

**ROLE OF BELT AND ROAD INITIATIVE IN REVIVING
EAST AFRICAN ECONOMY: A CASE STUDY OF
KENYA (2017-2022)**

By

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DEDICATION

I dedicated this thesis to my parents, Dr.Inayat Ullah Khan and Mrs. Zeenat Khatoon who have been my constant source of love and encouragement throughout my academic pursuits. Their unwavering support and belief in me have kept me motivated during the most challenging times.

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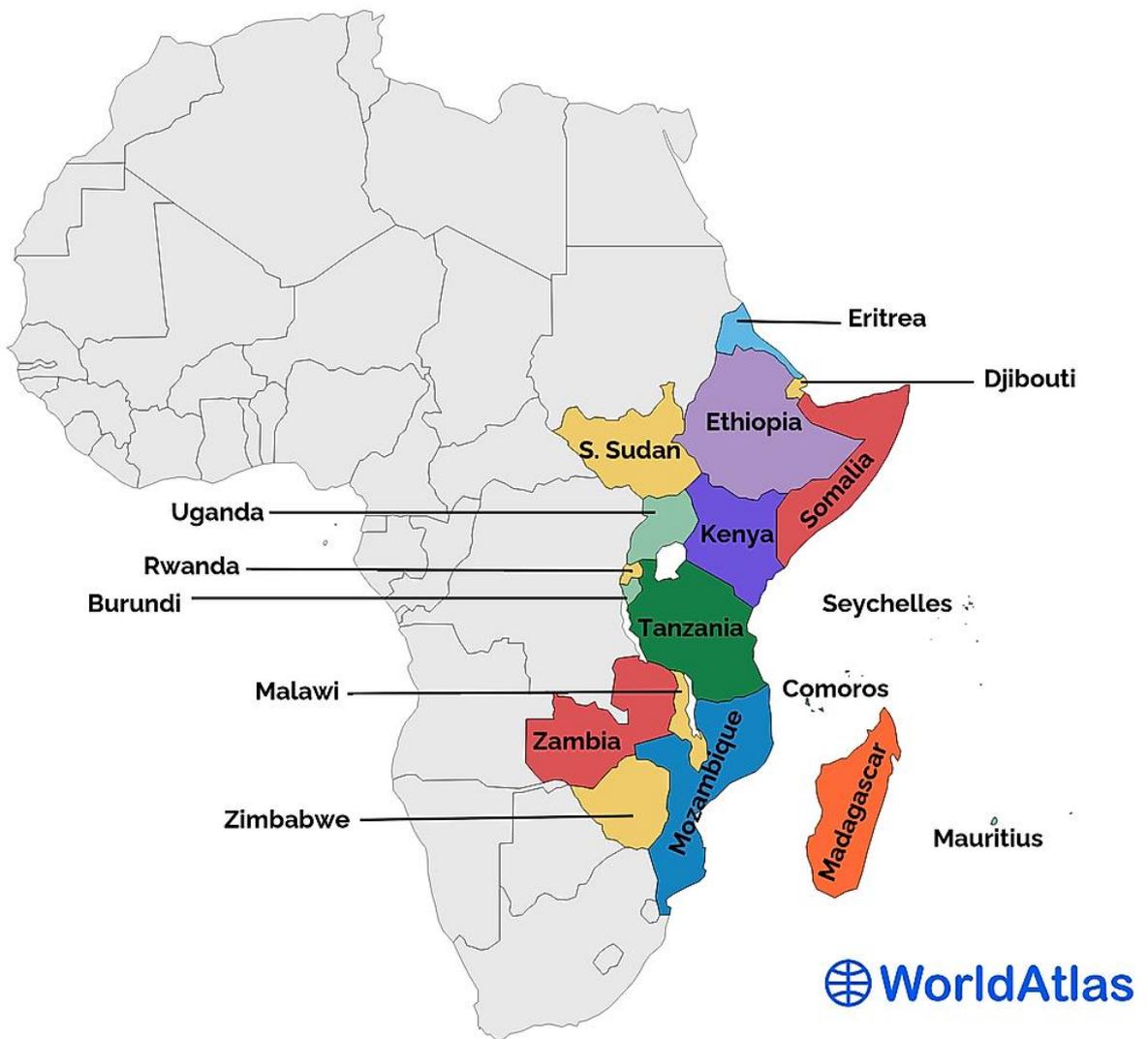
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LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

ADB	African Development Bank
AIIB	Asian Infrastructure Investment Bank
AMISOM	African Union Mission in Somalia
BRI	Belt and Road Initiative
CARI	China Africa Research Initiative
CCECC	China Civil Engineering Construction Corporation Ltd.
CCP	Chinese Communist Party
CPPCC	Chinese People’s Political Consultative Conference
EPC	The Export Promotion Council
EPZ	Export Processing Zone
Exim Bank	Export-Import Bank of China
FDI	Foreign Direct Investment
IAEA	International Atomic Energy Agency
ICBC	The Industrial and Commercial Bank of China
ICT	Information Communication Technology
IGAD	Inter-governmental Authority on Development
KETA	Kenya External Trade Authority
MUB	Manufacturing Under Bond
PV	Photovoltaic
SFECO	China Shanghai Corporation for Foreign Economic and Technological Corporation
ZTE	Zhong Xing Telecommunication Equipment

Maps

Map 1. East African Region



Source: World Atlas¹

¹ World Atlas, "East African Countries," , n.d.<https://www.worldatlas.com/geography/east-african-countries.html>.

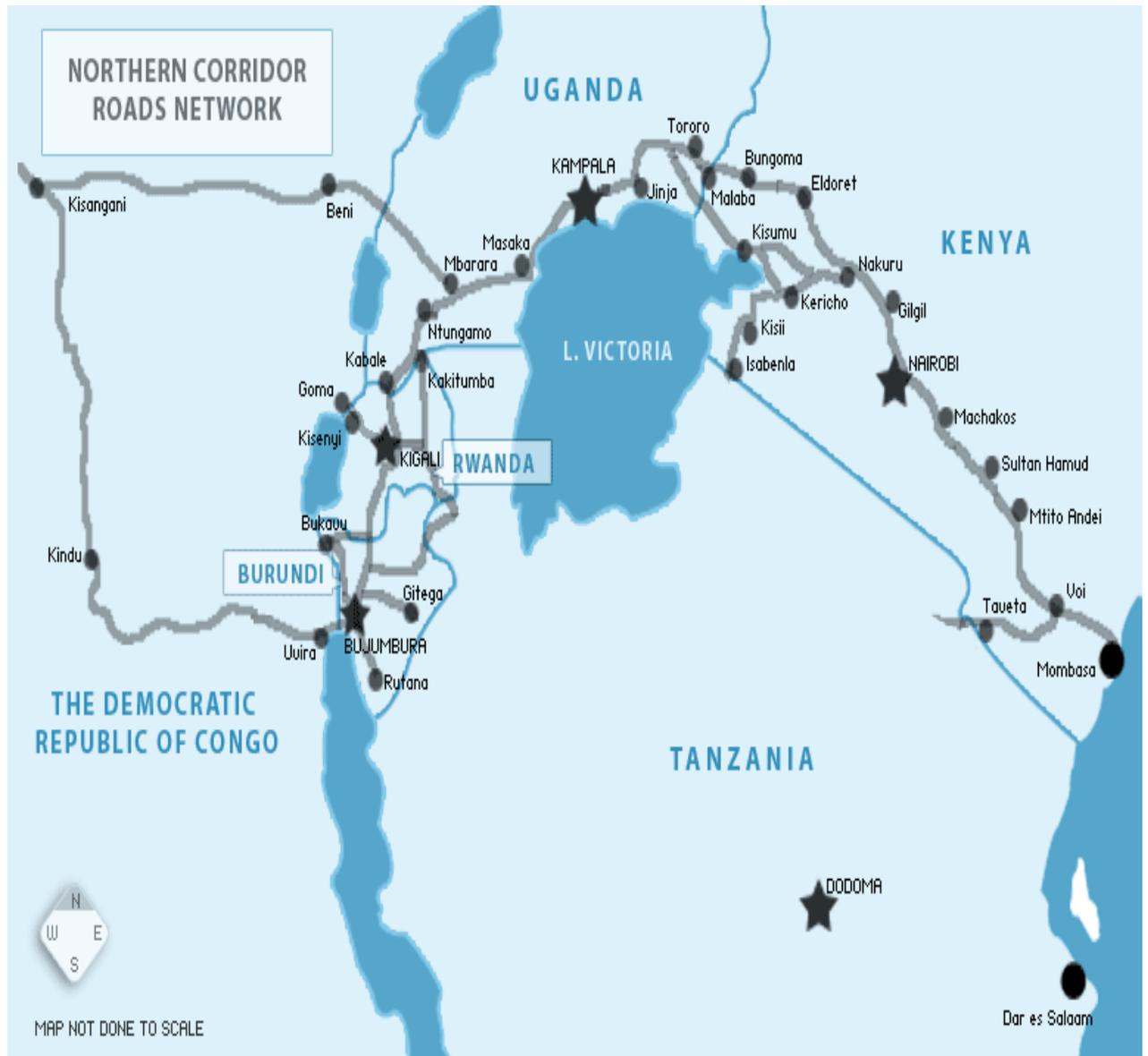
Map 2. Map of Kenya



Source: GraphicRiver.net²

² Graphic River, "Map of Kenya with Cities," n.d. <https://graphicriver.net/item/map-of-kenya-with-cities/32521226>.

Map3.Northern Corridor Railway Network of Kenya



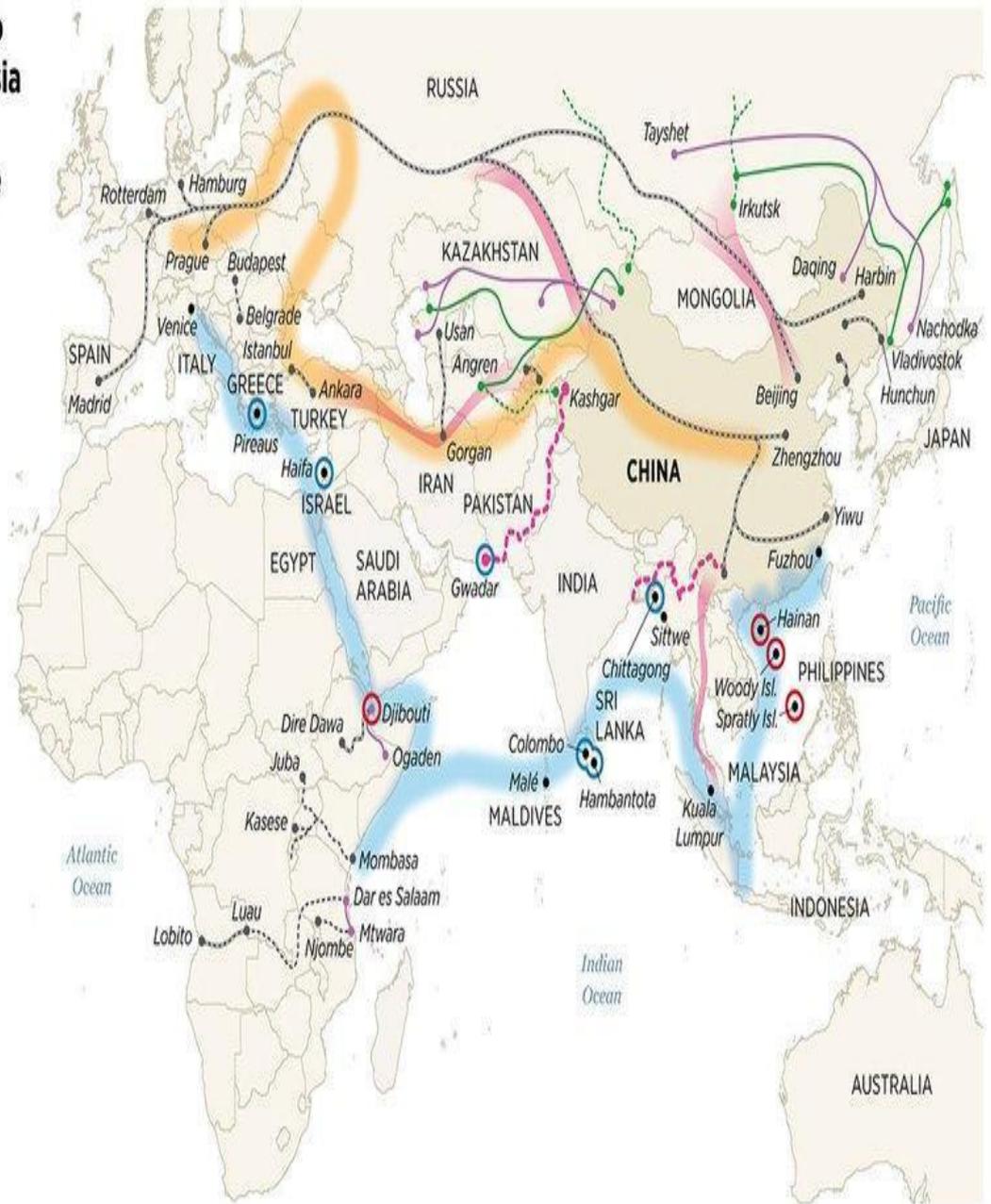
Source: ttcanc.org³

³ Ttcanc.org , "Northern Corridor Railway Network of Kenya," , n.d.<http://ttcanc.org/rail-network>.

Map 4. China's Belt and Road Initiative and various installations

China Looks to Reshape Eurasia With Belt and Road Initiative

- Silk road economic belt
- New maritime silk road
- - - Proposed economic corridors
- Gas pipelines
- Oil pipelines
- - - - Railroad
- - - - Planned or under construction
- Ports with Chinese military presence
- Ports constructed with Chinese involvement



heritage.org

Source: Ventureoutsourc⁴

⁴ Ventureoutsourc , "China's Belt and Road Initiative and various installations," , n.d.<https://ventureoutsourc.com/contract-manufacturing/china-massive-belt-and-road-initiative-integrating-eurasia-global-supply-chains/>.

