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## "China in Africa: Implications for U.S. Policy"

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A Statement by

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# China in Africa: Implications for U.S. Policy

**J. Stephen Morrison**

## Introduction

Senators Feingold and Isakson, I am very grateful for the opportunity to speak today at this timely hearing.

In late 2006, CSIS and the China Institute for International Studies (CIIS) hosted a conference in Beijing that examined the scope, characteristics, and drivers of China's engagement in Africa. The results were detailed in the CSIS conference report, *China's Expanding Role in Africa: Implications for the United States.* In your invitation letter, Senator Feingold, you cited the conclusions of that report and asked that I comment on new, emerging evidence and thinking on China's role in Africa, based on CSIS's ongoing work, and the implications these developments may have for U.S. policy.

To answer Senator Feingold's question, I will base my remarks largely on a subsequent major CSIS conference, held in Washington Dec. 5-6 2007, in collaboration with the Stockholm International Peace Research Institute (SIPRI) and CIIS. It featured senior leaders and expert analysts from China, the United States, Kenya, Nigeria, Angola, Swaziland, and Uganda. It solicited a range of African views on the impacts of Chinese engagement in Africa, and sought to identify concrete areas for future U.S.-Chinese-African collaboration. The full conference report will be available on the CSIS website at the end of this week.

## China's expansive engagement in Kenya, Angola and Nigeria

At the December 2007 conference, commissioned papers were tabled that examined in depth China's engagement in Kenya, Angola, and Nigeria. The authors, experts from the three focal countries, each drew on extensive in-country interviews. It was our view that this type of informed, ground-level analysis has been largely absent from most discussions of China's expanding role in Africa. Interestingly, while the authors varied considerably in their approach and focus, all three described a largely positive and pragmatic relationship with China, and emphasized that engagement is maturing as country capacities and priorities evolve. The three country studies are contained in the full conference report.

Michael Chege, UNDP advisor to Kenya's Ministry of Planning and National Development, argues that China's resounding economic entry into Africa has been poorly served by most literature on the subject, which often depicts African economies under threat of malevolent Chinese investment strategies and a flood of cheap manufactured goods. In the Kenyan instance, the Chinese-Kenyan relationship has by-and-large been mutually beneficial.

Chege challenges the assertions that increased imports from China have harmed the Kenyan economy, arguing that Kenya's manufacturing output has risen and become more diversified while imports from China have been rising to record levels. Chinese construction firms are not inherently detrimental to Kenyan interests; they are a leading source of employment, and create infrastructure at lower costs, making Kenya's economy more competitive overall. The study finds that most Kenyans are pleased with the transportation networks Chinese firms have provided, despite widespread criticism of inferior Chinese construction.

China's share of Kenya's external development assistance has increased dramatically, from .08 percent of total assistance in 2002 to 13 percent in 2005. In Kenya, there is no single predominant oil or other natural resource base. Accordingly, China's investments are spread across multiple other sectors.

Kenya will need to carefully manage its bilateral relationship if it is to be successful in the long-term. Kenya continues to struggle to boost the volume of its exports to China in the face of a large surplus in China's favor, and it will continue to be tested when Chinese businesses engage in poor environmental practices or illegal activity. Protectionism or limiting its cooperation with China will only harm Kenya in the long-run. Chege argues that Kenya's competent technocratic cadre and business sector have thus far been able to manage the relationship to Kenya's benefit. The larger enduring challenge, in his view, is for Kenya to come to terms with evolving global competition.

Indira Campos and Alex Vines, research assistant and head of the Africa Program at Chatham House, respectively, describe in their analysis a largely pragmatic relationship between Angola and China, which the Angolan government has leveraged to meet the country's urgent reconstruction priorities. Angola has benefitted from large quantities of Chinese financing when concessional funding from international institutions, like the IMF, was not available. Chinese financial and technical assistance has kick-started over 100 projects in the areas of energy, water, health, education, telecommunications, fisheries, and public works enabling Angola to become one of the most fast-growing economies in sub-Saharan Africa in a span of five years. . The China-Angola relationship is unique in the China-Africa context in that Angola inconsistently runs a large trade surplus with China, owing to the rapid rise of Chinese oil importation.

