC) Guest Opinion: China’s modernization drive: inspirations, opportunities for Africa.” (Sithembiso Bhengu)*

The final article to be analyzed was published on September 3rd and authored by Sithembiso Bhengu. Bhengu is, according to the editor’s note, a director of a South African research institute and senior research associate at the University of Johannesburg. Notably, there is a disclaimer that “the views expressed in this article are those of the author and do not necessarily reflect the positions of Xinhua News Agency.” This was not the case for the preceding articles, though this distinction could perhaps be explained by Bhengu’s “guest” status, as Bhengu is not an official Xinhua writer. The article is also written in the first person, as can be seen throughout the article. The author uses a mix of “me” and “we,” though leaves ambiguous who that “we” is. This does not become clear throughout the article itself. “We” may signify a collective African perspective, an institutional community, or another group entirely. Each carries different implications. The first option would create a sense of general consensus in Africa and leave little room for other opinions. The second, however, would strengthen epistemic authority.

The article, as with the others from Xinhua News Agency, is relatively short and thematically focused. It introduces China as an “inspiration” in modernization, asserting that “key lessons” can be taken from China and that China provides “a model of development.” This is juxtaposed with the West, which, according to the author, feels that they have a “monopoly” on the development path. This aligns with themes in article two: according to the author, modernization does not mean Westernization. This point reoccurs several other times, as can be seen in Table 1.

Presenting China as an inspiration or model to Africa provides legitimacy to China’s developmental path and to its future endeavours. China’s modernization is ethical, readers are led to believe, having followed an “alternative trajectory” without exploitation. This claim is immediately followed by references to the West’s colonial past. China’s contemporary modernization is thus contrasted with Western history of exploitation, and with it the implication that the West might be capable of continuing these practices. This again constructs China as an ethical and morally credible actor.

While China serves as an example, the author also recognizes that “blindly adopting” the Chinese model is not right, emphasizing that it is up to African countries themselves to selectively implement lessons that will benefit them. This affirms self-determined modernization in terms of African agency and diversity, while China has shown “the ability of a people to determine their own future,” a message likely to resonate with readers from regions with a history of colonial suffering.

The article proceeds with what can almost be interpreted as a policy proposal. Bhengu outlines the “key lessons” that Africa needs to derive from China. Suggestions go beyond sector-specific recommendations, but are focused on institutional and systemic change, focusing on governance, political systems, and policy instruments. Development is conceptualized as a process not just of economic, but all-around change. This analytical depth contributes to the article’s epistemic authority, backed up by the academic background of the author. Its criticism of the West does not come across as petty or overt, but instead as an argument for African self-determination. China-Africa relations are not described as much for their tangible results and friendly relations. China is instead an abstract, an idea that can be achieved.

### **7.3 Discussion**

Across the six articles analyzed, as well as a portion of additional texts presented in the title protocol (Table 1), several recurring themes emerge that together construct an understanding of how China-Africa cooperation is portrayed in Chinese news media.

A core element that shapes the narrative around China-Africa cooperation in these news outlets is an emphasis on morality, especially in comparison to “the West.” This moral framing is expressed in a number of ways. One is through what I would call “turning the tables.” This is prevalent in the articles focused on Western criticism of Chinese influence in Africa. Critiques are characterized as “anxieties,” “absurd,” or other discursive strategies that delegitimize concerns based upon evidence regarding possible neocolonialism by presenting them as irrational or emotionally driven. Neocolonialism or debt trap concerns are both mentioned explicitly as well as implicitly. When mentioned explicitly, they are often dismissed through the use of quotation marks that distance the author from this terminology.

Notably, little substantial attention is paid to these accusations: what figures are these debt-trap accusations based on? What does “the West” mean with neocolonialism? What kinds of actions do these include? The exclusion of such details allows for a rebuttal based on

morality instead of a rebuttal based on actual evidence. Using emotional leverage and pointing fingers does not account for actual proper defense against criticism, though the articles certainly make it seem so. The lack of empirical engagement, as well as the mobilization of historical victimhood of China itself, positions China as having a higher moral character.

As mentioned above, China in effect “turns the tables” on the West, not just by actively not engaging with substantial criticism, but by making counter-accusations directed at the West. Most of these accusations portray the West as paternalistic, seeking to interfere in African politics and impose Western values upon them, also known as conditionality. This is juxtaposed with China’s own non-interference policy, which is framed as respecting African countries’ right to choose their own political and governmental path. Taking this approach, the news agencies provide agency and sovereignty to countries in Africa whose agency and sovereignty have suffered in the past at the hands of Western colonization. This draws a comparison between the past colonialism of the West and the possible reinforcement of colonial tendencies. By invoking both African and Chinese historical experiences of colonial subjugation, the idea that China would never be able to inflict the same upon others is structurally reinforced. Consequently, accusations of possible neocolonialism are turned back to the West.

Notably, throughout the articles, criticism is oftentimes directed at “the West” over the US, which is surprising considering the ongoing Sino-US tensions. This decision warrants closer consideration, as “the West,” which encompasses European countries, can be more readily associated with colonialism than the US, as the latter has never colonized China or Africa. Speaking of the US instead of the West would weaken China’s counter-criticisms, and it would not be able to mobilize its victimhood as part of its moral fallacy. There is no substantial evidence provided for this choice, however, and alternative theories may therefore account for this decision.

Tension also emerges between the presentation of China as an equal partner to Africa and the portrayal of China as a leader to the Global South and its modernization path. In both cases, there is appeal: the first provides an ideal, a goal to achieve, whereas the second creates a feeling of unity. From both perspectives, Africa is presented as supported, contributing to an overall positive image of China.

A notable aspect that remains practically undiscussed, despite its importance to accusations of neocolonialism around it, is the acquisition of natural resources and critical minerals. As outlined in the background chapters, a significant portion of China-Africa trade

and cooperation as a whole is centered around the import of natural resources to further Chinese economic development and livelihood. This dimension of China-Africa relations remains undiscussed, even in the articles refuting neocolonialism, precisely because these grounds of criticism have been left out. By omitting this dimension, the authors can avoid engaging with one of the primary grounds on which accusations of neocolonialism are based. Instead, mostly infrastructure, agriculture, and high-level cooperation are discussed. This selective focus contributes to the idea that China-Africa cooperation is oriented mostly toward other high-level modernization fields. There is thus strategic silence on sensitive issues that might weaken China's advanced image of China-Africa cooperation.

Academic discussions highlight a competition between China and the US that is occurring on the African continent, based on economic and political aspirations, both in Africa and in the international order. There is a lack of discussion around competition in critical resources extraction in the articles, though this does not necessarily debunk the arguments academics present that allude to competition. One, there is little to no discussion on resource extraction overall, which consequently means that there is no mention of competition in this domain. The same goes for other sectors of cooperation: while infrastructure is a domain more frequently discussed, as can be seen in Table 1, Western cooperation with Africa is seldom addressed comparatively. Competition is mostly articulated in green technology, which is indirectly connected to the acquisition of critical minerals through its key role in EV production. Competition here is characterized as “Western anxieties” over China's growing influence and threat to Western hegemony. Competition in Africa is thus not actually based on trade or economic relations, which would be the foundation of China's contemporary policy towards Africa, but rather framed as a materialization of underlying tensions around influence and alignment. These tensions between the West and China are primarily constructed as ideological and political, in particular their different approaches to global governance— unilateralism versus multilateralism, and Africa— conditionality versus non-interference. While these tensions may reflect contemporary underlying bilateral rivalries, they also seem to be rooted in older tensions of hegemonism, as could be seen in the 1960s. This idea is reinforced by the construction of a Global South bloc throughout several articles, as was the case after the Bandung Conference, which is still underpinned by notions of anti-hegemonism with China as its leader, now described in concepts of mutual benefit, joint modernization in contrast to the West.