ABSTRACT

After the initiation of BRI by China in 2013, there erupted a new paradigm shift in the world. Through BRI and via six different corridors across the world, China intends to integrate regions and world. This research looks at brief historical background of China with East African countries including Kenya. Relations between China and East Africa are as old as 9th century. In 1960's when most of the East African states were undergoing independence movements, China supported them and recalibrated its relations with time. The second part deals with China-East Africa relations referring to BRI in infrastructural, political, economic, social, security and military domain. The relations are concrete in all domains. These domains are further tapped by signing MOUs with East African states. Third part deals with importance of Kenya in East Africa. China's integration of BRI in Kenya is due to its strategic location, historical linkages, economic development, stability of macro-economic environment and tourism. All these factors make Kenya suitable for BRI's investment and infrastructural development. BRI has the capability in addressing the UN's Sustainable Development Goals (SDGs) and Big Four Agenda and Vision 2030 of Kenya. The fourth part deals with challenges and opportunities for Kenya in BRI. The opportunities are spread between job creation, human resource development, security cooperation, and improvement in connectivity, collaboration in emerging fields and coordination in international and regional issues. The fifth part deals with implications for China under the umbrella of BRI, which includes resistance, security and political risks along with social problems and natural calamities. Final part deals with. International and regional organization which play an important role in the regional integration, which is the essence of the 'Economic Integration Theory'. Kenya is a member state of UN, AU, FOCAC, EAC and COMESA, that helps in the sustainable development of Kenya by assisting it in different sectors. This study has great influence to directing scholars lacking clear knowledge of China's contemporary position in East Africa. It will help researcher also to know about the recent development of China and Eastern Africa and potentials in creating relations, especially Kenya under BRI.

Introduction

Relations between nations have never remained constant. Governments have had a variety of motivations for engaging in particular behavior with other states around the world. A state's international relations are governed and guided by a wide foreign policy framework with defined goals and objectives, making it one of the most crucial areas of statecraft. These aims and objectives form the basis of foreign policy, even if they are not a separate set of rules from domestic politics and policies. Instead, a state's internal or domestic policies have continued to influence foreign policy as it has evolved. Since no state can exist in isolation, it must protect its interests through the protection of those that are focused on its population rather than by harsh politics of military and political power. The main goal of every state is to raise the standard of living for its residents, which can be accomplished by giving them access to social services, fair economic possibilities, opportunities for education and training, and industrial development. This can be done by exploring and taking advantage of new opportunities, even those that exist outside of the country. Effective and comprehensive foreign policy, which has evolved into the centre of national interests for every state, is the only way to achieve that.⁵

Sometimes, foreign policy is altered. The Belt and Road Initiative (BRI), one of the pillars of Chinese foreign policy, is essential to maintaining China's strategic and economic advantage in the twenty-first century. The BRI's principle of mutual benefit will aid in both the short- and long-term reduction of industrial excess capacity. At the Belt and Road Forum in May 2017, pledges of around 40 billion USD were pledged. China is still the continent's major financier of infrastructure. The "Belt and Road Program (BRI)" is regarded as the largest development initiative in history, with projects worth much more than the money that have been pledged either being planned for or already having begun. China is expanding its influence in Africa since the continent is where the minerals, oil, and other resources that fuel China's incredible economic rise are found. China and Africa must work together to flourish.⁶

⁵ GerryC.Alons, "Predicting a State's Foreign Policy: State Preferences between Domestic and International Constraints," *Foreign Policy Analysis* 3, no. 3 (2007): 211-32.

⁶ Muhammad S. Farooq et al., "Kenya and the 21st Century Maritime Silk Road," SIPRI, accessed November 9, 2022, <https://www.sipri.org/sites/default/files/2019-10/the-21st-century-maritime-silk-road.pdf>.

Africa, the second-largest continent on Earth, differs significantly from other continents in terms of topography, politics, social condition, and cultural characteristics. The African continent is made up of the five regions of Central or Middle Africa, Northern Africa, Southern Africa, Eastern Africa, and Western Africa. The area of Africa that stretches to the easternmost part of the continent is referred to as East Africa. With a population of roughly 472.063963 million, East Africa is the most populous part of Africa. Ethiopia, Kenya, Rwanda, Tanzania, and South Sudan are just a few of the nations in East Africa with some of the fastest expanding economies globally. Christians and Muslims make up the majority of the population in East Africa.⁷

East Africa is a sub-region of Africa's continent, according to the UN Geo-scheme. It consists of 18 countries and 2 dependencies. Burundi, Comoros, Djibouti, Eritrea, Ethiopia, Kenya, Madagascar, Malawi, Mauritius, Mozambique, Mayotte, Rwanda, Seychelles, Somalia, South Sudan, Tanzania, Uganda, Zambia, and Zimbabwe are the nations listed in alphabetical order.

The sub-region is made up of Eritrea in the north and Mozambique in the south. Off the coast of East Africa is the Indian Ocean. While Middle Africa lies to the west of East Africa, Southern Africa is to the southwest of that continent. The borders dividing Sudan, a country in North Africa, from South Sudan, Ethiopia, and Eritrea, nations in East Africa, make up the border between East Africa and North Africa. The island nations of Comoros, Mauritius, Madagascar, and the Seychelles are among the nations of East Africa. Mayotte and Reunion are French overseas territories. Seven nations in East Africa are landlocked nations.⁸

Some of the nations in East Africa with an abundance of natural resources are Kenya, South Sudan, and Mozambique. Djibouti and Tanzania both have gold mines, and Burundi is well-known for its nickel and uranium deposits. Similar to Madagascar, Cooper is abundant in Zambia and Uganda, while Graphite is found in Madagascar. Aluminum and gas are abundant in Mozambique. Additionally, the fishing industries of

⁷ Population of Eastern Africa (2022)," Worldometer - Real Time World Statistics, accessed November 10, 2022, <https://www.worldometers.info/world-population/eastern-africa-population/>.

⁸ East African Countries 2022," 2022 World Population by Country, accessed November 10, 2022, <https://worldpopulationreview.com/country-rankings/east-african-countries>.

Malawi and the Seychelles are well-known, as are those of Comoros, Mauritius, and the Seychelles.⁹

This region of the country had experienced numerous societal issues. In the south of the nation, the Sudan is engaged in a civil conflict that has affected East Africa. War has wreaked havoc in Somalia, Ethiopia, and Eritrea. A large portion of Rwanda's populace crossed the border to find safety in Tanzania and Uganda. Somali refugees can be found in Ethiopia and Kenya. Deforestation has been severely impacted by the repercussions of conflict and the harsh environment, which have increased pressure on the land. Among the pressing socioeconomic challenges are fires and the spread of deserts.¹⁰

Eastern Hemisphere and has a surface area of 580,367 square kilometers. The nation is bounded by the Equator. Kenya has five bordering nations. The countries to the north, northwest, west, south, and east of these are Ethiopia, South Sudan, Uganda, Tanzania, and Somalia, respectively. Between Tanzania and Somalia in the southeasterly Indian Ocean, Kenya has a 536 km-long coastline. Kenya consists of 47 counties. The most populated city is Nairobi, which serves as the country's capital. The weather in Kenya can be humid by the shore or dry indoors. Kenya's natural resources include hydropower, limestone, soda ash, salt, gemstones, fluorspar, zinc, diatomite, gypsum, and animals in addition to hydropower.¹¹

Kenya and China have a long history of collaboration. There were two waves of immigration from China. When the initial wave of Chinese immigrants arrived in Kenya in the 1950s and 1960s, they were from the coastal provinces of China and helped establish the country's food-service industry. In the 1990s and the beginning of the 2000s, a second wave of Chinese immigrants arrived in Kenya. China participated actively in world trade. Chinese populations have grown in number in key Kenyan cities like Mombasa, Kisumu, and Nakuru. These places are well recognized for their resorts for

⁹ Al J. Staff, "Mapping Africa's Natural Resources," Breaking News, World News and Video from Al Jazeera, last modified February 20, 2018, <https://www.aljazeera.com/news/2018/2/20/mapping-africas-natural-resources>.

¹⁰ Chapter 16. East Africa," accessed November 10, 2022, <https://www.fao.org/3/Y1997e/y1997e0l.htm>.

¹¹ Kenya, Central Intelligence Agency - CIA, last modified July 27, 2022, <https://www.cia.gov/the-world-factbook/countries/kenya/>.

tourists. Mombasa's sandy beaches, Kisumu's Lake Victoria, and Lake Nakuru are among the popular tourist destinations.¹²

Kenya and China have been in contact since before Kenya won independence from the British in 1963. Kenya and China engaged in bilateral trade throughout the 1950s and the early 1960s. Both countries benefited from this collaboration. China became the fourth nation to establish diplomatic connections with Kenya, which led to the formal establishment of relations between the two nations in December 1963.¹³

Kenya adopted a capitalist growth model that is geared toward the West despite its bilateral ties with China. President Moi followed President Jomo Kenyatta in maintaining close ties with the West in 1978. However, following a coup attempt in 1982, Kenya came under fire from US and British media for corruption and violations of human rights. In the 1990s, there were problems with governance that caused domestic pressure on issues of democratic transformation, which had an effect on international relations. The conclusion of the Cold War and the South African apartheid movement, among other developments in the global environment, led to Kenya's isolation. Kenya shifted its attention to the East after growing tired of the US, UK, and EU.¹⁴

Different Kenyan presidents had various diplomatic ties with China. China was not a reliable ally under President Jomo Kenyatta's administration from 1963 to 1978, but there was diplomatic cooperation on a number of fronts, including anti-piracy, road and bridge construction, oil prospecting, and others.¹⁵ China was alleged to have been plotting a revolution in the 1960s prior to the administration of Daniel Arap Moi (1978–2002). But after taking office, he made a nice gesture to China. President Moi paid China multiple trips, which paved the way for talks and established diplomatic connections that eventually led to more basic technical interactions and activities. China joined forces with Kenya not just as a contributor but also as a gainer from their commerce and partnership.

¹² Ying Xia, "Chinese Agricultural and manufacturing Investment in Kenya: A Scoping Study," African Studies Center :, last modified August 2019, https://africa.isp.msu.edu/files/8416/3625/3755/WP_30_Xi

¹³ Maggie Opondo, "The Impact of Chinese Firms on CSR in Kenya's Garments Sector," International Research Network on Business Development and Society (BDS), no. 7: pp. 1-18, accessed December 12, 2021, <https://docplayer.net/151286823-The-impact-of-chinese-firms-on-csr-in-kenya-s-garment-sector.html>.

¹⁴ Maggie Opondo, "The Impact of Chinese Firms on CSR in Kenya S Garment Sector," PDF Free Download, accessed October 24, 2021, <https://docplayer.net/151286823-The-impact-of-chinese-firms-on-csr-in-kenya-s-garment-sector.html>, 10.

¹⁵ Michael Chege, "Economic Relations between Kenya and China, 1963-2007," Economic Relations Between Kenya and China, 1963-2007 | Center for Strategic and International Studies, June 4, 2008, <https://www.csis.org/analysis/economic-relations-between-kenya-and-china-1963-2007>, 20.

During this course, China learned from Kenya in developed industries like agriculture and tourism.¹⁶

There were two agreements struck between Kenya and China in the 1980s. The first one comprised intercultural exchanges, a new sports stadium project, technical assistance for two colleges, scholarships, and economic and technological collaboration. The second was about an exchange of goods between a Chinese corporation and a business organization in Kenya. In December 2002, a new government with a predisposition for bettering ties with China was established under the direction of President Mwai Kibaki. The publically owned Kenya Broadcasting Corporation's five issues—energy and infrastructure, expanded air services, technical support for the assessment and categorization of standards in industrial products, equipment upgrades, and training—were all resolved after discussions. Kenya has since then also been a crucial ally in discussions on "State Sovereignty" and the "One China Policy" on a global level. In a diplomatic disagreement with the Taiwanese government in 2016, Kenya supported the "People's Republic of China" (PRC). Kenya rejects the aspirations of Taiwan, Tibet, or Xinjiang to break away from China, as do the majority of African countries.¹⁷

Since gaining its independence, Kenya has benefited from Chinese development assistance. China provided incentives such as debt reduction, investment encouragement, and support for human resource development. After winning the presidency in 2013, Uhuru Kenyatta made the decision to start borrowing money from China for a variety of economic projects. Kenya had post-election violence in 2007, which was followed by corruption, violence, and a poor investment climate. But China persisted in providing assistance, encouraging the growth of infrastructure, and enhancing academic, technological, humanitarian, and tariff-free education standards. Other areas of aid included the improvement of Kenya's international airports, rural electrification, water distribution, sports facility rehabilitation, anti-malaria drug provision, and modernization of the country's power and water systems.¹⁸

¹⁶ Michael Chege, "Economic Relations between Kenya and China, 1963-2007," *Economic Relations Between Kenya and China, 1963-2007* | Center for Strategic and International Studies, June 4, 2008, <https://www.csis.org/analysis/economic-relations-between-kenya-and-china-1963-2007>, 22.

¹⁷ Ying Xia, "Chinese Agricultural and Manufacturing Investment in Kenya: A Scoping Study," *China Africa Research Initiative*, no. 3 (August 2019): pp. 3-27, 4.

¹⁸ Joseph Onjala, "China's Development Loans and the Threat of Debt Crisis in Kenya," *Development Policy Review* 36, no. S2 (September 31, 2018): pp. O710-O728, <https://doi.org/10.1111/dpr.12328>.