In Angola there is a clear quid pro quo: China's desire for natural resources as against Angola's stark development needs. Crude oil represents over 95 percent of all Angolan exports, and it is also China's main Angolan import. Over the last six years, China has been the second-largest importer of oil from Angola behind the United States, consuming roughly 9.3 to 30 percent of Angola's total oil exports. Despite the U.S. lead in the imports of Angolan oil, since 2002 Angola oil exports to China have increased seven-fold, compared to only 3.5 times to the United States. However, Angolan oil production is still dominated by Western companies such as ChevronTexaco, Total, BP, and Exxon Mobil.

Despite rising Chinese investment, Angolan officials insist that China is only one of several major external partners, and they remain wary of becoming beholden to any single external partner or resource. This pattern is visible when looking at the origins of Angola's imports over the years: China's share has increased significantly, but so have the shares of India, South Africa, and Brazil. Similarly, Angola exports over the years have significantly diversified.

Angola is acutely aware of many of the challenges it faces in its relationship with China. It acknowledges that it is often unable to utilize local capacity to fill the mandated 30 percent Angolan workforce quota for infrastructure projects under Chinese credit lines. It has established a mechanism whereby it reinvests 5% of its oil proceeds into the non-oil sector. It seeks to improve its relations with Western institutions by agreeing to pay, on an accelerated basis, the bulk of its debt of $2.5 billion owed to Paris Club creditors and seeks greater foreign direct investment by claiming to have eased its investment laws. It has also responded to Western criticisms of opaqueness in its Chinese credit lines by issuing a statement in Luanda in October 2007 clarifying the Angolan terms for use of those funds. Although this is a welcome development, Vines and Campos argue that more disclosure on the part of the Angolans is needed.

As Angola continues developing its relationship with China, controversial issues such as local content and employment may intensify over time, and tensions may rise over the slow pace of implementation and relative decision-power in the relationship. However, Angolan officials appear confident that their efforts to diversify donors and diversify investment into non-oil sectors will succeed in the long-term.

Professor Pat Utomi, a political economist and *s*enior faculty member at the Lagos Business School-Pan African University, details in his analysis an increasingly complex, rapidly evolving relationship between Nigeria and China. He makes the case that Nigerian perspectives on that engagement, even within the government itself, are far from uniform. Utomi's study explains that many career foreign affairs officers and politicians feel that a China-Nigeria partnership could offer greater benefits than collaboration with the West, but that there were many areas of the relationship that needed increased attention and improvement: the risk of heightened dependence on China and often weak official Nigerian leverage in the relationship; quality of project implementation, and uncertainty over technology transfer. . Nigeria's private business community also exhibited mixed feelings about Chinese business incursions into Nigeria. Businessmen welcomed trading with a lower-cost economy, securing financing from Chinese partners, and learning from Chinese manufacturers and business models, but worried that Chinese firms might be benefitting in greater proportions than Nigerian businessmen.

In order to combat some of these challenges, Utomi calls for expanded debate within the Nigerian government and across the business, academic, and civil society communities on how best to optimize Western and Chinese engagement. He argues that Nigerian policymakers, including national and local officials, are not setting policies that will have the strongest possible impact on Nigeria's long-term economic growth for the widest array of its citizens. To overcome this challenge, strong pressure must be placed on Nigerian leaders to effectively balance U.S. and Chinese engagement to maximize African growth and opportunity.

## Emerging Themes

Several important cross-cutting themes emerged from the discussions held at CSIS on December 5-6 2007.