With regard to the news agencies themselves, a few things merit attention. One, there seems to be a relatively low level of overlap between the articles and between the news agencies at large. While the title protocol shows an overlap in themes, when looking at the articles more closely, their goals, structure, and approaches are different. Language and discursive strategies also vary largely between articles, and recurring vocabulary usually stems from official terminology coined at FOCAC 2024, such as “community with shared future.”

The tone and general style of the articles, however, do fall in line with expectations based on their usual stance. The Global Times tends to adopt a nationalist tone, with provocative headlines to attract a populist audience. This is true for these articles, as they often use more extreme language or discursive strategies to draw attention. It makes more use of framing and more often mentions the West than Xinhua does. Xinhua, on the other hand, presents a more restrained style, which emphasizes credibility. Its articles rely on academic figures, data, and expert citations to project a formal, diplomatic message, as can be expected from Xinhua’s role as the official news provider.

## 8. Conclusion

In this thesis, I have set out to answer the following research question: *What discourse did Chinese state-owned news media produce on China-Africa relations during FOCAC 2024, and how does this discourse support or resist accusations of neocolonialism regarding Chinese influence in Africa?* To this end, I have first provided a literature review, highlighting the important ideological basis that China-Africa relations were established on in the 1960s, as well as the changes that these relations were subjected to in the following decades, stressing a purported shift from ideological considerations to economic ones. In relation to this shift stands the principle of non-interference and non-conditionality, which marks a clear difference in the diplomatic approach that the US and other Western countries take towards Africa. This ideological difference in diplomacy is backed by on-the-ground tensions based in different areas of cooperation with Africa, such as trade, infrastructure, and aid. Together, competition seems to take place for influence, both in Africa and in the international order, for which Africa is a key factor. While China may be heading most cooperation dimensions in Africa, it has been subjected to criticism, mostly from Western countries, on the basis of neocolonialism.

Through a qualitative discourse analysis of six articles published by Chinese state-owned news outlets, the Global Times and Xinhua News Agency between August 31st and September 10th, 2024, this thesis has shown that Chinese media do not rebut neocolonialist accusations directly, but instead employ a set of discursive strategies to frame China-Africa cooperation in their favor. Essential is the binary contrast between the West and China, based upon colonial histories, moral framing, and omission of sensitive issues. Across all articles, China-Africa cooperation is not just described as positively received by both parties, based on solidarity, friendship, and a shared history, but it is also framed through a juxtaposition with the West. Through a multitude of discursive strategies, China delegitimizes Western criticism, casting it as irrational and emotionally driven. The foundation upon which accusations by the West are made is also left out, such as the exploitation of natural resources. Attention is mostly paid towards high-level domains of cooperation, such as green development. This selective framing of China-Africa cooperation, as well as the delegitimization through discursive elements, allows the articles to withdraw from any serious engagement. Instead, by drawing upon narratives of shared victimhood and colonial suffering, the West is portrayed as an actor without moral authority, thus not just discrediting their accusations, but sometimes turning these accusations against them. Concepts such as

conditionality and Westernization fit within this narrative and are therefore deployed both directly and between the lines. This othering and binary distinction between the West and China allows China to present itself as a morally just actor and an inspiration to Africa, which will lead the Global South. From this perspective, ideological concepts are still strongly embedded in China-Africa cooperation.

The differences between both news outlets reveal that, while they converge on the same message, they are catered towards distinct audiences: the Global Times makes use of more sensational language and employs stronger binaries, aiming at a more populist audience, while Xinhua presents a more restrained and formal authority.

This thesis has several limitations that could present opportunities for further research. For one, I have focused on a small corpus of English-language articles. According to Zeng & Sparks (2020), the Global Times' patriotic tone can be observed more clearly throughout its Chinese-language articles. Further research could reveal whether alternative narratives are employed. In addition, research into the reception of these media articles amongst African civil society, officials, as well as locals, could provide insight not just into the on-the-ground experiences of African people, but could also highlight the differences between different African countries and layers of society that are often glossed over in both literature and the articles themselves.

Despite these limitations, this thesis makes a substantive contribution to the discussion of China-Africa cooperation by emphasizing the importance of discourse. It showcases that legitimization of cooperation is not just built through material results, but maybe even more importantly, through narratives presented by those in power. Instead of responding to accusations of neocolonialism, the place of Chinese media in society as well as discourse itself becomes a site of power, which allows for a reshaping of norms and morality through which cooperation is understood. Cooperation cannot simply be understood through material outcomes, such as who achieves higher levels of trade or who alleviates more debt. In the end, legitimacy is a product of storytelling rather than substance.

## Appendix

**Table 1**

*Title protocol on China-Africa and US-Africa (ascending order of publication date)*

News Agency	Title of article	Author(s)	Key takeaways
Global Times	<a href="#">China-Africa closer cooperation driven by real needs of continent</a>	Zhao Yusha	As China and Africa grow closer, the West has smeared their cooperation and called for competition. The difference between the Chinese and US approach to Africa is that China is more empathetic, based on win-win cooperation, and has more attention for African countries' perspectives and desires. US officials have called for Washington to prioritize efforts to match China's influence in the Global South. If the US wants, it can find plenty potential to cooperate with China in Africa rather than compete.
	<a href="#">China-Africa cooperation to foster common development</a>	Yang Sheng, Liu Caiyu, Shen Sheng	African leaders have arrived at FOCAC 2024. FOCAC 2024 will introduce a new set of initiatives to deepen respect and friendship for the future. China and Africa are building a community with a shared future amidst global turbulence, promoting multi-polarization. African countries are eager to learn from China's own development path. China-Africa relations are based on a win-win partnership.

---

<a href="#"><u>China, Africa see greater potential for cooperation in agricultural sector: domestic, foreign experts</u></a>	Yin Yeping, Bai Yunyi	At FOCAC 2024, agriculture will a key focus. Thanks to efforts by China, agricultural development in Africa has been boosted. Through Africa's tariff-free access to the Chinese market, industrialization in Africa will grow. China's facilitating of agriculture projects and products have positive effects.
<hr/> <a href="#"><u><i>GT Voice: China-Africa cooperation won't be thwarted by Western anxiety</i></u></a>	Global Times	<hr/> Western media again criticize China's green cooperation with Africa. This reveals anxiety over China's growing influence in energy transition. The West is concerned that Chinese-made goods will dominate the markets. Western concerns will not affect China-Africa green collaboration as green initiatives are an important part of China's contribution to modernization in Africa. China-Africa cooperation stresses equality, while Western cooperation involves conditionality.

---

---

[FOCAC cornerstone  
of relationship  
between China and  
Africa](#)

---

FOCAC 2024 takes place at a time of geopolitical tensions and the need for the Global South to work together. The article shows several interviews with former officials from Africa. The interviews confirm that FOCAC is the cornerstone of China-Africa relations. China's assistance and own development path is positively perceived. It is also stated that China-Africa cooperation challenges significant Western presence in Africa in the post-colonial era. Western resources have not necessarily benefited African development unlike Chinese and are based on conditions.

---

[China, Africa to  
embrace green  
transformation  
opportunities](#)

Yin Yeping

---

There are great opportunities for cooperation in green transformation. Under FOCAC, many clean energy and green development projects have been conducted. Africa's industrialization and modernization are constrained by the lack of electricity, to which China has responded with energy projects.