Kenya was one of the African nations to sign on when China launched the Belt and Road Initiative (BRI) in 2013. Opportunities could be expanded by BRI throughout East Africa, not just in Kenya. Due to its geographic advantage and comparative advantages in political stability and economic development, Kenya is seen as the continent's focal point in China's "One Belt, One Road" programme. Kenya's top trading partner in 2015 surpassed India to become China. The BRI has the potential to completely transform the region and create a win-win situation that helps both China and East Africa's economy. The landlocked nation of East Africa will be connected to Central and West Africa by Kenya, which will also open up the continent to the rest of the world.¹⁹

Statement of the Problem

This study's primary goal is to better understand the nature of China's BRI interactions with the economies of East Africa, with Kenya serving as the primary topic of discussion regarding the socioeconomic effects of these relations on Kenya. Although there has always been goodwill between China and East Africa, the Belt and Road Initiative (BRI) of China is changing the dynamic of the relationship. Similar to Kenya, China and Kenya's relationship has significantly improved in the twenty-first century. China always had desire to engage with Kenya, but in the first few decades there had been a tilt towards West and US. During the course of time relations between China and Kenya have improved with every passing day. There was mutual trade between the two states. China took experience of Kenya in the developed sectors of agriculture and tourism, while, China helped Kenya in infrastructure, roads, railways, health and education. Kenya has unique position from geo-strategic point of view as it helps in giving access to landlocked countries of East Africa like Uganda, Ethiopia, and South Sudan. Kenya thus plays a significant part in the development of the nations of East Africa. It can give access to Chinese and other goods from Indian Ocean to Atlantic Ocean and connect East Africa with West Africa. China had historical roots to have trade relations with Africa since 8th century. BRI is going to revive those historical relations in the form of revival of 'Old Silk Road'. It can be a game changer for African states to get out from their dilapidated condition and make their lives better and sustainable. As far as the research area is concerned, there is limited work on it specifically in Pakistan. Therefore, research avenues are opened and many research gaps are available for those who want to conduct

¹⁹ Ying Xia, "Chinese Agricultural and Manufacturing Investment in Kenya: A Scoping Study," *China Africa Research Initiative*, no. 3 (August 2019): pp. 3-27, 4.

research on Africa from international relations, peace and conflict studies, business management and economics. Hence, inter-disciplinary and intra-disciplinary research is possible in afore-mentioned disciplines.

Research Questions

In order to fully comprehend the topic, the following research questions have been developed:

1. Why is BRI important for East African economy?
2. Why is Kenya having importance in BRI project and how increased trade relations between China and Kenya under BRI have potential to improve the living standards of the Kenyans?
3. Which are the challenges there in expansion of bilateral relations between China and Kenya under BRI?
4. What part do regional and international organizations play in Kenya's sustainable development?

Objectives of Study

The undertaken research has been aimed at:

- Studying BRI's contribution to recover East African economy, particularly Kenya's economic growth and development
- Analyzing current state of diplomatic relations between China and Kenya
- Evaluating prospects of expanding bilateral ties between the two players under BRI as well as relationship difficulties between the two actors.
- Identifying potential for future economic development and its role in integrating cross-continental links under the BRI

Literature Review

A thematic literature review has been followed for this research. It focuses on three themes, including theory, dynamics of China-East African countries' relations in reference to BRI and opportunities and challenges for Kenya and China under BRI. Literature on history in reference to BRI is found scattered, resultantly, sources like CIA Fact book, World Atlas, scholarly discussion on East Africa and news items from newspaper are consulted to follow the path. Significant literature on the theory of economic integration, dynamics of China-East African relations pertaining to challenges and opportunities and regional and international organizations are available, but its synthesis is not available in compiled form in the context of BRI.

Table 1: Themes of Literature Review

Theory	Dynamics of China-African Countries Relations	Opportunities and Challenges for Kenya and China under BRI
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Economic Integration Definition and Real World Example by Will Kenton • The Theory of Economic Integration by Bela Balassa • China and New Regionalism in Africa-Conflict or Coherence by Adam Griffiths • Economic Integration of African Economies with China and 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Cooperation and Development between China and East Africa by Abdilahi Ismail Abdilahi • China's Belt and Road Initiative in the global trade, investment and finance landscape by OECD Business and Finance Outlook 2018 • China's Belt and Road Initiative: Implications in Africa by Venkateswaran 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • The Belt and Road Initiative: Opportunities and Risks for Africa's Connectivity by Nancy Muthoni Gitthaiga, Alfred Burimaso, Wang Bing, and Salum Muhammad Ahmed • Modeling the Economic Impact of China's Belt and Road Initiative on East Africa by Rodgers Mukwaya and Andrew Mold • Kenya and the 21st Century Maritime

<p>India by Akhilesh Chandra Prabhakar, Vasili Erokhin, and Rajender Sing Godara</p>	<p>Lokanathan</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • China's Engagement with Africa: From Natural Resources to Human Resources • China-Africa Relations: Governance, Peace and Security by Mulugeta Gebrehiwot Berhe and Liu Hongwu 	<p>Silk Road: Implications for China-Africa Relations by Nazia Feroze, Yuan Tongkai, Muhammad Sabil Farooq, and Yuan Tongkai</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Obstacles to the BRI in Kenya by Dr. Sabestian Goulard • Three Opportunities and Three Risks of the Belt and Road Initiative by Michele Ruta
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Source: Researcher has developed the table

Will Kenton explains and defines economic integration in his article. According to Will Kenton, economic integration is basically arrangement among nations that includes the reduction or elimination of trade barriers and coordination of monetary and fiscal policies. There are seven stages of economic integration which includes: preferential trade area, free trade area, custom union, and common market, economic union, economic and monetary union and complete economic integration. European Union is among one of the example of economic integration. There three major advantages of economic integration i-e trade benefits, employment and political cooperation, including challenges like diversion of trade and erosion of national sovereignty.²⁰

²⁰ Will Kenton, "What Is Economic Integration?," Investopedia, last modified February 25, 2010, <https://www.investopedia.com/terms/e/economic-integration.asp>.

In contrast Bella Balassa defines the 'Theory of Economic Integration'. According to the book, the word integration means 'the bringing together of parts into a whole'. There are varying degrees in integration namely, free trade area, a custom union, and common market, an economic union and complete economic integration. The major object of the book was to understand the effects of integration on trade and economic activities.²¹

Adam Griffiths in his research paper tries to differentiate between old regionalism and new regionalism. While, defining regionalism between China and African states, the paper states that in old regionalism African states were seeking trade policy rationalization leading to integration and development under the tutelage and patronage of Western states. In contrast, the new regionalism presents new approach that is to link developing and developed economies. Regional trade agreements are among the visible elements of new regionalism which leads to economic integration, trade facilitation, monetary policy rationalization and foreign direct investment.²²

Akhilesh Chandra Prabhakar, Vasili Erokhin, and Rajender Sing Godara's highlight economic integration of African economies with China and India in their journal. Dynamics make up, and destinations of exports and imports are all examined in this journal, along with foreign direct investment in China-African relations (stocks accumulated in African countries). The growth of South-South trade has altered the previous trade pattern, which was typically biased toward industrialized economies. The authors highlight the problems and obstacles to China and Africa's trade and investment integration as well as the opportunities for cooperation between the three parties in order to foster economic progress.²³

Abdilahi Ismail Abdilahi, in working paper which was published on April 14, 2020 claims that as a result of globalization, China and the countries of East Africa have quickly and thoroughly developed friendly and cooperative ties, beginning with high-level political exchanges and continuing with close communication between the party, government, military, business, and culture as well as close economic and trade cooperation. Both show how China and East Africa have tight development and cooperative ties. The key drivers of these ties have been shared needs, the largely stable political environments of these African nations, and the Chinese government's increasing

²¹ Bela Balassa, *The Theory of Economic Integration (Routledge Revivals)* (London: Routledge, 2013)

²² Adam Griffiths, "China and New Regionalism in Africa - Conflict or Coherence?," (n.d.), doi:10.26686/wgtn.17008531.v1.

²³ Akhilesh C. Prabhakar, Vasili Erokhin, and Rajender S. Godara, "Economic Integration of African Economies With China and India," *Regional Trade and Development Strategies in the Era of Globalization*, 2020, xx, doi:10.4018/978-1-7998-1730-7.ch002.

support for the continent's democratic systems. China and East Africa have made enormous efforts to cooperate on a bilateral basis. Despite of social challenges and disputes both players work together to overcome obstacles. The ongoing growth of cooperative relations is supported with the help of both parties. The bilateral relationship between China and East Africa is currently progressing satisfactorily. Cooperation in trade and the economy still has some issues. The article explains the situation and suggests appropriate responses.²⁴

The OECD Business and Finance Outlook 2018 report goes into great detail about China's Belt and Road Initiative in the global trade, investment, and financial landscape. The BRI development strategy aims to increase connectivity and collaboration along six major economic corridors that connect China with Mongolia, Russia, Eurasian countries, Central and West Asia, Pakistan, other countries of the Indian subcontinent, and Indochina. Through BRI, China may provide infrastructure investment to all BRI participants. Investments in infrastructure benefit the participating countries. The BRI's focus on mutual benefit will also help with the short- and long-term elimination of industrial excess capacity and the long-term growth of markets for Chinese goods. Hardware (infrastructure) and financing are given major priority by the BRI. The BRI strategy's effects on other participating economies are investigated in the paper, along with potential implications for OECD nations.²⁵

Venkateswaran Lokanathan's issue brief, claims that China now has a significant economic presence in the majority of African countries. The Belt and Road Initiative's robust economic investment package, flexible political approach, and targeted high-profile development projects presents African countries with an ostensibly enormous opportunity (BRI). Local hostility has been exacerbated by the initiative's unilateralism, lack of accountability to African states, lack of transparency, and absence of programmes that directly serve people. African nations routinely postpone or abandon BRI projects because of mounting debt worries. The article examines the BRI's qualities, particularly as they relate to the African continent, as well as its benefits and drawbacks for the host nations.²⁶

²⁴ Abdilahi Ismail Abdilahi, "Cooperation and Development between China and East Africa," *Open Journal of Social Sciences* 08, no. 04 (2020): pp. 153-166, <https://doi.org/10.4236/jss.2020.84011>.

²⁵ OECD, "China's Belt and Road Initiative in the Global Trade, Investment and Finance Landscape" (OECD Business and Finance Outlook, 2018), pp. 61-101.

²⁶ L. Venkateswaran, "China's Belt and Road Initiative: Implications in Africa," ORF, September 3, 2020, <https://www.orfonline.org/research/chinas-belt-and-road-initiative-implications-in-africa/>.

David Dollar, in his book discusses range of topics. China's Engagement with Africa, natural resources and human resources are subject matter. The book gives an overview of international trade between China and Africa. Africa can find some comfort in China's evolving growth strategy. The pattern of trade between China and Africa is subtly characterized. Africa might make a positive contribution to global value chains. China has increased its direct investment in Africa over time. As a result, China and Africa's relationship is developing over time. China's infrastructure financing has raised environmental and social standards in Africa.²⁷

Mulugeta Gebrehiwot Berhe and Liu Hongwu, in their book say that this is due to the expanding goodwill between China and Africa. Even with a non-interference strategy, there are obstacles to peace and security in this circumstance. The book's goal is to discuss these issues and the possibility for economic collaboration between China and Africa, especially in East Africa. China's relationship with Africa is described in terms of its various areas and how they affect one another politically and economically.²⁸

Nancy Muthoni Gitthaiga, Alfred Burimaso, Wang Bing, and Salum Muhammad Ahmed wrote a paper for investigation that how connectivity in Africa may be affected by China's Belt and Road Initiative (BRI). The BRI aims to recreate the old Silk Road trade route in order to strengthen the global economy and create a network of trade and investment across the three continents of Africa, Asia, and Europe. In this article, the benefits and drawbacks of the BRI for Africa are assessed using secondary data and a focus on certain BRI nation programmes.²⁹

Rodgers Mukwaya and Andrew Mold in their paper evaluate how the People's Republic of China's Belt and Road project plan will impact trade and well-being in Eastern Africa. The Belt and Road Initiative, also known as the Silk Road Economic Belt and the 21st Century Maritime Silk Road, was launched by Chinese President Xi Jinping in 2013. The BRI includes travel to countries in Asia, Europe, and Africa. The BRI shares borders with the East African nations of Djibouti, Ethiopia, Kenya, Rwanda, Uganda, and Tanzania. One of the BRI projects in East Africa is the standard gauge railway, which is now under

²⁷ David Dollar, "China's Engagement with Africa: From Natural Resources to Human Resources," Brookings (Brookings, July 28, 2016), <https://www.brookings.edu/research/chinas-engagement-with-africa-from-natural-resources-to-human-resources/>.

²⁸ Mulugeta Gebrehiwot Berhe and Liu Hongwu, *China-Africa Relations: Governance, Peace and Security* (Ethiopia: Institute for Peace and Security Studies (Addis Ababa University), 2013).

²⁹ Nancy Muthoni Githaiga et al., "The Belt and Road Initiative: Opportunities and Risks for Africa's Connectivity," *China Quarterly of International Strategic Studies* 05, no. 01 (2019): pp. 117-141, <https://doi.org/10.1142/s2377740019500064>.

construction. It will connect the ports of Mombasa and Dar es Salaam with Kenya, Uganda, Tanzania, and Rwanda. It is anticipated that the standard gauge railway will lower local transit costs, which will impact trade and welfare.³⁰

A study by Nazia Feroze, Yuan Tongkai, Muhammad Sabil Farooq, and Yuan Tongkai claims that, China remains the continent's largest infrastructure lender, with pledges of 40 billion USD made at the Belt and Road Forum in May 2017. BRI, which has plans for or has already begun on projects worth substantially more than the funds that have been pledged, is said to be the largest development initiative in history. Africa, which is home to the minerals, oil, and other resources that underpin China's tremendous economic growth, is where the Asian superpower is continuing its development. Africa and China must cooperate to advance.³¹

The article by Dr. Sabastian Goulard explores the BRI-related barriers. Kenya is one of China's main friends in Africa, and the two nations have signed several agreements. The Kenyan port of Mombasa has been an essential part of the continent-wide Belt and Road Initiative ever since it opened in 2013. Despite these agreements, Kenya has frequently had trouble putting BRI-related projects into action. On June 25, 2020, Kenya's court of appeal declared that the contract between the "Kenya Railway Corporation" and the "China Bridges and Railway Corporation" (CBRC) for the construction of the railway line connecting Mombasa to Nairobi was invalid. This was one of the more recent setbacks.³²

Michele Ruta's blog were published on May 4, 2018. The author discusses the benefits and drawbacks of the Belt and Road Initiative. Three primary factors can be used to categorize the opportunities: their immense size and scope, their significant untapped potential, and their improved connection. The risks are broken down into three groups:

³⁰ Rodgers Mukwaya and Andrew Mold, "Modelling the Economic Impact of the China Belt and Road ...," 2018, <https://www.gtap.agecon.purdue.edu/resources/download/9118.pdf>.

³¹ Muhammad Sabil Farooq et al., "Kenya and the 21st Century Maritime Silk Road: Implications for China-Africa Relations," *China Quarterly of International Strategic Studies* 04, no. 03 (2018): pp. 401-418, <https://doi.org/10.1142/s2377740018500136>.