**Correct for exaggerations:** First, there was a widely held view that much of the rhetoric surrounding China's engagement in Africa has been overblown, particularly the emphasis on negative impacts in terms of internal governance, business and donor practices, and environment, and the potential for a major clash with U.S. strategic interests. This is fueled by generalized uncertainty as China's engagement rapidly expands, and in part by concern about African capacities to manage and shape this engagement to their countries' ultimate benefit. While serious tensions and challenges were acknowledged, on balance there was a shared sentiment that there are several areas in which U.S., African, and Chinese interests intersect and where greater collaborative efforts can yield positive results.

**Need for African leadership:** Second, there was a strong consensus that both African state and nongovernmental interests need to play a more proactive role in shaping and directing U.S.-Chinese cooperation. African states are too often discussed as the scene in which U.S.-Chinese strategic competition play outs, and African interests are frequently cast also as passive recipients of potential cooperative development or security assistance. If African governments assert themselves strategically, they will leverage competition to their countries' long-term benefit and set priorities for cooperative efforts.

**African diversity:** Third, there is no single "African" perspective on China's engagement in Africa. Africa features a wide diversity of actors and interests, across countries, across sectors, between governmental and non-governmental actors, and within African governments themselves. In many countries that have enlarged the political space for civil society, these various interests and perspectives have become increasingly influential, and the demands on African governments for competent and accountable management will likely continue to increase. A priority for the international community should be to build the capacity of non-governmental entities—the business sector, civil society, and the media—to engage their governments on a strategy to manage increasing external competition and opportunities for cooperation.

**Multiplicity of Chinese interests:** Fourth, China itself is not a monolithic entity, and Chinese engagement, contrary to popular rhetoric, is often not directed from Beijing. The number and types of Chinese actors engaged in Africa are rapidly diversifying, including diplomatic representatives, state-owned enterprises, private enterprises and individual families, each driven by different interests, and different modus operandi. There are instances where Chinese national interests and those of state-owned enterprises appear increasingly independent of one another. To maximize opportunities for cooperation at multiple levels, both U.S. and African actors will need a more comprehensive and nuanced understanding of these realities.

**Early U.S.-China dialogue:** Fifth, there have been tentative steps toward U.S.-Chinese dialogue and cooperation in Africa, conducted at the Assistant Secretary level; in the case of Sudan, between special envoys and in actions taken in the UN Security Council; and in the case of Liberia, generated through innovative cooperation on the ground, These have yielded concrete gains on Darfur and Liberia security sector reform. Especially important has been Chinese diplomatic leadership in the UN Security Council and its pressures upon Khartoum. These were essential to the UN Security Council authorization in July 2007 of the deployment of the 26,000 person joint UN/AU peace operation to Darfur. Much more effort, backed by high-level commitments on both sides, will however be needed to sustain the peace efforts in Darfur and address the worsening crisis within the Comprehensive Peace Agreement that ended the North-South war in Sudan in January 2005.

There is opportunity for U.S.-Chinese project cooperation in less politically sensitive areas like agriculture and health. There is a case for active U.S. – Chinese cooperation on peacekeeping in Africa, but resistance from both sides remains strong, and U.S. statutory limits (for instance, a provision contained in the National Defense Authorization Act of FY 2000 barring cooperation with the People's Liberation Army except for humanitarian purposes).

There is need for continued dialogue on areas of disagreement and tension: most importantly, human rights, governance, donor lending and debt terms, business practices, and environmental standards, for example. In each of these areas, African regional organizations and non-governmental players could facilitate debate and create a greater African voice. Across the board, stronger leadership from African interests is needed to drive these efforts forward on a sustained basis.

**Transnational expert networks:** The final cross-cutting conclusion is that much analysis concentrates too narrowly on government-to-government engagement in discussion of U.S.-China-Africa relations. Greater priority is needed to strengthen non-governmental, policy-focused, transnational networks. Universities, research institutes, and advocacy groups, environmental and health policy organizations, could play a powerful role in promoting corporate social responsibility, environmental stewardship, and community development.