---

---

<a href="#">African coffee beans find new market in China, boosting China-Africa trade</a>	Chi Jingyi, Xiong Xinyi	African coffee beans are increasingly exported to China, boosting coffee farmers. This part of a growing trend of agricultural exports. The coffee sector is crucial to economic development in many African countries. African coffee businesses are working together with Chinese businesses more and more. Chinese e-commerce has played a vital role in promoting African coffee.
<a href="#">China, South Africa elevate ties, to further strengthen development of Global South</a>	Xu Keyue	China and South Africa have elevated their ties to an all-round strategic cooperative partnership with strong political ties. Xi Jinping called for this partnership to be led with mutual trust and joint efforts. Cooperation in digital economy, AI, agriculture, infrastructure, healthcare, and new energy will be strengthened. As the international situation grows more complex, the Global South must stand together, and China and Africa must set an example.

---

<a href="#">NDRC official introduces booming agricultural cooperation between China, Africa</a>	Liu Caiyu	<p>China has solved the issue of feeding 1.4 billion people. Food security and agricultural development are the priority for cooperation between China and Africa. China's involvement in agricultural development has led to larger levels of effectiveness, momentum of trade, and continuous improvement of mechanisms.</p>
<a href="#">'Joining hands to advance modernization' a gift of China and Africa to the World: Global Times editorial</a>	Global Times	<p>FOCAC 2024 is focused on the path to modernization based on mutual empathy, a wish for independence and justice, and a shared history of poverty and suffering from aggression. China-Africa cooperation has expanded from economy and poverty reduction, to governance, cultural exchange, and security as well. China and Africa as two developing and formerly colonized economies are introducing a new globalization, no longer dominated by the West.</p>
<a href="#">China-Africa tourism heating up. sees expanding cooperation</a>	Chi Jingyi	<p>Chinese tourism to Africa is heating up. This will benefit economic development. The potential of China-Africa tourism is huge, though this still has to be released. China and Africa are cooperating to achieve this.</p>

<a href="#">Zhejiang's cooperation with African countries embodies win-win path of China-Africa relations: conference</a>	Shan Jie	Zhejiang shares strong ties with African countries across various fields and on provincial, municipal and district levels. Education, culture, training, and healthcare are important areas of collaboration.
<a href="#">China-Africa solidarity in spotlight in run-up to FOCAC summit</a>	Wang Qi	Xi Jinping's meeting with African leaders and the African Union continues the momentum of cooperation and solidarity in run-up to FOCAC. China-Africa ties are beneficial to the entire Global South as it pools more strengths to promote fairness in the Western-dominated global order. Gratitude is expressed for China's help in the struggle against colonialism and imperialism, as well as its assistance in development. China's assistance helps Africa's independence movement.
<a href="#">Essential to build a strong China-Africa community with a shared future</a>	Global Times	This article discusses an interview with an Egyptian official. Modernizing a strong China-Africa community is with a shared future is essential. Cooperation in fields such as infrastructure, health, education and governance are essential and require even more investments to achieve modernization. China's

<p><a href="#">China-Africa green cooperation has strong inherent momentum: Global Times editorial</a></p>		<p>collaboration with Africa is based upon non-interference and respect.</p> <p>China and Africa will deepen cooperation in new energy and other green initiatives. Africa's resources and China's experience will make green development possible. China's approach to green development is another example in how China differs from the West: while the West lectures Africa on rights and democracy through its institutions, China is an actual friend and pays attention to what Africa wants and needs.</p>
<p><a href="#">China, Africa build partnership in culture, tourism and sports</a></p>	<p>Chen Xi, Wang Wenwen, Zhang Yiyi</p>	<p>FOCAC 2024 has highlighted people-to-people exchanges in terms of culture, tourism and sports. In these areas, Africa and China will increase engagement with the aim of cementing the social foundation for friendship between China and Africa. FOCAC and BRI initiatives are not just economically beneficial but also socially.</p>
<p><a href="#">China helps train e-commerce talent for Africa, empowers continent's digital transformation</a></p>	<p>GT staff reporters</p>	<p>China has been helping people in Africa in improving e-commerce skills, offering training and courses. This has in turn improved the value of African products and reduced costs in logistics and sales. This is</p>

---

		part of China's digital transformation goals in Africa.
<a href="#"><u>China and Africa forge stronger bonds under BRI</u></a>	Yin Yeping	Amidst FOCAC 2024, the West accuses China of debt entrapment once again. In contrast, African leaders have been positive about the BRI and China's cooperation. The debt-trap narrative is an attempt by the West to undermine China's win-win cooperation. This reflects the West's doubt on Africa's capabilities to manage their affairs independently. In addition, of Africa's total external debt, China takes up only 11%, while the US bears most of it. In contrast to conditional aid by the West, China has brought real change to Africa, and cooperation is rooted in mutual respect.
<a href="#"><u>China, Africa to stay at forefront in pursuing modernization</u></a>	Fan Anqi, Liu Caiyu	Chinese modernization has provided a paradigm that can be borrowed for Africa's path to modernization. Western discourse is about "the developed and the developing", while China promotes equality. China, as a fellow colonized country in the past, has proven that modernization does not equal Westernization. China has given Africa and the world another option that is different from the West and is focused on finding a

---

---

		path more suited to a country's own conditions.
<a href="#">South Africa 'appreciative' of FOCAC relationship as a mutually beneficial one, says President Ramaphosa</a>	Wang Wenwen	China conducts African relations with respect. The South African president states that China is very progressive in its relations. South Africa is not being lobbied by the West to reject investment from China, and the president does not want the West to impose their will on South Africa. South Africa has a lot it can learn from China with regards to especially technology.
<a href="#">'It is crucial to tell the real China-Africa story'</a>	Global Times	According to the interviewee in this article, people in the West are worried about China-Africa relations as there is now an alternative, and they no longer have a monopoly on influence over the continent. Chinese cooperation as decreased reliance on former colonizers. The assumption that Africa is a victim of China is racist and backward. The future of Africa and China is bright.

---

---

[China-Africa  
community with a  
shared future sets a  
stellar example for  
the world: Global  
Times editorial](#)

---

FOCAC 2024 is one of the biggest diplomatic events that China has seen in recent years. This reflects the elevation of China-Africa cooperation and friendship, which stretches across many areas such as agriculture, infrastructure, green development and healthcare. The article draws on Africa's and China's shared colonial experiences and their fight against imperialism. While criticism from the West has continued, some have voiced their support. The cooperation and trust between Africa and China stands in opposition to the economic global trust crisis.

---

[China-Africa  
cooperation projects  
imprinted on African  
currencies](#)

Xu Keyue

---

Several achievements in China-Africa cooperation are imprinted on currencies of several African countries, such as the Kaleta Hydropower Station in Guinea, built by China International Water and Electric Corporation.

---

---

<p><a href="#"><u>Real choice for Africa: Not between China and US, but who does the right thing</u></a></p>	Victor Gao	<p>FOCAC 2024 has once again indicated how strong China-Africa relations are. In recent years, Western countries have accused China of neo-colonialism and debt-entrapment. These are false, as China views all African countries as equal, and has never attached any political strings to its cooperation with Africa. The US does not want to see deeper China-Africa relations as they worry that Africa will be swept into China's sphere of influence. Any country can engage with any African country as long as they regard them equals.</p>
<p><a href="#"><u>The momentum of China-Africa joining hands to advance modernization is boundless: Global Times editorial</u></a></p>	Global Times	<p>In jointly advancing modernization, China-Africa relations have been elevated to a new level amidst FOCAC 2024. Through collaboration, a development momentum will be generated. This will serve as an inspiration for the Global South and the rest of the world. China is the first developing country to pursue such a win-win initiative without geopolitical interest or any conditions attached.</p>