³² "Obstacles to the BRI in Kenya," OBOReuropa, last modified July 11, 2020, <https://www.oboreurope.com/en/obstacles-bri-kenya/>.

macro-risks, risks related to policy obstacles that build up thick borders, and risks related to significant infrastructure projects.³³

Robert Tama Lisinge's article, discusses the effects and lessons learned. In contrast to Africa's current regional infrastructure plans, which aim to strengthen the continent's regional integration, the article presents opinions that the BRI is outward-looking and is a component of China's "Going Out Strategy." This paper makes the case that, despite what could initially appear to be a conflict between their goals for infrastructure linkage, China and Africa can cooperate to realize the BRI by drawing on the philosophy of international cooperation. For Africa to implement its own programmes more quickly, this report also analyses the lessons learned by BRI. Stakeholder mobilization by political leaders, the creation of specialized organizations and funds, and the improvement of local infrastructure capabilities are some of the lessons learned.³⁴

The paper by Jing Gu and Shen Qiu summarizes the contentious debate that has been taking place around the world on the Belt and Road Initiative's (BRI) capacity to assist the world in achieving the Sustainable Development Goals (SDGs). The BRI has the potential to be a critical component in accomplishing the SDGs, according to eminent representatives from the national, regional, and international levels. The BRI, a global development initiative that emphasizes the need for stronger instruments to execute and realize the SDGs and the 2030 Agenda for Sustainable Development, has received significant financial support from China. The BRI-SDG connection, in contrast, faces considerable obstacles in the face of a global dialogue marked by reservations, protests, and resistance. This article examines how Kenya's implementation of the SDGs has been impacted by the BRI collaboration between China and Kenya. Its claims are reinforced by data from primary research as well as official papers in the discussion of the BRI's potential for sustainable development in Africa.³⁵

The influence of BRI infrastructure investment on achieving the Sustainable Development Goals was the subject of a study by Neil Renwick, Jing Gu, and Sen Gong

³³ "Three Opportunities and Three Risks of the Belt and Road Initiative," World Bank Blogs, accessed December 4, 2022, <https://blogs.worldbank.org/trade/three-opportunities-and-three-risks-belt-and-road-initiative>.

³⁴ Robert Tama Lisinge, "The Belt and Road Initiative and Africa's Regional Infrastructure Development: Implications and Lessons," *Transnational Corporations Review* 12, no. 4 (2020): pp. 425-438, <https://doi.org/10.1080/19186444.2020.1795527>.

³⁵ Jing Gu and Shen Qiu, "The Belt and Road Initiative and Africa's Sustainable Development: A Case Study of Kenya," *IDS Bulletin* 50, no. 4 (January 2019), <https://doi.org/10.19088/1968-2019.140>.

that was published in September 2018. This article explores how much China's Belt and Road Initiative (BRI) contributes to closing the global infrastructure deficit in order to aid in the achievement of the Sustainable Development Goals (SDGs) and Agenda 2030. The Belt and Road Initiative (BRI), first put forth by Chinese President Xi Jinping in 2013 and formally inaugurated in 2015, has expanded to include 65 nations on all continents and is organized around a series of interconnected trade and investment corridors. In order to deepen and improve China's continental and maritime ties to the rest of the world, the BRI is intended to act as the primary driver of important investment. The BRI targets key sectors like transportation, communications, and energy while emphasizing capacity expansion through infrastructure. These partnerships are intended to help with project implementation by providing the required funding as well.³⁶

According to Central Banking's Belt and Road Initiative 2020 Survey- A more Sustainable Road to Growth, BRI investments are more environmentally friendly than other types of external loans, especially given that they are often proportionally smaller in size. Despite escalating global trade tensions, protectionist policies have not yet had an impact on BRI membership or investments, though this may change in the future. The survey provides more information on sustainable growth, which is advantageous. The majority of the economies along the corridor would likely experience higher growth and revenue as a result of enhanced infrastructure, increased trade, and increased investment.³⁷

According to a Xinhua story published on November 25, 2021, the Belt and Road Initiative is altering Kenya's growth environment. According to the research, the Belt and Road Initiative (BRI), which China first proposed eight years ago, is significantly changing Kenya's development environment. Since the BRI was first announced in 2013, China has provided financing for new infrastructure projects including railways, roads, ports, dams, industries, and digital connectivity. The reason for Kenya's economic progress is this. The research analyzed the real Impact of the BRI through specific activities under the five connectivity areas of infrastructure development, policy

³⁶ Neil Renwick, Jing Gu, and Sen Gong, "The Impact of BRI Investment in Infrastructure on ...," <https://assets.publishing.service.gov.uk/>, September 2018, https://assets.publishing.service.gov.uk/media/5be9560ced915d6a166edb35/K4D_Helpdesk_BRI_REPORT_2018_final.pdf.

³⁷ Zhang Jizhong and 16 Apr 2020, "The Belt and Road Initiative 2020 Survey – A More Sustainable Road to Growth?," Central Banking, February 19, 2021, <https://www.centralbanking.com/central-banks/economics/4737966/the-belt-and-road-initiative-2020-survey-a-more-sustainable-road-to-growth>.

consultation, trade promotion, financial cooperation, and people-to-people exchanges in Kenya.³⁸

The paper's author is New York-based attorney Max Yoeli who explains how the economic effects of COVID-19 have exposed the underlying weakness of China's Belt and Road Initiative (BRI) in Kenya, which is already being scrutinized because of concerns about corruption, pollution, and debt. Even while the BRI has significantly helped Kenya with its infrastructure needs and China's involvement is far from the neocolonial debt trap many commentators expected, Kenya still faces difficult times in the future.³⁹

The Western literature critique alleges China of waging a silent kind of Cold War against west by employing debt diplomacy and economic dependency. China through loans and mega-projects is trapping underdeveloped world in debt. Additionally, China is alleged of exploiting resources of underdeveloped states of Africa and rest of the world through core-periphery model where resources flow from a periphery of poor states to a centre wealthy states, thus, enriching wealthy states at the expense of poor states. It is generally believed in core-periphery model that few countries play dominant role in world trade, while, most countries have secondary position. In this study, the 'Theory of Economic Integration' is used, which is negating the western allegation of dept trap, economic dependency and core-periphery dilemma. To clarify, economic integration relies on elimination of trade barriers, coordination of monetary and fiscal policies, promoting trade, reducing cost of product, while, political and economic coordination are improved between regional economies. At the back drop of trade war between US and China, the 'Theory of Economic Integration' is a soft tool at the hands of policy makers to proceed towards development and progress.

³⁸ Xinhua, "Belt and Road Initiative Transforming Kenya's Development Space," CGTN Africa, November 25, 2021, <https://africa.cgtn.com/2021/11/25/belt-and-road-initiative-transforming-kenyas-development-space/>.

³⁹ Max Yoeli, "Belt and Road in Kenya: Covid-19 Sparks a Reckoning with Debt and Dissatisfaction," Council on Foreign Relations (Council on Foreign Relations, March 25, 2021), <https://www.cfr.org/blog/belt-and-road-kenya-covid-19-sparks-reckoning-debt-and-dissatisfaction>.

Research Gap

After conducting literature review following research gap is identified.

- There is limited academic work available on East Africa and Kenya with reference to BRI.
- Pakistan is a member of BRI and holds its significant project named as CPEC. Scholarly work on investment under BRI is least researched by a Pakistani Scholar.
- Additionally, there is gap of Pakistan's perspective on the research topic.

Core Argument

The idea of interregional and intercontinental connectivity through the BRI in the twenty-first century has potential to add further dimensions of cooperation and growth to existing relations of China with East Africa in general and for Kenya in particular as an opportunity to expand its foreign policy and support its socioeconomic growth by using the instruments of Belt and Road Initiative.

Theoretical Framework

Theories always provide a perspective to analyze problems in the proper manner by providing a framework that helps a researcher understand a topic. International relations theories are regarded as launching pads for any research that builds the foundation for any specific, sound, and fundamental research, increasing its significance, orienting it toward a certain objective, and enlightening it scientifically on any given topic of studies. In this study, the "Theory of Economic Integration" is used. Bela Balassa, a professor of political economy defined the 'Theory of Economic Integration' as, the word 'integration' means "the bringing together of parts into a whole". He further illustrates that integration generally includes free-trade area, a custom union, a common market, an economic union and complete economic integration.⁴⁰

According to the idea of economic integration, a deal between countries that typically entails the elimination or lowering of trade barriers as well as the coordination of monetary and fiscal policies is seen as economic integration. In addition to promoting

⁴⁰ Bela Balassa, *The Theory of Economic Integration (Routledge Revivals)* (London: Routledge, 2013)

commerce between the member nations, it strives to lower costs for producers as well as consumers. When regional economies decide to integrate, trade constraints are loosened and political and economic coordination are improved. Economic integration is also referred to as regional integration since it commonly takes place between neighboring nations. Experts in this field have defined seven stages of economic integration, including a preferential trading area, a free trade area, a customs union, a common market, an economic union, an economic and monetary union and total economic integration. A comprehensive harmonization of fiscal and monetary policies is required in the final stage.⁴¹

Burfisher, Sherman, and Theirfelder claim that a hierarchy of integration factors can be used to summarize the characteristics of economic integration and new regionalism. According to them, a well integrated region should contain eight of these elements. Facilitating financial and FDI flows comes first, followed by easing restrictions on labor migration within a regional trade area (agreement/association). Harmonizing domestic tax and subsidy programmes comes in third. Establishing institutions to govern and assist integration is the fifth characteristic, whereas the fourth component is harmonizing macro policies, including fiscal and monetary policies. The following two features include enhancing the system of transportation and communication as well as harmonizing the laws governing the marketplaces for goods and factors. Last but not least, finally to establish a monetary union for a common currency.⁴²

While explaining the concept of economic integration, Will Kenton gives the example of European Union which was created in 1993 with 28 members. European was the outcome of similar concept, but, also there might be strict nationalists who may oppose economic integration due to concern over a loss of sovereignty. There are three major advantages of integration along with challenges. Trade benefits, employment opportunities and political cooperation are among the advantages of economic integration pertaining to some challenges like diversion of trade and erosion of national sovereignty. Finally, there are many indicators that gauge the level of economic integration. Firstly, we can identify the

⁴¹ Will Kenton, "What Is Economic Integration?," Investopedia, last modified February 25, 2010, <https://www.investopedia.com/terms/e/economic-integration.asp>.

⁴² Adam M. Griffiths (researcharchive, 2010), pp. 1-56, 8,9.

level of integration by trade of goods and services, then, the level of cross border capital flows and lastly, the labor migration.⁴³

Africa has suffered from neo-liberal policy experiments. Neo-liberalism as focused on ways in which influences such as democratic governance, public opinion, mass education, free trade, liberal commercial enterprise, international law and organization, arms control and disarmament, collective security and multilateral diplomacy.⁴⁴ Africa as has its own history and culture where neo-liberal and western approaches failed to full-fill its need. Multi-lateral diplomacy could not solve its long standing problems, while, mantra of democracy were not as per their aspirations. International law and organizations were sometimes found source of exploitation and power politics.

In addition, due to the remnants and practices of colonialism, Africa has been marginalized. The massive multinational corporations with headquarters in Europe and the US share Africa's enormous mineral riches deposits. It is unlikely that locals will share in the enormous riches generated. Four thousand multinational corporations with headquarters in the US and the EU directly control Africa's natural resources including oil, gold, and diamonds (MNCs). The only interactions these regions' multilateral development banks have with Africa are donor-recipient ones. Since the 1990s, 40 of the 48 Sub-Saharan African countries have embraced the IMF's restructuring recommendations. The World Bank's Structural Adjustments Programme (SAP), which has not been successful in Africa, has demolished established rural and urban systems without creating any substitutes. There was continuous economic stagnation, inadequate industrial productivity, low earnings, and rising poverty in rural parts of many African transitional economies. The liberalization, privatization, and globalization (LPG) practice that has been in place for the past three decades has failed as a result of the aforementioned causes, particularly the inability of small and medium-sized firms to reach the western markets (SMEs).⁴⁵

Every state needs to establish relationships with other states in order to meet its demands for food, energy, infrastructure, etc. No country in the world is resourceful enough to live independently of others. There have been many methods employed in

⁴³ Will Kenton, "What Is Economic Integration?," Investopedia (Investopedia, December 7, 2021), <https://www.investopedia.com/terms/e/economic-integration.asp>, 2,3.

⁴⁴ *Theories of World Politics*. n.d.