## Energy security

China is sensitive to being lectured on "gobbling up" Africa's oil supplies. There is often exaggeration of the scope of Chinese energy engagement in Africa, frequently portrayed as a zero-sum "scramble" for African energy resources. China's demand for oil resources is indeed rising steeply, but in absolute terms China remains a relatively small player in

African oil exploration. Today Africa accounts for 30 percent of China's overall oil imports (oil imports constitute 30 percent of China's total energy consumption) and Africa's share of oil imports is certainly set to rise. Given projected Chinese energy demands, China, like the United States and the rest of the world, has a long-term interest in both oil conservation and the development of alternative energy sources. At present however, total Chinese oil consumption is one third that of the United States. Further, China's share of total African oil production is approximately 9 percent, versus Europe's share of 33 percent or the U.S. share of 32 percent.

The Chinese argue that China's investment in upstream oil exploration and production should not be considered threatening, but in fact be welcomed since it expands global supplies. It is important to recognize that China frequently chooses not to ship African equity oil back to China. Logistically, it is easier to ship West African oil to markets in Europe and North America, and, commercially, the incentive is to choose those markets which fetch the best price. Although approximately half of China's equity oil production worldwide come from Africa (approximately 300,000 of 600,000 barrels per day, of which 225,000 barrels derive from Sudan), the majority of that equity production is not shipped to China but sold in the global market. China, like the United States, will continue to rely overwhelmingly on the open market for years to come.

Chinese state-owned companies operate with increasing independence from the Chinese state. It is largely a myth that the Chinese central government directs state-owned firms where to invest, or that these companies rely overwhelmingly on financial support from Beijing. State-owned companies act largely according to commercial versus geopolitical interests. Particularly in places like Sudan, where the reputational costs of Chinese investment have been considerable, there is increasing divergence between the interests of companies and the interests of the state, and uncertainty as to how energy security is achieved for China through support for state-owned companies. China's actual imports from Sudan are less than 100,000 barrels per day. The lead Chinese company, the Chinese National Petroleum Corporation (CNPC), has been doing well financially in its Sudan operations, but the Chinese government has been the target of massive international criticism, for what, in a global context of 85 million barrels of production per day, is a paltry volume of oil imports from Sudan.

Many African partners look to China for models of energy investment different from those of traditional Western companies. The latter have tended to operate in enclave-type settings, engaging a narrow elite, with weak connection to the rest of society or to other economic sectors. There is need in Nigeria, for example, to diversify away from the energy sector, and China through its multi-sectoral package deals appears engaged in a broader range of sectors, including critical infrastructure, that Western companies and donors shun. The Chinese development model is in its early stages in Africa, and positive long-term impacts on development and equity are not guaranteed. However, persistent disillusionment among Africans with Western commercial approaches has played to China's advantage.

There are several energy-related areas where U.S., Chinese, and African interests intersect.

Working together on addressing climate change and developing clean and sustainable energy sources will be at least as important as managing upstream investment. While this will be a long-term challenge, cooperative efforts should be given greater priority now.

Ensuring the security of energy personnel, infrastructure, and transportation is a shared interest. Chinese workers are proving equally vulnerable to local conflict and violence as western and often African interests, as demonstrated in attacks against oil workers in the Ogaden and Sudan and in hostage-taking in the Niger Delta.

China's principle of non-interference will be increasingly tested in unstable, conflicted settings, opening new opportunities for cooperation on conflict resolution and collective international pressure on governments in energy-producing states to invest in long-term stability and good governance. Should the government of Nigeria become seriously engaged in addressing long-standing grievances in the Niger Delta, both the United States and China would have a shared interest in supporting an effective solution and each would bring special strengths to a potential resolution and reconstruction strategy. The protection of physical infrastructure and sea lanes in West Africa's Gulf of Guinea is also of increasing common interest, and the United States may look to China to play a more active and cooperative role in ensuring maritime security, building African coast guards and establishing control over rich coastal fisheries that are now often plundered through illicit industrial harvesting. .