---

<p><a href="#">China-Africa cooperation gives financial boost the continent needs: AU official</a></p>		<p>China has given Africa the financial boost that it needs amidst constraints in FDI flows from the West. The West's accusation of debt entrapment is false. The reality is that China and Africa hold up win-win collaboration that is beneficial to its people. China is trying to lift Africa countries out of debt and building a stable economy.</p>
<p><a href="#">China strengthens meteorological co-op with Africa</a></p>	<p>Yu Xi</p>	<p>To organize a better climate change response, China and Africa have deepened meteorological cooperation, which include several new projects that utilize Chinese tech across African countries. This falls under one of China's new partnership actions established during FOCAC.</p>
<p><a href="#">China-Africa entrepreneurs conference held in Beijing</a></p>	<p>Liu Caiyu, Fan Anqi, Li Meng</p>	<p>The Entrepreneurs Conference during FOCAC 2024 focused largely on the cooperation potential that lies in digital infrastructure, data centers, and smart cities. Other key areas that require more investments are infrastructure, communications and agriculture. Africa's developmental status and poverty holds back its true potential. Chinese technology will help in this.</p>

<a href="#"><u>Collaboration between China, Africa helps foster a more just global order</u></a>	Global Times	<p>FOCAC 2024 takes place at a critical time amidst geopolitical tensions. Interviews with former officials reveal that China is considered an old, trusted friend. Western approaches involve modernized exploitation. Western countries cannot compete with China in Africa. Modernization under the West has been nothing but Westernization. Africa does not want Western democratization, polarization and condition-based assistance. Collaboration between Africa and China will foster a more just global order and challenge Western-dominated frameworks. Africa can still learn a lot from China's path of modernization.</p>
<a href="#"><u>China-Africa partnership a dynamic catalyst for modernization and growth</u></a>	Wen Sheng	<p>Africa and China are standing together to strive for a better livelihood for its people. During FOCAC 2024, China has pledged to advance modernization in Africa further with new partnerships. The West have attempted to label China as neocolonial, trapping Africa in debt, but it was their own actions that have caused African poverty. Africa is denigrated in the West, but China helps the continent in fulfilling its potential. Together,</p>

---

		they oppose the West and continue to pursue economic globalization.
<a href="#">More room for China-South Africa tourism collaboration: ambassador</a>	Tao Mingyang	South African tourism is getting a boost from BRI infrastructure projects. BRI roads lead to the most remote areas of the country. China is one of South Africa's important tourist source markets. Increasing infrastructure projects and sustainability development has led to a growth in tourism and economy.
<a href="#">Miles apart, yet close at heart: China-Africa cooperation deepens in new era</a>	Ji Deqiang	Collaboration between China and Africa has resulted in an all-weather community that goes beyond economics and politics. The connection between China and Africa can be described as humanistic, based on the interaction of ordinary people. Public service improvements, infrastructure projects and healthcare modernization are central.

---

---

<a href="#">China and Africa jointly build a model for implementing GDI</a>	Wei Jianguo	<p>During FOCAC 2024, the Global Development Initiative (GDI) was introduced. GDI represents significant and tangible achievements that promote shared development and modernization. Africa's desire for modernization and peace align with GDI, and demonstrates that China-Africa cooperation is based on shared values. It is expected that despite the turbulent international landscape, China-Africa cooperation will continue to grow stronger, as it has since they started working together in the 1950s to combat colonialism and hegemony.</p>	
Xinhua News Agency	<a href="#">Across China: China's development insights inspire young people from Africa</a>	Xinhua (ed. huaxia)	<p>China is stepping towards green economic development, shown to African people visiting China under a program. Those visiting are inspired by China's steps in green technology and are looking forward to applying this in their home countries. More cooperation between China and Africa beyond infrastructure is expected for the future.</p>

---

---

[Across China:  
Central China market  
nurtures blossoming  
of China-Africa trade  
opportunities](#)

---

[Activities held to  
promote youth  
communication  
between China,  
Africa](#)

---

[Xi Story: Nurturing a  
bright future for  
China-Africa  
cooperation](#)

---

---

Demand from Africa for Chinese goods have been rising, but also led to a shortage in raw materials, which are in turn acquired from Africa. The article provides several examples of platform through which China-Africa trade is facilitated.

---

Various activities were held to facilitate communication between African and Chinese youth. Cultural exchange took place with the help of African university volunteers.

---

According to Xi, the youth is the key to a prosperous future for China and Africa. This idea has been showcased through several projects under FOCAC, focused on education. Talents who have enjoyed these measures have thanked Xi in a letter. Xi focused on how China-Africa cooperation has benefited from them and also recommended them to visit China more often to contribute to the China-Africa friendship.

---

<p><a href="#">(Hello Africa) Zimbabwean company harnesses China's advanced technologies to promote business growth</a></p>		<p>A Zimbabwean company has adopted Chinese technology such as cleaning robots to their advantage. Zimbabwe mostly imports machinery, and exports raw materials. Doing business with China is cheaper, more efficient and better for local businesses. Adopting tech from China is a major part of Zimbabwe's modernization drive.</p>
<p><a href="#">Guest Opinion: Jointly build a closer China-Africa community with shared future to push forward China-Eritrea strategic partnership</a></p>	<p>Li Xiang</p>	<p>FOCAC provides an opportunity for China and Africa to deepen their relationship amidst ongoing anti-globalization, unilateralism and global crises. Politically, China and Africa share a similar history of suffering. Culturally, they share similar values. Economically, they share similar goals. They must face the future together and build on common goals.</p>
<p><a href="#">(FOCAC) Interview: China-Africa cooperation advances in test of time – Ethiopian expert</a></p>	<p>Xinhua (ed. huaxia)</p>	<p>As the world keeps changing, China-Africa cooperation keeps thriving. Their history has fostered an unwavering win-win, brotherly relationship, based on respect for sovereignty, equality and independence. Africa's modernization can be further increased through help in sectors such as infrastructure, technology, education and health care.</p>

---

[\(FOCAC\) Xinhua  
Commentary:  
China-Africa  
cooperation bolsters  
common  
development of  
Global South](#)

---

[Xi Story:  
Xi-proposed  
principle brings  
China, Africa closer](#)

---

[\(FOCAC\) Interview:  
FOCAC summit key  
means to leverage  
China-Africa  
partnership, says  
consultancy chief](#)

---

---

Solidarity and cooperation between China and Africa continue and set an example for the Global South. China continues to maintain the “five-no” approach unlike the West. Africa still continues to suffer under historical Western colonization, but China and Africa are working together to transform this environment towards multilateralism. China has also helped strengthen Africa’s voice in international affairs.

---

In 2013, Xi introduced the principle of “sincerity, real results, amity and good faith.” China has continued to adhere this principle with Africa. Through FOCAC, Xi has announced new arrangements to expand cooperation and deepen friendship, underpinned by this principle.

---

China has helped Africa a great deal in its genuine needs, which is different from the West. China and Africa are an example of shaping a multipolar world. The interviewee hopes this can be an example to the rest of the Global South.