⁴⁵ Akhilesh C. Prabhakar, Vasilii Erokhin, and Rajender S. Godara, "Economic Integration of African Economies With China and India," *Regional Trade and Development Strategies in the Era of Globalization*, 2020.doi:10.4018/978-1-7998-1730-7.ch002.

the past, with "old regionalism" being one of them. New phenomena called "new regionalism" or "regional integration" can be used to examine Africa's development aspirations. Since the last three decades, regional integration or new regionalism has been in use. Old regionalism was a post-colonial and post-independent phenomenon that was limited to Africa's interactions with its former colonial masters in search of trade policy integration, rationalization, and growth under the guidance and sponsorship of the western governments. The new cooperation between developing economies and the African governments, however, is the defining feature of the new regionalism. These alliances have the potential to be of considerable assistance to the African governments on the road to regional integration and prosperity.⁴⁶

Since developed countries, particularly the USA and EU, have refused to give Africa foreign aid in the twenty-first century, Africa is getting ready to strengthen its ties with emerging nations like China, India, Brazil, Russia, Indonesia, Turkey, and South Korea as a result of the aforementioned mistrust and setback. China has considerable investments in and business relationships with African countries. Western nations have stopped giving money, goods, and special trade rights to Africa since 2008. Even conditionality-based loans from international financial institutions like the World Bank and the IMF are insufficient to meet Africa's financial demands, particularly for the construction of infrastructure. Due to China's strategic goal in terms of politics, ideology, and economic development, its engagement with Africa has changed over time. All of these actions have formed in the notion of South-South relations. By contributing billions of money, such as, China strengthens its reputation as a pro-Third World economic giant. More than the World Bank, the IMF, or the EU, China offers \$ 10 billion in concessional loans to Africa, announcing "debt relief" in the same amount and promising to make a sizable contribution to the continent's trained labor pool. The China-Africa Forums serve as the major link in this context and are crucial for the governments' efforts to enhance regional economic cooperation in accordance with South-South principles while avoiding competition among stakeholders. In the age of globalization, China has emerged as one of the leading economic powers. African nations are unable to fully use their abundant natural resources. The Chinese economy must converge with Africa's, which should be

⁴⁶ Adam Griffiths, "China and New Regionalism in Africa - Conflict or Coherence?," (n.d.). doi:10.26686/wgtn.17008531.v1.

happy to participate. The best conditions in China's expanding markets may consequently benefit Africa.⁴⁷

Burfisher, Sherman, and Theirfelder made an effort to distinguish between old and new regionalism and to outline the key traits of regional integration or new regionalism. One is shallower involvement, and the other is deeper engagement, which they use to illustrate the two concepts. In the early decades following World War II, traditional regionalism was noticeable. In an effort to remove or eliminate trade barriers, attempts were undertaken to integrate regional economies during this time of reconstruction and realignment of the global economic currents. A more complicated set of concepts, such as harmonizing national trade policies and promoting internal mobility factors, are the emphasis of modern regionalism, which aims for greater integration. The movement of money or labor, immigration laws, rules of origin, and the growth of intraregional trade infrastructure are other characteristics of these elements.⁴⁸

In addition to offering a variety of institutional assistance for capacity building, China and Africa have been cooperatively exchanging technological and developmental know-how. China and Africa established joint ventures in practical fields such banking and finance, paper mills, petroleum oil, chemicals and engineering, food processing, leather, wooden goods, and medicines. China built infrastructure as well, including water systems, highways, bridges, and flyovers. China has pushed technical training by sending expert teams to Africa and by awarding scholarships to African students. The principles of the Bandung Consensus—common interests and benefits, respect for one another's sovereignty, non-interference in one another's internal affairs, and solidarity—serve as the basis for China's facilitation of preferential free trade zones for Africa. These principles also served as the cornerstone of the Non-Aligned Movement and the freedom struggles against western colonialism that characterized the shared past of many Asian, African, and Latin American countries. China could be able to avoid saying that it has attained any of these objectives by doing this.⁴⁹

⁴⁷ Akhilesh C. Prabhakar, Vasilii Erokhin, and Rajender S. Godara, "Economic Integration of African Economies With China and India," *Regional Trade and Development Strategies in the Era of Globalization*, 2020.doi:10.4018/978-1-7998-1730-7.ch002.

⁴⁸ Adam M. Griffiths (researcharchive, 2010), pp. 1-56, 1-10.

⁴⁹ Akhilesh C. Prabhakar, Vasilii Erokhin, and Rajender S. Godara, "Economic Integration of African Economies With China and India," *Regional Trade and Development Strategies in the Era of Globalization*, 2020.doi:10.4018/978-1-7998-1730-7.ch002.

Africa displays a wide range of interlocking, independent, and interdependent regional integration manifestations. Either in the bilateral agreements between the two actors or between the regional organization and the specific state, regional integration is obvious. Africa engages in bilateral as well as regional organization-based interactions with other entities. Among the regional organizations that are essential in interactions with China and other governments are the African Union and the East African Community. Through these institutions, China is also making investments and interfacing with others through trade agreements. Once known as the Organization for African Union, One of the largest-scale, most persistent efforts at regional integration is the African Union. Members of the AU, a truly continental organization, include 49 African states. The AU is a regional integration organization in the broadest sense because it strives for continental as well as regional integration.⁵⁰

The integration of the area depends on the East African Community (EAC). This regional intergovernmental organization, which has its headquarters in Arusha, Tanzania, is composed of the Republics of Burundi, Kenya, Rwanda, South Sudan, the United Republic of Tanzania, and the Republic of Uganda. The Community is governed by the EAC Treaty, which established it. It was signed on November 30, 1999, and the first three Partner States, Kenya, Tanzania, and Uganda, ratified it on July 7, 2000. The Republics of Rwanda and Burundi approved the EAC Treaty on June 18, 2007, making them eligible to join the Community as full members as of July 1. On April 15, 2016, the Republic of South Sudan acceded to the Treaty, and on August 15, 2016, it was admitted as a Full Member. To the mutual advantage of its Partner States, the EAC, one of the world's fastest-growing regional economic blocs, is enhancing and deepening collaboration among them in a number of key areas. They include the social, political, and economic spheres. The East African Monetary Union Protocol has been implemented, the Common Market was founded in 2010, and the East African Customs Union is making promising gains, all of which demonstrate that the regional integration process is now underway.⁵¹

At the back drop of all these developments, through Belt and Road Initiative, China is trying to integrate its market with all the intra-regional and inter-regional entities. China is very keen to interact with multi-lateral organizations like UN and regional

⁵⁰ Adam Griffiths, "China and New Regionalism in Africa - Conflict or Coherence?," (n.d.). doi:10.26686/wgtn.17008531.v1.

⁵¹ Overview of EAC, accessed December 21, 2021, <https://www.eac.int/overview-of-eac>, 1.

organizations like African Union and East African Community. Using these organizations and BRI, China is integrating its economy with international market. As integration is a two way process, hence, it helps all the stakeholders involved. Free trade agreements, special economic zones and industrial parks help in overall socio-economic development.

Since the defeat of the Axis forces in 1945, according to Michael Mousseau's article "The End of Fighting: How a Robust Marketplace and Liberal Hegemony Are Leading to Perpetual World Peace," war is becoming obsolete. By applying the "Economic Norms Theory," which divides states into "Status and Contractualist Economy," he defends his position. International institutions, interstate image or inter-subjective structure, trade interdependence, and the global pattern of war, peace, and cooperation in state internal conditions are all explained by the economic norms theory. China is not classified as a status or contractualist state, although it is headed in that direction. He explains that the economy and status societies depend on an individual's capacity for navigating network politics and attracting patrons. It creates mental models and mental habits that prioritize conformity to the group, hierarchy, and loyalty. People acquire security through a variety of networks, including families, tribes, clans, unions, parties, and criminal gangs, rather than through the open market in the form of mortgages or life insurance. Prices are unfairly set according to the parties' standing.⁵²

Conversely, in contractualist societies and economies, success rests on one's capacity to negotiate a hostile environment. By entering into contracts with strangers in a market, people can acquire many types of securities, such as income and financial securities. Prices in a contractualist economy are fair. In more free, larger, and wealthier societies, people can command higher prices for their labor, abilities, and goods than in less free, smaller, and poorer ones. Contractualist economic standards result in a mental model that emphasizes equality, equal protection of property rights, and a constantly expanding economy for more opportunities in the marketplace.

Mousseau asserts that there is no "Thucydides's Trap" and no justification for being terrified of China. The US, a contractualist state, established the global order, and if China, which is emerging, replaces it, it will do so in accordance with its historical precedents. Conflict is therefore not imminent because of how the global economy is

⁵² Michael Mousseau, "The End of War: How a Robust Marketplace and Liberal Hegemony Are Leading to Perpetual World Peace," *International Security* 44, no. 1 (2019): pp. 160-196, https://doi.org/10.1162/isec_a_00352.

currently doing. China is not a status state or a contractualist country. Although it adheres to revisionism, which involves spending on rules, countercyclical fiscal policies, state business subsidies, social welfare programmes, and economic integration in addition to on infrastructure, education, and the military, it is moving in the direction of contractualism because of this.⁵³

Research Methodology

The undertaken research is qualitative and explanatory while it is relying on primary, secondary and tertiary data. Since the case study research design has been used, the basic information is collected through targeted interviews. Five interviews have been conducted electronically which are attached at the end of the thesis as annexure. The secondary sources of data used for this research are books, research papers, research reports and journalistic information: where as tertiary data has been extracted from different website and blogs.

The research is comprised of dependent, independent and intervening variables. BRI and China are independent variable, while, East African states along with Kenya are dependent variables, whose, relations are dependent on China. International system as well as international organization which are anticipating entities in East Africa are among intervening variables.

Significance of Study

The process of obtaining new knowledge from previously known information is known as research. It investigates, seizes fresh ideas, and produces new information. This study's main contribution will be to the academic community. In which one can ask for advice about the BRI's role in reviving the economies of Kenya and East Africa, and where students of international relations can develop their own opinions about the concept and help create new ideas by using it. "Theory of Economic Integration" is a naïve concept and this study generates its theoretical significance by economic means. It provides road map for other inter-regional and intra-regional initiatives and organizations like EU which is facing issue of recession and B3W which is in its initial stage. African Union can also revamp itself by taking prescription of "Theory of Economic Integration". Moreover

⁵³ Michael Mousseau, "The End of War: How a Robust Marketplace and Liberal Hegemony Are Leading to Perpetual World Peace," *International Security* 44, no. 1 (2019): pp. 160-196, https://doi.org/10.1162/isec_a_00352.

African governments for a long period of time suffered from neo-liberal policy experiments which rely on developing regimes, promotion of democracy and international institutions which sometimes are source of exploitation. Practically the research is significant in line to as connectivity is enhancing and global infrastructure is developing, it is giving opportunities not only to East African region but also to other regions across the world. Inter-regional and intra-regional connectivity is giving boost to business activities, resultantly, economic activities are bolstering domestically and internationally. Additionally, this research provide basis for future decisions of policy makers in Pakistan and provide platform for further research.

Delimitation

The research primarily focuses on the BRI connections between East Africa and China; more particularly, the topic has been condensed by concentrating on the two largest states, namely China and Kenya. And the focus was on the years 2017 and after. The topic's core theme centers on examining its opportunities and drawbacks.

Organization of Study

Chapter One comprised of “China and East-African Countries' Relations: Brief Historical Background.” The dynamics of China's connections with East Africa before and after the BRI are covered in Chapter 2, "Dynamics of China-East African Countries' Relations: Focusing on BRI." The purpose of the BRI's integration in Kenya is defined in Chapter 3, "Integration of China's BRI in Kenya." Opportunities and difficulties for Kenya under the Belt and Road Initiative are discussed in Chapter 4, "Opportunities and Challenges for Kenya under Belt and Road Initiative."Chapter Five “Implications for China in Kenya under Belt and Road Initiative” talks about implication China has in Kenya under BRI. Chapter Six “Role of Regional and International Organizations in Sustainable Development of Kenya” discusses role of international and regional organization in sustainable development of Kenya.

Chapter One

China and East African Countries' Relations:

Brief Historical Background

The vast continent of Africa is divided into five sub-regions, according to the United Nations as Northern Africa, Southern Africa, Central Africa, Eastern Africa, and Western Africa. Among these regions, East Africa has been a significant region since ancient times for its resources, trade markets, cultural diversity and different mystical practices. There are 18 countries in East Africa, among which 6 are the member state of East African Community (EAC). East Africa is further separated into five regions: Northern East Africa (Horn of Africa), Southeastern Africa, Indian Ocean Islands, and Nile Valley. North East Africa is made up of Somalia, Djibouti, Ethiopia, and Eritrea (Horn of Africa). Comoros, Madagascar, Mauritius and Seychelles are among the Indian Ocean Islands. Malawi, Mozambique, Zambia and Zimbabwe forms Southeastern Africa while South Sudan is a part of the Nile Valley region.⁵⁴

This chapter has been divided into three sections as following: i. History of East Africa during different Eras, ii. China-East African Countries' Relations: Pre-colonial History, iii. China-East African Countries Relation: Post-colonial Era.

1.1 History of East Africa during different Eras

History is the bedrock of healthy relations and aids in understanding how to communicate or build friendly ties that are crucial for all. East African region remained an abode of different civilizations, culture and nations. Many empires and powers came and ruled here. Some of them left permanent while some left temporary imprints, later during the era of decolonization all states got independence one by one.

1.1.1 The Greek Era of 2nd Millennium BC

Focusing on history of entire African continent, including East Africa was looked upon from the perspective of trade routes. In Greek era, during 2nd millennium BC, there were

⁵⁴ Ambassador(r)Tajammul Altaf, "Pakistan can learn a lot from China's experience in Africa" (presentation, Seminar, Institute of Policy Studies, Islamabad, December 8, 2021).

very clear trade routes spreading from Somalia, Red Sea and Indian Ocean. Coastal trade was existential and Greeks were navigating these routes.⁵⁵

1.1.2 The Muslims in 6th Century

Later on after the advent of Islam in 614 A.D, Muslim also arrived to this part of land, namely to Ethiopia and Somalia for propagation of religion as well as for trade and business. This progress in journey further continued in the 7th century and reached the area known as 'Pate Island' near Kenya. In the 9th century there were trade linkages between East Africa and Arab traders, who traded with Somalia, Kenya, Mozambique and Zanzibar near Tanzania. Arabs consolidated their position in Zanzibar and barter trade with Persian Gulf was initiated. From the mid of 12th century to 15th century which is known in history as Shirazi era, hailed from Persian Gulf, ruled Lamu, Pemba, Mafia, Zanzibar, Comoro Island and Kilwa. There were trade contacts with India, the Persian Gulf and Venice.⁵⁶

1.1.3 The Portuguese (1498-1698)

There was an overwhelming influence of Portuguese on East Africa from 1498 to 1698. There were trade linkages with Kenya, Tanzania and Mozambique through sea. The Portuguese took control of spice trade from Arabs. They traded with India, Far East and East Africa. The Portuguese colonies were spread from Morocco to Mozambique, Cape Town in South Africa, Oman, India (Goa), and coastal line of Pakistan, Philippines Japan and Brazil. Ottoman-Portuguese war was fought to control Indian Ocean from 1538 to 1559 and religious confrontation between Christianity and Islam was also predominating in this region. In 1622, Portuguese lost control of Strait of Hormuz to Persians and Muscat to Oman in 1650.⁵⁷

1.1.4 Omani Rule (1652-1964)

With the passage of time Portuguese lost its control over East Africa and it fell into a hand of 'Omani Rule' that lasted from 1652 to 1964. Zanzibar became the trading hub during this period. Slave trade was initiated and the plantation of spices was encouraged.

⁵⁵ Ambassador(r)Tajammul Altaf, "Pakistan can learn a lot from China's experience in Africa" (presentation, Seminar, Institute of Policy Studies, Islamabad, December 8, 2021).