Finally, transparency and reliable rules of engagement are ultimately in the interests of oil investors and energy-producing countries. Neither China nor the United States wish to be at the mercy of oil states or see market investment opportunities subordinated to narrow political calculations and unstable, poorly governed states. .

## Africa's Public Health

China and the U.S. have both rapidly expanded their public health initiatives in Africa, at a time when international attention more broadly in global public health is also expanding. HIV/AIDS, malaria, avian flu, and SARS have generated greater appreciation for the internationalization of health and the need for international health diplomacy and cooperation. Major government initiatives, along with the expansion of efforts by non-governmental organizations, multilateral institutions, foundations, and faith-based organizations, offer new opportunities for collaboration to address African public health challenges.

African challenges are many and there are ample areas for coordinated work. At least 300 million cases of acute malaria are diagnosed annually. Malaria kills over one million people each year in Africa and is among the leading causes of death for children under five. More than 8 million new cases of tuberculosis are detected annually, and despite the availability effective treatment, those numbers continue to rise. Sub-Saharan Africa is home to 85 percent of the world's HIV/AIDS cases, and the disease compounds other diseases and other developmental problems. New epidemics such as avian influenza could be devastating. And as Africa's urban populations expand, alcohol, drug abuse, and chronic diseases like hypertension, heart disease, and diabetes are increasing as well.

Structural challenges persist: the lack trained health personnel and health infrastructure; weak interest internationally in tropical disease research; lack of African capacity, for example, in minimizing the influx and proliferation of counterfeit drugs.

U.S. contributions to Africa's health challenges have risen dramatically in recent years, enjoying strong bipartisan support that is likely to endure. By the end of the first five-year phase of the President's Emergency Plan for AIDS Relief (PEPFAR) in late 2008, the United States will have expended over $19 billion on global AIDS control, roughly 60 percent in Africa. To date, these efforts have been focused primarily on tackling specific infectious diseases—first and foremost HIV/AIDS—and targeting select focal countries. In fighting HIV, there is increasing recognition that long-term management will require greater support to building health systems, and PEPFAR's next five-year phase will almost certainly devote greater resources to the training of skilled personnel. President Bush has also launched a major $1.2 billion, five-year initiative on malaria: in 2007 the United States spent $338 million on malaria efforts in Africa versus $1 million spent in 1997. Compared to HIV, control of malaria is more straightforward and affordable, with respect to the science of the disease as well as prevention and treatment. The challenge is to remain focused over time and to collaborate with partners to ensure maximum coverage.

Chinese contributions to Africa are gradually increasing, and are an important component of China's Africa policy overall. China will continue to send medical teams to Africa, increase cooperation with Africa on prevention and treatment and on research and application of traditional medicines. There are approximately 1,000 Chinese medical workers in 38 countries in Africa; more than half of the doctors are senior physicians and surgeons. Together they have treated an estimated 170 million patients suffering from various diseases. China has helped build numerous hospitals in Africa and has plans in the next three years to build 10 hospitals and 30 malaria clinics in Africa. On training, the Chinese Ministry of Health provides 15 courses each year to African participants, in the areas of HIV/AIDS, malaria, hospital management, and health reform. Malaria will remain a prominent focus of China's health engagement. China's expanding health engagement and efforts to link it to an international strategy are somewhat fresh issues. Through one promising initiative, the Ministry of Health has turned to global health experts at Peking University to help review existing Chinese programs, develop a long-term Chinese health strategy for Africa that updates the Chinese approach and ties it more effectively to African health outcomes, and identify opportunities for collaboration with the international community. These experts have recently concluded a summary review of all donor activities in the area of health in Africa. It is expected that reform of health approaches will take several years to formulate and execute.