---

<p><a href="#">(FOCAC) Xinhua Headlines: China-Africa partnership forges path to mutual growth, modernization</a></p>	<p>You Zhixin, Yu Shuaishuai, Xhang Mengjie, Zhao Yihe, Li Hualing, Lin Jing, Li Zhuoqun, Naftali Mwaura</p>	<p>As a result of amity and trust, China-Africa cooperation has increased and led to win-win results in diverse areas. There is immense economic growth potential in Africa, and equally immense contribution potential from China. China’s projects and programs will only improve cooperation and Africa’s prospects.</p>
<p><a href="#">Chinese FM meets South African and Senegalese counterparts on China-Africa cooperation</a></p>	<p>Xinhua (ed. huaxia)</p>	<p>The Chinese FM has met with several African officials to discuss further cooperation, building on solidarity and friendship. He states that China stands by Africa in creating an equal and multipolar world.</p>
<p><a href="#">(FOCAC) Explainer: Why it is absurd to accuse China of practicing “neocolonialism” in Africa</a></p>	<p>Cheng Wangqi</p>	<p>Western countries accuse China of “neocolonialism” in Africa through massive investments and prioritizing Chinese interests over local needs. This is to protect Western interests. Chinese projects in Africa have improved livelihoods and created jobs, while U.S. sanctions on African countries have cost jobs. While Western countries promote their own values and systems, China provides help where it is actually needed.</p>

<p><a href="#">(FOCAC) China's "Debt Trap" in Africa false narrative hyped up by Western world</a></p>	<p>Wang Zongnan, Zhao Zhiqin</p>	<p>The "debt trap" narratives to maintain Western dominance. Many experts say that China is not behind debt troubles. Only a smart part of debt can be attributed to China. China has also been more generous in debt relief in comparison to the West. The narrative is aimed to discredit China's growing influence, but no African country takes it seriously.</p>
<p><a href="#">(FOCAC) China offers Africa real helping hand, not handout</a></p>		<p>China is accused of using "debt trap" by the West, however African countries know the truth. China offers a real helping hand through projects which have improved several critical sectors and are learning Africa how to help themselves.</p>
<p><a href="#">China, Africa see rapid trade growth</a></p>	<p>Xinhua (ed. huaxia)</p>	<p>There's been a rapid increase in the scale of imports and exports in China-Africa trade. Industrial ties between China and Africa have become increasingly close as well.</p>
<p><a href="#">(FOCAC) China joining hands with Africa in addressing climate change, says official</a></p>		<p>China is cooperating to provide concrete aid to African countries to help them against climate change. China and African states have taken on various types of agreements to combat climate change together.</p>

---

[South Africa to introduce new scheme facilitating tourists from China, India](#)

---

[Xinhua Headlines: What to expect at upcoming China-Africa cooperation summit](#)

---

[Interview: China's development inspires Africa's path to modernization](#)

---

---

Several measures, such as visa processing efficiency, will be taken to facilitate tourism from China and India to South Africa. This is part of the country's move to unlock its tourism potential, to in turn boost its economy.

---

At the opening ceremony of FOCAC, Xi will focus on a shared future between China and Africa. The summit will consist of four high-level meetings on state governance, industrialization and agricultural modernization, peace and security, and BRI cooperation. An entrepreneur conference will also be held. Two documents will be adopted to implement cooperation for the next years.

---

China serves as a model for Africa's modernization says the executive director from a Ghana-based think tank. According to him, China and Africa share many similarities. China's support for Africa, particularly in infrastructure and training youth, is crucial for Africa's modernization. He also states that China's support surpasses all others.

---

---

[Xi, Ramaphosa  
announce elevation  
of China-South  
Africa ties](#)

---

[\(FOCAC\) Interview:  
FOCAC significant  
platform for  
pragmatic, efficient  
China-Africa  
cooperation: Sudan's  
energy minister](#)

---

---

China and South Africa have announced an elevation of their bilateral ties during FOCAC 2024. Xi called for the two countries to continue their relationship with trust and joint. Xi stresses that while the international situation grows more complex, the Global South must stand together and safeguard their independence and international fairness.

---

Sudan's energy minister says that FOCAC has enhanced pragmatic and efficient cooperation. Through FOCAC, China and Africa will renew their friendship for the future. Sudan-China relations are "a model of South-South cooperation." He hopes that collaboration will also expand to technology and green development in the future.

---

---

[\(FOCAC\)](#)  
[Diplomacy: Xi encourages African scholars to bolster China-Africa cooperation, Global South development](#)

---

Xi hopes that both Africa and China will step up research on the development path of Global South countries and on China-Africa cooperation. China-Africa academic exchanges have led to a better understanding on both sides, which has led to better policies and the development of various sectors. The increase in scholarships and educational opportunities for African students has also bolstered skills and knowledge which can drive progress in Africa. China's commitment to peaceful development and path of modernization is an example to the Global South. FOCAC 2024 will usher in an even deeper cooperation for the future.

---

[FOCAC to further strengthen China-Africa ties by upholding win-win cooperation](#)

Tom Pauken  
II

---

FOCAC can deliver a big boost to China-Africa trade and investment, which will also lead to further modernization. African countries are eager to work together closely with China to accelerate modernization and infrastructure. Africa will play a larger role on the world stage as China helps them on the way in the future due to their young potential and high economic potential.

---

---

<a href="#">(FOCAC) Explainer: What makes China and Africa natural green partners</a>	Xinhua (ed. huaxia)	<p>The West accuses China of overcapacity in green industry and that it would threaten developing countries. However, African countries have embraced Chinese green products to address their development needs. Energy shortage is a significant impediment to economic development in Africa, as despite its abundance of bioenergy resources, Africa relies mostly on fossil fuels. China is able to provide affordable, accessible and practical green products to Africa, as well as set up projects to support green development.</p>
<a href="#">Ghanaian expert says China's development inspires Africa's path to modernization</a>		<hr/> <p>China is an important modernization inspiration for Africa. China and Africa share many similarities and similar pre-conditions. FOCAC will outline future cooperation between them. China has supported Africa in many ways, especially infrastructure development in which it is the leading investor. China has also contributed largely to human resource development.</p> <hr/>

---

<a href="#">(FOCAC) Guest Opinion: China's modernization drive: inspirations, opportunities for Africa</a>	Sithembiso Bhengu	China is not only a model of development for Africa, but also gives people the confidence to determine their own future. China's modernization can be achieved without exploitation or one fixed model of political systems unlike the West. The development of China also provides possibilities for the entire Global South. For Africa to modernize, they must use key lessons from China to inform their own path.
<a href="#">(FOCAC) Xinhua Commentary: China-Africa partnership an example for building shared future</a>	Liu Bowei	China's relationship with Africa has deep roots of solidarity, and makes a multi-faceted partnership of various fields. This has been met with criticism from the West, using narratives of debt trap and neocolonialism. However, China respects African countries' sovereignty and priorities, while the West imposes conditionalities on aid. While the world is torn by power politics, China-Africa partnership highlights equality and win-win cooperation.

---

<p><a href="#">(FOCAC) Xinhua Headlines: China-Africa cooperation empowers African countries' drive towards modernization</a></p>	<p>Xinhua (ed. huaxia)</p>	<p>China has launched plans in Africa in three key areas: industrialization through investments and infrastructure development, agricultural modernization through new technologies and experts, and talent development in various sectors through education and workshops.</p>
<p><a href="#">(FOCAC) China-Africa economic, trade cooperation to maintain strong momentum: official</a></p>		<p>China-Africa trade has been consistently strong for the past years and showcases their friendship. Other opportunities for the future lie in digital economy, green development and AI.</p>
<p><a href="#">(FOCAC) Interview: China-Africa consensus on green growth, peace rock-solid – Kenyan president</a></p>		<p>China's development is an inspiration to Africa. China-Kenya relations have led to the construction of important infrastructure projects, and their private sector is growing. FOCAC will focus on how they can unlock industrialization, youth talent development and agricultural modernization together. China also offers inspiration for Africa on green development.</p>

<p><a href="#">(FOCAC) Interview: FOCAC enriches Africa-China relations, says Egyptian PM</a></p>	<p>Mao Lei, Yao Bing</p>	<p>FOCAC is not just important for economic relations, but also for collective dialogue. It has the potential to further advance relations. Egypt was the first African country to establish ties with China, and bilateral relations have since been growing. It is one of the first countries to join the BRI. Egypt will work together with China in the future.</p>
<p><a href="#">(FOCAC) China-Africa cooperation focuses on real results: Xi Jinping</a></p>	<p>Xinhua (ed. huaxia)</p>	<p>Kenya's first modern railway since independence is a collaboration between Kenya and China under the BRI. It has considerable lessened travel time. This is just one part of broader cooperation between China and Africa. China is helping Africa help themselves by working on Africa's weak foundation for industrialization.</p>
<p><a href="#">(FOCAC) "China and Africa are as close as one family": Xi Jinping</a></p>		<p>Xi states that China follows the principle of "affinity" to strengthen their friendship with Africa. Africa and China have been there for each other in the past, from China's admittance to the UN and the Ebola outbreak in 2014.</p>

---

[\(FOCAC\) Good faith should be honored in China-Africa ties: Xi Jinping](#)

---

[Interview: China injects impetus into Africa's green energy transition through EVs – UN official](#)

---

[\(FOCAC\) Xinhua Headlines: Xi hosts African leaders, lauds model China-Africa ties ahead of grand summit](#)

---

---

China-Africa ties are based on good faith, which should be honored when solving problems according to Xi. This is for example true in trade relations. Still, the West accuses China of neocolonialism. African leaders recognize that this is not true.