⁵⁶ Ambassador(r)Tajammul Altaf, "Pakistan can learn a lot from China's experience in Africa" (presentation, Seminar, Institute of Policy Studies, Islamabad, December 8, 2021).

⁵⁷ Henry L. Gates, Emmanuel Akyeampong, and Steven J. Niven, *Dictionary of African Biography* (Oxford University Press, 2012), xx, DOI: 10.1093/acref/9780195382075.001.0001.

Along with Zanzibar, Pate and Kilwa also came under the Omani domination. Omanis ruled this part of land under the patronage of Britain, USA and France till 1964. Missionaries travelled to this region, whose objectives were philanthropist that later turned into commercial and finally converted into imperialistic venture.⁵⁸

1.1.5 The Europeans (19th Century to 20th Century)

During colonial era that spreads between 19th and 20th century, East Africa became the theater of competition between the British Empire, France and Germany. In 1885, German East African Company was formed, which was followed by Anglo-German agreement in 1886. Mainland of Mombasa, Kilimanjaro, the Lake Victoria, Kenya and Tanzania fell under British control. Uganda also fell into the British control in 1890 and Tanganyika (Tanzania) in 1891. Kenya fell in the British control in 1895. In-addition, all the German holdings became British mandate by 1920.⁵⁹

1.2 China-East Africa Countries Relations: Pre-colonial History

History of China-East Africa relations dates back to 9th century. For better understanding about history it can be summed up in following way:

1.2.1 History of China and East Africa (9th Century to 15th Century)

There are hints that China has been active in Africa since the Tang era. Nineteenth-century Chinese coins have been found in the East African nations of Kenya, Zanzibar, and Somalia. In the middle of the 12th century, the Song dynasty first engaged in maritime trade with the Ajuran Empire. The first known Chinese expedition to the Atlantic Ocean was led by Zhu Siben of the Yuan dynasty. Later, in the 15th century, the Ming dynasty's admiral Zheng He oversaw seven different voyages to the East African coast.⁶⁰

1.2.2 The Ming Dynasty (1405 A.D-1433 A.D)

When the Mongols conquered Madagascar, it was one of the two occasions when a foreign dynasty reigned over China. Zhu Siben improved the triangle shape of Africa by

⁵⁸ Ambassador(r)Tajammul Altaf, "Pakistan can learn a lot from China's experience in Africa" (presentation, Seminar, Institute of Policy Studies, Islamabad, December 8, 2021).

⁵⁹ Henry L. Gates, Emmanuel Akyeampong, and Steven J. Niven, *Dictionary of African Biography* (Oxford University Press, 2012), xx, DOI: 10.1093/acref/9780195382075.001.0001.

⁶⁰ New african, "China's Long History in Africa," New African Magazine, last modified September 12, 2016, <https://newafricanmagazine.com/10204/>.

visiting the western coasts of the continent. Between the years 1405 and 1433, Zheng He was in charge of a number of naval operations that were backed by the Yongle Emperor of the Ming dynasty. While enrolled in the study, Zheng He visited Arabia, India, Thailand, Somalia, and East Africa.⁶¹

1.2.3 The Han Dynasty and Silk Road (206 B.C-220 A.D)

The first recorded mention of the Silk Road may be found during the Han Dynasty, which ruled China from 206 B.C. until 220 A.D. The Silk Road was a network of commercial routes that connected China and the Far East with the Middle East, Europe, and other continents. The Silk Road routes came to an end when the Ottoman Empire forbade trade with China, but they were still in use up to 1453 A.D. China's Han Dynasty publicly established trade links with the West in 130 B.C. Other items were important exports from the East to the West despite Chinese silk being a key export from the East to the West and the source of the name "Silk Road."⁶²

To make it simple for goods to move around during travel, exchange, distribution, and storage, the trading posts, markets, and thoroughfares along the Silk Road routes were scattered widely and carefully organized. The Parthian capital of Ctesiphon, Pamyra, and Seleucia, a Mesopotamian city on the Tigris River in what is now modern-day Iraq, were all connected by routes from Antioch, a Greco-Roman metropolis. The cities of Ecbatana (Iran) and Merv (Turkmenistan), from which additional routes continued across what now is Afghanistan, Mongolia, and China, were reached from Seleucia via the Zagros Mountains. Commodities were transported up the Silk Road through the Tigris and Euphrates rivers as well as Persian Gulf ports. Along with connecting these towns to Mediterranean Sea ports, which served as a hub for shipping products to populations all across the Roman Empire and into Europe.⁶³

1.2.4 The Industrial Era (1800-1949)

Chinese trade expanded throughout the Industrial Revolution (1800-1949). As a result of European colonization of Africa and France's abolition of slavery, there was a severe

⁶¹ New African, "China's Long History in Africa," New African Magazine, last modified September 12, 2016, <https://newafricanmagazine.com/10204/>.

⁶² "The Silk Road," accessed December 11, 2022, <https://education.nationalgeographic.org/resource/silk-road>.

⁶³ New African, "China's Long History in Africa," New African Magazine, last modified September 12, 2016, <https://newafricanmagazine.com/10204/>.

labor shortage in European colonies. Europe appeared to be a long way off from bridging the gap created by low-cost workers from outside, primarily from India and China. In the 1880s, the colonial powers' mines, railroads, and plantations reportedly employed tens of thousands of Chinese colliers. Large, isolated Chinese populations were developed in East African landlocked countries like Zambia as a result of the exploitation of domestic resources like copper mines.⁶⁴

China places a great importance on the entire continent of Africa. Because of two historical events, East Africa has received a lot of attention. Early in the 15th century, a sizable fleet of ships commanded by the eminent Chinese explorer Zheng He went to the west and frequently stopped in East Africa, including modern-day Somalia and the coast of Kenya. The second is the start and finish of the renowned and cutting-edge Tanzania-Zambia Railway's largest project with China, with the majority of its sections located in Tanzania in East Africa. The Malindi nations of East Africa, which are now a part of Kenya, sent emissaries to the Ming court in this area. For China, assisting the African people in obtaining their freedom is an essential strategy. China's relations with the East African countries have improved gradually and fast during the 1990s, and a number of them have now entered a period of major friendly cooperation. The two sides have had tight ties that have extended to high-level political engagements as well as party, government, military, cultural, and business spheres. Additionally, they collaborate extensively on trade and economic matters.⁶⁵

1.3 China-East African Countries' Relations: Post-colonial Era

In 1949, the People's Republic of China (PRC) was established. As soon as the communist party took control in China, some Chinese fled the country and lived in Africa. By the 1950s, colonies in South Africa, Madagascar, and Mauritius were home to more than 100,000 Chinese. In the Pacific and in Africa, the newly formed People's Republic of China launched a forceful decolonization drive. Since many PRC and decolonized African nations had "victim histories," or the concept that they had been

⁶⁴ New African, "China's Long History in Africa," New African Magazine, last modified September 12, 2016, <https://newafricanmagazine.com/10204/>.

⁶⁵ Abdilahi I. Abdilahi, "Cooperation and Development between China and East Africa," *Open Journal of Social Sciences* 08, no. 04 (2020).

exploited by imperialist regimes like those of Japan and Europe, this time period is particularly significant for the "Sino-African friendship" movement.⁶⁶

As the Sino-Soviet rift grew in the 1950s and 1960s, the PRC had the opportunity to enlist US support and re-enter the international stage in 1971 by ratcheting up its diplomatic efforts. China occasionally sided with capitalist forces against USSR-backed ones, as it did in South Africa and Angola. China made a statement about wanting to lead the so-called "third world" during the Bandung Conference in 1955. Following that, Chinese leaders visited Africa frequently in 1963 and 1964. Several hundred Chinese medical professionals were to be sent to Africa as part of planned infrastructural initiatives. Tanzania, Zambia, and China peacefully collaborated to successfully complete the East African Tanzam Railway project in 1976. The "golden age" of Sino-African relations was at this time, according to M. Xinghua, a former diplomat and professor of foreign affairs in Beijing.⁶⁷

The nations of Burundi, Comoros, Djibouti, Eritrea, Ethiopia, Kenya, Madagascar, Malawi, Mauritius, Mozambique, Rwanda, Seychelles, Somalia, South Sudan, Tanzania, Uganda, Zambia, and Zimbabwe are among those recognized by the United Nations as being in East Africa.⁶⁸

1.3.1 Kenya- A Brief History

In East Africa, Kenya is viewed as being particularly significant. It lies in the Eastern Hemisphere and has a surface area of 580,367 square kilometres. The nation is bounded by the Equator. Kenya has five bordering nations. The countries to the north, northwest, west, south, and east of these are Ethiopia, South Sudan, Uganda, Tanzania, and Somalia, respectively. Between Tanzania and Somalia in the southeasterly Indian Ocean, Kenya has a 536 km-long coastline. Kenya consists of 47 counties. Nairobi, which serves as the nation's capital, is the city with the most population. Kenya has a variety of climates, from tropical along the shore to dry indoors. In Kenya, there is an abundance of natural

⁶⁶ Asia for Educators, Columbia University, "Timelines: CHINA," Asia for Educators | Columbia University, accessed November 13, 2022, https://afe.easia.columbia.edu/timelines/china_timeline.htm

⁶⁷ "China's Economic Invasion of Africa," The Guardian, last modified February 6, 2011, <https://www.theguardian.com/world/2011/feb/06/chinas-economic-invasion-of-africa>.

⁶⁸ United Nations, "Member States," United Nations, accessed December 11, 2022, <https://www.un.org/en/about-us/member-states>.

resources such as limestone, soda ash, salt, gemstones, fluorspar, zinc, diatomite, gypsum, and animals. In 2020, Kenya's GDP was 94.84 billion USD.⁶⁹

Kenya and China have interacted for a very long time. Two waves of Chinese immigration arrived. The nation's food-service sector was established by the initial wave of Chinese immigrants who migrated to Kenya in the 1950s and 1960s from the coastal provinces of China. In the 1990s and the beginning of the 2000s, a second wave of Chinese immigrants arrived in Kenya. China took part in global trade vigorously. The number of Chinese people has increased in important Kenyan cities like Mombasa, Kisumu, and Nakuru. These locations are highly known for their tourist resorts. Sand beaches in Mombasa, Lake Victoria in Kisumu, and Lake Nakuru are a few of the well-liked vacation spots.⁷⁰

Before Kenya gained independence from the British in 1963, China and Kenya had been in touch. Throughout the 1950s and the beginning of the 1960s, Kenya and China conducted bilateral trade. This cooperation benefited both nations. Relations between the two countries officially began in December 1963 when China became the fourth country to establish diplomatic connections with the newly independent republic.⁷¹

Kenya adopted a capitalist growth model that is geared toward the West despite its bilateral ties with China. President Moi followed President Jomo Kenyatta in maintaining close ties with the West in 1978. However, following a coup attempt in 1982, Kenya came under fire from US and British media for corruption and violations of human rights. In the 1990s, there were problems with governance that caused domestic pressure on issues of democratic transformation, which had an effect on international relations. Due to developments in the global environment, such as the end of the Cold War and the end of

⁶⁹ "Kenya," Central Intelligence Agency - CIA, last modified July 27, 2022, <https://www.cia.gov/the-world-factbook/countries/kenya/>.

⁷⁰ Michael Chege, "Economic Relations between Kenya and China," CSIS, accessed November 21, 2022, https://csis-website-prod.s3.amazonaws.com/s3fs-public/legacy_files/files/media/csis/pubs/080603_chege_kenyachina.pdf.

⁷¹ Maggie Opondo, "The Impact of Chinese Firms on CSR in Kenya S Garment Sector," Enjoy Free Comfortable Tools to Publish, Exchange, and Share Any Kind of Documents Online! accessed November 23, 2022, <https://docplayer.net/151286823-The-impact-of-chinese-firms-on-csr-in-kenya-s-garment-sector.html>.

the South African apartheid movement, Kenya grew increasingly isolated. Kenya became unsatisfied with the US, UK, and EU and shifted its attention to the East.⁷²

Different diplomatic ties existed between Kenya's president and China. China was not a reliable ally under President Jomo Kenyatta's administration from 1963 to 1978, but there was diplomatic cooperation on a number of fronts, including anti-piracy, road and bridge construction, oil prospecting, and others. China was alleged to have been plotting a revolution in the 1960s prior to the administration of Daniel Arap Moi (1978–2002). But after taking office, he made a nice gesture to China. President Moi paid China multiple trips, which paved the way for talks and established diplomatic connections that eventually led to more basic technical interactions and activities. China joined forces with Kenya not just as a contributor but also as a gainer from their commerce and partnership. During this training, China learned from Kenya about advanced industries like agriculture and tourism.⁷³

Kenya and China agreed to two things in the 1980s. The first one included intercultural interactions, the construction of a new sports stadium, technical assistance for two colleges, scholarships, and economic and technological collaboration. The second dealt with a transaction of goods between a Kenyan company and China. Under the leadership of President Mwai Kibaki, a new government with a preference for improving relations with China was founded in December 2002. After discussions, five issues were resolved, including those relating to energy and infrastructure, expanded air services, technical support for the assessment and categorization of standards in industrial products, and modernization of equipment and training at the publicly owned Kenya Broadcasting Corporation. Like most African countries, Kenya opposes Taiwan, Tibet, or Xinjiang's attempts to break away from China.⁷⁴

Since gaining its independence, Kenya has benefited from Chinese development assistance. China provided incentives such as debt reduction, investment encouragement, and support for human resource development. After winning the presidency in 2013, Uhuru Kenyatta made the decision to start borrowing money from China for a variety of

⁷² Robert M. Maxon, Thomas P. Ofcansky, and David W. Throup, *Historical Dictionary of Kenya* (Lanham: Scarecrow Press, 2014), xx, <https://rowman.com/ISBN/9780810874695/Historical-Dictionary-of-Kenya-Third-Edition>.

⁷³ Michael Chege, "Economic Relations between Kenya and China," CSIS, accessed November 21, 2022, https://csis-website-prod.s3.amazonaws.com/s3fs-public/legacy_files/files/media/csis/pubs/080603_chege_kenyachina.pdf.