There are promising areas for public health cooperation between China, the United States and African countries, although currently there are bureaucratic obstacles to greater dialogue and joint projects. At a minimum, there is need for greater communication to avoid duplication of efforts and identify gaps.

African countries should engage China and the United States on bilateral projects but also on multilateral efforts. Moreover, China could play a more active role in multilateral initiatives, building on its present substantial contributions to the board of the Global Fund to Fight AIDS, TB and Malaria, and its leadership of the World Health Organization. China and the United States bring complementary strengths to the table: China places an emphasis on infrastructure and health systems, and the United States on treatment of specific diseases. African government with robust public health strategies in place can push for cooperation in what they identify as priority areas.

Collaboration on malaria is a particularly promising area in which to build cooperation, given the priority African governments attach to this disease and rising commitments by both the United States and China. It is also an area that could deliver significant, rapid returns and perhaps help encourage future cooperation in more complex health efforts. Despite China's interest in malaria, the Chinese and other Asian governments were absent at the 2007 Roll Back Malaria Partnership Board meeting in Addis Ababa. China should be welcomed and encouraged to participate more fully in these and other multilateral global health fora.

Cooperation on health will require greater political will—by the U.S., China, and African governments—than currently exists. This will require senior leadership that supports innovation and flexibility in the field, and minimizes political obstacles to communication and favors joint initiatives. A future priority should be strengthening African capacities to address chronic diseases as well. Cooperation should not be limited to government-to-government engagement. Linking nongovernmental organizations, research institutes, faith-based organizations, and corporate interests in active partnerships should also be a priority.

## Corporate Social Responsibility

While Chinese and U.S. firms have responded to growing pressures to pursue corporate social responsibility initiatives, these efforts often have had little meaningful impact on the ground and are often seen as exercises in public relations. Much more effort is needed to transfer adequate skills or resources to local African communities and provide for worker and community safety and environmental stewardship.

It is in the area of environmental stewardship that Chinese engagement has been most problematic. The Chinese government's response to concerns over illegal logging has been quite limited. While China has signed resource-use agreements, it has not shown strong interest in upholding them. As an increasing number of non-state-owned companies are engaging in Africa, environmental enforcement will become an even more complex and conspicuous challenge.

Ultimately, the responsibility to set terms for enforcing effective CSR falls to African host governments. Collusion between host governments and corporations often tilt CSR projects to benefit state, not community, interests. Communities often expect corporations to deliver services and resources that are more appropriately the responsibility of the government. Weak environmental laws and labor standards, high levels of corruption, and weak governance structures hamper effective CSR. Few African governments have mandated strict operational guidelines for foreign companies within their borders. Those that have, like Angola, which mandated that at least 30 percent of an international company's workforce be Angolan nationals, have found these guidelines difficult to sustain. Violations of environmental laws or regulations are rarely pursued.

There have been positive examples of corporate social responsibility in the health field, as the threat of HIV/AIDS has generated a number of successful public-private and community partnerships. There may be lessons upon which both Chinese and U.S. companies can build.

On environmental issues, there has been positive, albeit very slow, acknowledgement of the long-term economic, developmental, and security costs of illegal logging and other harmful environmental practices. Until very recently, the United States and China appeared alike in regarding environmental issues as a second-tier priority, and solely the responsibility and problem of producing countries. This has begun to change, and nongovernmental groups and governments themselves have made more information available on the nexus among environmental degradation and conflict, food security, and long-term economic costs.

When pressed, Chinese manufacturers have shown an ability to adjust quickly. In recent years, Chinese manufacturers eliminated the use of ramin wood very rapidly, following an international agreement to control its trade and a precipitous drop in U.S. demand. Similar progress was seen in the reduction of illegal trade in rhino horn. The U.S. and China are negotiating bilateral agreements to address illegal timber trade.