---

Collaboration between China and Africa in the promotion of EVs is highly important to steer Africa towards a greener future. Now, Africa is still mostly reliant on fossil fuels. UNECA and China are working together with Africa to address the challenges that hinder the EV sector in Africa, such as the production of batteries. China and Africa's collaboration in green energy reaches further than EVs.

---

Xi has noted ahead of FOCAC 2024 that the China-Africa community sets a stellar example for building a community with a shared future for humanity. China and Africa share a robust friendship that is only growing stronger. They have worked together on many different projects that have changed lives. Together they will strive for modernization and an equal and inclusive world.

---

<p><a href="#">(FOCAC) Economic Watch: Local governments in China strengthening cooperation with Africa</a></p>		<p>Zhejiang and Hunan are both strengthening their cooperation with Africa. Trade between them has been rising, and industrial cooperation has also expanded. Zhejiang has provided training to African companies, invested in enterprises and has sent medical teams to Africa. Hunan has also established sister cities with African countries, and has accepted many students from Africa.</p>
<p><a href="#">(FOCAC) Economic Watch: Practical cooperation boosts tangible outcomes in China-Africa partnership</a></p>	<p>Xinhua</p>	<p>Discussions between China and Africa ahead of FOCAC 2024 are highly concrete, focusing on cooperation in specific areas. This reflects the principle of “sincerity, real results, amity and good faith.” This is visible through China’s achievements in infrastructure, job creation and agricultural development. FOCAC 2024 is set to focus more on digital technology and renewable energy.</p>
<p><a href="#">(FOCAC) Interview: DR Congo president considers China “reliable partner” of Africa</a></p>	<p>Xinhua (ed. huaxia)</p>	<p>FOCAC has led to several projects that are beneficial to the DRC. DRC’s president refutes claims of debt trap and highlights China’s deep commitment to helping Africa develop as well as his warm friendship with Xi Jinping. China’s transformation over the decades serves as an inspiration to Congo.</p>

---

Building a community of shared future is essential for the rise of the Global South.

---

[China to implement 10 partnership action plans with Africa to advance modernization: Xi](#)

---

[\(FOCAC\) Xi says China to work with UN for Africa's peace, development](#)

---

China will work together with Africa to implement 10 partnership action plans to advance modernization. Plans cover a wide set of areas.

---

China is ready to work with the UN to secure Africa's peace, stability and development says Xi at FOCAC 2024. This is not out of selfish interests, but to improve African livelihood. Practicing multilateralism and working towards a more equitable global governance remains key in Chinese diplomacy.

---

[\(FOCAC\) Interview: China-Africa cooperation forum a platform for fruitful exchanges, says Senegalese president](#)

---

FOCAC is an important tool for the strengthening and diversification of China-Africa relations. It is also an important moment to reflect on results, outline new plans, consolidate solidarity and mobilize resources for win-win cooperation. The president of Senegal hopes to enhance cooperation in agriculture and digitalization among others. China is an inspiration to Africa.

---

---

[\(FOCAC\) Xi calls for building all-weather China-Africa community with shared future for new era](#)

---

[Joint pursuit of modernization by China, Africa to set off modernization wave in Global South: Xi](#)

---

[\(FOCAC\) China-Africa partnership main pillar of South-South cooperation: UN chief](#)

---

[\(FOCAC\) Interview: China a reliable partner of Africa's development: Rwandan president](#)

---

---

China-Africa relations are elevated to an “all-weather” community. Diplomatic ties are elevated to the level of strategic relations. China-Africa relations have never been better.

---

The rest of the Global South will follow the path of modernization that China and Africa are setting out together. This modernization is just, mutually beneficial, eco-friendly, diverse and inclusive, and peaceful.

---

China and Africa's joint efforts can create new momentum for African development according to the UN chief. China's own development path sets an example. China can count on the UN to support a strong China-Africa partnership towards a shared goal of peace.

---

Rwanda and China share a similar history of suffering and overcoming challenges. Cooperation in multiple fields has led to tangible results. China's scale of development and modernization is an inspiration to Rwanda. Accusations of debt traps or neocolonialism are false, and Rwanda values its relationship with China. China's cooperation is based on sincerity and real results, and

---

		<p>China-Africa cooperation is essential for the voice of the Global South.</p>
<p><a href="#">(FOCAC) Economic Watch: China's new energy products popular in Africa</a></p>		<p>Chinese green energy products have improved livelihood in Africa. Such products include solar-powered pumps to improve farm efficiency and EVs that increase earnings due to lower maintenance costs and cheap charging costs.</p>
<p><a href="#">(FOCAC) Feature: Connecting continents: Journeys of African scholars foster China-Africa communication</a></p>		<p>Education on Africa in China is growing, leading to alumni who further African research or who contribute to China-Africa people-to-people exchanges. The teacher in question recalls her warm memories of students, cultural exchanges and of China.</p>
<p><a href="#">(Hello Africa) Cooperation with China fuels Ethiopia's ambition to harness untapped bamboo resources</a></p>	<p>Habtamu Worku, Liu Fangqiang</p>	<p>Collaborations with China are helping Ethiopia better utilize its bamboo resources. Bamboo is currently mostly used for house construction and producing agricultural tools. As the Ethiopian government has realized the true potential bamboo development can bring to livelihood, China and other partners are extending support in technology sharing.</p>

---

<a href="#">(FOCAC) Economic Watch: Summit draws roadmap for China-Africa joint efforts in modernization drive</a>	Xinhua (ed. huaxia)	FOCAC 2024 has led to concrete plans for China and Africa to further pursue modernization. Plans cover different areas of need, such as agriculture, connectivity and green development. Africa welcomes China’s continuing cooperation. FOCAC 2024 is another milestone in the Global South’s path to modernization. China and Africa continue to adhere to their win-win relationship.
<a href="#">(FOCAC) Chinese premier urges higher-level China-Africa economic, trade cooperation</a>		China-Africa trade is an important part of bilateral cooperation as well as further advancing modernization. The Chinese premier notes that both sides should strengthen market alignment. Further industrial integration and promotion of innovation is also essential.
<a href="#">(FOCAC) Africa-China partnership based on sharing of visions – Mauritanian president</a>		The Mauritanian president notes that Africa-China relations are not just based on economic exchanges, but mostly visions, such as the belief in a community with a shared future for mankind. FOCAC shows that it is possible to build relations based on solidarity, respect and mutual benefits.