⁷⁴ *Ibid.*

economic projects. Kenya had post-election violence in 2007, which was followed by corruption, violence, and a poor investment climate. But China persisted in providing assistance, encouraging the growth of infrastructure, and enhancing academic, technological, humanitarian, and tariff-free education standards. Other areas of aid included the improvement of Kenya's international airports, rural electrification, water distribution, sports facility rehabilitation, anti-malaria drug provision, and modernization of the country's power and water systems.⁷⁵

When China established the Belt and Road Initiative (BRI) in 2013, Kenya was one of the African countries to join. The Kenya Vision 2030 has been actively carried out by the Kenyan government and people since 2007. Infrastructure is regarded as the most crucial pillar for Kenya's socioeconomic change in the 2030 Vision. Connections are built on infrastructure, which is crucial for Belt and Road cooperation. As Kenya embarks on a new historic journey, China is staunchly dedicated to strengthening its support and cooperation with Kenya. BRI may take an active role in both Kenya's Big Four Agenda and Vision 2030.⁷⁶

1.3.2 Burundi- A Brief History

Burundi formally separated from Belgium on July 1, 1962. Officially called as the Republic of Burundi, this tiny landlocked country in Central-East Africa has a surface area of 27,834 square kilometers and is situated on the northeastern side of Lake Tanganyika, the second-deepest lake in the world. Before Gitega was chosen, the capital of Burundi was Bujumbura, the largest city in the nation. The official unit of money in Burundi is the franc (BIF). The hemispheres of the Earth where Burundi is found are the south and east. Three countries border Burundi. East and southeast are Tanzania, north is Rwanda, and west is the Democratic Republic of the Congo. There are 18 provinces, and there are 117 communes and 2638 sub-communes within each of them.⁷⁷

⁷⁵ Joseph Onjala, "Just a Moment...", Just a Moment..., accessed November 23, 2022, <https://onlinelibrary.wiley.com/doi/abs/10.1111/dpr.12328>.

⁷⁶ Muhammad Sabil Farooq et al., "Kenya and the 21st Century Maritime Silk Road: Implications for China-Africa Relations," *China Quarterly of International Strategic Studies* 04, no. 03 (2018): pp. 401-418, <https://doi.org/10.1142/s2377740018500136>.

⁷⁷ "Burundi," [nationsonline.org](https://www.nationsonline.org), accessed November 23, 2022, <https://www.nationsonline.org/oneworld/burundi.htm>.

In Burundi, the agricultural industry is responsible for more than 90% of employment and more than 40 per cent of the country's GDP. Gold, tin, tungsten, kaolin, rare earth oxides, cobalt, copper, platinum, vanadium, peat, nickel, uranium, rare earth oxides, and arable land are examples of natural resources. Agricultural items include things like cassava, bananas, sweet potatoes, plantains, beans, vegetables, potatoes, cashew nuts, maize, and taro. Burundi's GDP hit 3.258 billion USD in 2020. Roman Catholicism was the most common religion in the country, followed by Islam and indigenous religions.⁷⁸

The friendly and cooperative connections between the People's Republic of China and the Republic of Burundi significantly improved in 2013. Burundi is a BRI member state and a low-income nation. Along with their bilateral business, cultural, and educational collaboration, the two sides continued their political exchanges. Among the projects that China has supported are the vocational and technical school in Bujumbura, the agriculture demonstration centre, and China International Radio Bujumbura FM. The presidential palace was also funded by China as part of its substantial partnership with Burundi. The Confucius Institute, which aims to promote Chinese language and culture across the country, was established in 2012 at the University of Burundi.⁷⁹

Burundi can clearly see the influence of China not just in trade and infrastructure but also in social services and education. With Chinese funding, the nation's roads are being constructed, along with the 15 megawatt Ruzibazi hydroelectric power project in Rumonge province. Chinese doctors may be found in the provinces of Bujumbura, Mairie, Gitega, and Bubanza when it comes to healthcare. The EU provided 52 per cent of Burundi's financial budget support under the Cotonou Agreement until 2015, when China became Burundi's biggest ally. The ruling party picked Pierre Nkurunziza as its presidential candidate in April 2015, which was determined to be in violation of the EU's agreement. As a result, the EU proposed a resolution to the UN Security Council. Burundi sought support of China and Russia to use its veto power in the UN Security Council to stop the EU's initiative.⁸⁰

⁷⁸ "Burundi," Central Intelligence Agency - CIA, last modified September 29, 2022, <https://www.cia.gov/the-world-factbook/countries/burundi/>.

⁷⁹ "Burundi," Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the People's Republic of China, accessed November 23, 2022, https://www.fmprc.gov.cn/mfa_eng/gjhdq_665435/2913_665441/2929_663864/.

⁸⁰ "China's Influence in Burundi Has Grown, While That of the EU Has Diminished," D+C, last modified 3, 2020, <https://www.dandc.eu/en/article/chinas-influence-burundi-has-grown-while-eu-has-diminished>.

Burundi's primary financial, commercial, and diplomatic partner is emerging as China. Chinese President Xi Jinping pledged to fund Burundi's 10-year development plan with 20,000 billion Burundi francs in June 2019 during the China-Africa summit. Economic connections between the two nations have become stronger over time as China purchases about 90 per cent of Burundi's exports of rare earth metals, which are used to make mobile phones and numerous other electrical gadgets.⁸¹

1.3.3 Comoros- A Brief History

The Comoros archipelago is made up of the islands of Mayotte, Anjouan, Moheli, and Grande Comore. On July 6, 1975, the Comoros proclaimed their independence from France. Mayotte was declared a department of France after its citizens chose to stay within the country. Union of the Comoros is the official name of the volcanically formed Comoros Islands. Comoran francs are used as the country's money (KMF). 2,034 sq. km. is the total area of Comoros. It is situated between the African countries of Mozambique and Madagascar in the southwest corner of the Indian Ocean, at the northern entrance to the Mozambique Channel. Africa contains the Comoros, which are situated off its eastern coast. It shares maritime borders with the Seychelles to the northeast and the island nations and territories of Madagascar and Mayotte to the southeast. It is located in the Eastern and Southern Hemispheres of the planet. The majority of residents were Sunni Muslims, while 2 per cent were Roman Catholics and other minorities. In 2020, the nation's GDP was 1.22 billion USD.⁸²

The first country to establish diplomatic ties with the Comoros was China. As time went on, the two-way official visits by senior Chinese and Comorian counterparts paralleled the expansion of the bilateral ties. Since then, institutions that promote bilateral cooperation and exchange have been established. Some organizations working to promote collaboration include the Sino-Comoros Friendship Association and the Comoros-China Friendship Association. In 1994, China also deployed medical teams to provide health services in an effort to strengthen diplomatic ties.⁸³

⁸¹ "Burundi," MFA, accessed November 23, 2022, <https://www.mfa.gov.cn/>.

⁸² "Comoros Maps & Facts," WorldAtlas, last modified February 24, 2021, <https://www.worldatlas.com/maps/comoros>.

⁸³ "Xi Meets Comoros President - Xinhua | English.news.cn," Xinhua, accessed November 24, 2022, https://www.xinhuanet.com/english/2018-09/01/c_137437007.htm.

China and Comoros have enjoyed cordial and cooperative relations since 2013, and these ties are getting stronger every day. Trade and economic ties are also strengthening. Among the projects given to Comoros are those for the Presidential Offices in Anjouan, the Moheli Islands, three elementary schools, and mobile solar power. Also discussed were bilateral technological cooperation projects including radio, television, an international airport, and a solar power plant.⁸⁴

The two nations maintained a strong impetus for their collaboration in the fields of culture, education, and health. The Comoros has received transmissions from China Central Television and China Radio International. A contract establishing a Confucius class in Comoros was signed by the Hanban and the University of Comoros. Representatives of the National Health and Family Commission and the Bureau of Management of Traditional Chinese Medicine paid visits to Comoros.⁸⁵

The Forum on China-Africa Cooperation was held before the 2018 Beijing Summit, when Chinese President Xi Jinping met with his Comorian counterpart (FOCAC). During his speech at the summit, Xi stated his opinion that China should adopt a paradigm of equality, solidarity, and collaboration between big and small countries. As a result, China is prepared to elevate bilateral ties to a new level and expand its collaboration with Comoros across all sectors under the framework of the FOCAC and the China-Arab States Cooperation Forum. China is willing to connect its Belt and Road Initiative with the Comoros' 2030 Development Plan for Emerging Economies and to continue to the best of its ability to support the nation's sustainable and independent growth. Comoros adamantly supports the Belt and Road Initiative as well as China's efforts to achieve national reunification. It also firmly respects the one-China policy. According to Comoros President Azali Assoumani, the Initiative would help China and Africa cooperate in a way that benefits both parties.⁸⁶

⁸⁴"Comoros," FMPRC, accessed November 24, 2022, https://www.fmprc.gov.cn/mfa_eng/gjhdq_665435/2913_665441/2939_663884/.

⁸⁵ Comoros," FMPRC, accessed November 24, 2022, https://www.fmprc.gov.cn/mfa_eng/gjhdq_665435/2913_665441/2939_663884/.

⁸⁶ "Xi Meets Comoros President - Xinhua | English.news.cn," Xinhua, accessed November 24, 2022, https://www.xinhuanet.com/english/2018-09/01/c_137437007.htm.

1.3.4 Djibouti- A Brief History

In 1977, Djibouti became an independent country. Republic of Djibouti is its official name. It is situated in the Earth's Northern and Eastern Hemispheres at the tip of the Horn of Africa region. Djibouti has the smallest land area (23,200 sq. km) on the African continent. Djibouti is split up into 6 regions, each of which has 20 administrative districts. Among Djibouti's notable lakes are Lake Assal and Lake Abbe. The smallest and most populous city in the nation, Djibouti, serves as the capital. Djibouti's neighbors include Ethiopia to the west, Somalia to the south and Eritrea to the north.⁸⁷

At the confluence of the Red Sea and the Gulf of Aden, the African nation of Djibouti holds a significant geographic position. 95 per cent of the trade in Ethiopia is handled by its ports. Transshipments between Europe, the Middle East, and Asia can be facilitated by the ports of Djibouti. The French government has long-standing close ties with France, which hosts the military facilities for the United States, Japan, Italy, Germany, Spain, and China. Djibouti's natural resources include gold, clay, granite, limestone, marble, salt, diatomite, gypsum, pumice, and the possibility for geothermal energy. Fruits and vegetables, milk, beef, camel milk, lemons, limes, mutton, goat meat, and tomatoes are a few examples of agricultural products. The remaining 6 per cent of people were Shia Muslims, together with Christians, Hindus, Jews, Baha'is, and atheists; 94 per cent of the population identified as Sunni Muslims. Large governments have a favorable opinion of Djibouti because of its proximity to the Middle East, location in the Bab-ul-Mandeb Strait, and importance in energy corridors. One country that cares about and invests in the nation in the Horn of Africa is China. On January 8, 1979, China and Djibouti established diplomatic ties. Bilateral cooperation has evolved without any significant setbacks since Beijing's administration joined the global market 41 years ago. The building of China's first formal military base outside the border marked the beginning of a new era between the two nations and a strategic cooperation that was established when both parties inked an agreement in 2017.⁸⁸

Djibouti also entered into a contract with China as part of the Belt-Road Project, joining the African continent. It is situated along China's Maritime Silk Road of the twenty-first

⁸⁷ "Djibouti Maps & Facts," WorldAtlas, last modified February 24, 2021, <https://www.worldatlas.com/maps/djibouti>.

⁸⁸ Göktuğ ÇALIŞKAN, "The Only Place In The World China Has A Military Base: Djibouti," ANKASAM | Ankara Kriz Ve Siyaset Araştırmaları Merkezi, last modified October 22, 2021, <https://www.ankasam.org/the-only-place-in-the-world-china-has-a-military-base-djibouti-v/?lang=en>.

century. Because of China's global investments and economic aspirations in Africa, Beijing views Djibouti as a commercial hub. Many Djibouti government officials think that the Belt and Road initiative is the ideal way for the two nations to deepen their bilateral ties and support the objectives of developing African governments.⁸⁹

Djibouti is significant to China because of its advantageous position. A large portion of the 1 billion USD in trade between China and the European Union (EU) travels through the Gulf of Aden, and about 40 per cent of oil imports flow across the Indian Ocean. Due to its proximity to the Red Sea's entrance, Djibouti is a crucial location that enables travel between North Africa and the Middle East. Along the trade routes from China to the Red Sea, the Suez Canal, the Indian Ocean, the Gulf of Aden, and from there to the Mediterranean, Djibouti develops into a logistics hub. Additionally, China intends to spend 3.4 billion USD on a railway link between Djibouti and the Ethiopian capital. Due to the roughly 14.4 billion USD in infrastructure projects that Chinese banks are sponsoring in Djibouti, the Beijing government has substantial economic interests there. It offers chances for Djibouti to develop. Economic growth has surpassed 5 per cent and reached 6.7 per cent in 2017 thanks to Chinese assistance and investment. The infrastructure development projects, which were started in 2015 with Chinese support, had a big impact on Djibouti's economic development. More than 50,000 jobs are anticipated to have been created by the 3.5 billion USD Djibouti International Free Trade Zone, which will be the largest free trade zone in Africa by 2025.⁹⁰

1.3.5 Eritrea - A Brief History

The UN recognized Eritrea as an independent province within the Ethiopian federation in 1952, following its liberation from Italian colonial domination in 1941 and 10 years of British administrative rule. A brutal 30-year fight for independence broke out after Eritrea was officially annexed by Ethiopia as a province ten years later; Eritrean rebels

⁸⁹ "The Truth Behind China's Presence in Djibouti," Global Times, last modified October 1208, <https://www.globaltimes.cn/page/201901/1135256.shtml>.