Perhaps the most important challenge is for African governments to set up effective monitoring and enforcement structures, to establish regulations to protect African resources, and to develop African capacity for environmental governance. Here, pressure, information, and policy advice from nongovernmental actors can play a critical role. Strengthening transnational networks of African, Chinese, U.S., and international advocacy, policy and research institutes should be a priority.

## Building Peacekeeping Capacity

The idea of U.S.-China cooperation on security engagement in Africa is new, and just a few years ago such a discussion—even on the less politically sensitive issue of building peacekeeping capacity—would have been unlikely. However, both China and the United

States are becoming increasingly aware of the importance of building African security capacity. U.S. and Chinese commitments in this area coincide with increased commitments by African states, regional and sub-regional organizations, and by international organizations.

In recent years, there has been an unprecedented rise in global peacekeeping operations: today, there are 15 UN peace operations, totaling 90,000 troops and another 26,000 police and other civilian personnel. Seventy percent of the UN's operations, which run at $7.5 billion annually, are in Africa. An increasing number of deployments are peace enforcement operations in complex environments. Force generation and logistics are an enduring challenge. The United Nations has relied extensively on partnerships with African regional organizations, in integrated missions in Sierra Leone and Liberia, and now a hybrid operation with the African Union in Darfur. The African Union has set as a priority the stand-up of the African Stand-by Force—five regional brigades with rapid deployment capacity – and sought international support.

Both China and the United States have an interest in protecting their citizens and their investments in Africa and in strengthening African capacities to manage conflict, including filling key gaps: airlift capacity; communications; command and control capacities, and surveillance.

In the United States, higher commitments are seen in the establishment of the U.S. Global Peacekeeping Operations Initiative (GPOI), launched in 2004, and in 2007 the establishment of the U.S. Africa Command (AFRICOM). Having U.S. military engagement in Africa coordinated within a single command may make cooperation with other donor states (and with African regional bodies) less difficult.

China has an equal stake in African security and stability. Chinese entrepreneurs have been more willing than Western companies to go to dangerous and conflicted places, and have suffered economic and human losses at the hands of non-state actors and reputational costs in international public opinion. Compared to U.S. and EU engagement, Chinese military involvement on the continent is limited, but growing. China has only 14 military attachés in Africa, out of the 107 it has globally. But China is increasing its UN peacekeeping commitments, contributing more forces to UN operations in Africa than any other permanent member of the UN Security Council, and often in interesting ways. In Liberia, for example, China has deployed 570 military engineers as part of UNAMIL, and these engineers are now working to rehabilitate the country's roads in a joint effort with the World Bank and the Liberian government. Engineers have been deployed as part of UN peacekeeping operations in the Democratic Republic of Congo, in Southern Sudan, and in Darfur.

China's growing involvement in peacekeeping is an important turning point to encourage enlargement of the base of external actors participating in building security capacity in Africa. Direct U.S.-Chinese cooperation in this arena may be some ways off but there may be promising opportunities in non-traditional security areas such as disaster relief and humanitarian assistance.

In some instances, informal cooperation and complementary approaches of the U.S. and China are already yielding results. In Liberia, the U.S.-China relationship has been positive and mutually reinforcing. The United States has taken the lead in the recruitment and training of the Liberian armed forces, which was entirely disbanded after the Liberian conflict, and in strengthening the management capacity of the Liberian Ministry of Defense's civilian staff. China has been helpful in complementary ways: assisting with hardware, refurbishing buildings, providing office equipment for the Ministry, and constructing facilities in the northern areas of the country.

At present, improved U.S.-China communication and coordination of efforts—if direct cooperation for now is premature—is an important first step to strengthen efforts by the AU, sub-regional organizations, state forces, and the international community. But given the complexity of conflicts and the many challenges and costs ahead in building African security capacity, direct US-China cooperation and higher levels of commitment will be needed in the future.

## Conclusions

I thank you again for the opportunity to be here today, and look forward to our discussion of these topics.