---

<p><a href="#">(FOCAC) China remains all-time friend of Central Africa – president of Republic of the Congo</a></p>		<p>The president of the Republic of Congo shares that he feels that China is an all-time friend for Central Africa at FOCAC 2024. Africa is happy with the new plans presented by their friend Xi Jinping. Their close bond is based on a shared history, values and solidarity.</p>
<p><a href="#">(FOCAC) Interview: Africa’s partnership with China example for Global South cooperation, says Comorian president</a></p>	<p>Xinhua</p>	<p>Ahead of FOCAC 2024, the Comorian President has states that China-Africa partnership is an inspiration to the rest of the Global South. This is because of China’s non-interference principle, consideration of Africa as an equal partner and all-around cooperation. China has been an important partner to the Comoros in various fields of need.</p>
<p><a href="#">(FOCAC) China a true partner of Africa: Tanzanian President</a></p>	<p>Xinhua (ed. huaxia)</p>	<p>The Tanzanian president has shared his positive feelings for China in their fight against poverty at FOCAC 2024. He is pleased with the elevation of China-Africa relations and the new plans made to advance modernization together. FOCAC reflects solidarity and commitment to building a shared future of progress and prosperity.</p>

---

[China pledges measures to enhance China-Africa cooperation on education](#)

---

[\(FOCAC\) Economic Watch: China-Africa economic, trade cooperation continues to gain momentum](#)

---

[\(FOCAC\) Xinhua Commentary: China a reliable partner of Africa in shared pursuit of modernization](#)

---

---

Multiple programs will be launched to improve educational cooperation between China and Africa. This includes cooperation between Chinese and African universities and teacher training.

---

China has announced 10 new partnership actions at FOCAC 2024 to further advance modernization in Africa and the Global South. These partnership actions cover a wide range of areas. There is large potential in industrial and supply chains, digital economy, green development and AI.

---

China-Africa cooperation has expanded across various sectors over the years, such as infrastructure and agriculture. While Africa has great potential for industrialization, energy shortages impede this process, to which China has responded with expertise in green technology. Modernization is a right of all countries, hence China-Africa cooperation is rooted in equality, expelling the belief that modernization means Westernization. As a developing country itself, China understands Africa, and does not pursue neocolonialism.

---

---

[Interview:  
China-Africa  
cooperation holds  
vast potential for  
mutual benefit, says  
economist](#)

---

[\(FOCAC\) World  
Insights: China,  
Africa on  
modernization  
journey together](#)

---

[\(FOCAC\) Vice  
premier says China  
ready to advance  
cooperation with  
Africa, UNESCO](#)

---

---

China-Africa cooperation is based on win-win outcomes, as shown in China's cost-efficient services to Africa. Projects undertaken by China in Africa have boosted industries such as agriculture. Other new opportunities lie in renewable energy.

---

China and Africa share a deep, historical friendship that only grows stronger as China helps Africa modernize and industrialize with projects that improve livelihood, especially in infrastructure. China is also growing more involved in green, talent and agricultural development. This is all underpinned by the belief of China that no country should be left behind on the path to modernization. It's also an inspiration to the rest of the Global South.

---

China is ready to work together to work together with UNESCO and Africa to advance education and cultural cooperation. This includes digital education exchanges and the protection of cultural heritage.

---

---

[\(FOCAC\) Interview: China has demonstrated constant commitment to Africa's development, says Madagascar's president](#)

---

According to Madagascar's president, China has opened up new prospects for Africa in areas such as infrastructure and industrialization under principles of sincerity, real results, amity and good faith. The BRI has helped Africa integrate more into the global supply chain. FOCAC is a forum for concrete results, and South-South cooperation.

---

[FOCAC provides platform to deepen China-Africa cooperation on global issues: Ghanaian expert](#)

---

FOCAC provides a platform to discuss new ideas that China has been promoting. FOCAC in general, as well as its 2024 theme of "Joining Hands" reflects the need to work together for the greater good of humanity and a future together.

---

[Interview: S. Africa eyes potential for cooperation with China on modernization, says ANC official](#)

Xie Jiang,  
Wang  
Xiaomei

---

An African National Congress official says that FOCAC has led to real results through mutually beneficial cooperation. The 2024 theme of "Joining Hands to Advance Modernization" fits both China's and Africa's goals. The relationship between Africa and China will elevate the voice of the Global South.

---

<a href="#">1st China-East Africa Ministerial Dialogue on Law Enforcement and Security Cooperation held in Beijing</a>	Xinhua (ed. huaxia)	<p>This event marks a deepening of security cooperation between China and East African countries.</p> <p>China-Africa relations have been elevated to the level of strategic relations and an all-weather community.</p>
<a href="#">China Focus: China starts import of mutton products from Africa</a>	Xinhua	<p>China has started to import mutton from Africa, which is a breakthrough in China-Africa meat trade. This will be sold across Hunan. The African meat has quality and price advantages in the Chinese market.</p>
<a href="#">(Hello Africa) China-aided hospital bears testimony to growing China-Zimbabwe ties</a>	Xinhua (ed. huaxia)	<p>In Zimbabwe there is a China-aided hospital with several departments. This has had a significant impact on healthcare. China has also aided in specialist care and healthcare technology.</p>
<a href="#">Feature: Youth a cornerstone of stronger China-Africa cooperation</a>		<p>The youth is the future of the friendship between Africa and China, as well as their cooperative partnership. It is thus necessary to invest in the youth as they dedicate themselves to various fields of cooperation. Chinese modernization has shown Africa that they must form their own path to modernization based on their own needs.</p>

---

<a href="#"><u>China's green energy projects to boost development in Africa: German media</u></a>	Xinhua	During FOCAC 2024, new clean energy projects were announced, as well as additional financial support for green development. China's green products are already very popular in Africa, while these same products are facing challenges in the West due to tariff barriers. It is ironic that the West is accusing China of doing too much for green energy.
<a href="#"><u>China Focus: Chinese medical teams deliver life-changing care across Africa</u></a>	Xinhua (ed. huaxia)	Chinese doctors who have worked in Africa note the lack of medical resources, and the way they've contributed to African medical care. Chinese doctors are of great importance in Africa.
<a href="#"><u>Xinhua Commentary: China-Africa cooperation inspires friendship across mountains and sea</u></a>	Lu Jiafei, Ye Shuhong	China has firsthand experience in lifting many people out of poverty. To China, this is also a global priority, which resonates with Africa, where they view this as inspiration. Through technology sharing, targeted investments and other projects, China is helping Africa. The BRI plays a critical role.

---

---

<a href="#">Interview: China-Africa cooperation mutually beneficial in essence – former S. African diplomat</a>	Xinhua (ed. huaxia)	<p>The power of China-Africa cooperation lies in mutual benefit, common development, bringing real results to their peoples, giving a voice to the Global South and creating more favorable conditions for international cooperation. Because of their accomplishments, China serves as an inspiration to Africa.</p>
<hr/>		
<a href="#">(FOCAC) Interview: FOCAC best proof of China-Africa win-win cooperation, says Sudan leader</a>		<p>FOCAC contributes to bilateral cooperation that benefits both sides. The leader of Sudan views China’s policy towards Africa positively. Mutual trust and cooperation are what guarantees success. Cooperation is already taking place, but should be deepened further.</p>

---

**Note.** All articles have been accessed between November 21st and November 25th, 2025.

## Bibliography

- Aghogho, U. (2025, June 30). Top 10 African countries losing out as Trump freezes \$6B USAID funding - Finance in Africa. *Finance in Africa*.  
<https://financeinfrica.com/insights/top-african-countries-losing-usaid/>
- Alden, C. (2007). *China in Africa*. Zed Books. <http://eprints.lse.ac.uk/12210/>
- Bhengui, S. (2024, September 3). (FOCAC) Guest Opinion: China's modernization drive: inspirations, opportunities for Africa. Xinhua News Agency.  
<https://english.news.cn/20240903/288a98cd60e54b2f860d1fa33b862e88/c.html>
- Carrai, M. A. (2025). The Belt and Road initiative and emerging US-China rivalries in Africa: the case of the Lobito Corridor. *Global Policy*.  
<https://doi.org/10.1111/1758-5899.70055>
- Chen, W. (2024, September 2). (FOCAC) Explainer: Why it is absurd to accuse China of practising "neocolonialism" in Africa. Xinhua News Agency.  
<https://english.news.cn/20240902/acaab9933ccf451687d2bf0b90cb752a/c.html>
- China's African policy. (2006). In *Nederlands Instituut Voor Zuidelijk Afrika*.  
<http://archive.niza.nl/docs/200610161531516462.pdf>
- Debisa, N. G., & Borah, D. (2025). Great powers in Africa: the US and China's rival interests in Ethiopia. *Politikon*, 52(1), 55–80. <https://doi.org/10.1080/02589346.2025.2518718>
- Ecofin Agency. (2021). *China-Africa trade up 4.8% to \$295bn in 2024*.  
[https://www.ecofinagency.com/public-management/2001-46339-china-africa-trade-up-4-8-to-295bn-in-2024#:~:text=China%20has%20also%20increased%20imports,\\$300%20billion%20annually%20by%202035.](https://www.ecofinagency.com/public-management/2001-46339-china-africa-trade-up-4-8-to-295bn-in-2024#:~:text=China%20has%20also%20increased%20imports,$300%20billion%20annually%20by%202035.)
- El-Shafei, A. W., & Metawe, M. (2021). China drive toward Africa between arguments of neo-colonialism and mutual-beneficial relationship: Egypt as a case study. *Review of*

*Economics and Political Science*, 7(2), 137–152.

<https://doi.org/10.1108/reps-03-2021-0028>

Fan, A., & Liu, C. (2024, September 5). *China, Africa to stay at forefront in pursuing modernization*. The Global Times.

<https://www.globaltimes.cn/page/202409/1319267.shtml>

*Forum on China-Africa Cooperation Beijing Action Plan (2007-2009)*. (2006).

[http://www.focac.org/eng/zywx\\_1/zywj/200611/t20061116\\_7933564.htm](http://www.focac.org/eng/zywx_1/zywj/200611/t20061116_7933564.htm)

*Forum on China-Africa Cooperation Beijing Action Plan (2025-2027)*. (2024).

[https://2024focacsummit.mfa.gov.cn/eng/hyqk\\_1/202409/t20240906\\_11486213.htm](https://2024focacsummit.mfa.gov.cn/eng/hyqk_1/202409/t20240906_11486213.htm)

Foucault, M. (1972). *The Archaeology of Knowledge: And The Discourse on Language* (A. M. Sheridan Smith, Trans.). Pantheon Books.

[https://monoskop.org/images/9/90/Foucault\\_Michel\\_Archaeology\\_of\\_Knowledge.pdf](https://monoskop.org/images/9/90/Foucault_Michel_Archaeology_of_Knowledge.pdf)

Foucault, M. (1978). *The History of Sexuality: Volume 1: An Introduction* (R. Hurley, Trans.). Pantheon Books.

[https://www.uib.no/sites/w3.uib.no/files/attachments/foucaulthistory\\_of\\_sexualityvol1.pdf](https://www.uib.no/sites/w3.uib.no/files/attachments/foucaulthistory_of_sexualityvol1.pdf)

Gao, V. (2024, September 6). *Real choice for Africa: Not between China and US, but who does the right thing*. The Global Times.

<https://www.globaltimes.cn/page/202409/1319377.shtml>

Global Times. (n.d.). *Liu Caiyu*. Retrieved November 30, 2025, from

<https://www.globaltimes.cn/author/Reporter-Liu-Caiyu.html>

Global Times. (2024, September 2). *GT Voice: China-Africa cooperation won't be thwarted by Western anxiety*. The Global Times.

<https://www.globaltimes.cn/page/202409/1319100.shtml>

- He, W. (2014). Review and Reflection on China's African Policy in the Past 60 Years. In H. Zhang (Ed.), & X. Sun, L. Luo, & M. Xu (Trans.), *China-Africa Relations: Review and Analysis* (Vol. 1, pp. 1–18). Paths International Ltd.
- Jian, J., & Frasher, D. (2014). Neo-colonialism or De-colonialism? China's economic engagement in Africa and the implications for world order. *African Journal of Political Science and International Relations*, 8(7), 185–201.  
<https://doi.org/10.5897/ajpsir2014.0687>
- Lumumba-Kasongo, T. (2011). China-Africa relations: a Neo-Imperialism or a Neo-Colonialism? A reflection\*. *African and Asian Studies*, 10(2–3), 234–266.  
<https://doi.org/10.1163/156921011x587040>
- Madamombe, P. (2025). *Towards a Zimbabwean lithium industry*. Leiden Asia Centre.  
<https://leidenasiacentre.nl/towards-a-zimbabwean-lithium-industry/>
- Mitchell, T., & Hille, K. (2021, June 21). *Western powers reignite Beijing's anger after G7 and Nato warnings*. Financial Times.  
<https://www.ft.com/content/0da3c218-e3e6-402e-b87e-21570bd68ba7>
- Rapanyane, M. (2021). Neocolonialism and New imperialism: Unpacking the Real Story of China's Africa Engagement in Angola, Kenya, and Zambia. *Journal of African Foreign Affairs*, 8(3), 89–112. <https://doi.org/10.31920/2056-5658/2021/v8n3a5>
- Rui, L. (2024). *Illustration depicting Western observation of China-Africa cooperation* [Illustration]. Global Times.  
<https://www.globaltimes.cn/page/202409/1319377.shtml>
- Rui, L. (2024). *Illustration of China-Africa cooperation* [Illustration]. Global Times.  
<https://www.globaltimes.cn/page/202409/1319100.shtml>
- Schneider, F. (2025). *Studying Political communication and media in East Asia: A Playful Textbook*. Amsterdam University Press.

Van Mead, N. (2018, July 31). China in Africa: win-win development, or a new colonialism? *The Guardian*.

<https://www.theguardian.com/cities/2018/jul/31/china-in-africa-win-win-development-or-a-new-colonialism>

Xi, J. (2024, September 5). *Full text: Keynote address by Chinese President Xi Jinping at opening ceremony of 2024 FOCAC summit*. The State Council The People's Republic Of China.

[https://english.www.gov.cn/news/202409/05/content\\_WS66d964bdc6d0868f4e8eaa07.html](https://english.www.gov.cn/news/202409/05/content_WS66d964bdc6d0868f4e8eaa07.html)

Xin, X. (2018). Popularizing party journalism in China in the age of social media: The case of Xinhua News Agency. *Global Media and China*, 3(1), 3–17.

<https://doi.org/10.1177/2059436418768331>

Xinhua. (2024, September 1). *(FOCAC) Xinhua Commentary: China-Africa cooperation bolsters common development of Global South*. Xinhua News Agency.

<https://english.news.cn/20240901/d597dc0d0ff54c649a25343482371610/c.html>

Xinhua. (2024). *Xi Jinping and African leaders at FOCAC welcome banquet* [Photograph]. Global Times.

<https://www.globaltimes.cn/page/202409/1319267.shtml>

Zeng, W., & Sparks, C. (2020). Popular nationalism: Global Times and the US–China trade war. *International Communication Gazette*, 82(1), 26–41.

<https://doi.org/10.1177/1748048519880723>

Zhang, F., Yang, M., & Lenzoumbou, I. B. (2025). China-US competition in Africa: an international order perspective. *The Pacific Review*, 1–32.

<https://doi.org/10.1080/09512748.2025.2514550>

Zhang, X. (2011). *Transformation of political communication in China: From Propaganda to hegemony*. World Scientific.

Zhao, Y. (2008). *Communication in China: Political Economy, Power, and Conflict*.

Bloomsbury Publishing PLC.