⁹⁰ Göktuğ ÇALIŞKAN, "The Only Place In The World China Has A Military Base: Djibouti," ANKASAM | Ankara Kriz Ve Siyaset Araştırmaları Merkezi, last modified October 22, 2021, <https://www.ankasam.org/the-only-place-in-the-world-china-has-a-military-base-djibouti-v/?lang=en>.

eventually overthrew the government in 1991. In a 1993 referendum, most Eritreans decided to become independence.⁹¹

Eritrea's formal name is the State of Eritrea, and the nakfa is its official unit of exchange (ERN). The East African country of Eritrea is located on the Red Sea, to the east and northeast. Eritrea occupies the northern and eastern hemispheres of the earth and has a surface area of 117,600 sq. km. Eritrea is organized into six administrative areas, each of which is further divided into sub-regions. Three countries surround Eritrea on all sides. Ethiopia, Sudan, and Djibouti are to the south, west, and southeast of these countries, respectively. The capital of Eritrea is Asmara, which is located in the Ma'akel (Central) area. The Gross Domestic Product (GDP) reached 5.30 billion USD in 2021.⁹²

After Eritrea finally achieved formal independence, China supported its quest for freedom. On May 24, 1993, the two nations swiftly established official diplomatic relations. The cooperation has since steadily expanded in a number of sectors, including politics, infrastructure, health, education, and exchanges in society and culture. In the area of health, China helped Eritrea set up its biggest hospital, Orotta, and more than 200 Chinese physicians have worked there since 1997. China has established a number of educational facilities and given scholarships to Eritrean students. Eritrea's overall human capital resources have increased. Infrastructure and the economic sector are the results of mutual cooperation between the states. Chinese assistance and money have helped in the construction or reconstruction of buildings, roads, and other facilities after decades of war devastated most of Eritrea's infrastructure. China has grown to be a significant partner for Eritrea economically in terms of aid, commerce, and investment. Both nations uphold the values of respect for one another's sovereignty, non-interference, and non-intervention in one another's internal affairs.⁹³

After agreeing to a Memorandum of Understanding with China on November 25, 2021, Eritrea joined the Belt and Road Initiative. By promoting increased levels of commerce, investment, and general development, active participation in the BRI can accelerate Eritrea's socioeconomic development. By taking part in the BRI, the nation will be able to

⁹¹ "Eritrea," Central Intelligence Agency - CIA, last modified August 2, 2022, <https://www.cia.gov/the-world-factbook/countries/eritrea/>.

⁹² "Eritrea Maps & Facts," WorldAtlas, last modified November 9, 2020, <https://www.worldatlas.com/maps/eritrea>.

⁹³ Fikrejesus Amahazion, "Dragon and Camel: China and Eritrea Sign MoU on BRI," CGTN, last modified Fall, <https://news.cgtn.com/news/2021-11-27/Dragon-and-Camel-China-and-Eritrea-sign-MoU-on-BRI-15wOLMPEq7S/index.html>.

industrialize and become more globally connected. Another factor contributing to Eritrea's significant relevance in the Red Sea region is its strategic placement near important commercial routes. A crucial waterway, the Bab el-Mandeb Strait connects the Mediterranean Sea, Red Sea, and Suez Canal to the Indian Ocean. Additionally, China played a key role in putting an end to Ethiopia and Eritrea's long-standing hostilities. Eritrea and Ethiopia have experienced a historic period of peace, stability, and collaboration since 2018. By reopening their respective diplomatic missions and reestablishing economic routes, the two bitter adversaries have made progress.⁹⁴

1.3.6 Ethiopia - A Brief History

With the exception of a brief Italian occupation that lasted from 1936 to 1941, the old Ethiopian monarchy, which was unique among African nations, remained free from colonial domination. Ethiopia's Emperor Haile Selassie had been in charge since 1930 when he was overthrown by the Derg military dictatorship in 1974 and replaced with a communist government. The Ethiopian People's Revolutionary Democratic Front (EPRDF), an alliance of rebel forces, finally overthrew the state in 1991 after years of brutal coups, uprisings, catastrophic hunger, and massive refugee crises. Ethiopia had its first multiparty elections in 1995 following the adoption of a constitution in 1994.⁹⁵

Ethiopia's formal name is the Federal Democratic Republic of Ethiopia. Its surface area is 1,104,300 square kilometers, and it is found in both the northern and eastern hemispheres of the earth in East Africa. It is a landlocked nation that shares boundaries with six other nations. To the north, northeast, east, southwest, and northwest, respectively, are Eritrea, Djibouti, Somalia, Kenya, South Sudan, and Sudan. Addis Abeba is the largest and capital city of Ethiopia. Ethiopia is organized into 9 regional states and 2 autonomous administrations based on ethnicity. The territory is divided into 68 zones, 68 districts, and 68 municipalities. There are three main drainage systems in Ethiopia. While the lakes and the Awash River make up the internal drainage system for the Rift Valley to the southwest, the Genale and Shebele Rivers have their source in the Eastern Highlands to the east and flow into the Indian Ocean. The Blue Nile, Tekeze,

⁹⁴ Chris D. Ellis, "Eritrea Joins The Belt And Road Initiative," Silk Road Briefing, last modified November 28, 2021, <https://www.silkroadbriefing.com/news/2021/11/28/eritrea-joins-the-belt-and-road-initiative/>.

⁹⁵ "Ethiopia," Central Intelligence Agency - CIA, last modified September 19, 2022, <https://www.cia.gov/the-world-factbook/countries/ethiopia/>.

and Baro river systems that enter Sudan are located to the west. The birr (ETB) is Ethiopia's official currency, and its GDP is 110 billion US dollars.⁹⁶

In 1970, a connection between China and Ethiopia was formed since it was beneficial to both parties. The relationship was restored following the conclusion of the Cold War in 1991 as the Ethiopian People's Democratic Revolutionary Front established its dominance (EPDRF). A longstanding South-South relationship between Ethiopia and China provides for a two-way flow of ideas. China wants to stay out of other countries' domestic concerns, and this is evident in its business relations with Ethiopia. Furthermore, relations between China and Ethiopia are bilateral because the Forum on China-Africa Cooperation (FOCAC) provides a forum for involvement in areas pertaining to diplomatic, social, and economic objectives. Therefore, in its new Africa Policy, China views Ethiopia as a significant political and economic ally. Addis Ababa, home to the African Union, the UN Economic Commission for Africa, the Intergovernmental Authority for Development (IGAD), which is close to Djibouti, and other significant non-governmental organizations, is Ethiopia's most valuable political asset. Ethiopia is crucial in granting China influence in politics on the African continent. China is believed to be a large market for Ethiopian agricultural products, and China is interested in Ethiopia's oil and gas opportunities in the Ogden region. Additionally, as part of Ethiopia's 25-year Master Plan to build hydroelectric dams along large waterways in 12 river basins, China would play a significant role in establishing Ethiopia as a hub for the supply of energy in the region. Artillery, light armored vehicles, and troop transport are being supplied by China to the Ethiopian army, thus there must be bilateral military cooperation between the two nations.⁹⁷

1.3.7 Madagascar- A Brief History

One of the last large continents on Earth to be colonized by humans was Madagascar. Although there is some evidence of a prehistoric human presence on the island, significant colonization didn't start until about A.D. 350 and 550 when people from what is now Indonesia arrived. The island attracted traders from the Arab and Persian empires as early as the seventh century. African immigrants first started coming to Europe about

⁹⁶ "Ethiopia Maps & Facts," WorldAtlas, last modified February 24, 2021, <https://www.worldatlas.com/maps/ethiopia>.

⁹⁷ "China-Ethiopia Relations and the Horn of Africa," ISPI, last modified June 24, 2021, <https://www.ispionline.it/en/publication/china-ethiopia-relations-and-horn-africa-23968>.

the year 1000. In the late 17th and early 18th centuries, Madagascar was a stronghold for pirates and served as a centre for the slave trade. A sizable area of Madagascar was governed by the indigenous Merina Kingdom from the sixteenth until the late nineteenth centuries. The island was colonized by the French in 1896; it regained its independence in 1960.⁹⁸

With a landmass of 592,800 square kilometers, the Republic of Madagascar is the second-largest island republic in the world and an island country in Africa. The closest country on the African continent is Mozambique, which is 400 kilometers off the coast of East Africa in the Indian Ocean. It is located in the southern and eastern hemispheres of the planet. East of Madagascar are the French region of Reunion and the island nation of Mauritius. The island nation of Comoros and the French colony of Mayotte lie to the northwest. There are 6 provinces in the nation (faritanry). In 2021, Madagascar's GDP was 14.000 billion dollars.⁹⁹

The Republic of Madagascar and the Republic of China established diplomatic relations in 1972. The friendly exchanges between the two countries persisted. The two countries' relations gradually improved over time. Bilateral cooperation increased steadily while operating under the auspices of the Forum on China-Africa Collaboration (FOCAC). As a sign of goodwill, Madagascar received the well drilling project, the general hospital, the elementary school, and the solar energy projects. The exchange of cultures had likewise been moving very strongly. The number of Chinese language teaching centers increased to 30, and China gave Madagascar 31 scholarships. There are currently 6,700 Chinese language learners worldwide.¹⁰⁰

Madagascar received an invitation from China to join the Belt and Road Initiative. Hery Rajaonarimampianina, the president of Madagascar, visited China to commemorate the 45th anniversary of the two countries' establishment of diplomatic relations. In front of the two chiefs of state, a memorandum of understanding was signed about the development of the 21st Century Maritime Silk Road, the Silk Road Economic Belt, and bilateral cooperation agreements in commerce, infrastructure development, and

⁹⁸ "Madagascar," last modified October 20, 2022, <https://www.cia.gov/the-world-factbook/countries/madagascar/>.

⁹⁹ "Madagascar Maps & Facts," WorldAtlas, last modified February 24, 2021, <https://www.worldatlas.com/maps/madagascar>.

¹⁰⁰ "Madagascar," FMPRC, accessed November 26, 2022, https://www.fmprc.gov.cn/mfa_eng/gjhdq_665435/2913_665441/3029_664074/.

economics. Both parties are willing to increase their level of cooperation in sectors like the growth of ports, airports, aviation, and other transportation-related industries.¹⁰¹

1.3.8 Malawi - A Brief History

The word "Malawi" comes from the Chewa language and means "flames belong to Maravi people." Around the year 14th, the Maravi people began to inhabit what is now Malawi. During its heyday in the 17th century, the powerful Maravi Kingdom reigned over portions of what is now southern and central Malawi, as well as the neighboring nations of Mozambique and Zambia. It was established about the 15th century. After destabilization brought on by the growing global trade in slaves, the Maravi Kingdom started to decline. Due to warfare in Southern Africa, various ethnic groups, including Muslims, migrated to Malawi at the beginning of the 18th century. Midway through the 18th century, British trade and missionary activity expanded, and they proclaimed Malawi a protectorate they dubbed British Central Africa. In 1964, Malawi separated from the UK.¹⁰²

Malawi is a landlocked nation in southeast Africa with a surface size of 118,484 square kilometers. There are four physiographic regions in the nation. The Great Rift Valley, the central plateau, the highland area, and the solitary mountains are these. Numerous natural resources, including minerals and lumber, are abundant in the nation. By 2020, Malawi's GDP will be 11.96 billion USD.¹⁰³

By December 28, 2007, links between China and Malawi will be apparent. Malawi's natural resources are very important to China. According to a statement made public by the Chinese Embassy in Malawi, Malawi has benefited in both directions from its ties with China. A few advantages Malawi has reaped from its diplomatic relations with China include the building of the Malawi Parliament building, the Bingu National Stadium, the Karonga Chitipa Road in the northern region, the Bingu Conference Centre and Hotel, the University of Science and Technology, and the Presidential Villas. China demonstrated its commitment to Africa, especially Malawi, following the China-Africa Summit in South Africa. Ten key areas of partnership were emphasized, with a 60 billion

¹⁰¹ "China and Madagascar Agree to Deepen Belt and Road Cooperation," CGTN, accessed November 26, 2022, https://news.cgtn.com/news/3d67444d79497a4d/share_p.html.

¹⁰² "Malawi," Central Intelligence Agency - CIA, last modified August 30, 2022, <https://www.cia.gov/the-world-factbook/countries/malawi/>.

¹⁰³ "Malawi Maps & Facts," WorldAtlas, last modified February 24, 2021, <https://www.worldatlas.com/maps/malawi>.

USD funding commitment. Promoting industrialization, modernizing agriculture, infrastructure, finance, green development, trade and investment facilitation, lowering poverty and advancing the welfare of the populace, public health, intercultural interactions, and maintaining peace and security with Africa were some of these objectives. China has prioritized four areas of assistance for Malawi: infrastructural development, food security and agriculture, health care and education, and human resources.¹⁰⁴

A deal between Malawi and China for a second round of project finance worth 1.79 billion USD across seven priority areas was signed in 2016. Among these projects are the 285 million USD new Chileke International Airport, the 600 million USD 300 megawatt power plant project, and the 500 million USD e-governance project, which will build fiber optic connections for better Internet connectivity. These initiatives will be carried out by China Gezhouba Group with loans from the Exim Bank of China as finance.¹⁰⁵

1.3.9 Mauritius - A Brief History

Mauritius broke away from the UK in 1968. Republic of Mauritius is a volcanic island with a 2,040 sq. km. surface area that is located in the Indian Ocean off the southeast coast of Africa. It is made up of a number of distant islands, such as the Ambre Island, Est Island, Cerfs Island, Benitiers Island, and others, and is located around 2,000 kilometers away from the continent of Africa. Mauritius is divided into nine districts, each of which comprises one city, four towns, and 130 villages. The country contains three dependent territories, and Port Louis serves as the capital. The GDP of Mauritius was 10.91 billion USD by 2020.¹⁰⁶

In 1972, China and Mauritius established diplomatic connections. Since then, both nations have kept up a steady pace of high-level interactions and grown more confident in one another politically. Because of its cultural and historical ties to China, Mauritius was the first African nation to establish a permanent embassy there. The new terminal of the Ramgoolam International Airport, which China had contracted to build, was dedicated in August 2013, and a document exempting both countries from visa

¹⁰⁴ "Malawi-China Diplomatic Ties: 10 Years On," The Diplomat, last modified September 15, 2017, <https://thediplomat.com/2017/09/malawi-china-diplomatic-ties-10-years-on/>.

¹⁰⁵ "The Relationship Between Malawi and China is Getting Stronger," D+C, last modified January 1, 2018, <https://www.dandc.eu/en/article/relationship-between-malawi-and-china-getting-stronger>.

¹⁰⁶ "Mauritius," Central Intelligence Agency - CIA, last modified August 30, 2022, <https://www.cia.gov/the-world-factbook/countries/mauritius/>.

requirements was inked. At the same time, work on the Victoria Hospital's operating rooms and wards, the upkeep of the MBC headquarters, the agricultural technology collaboration, and other projects supported by China advanced without incident. The fields of culture, education, and tourism all saw extensive exchanges and cooperation. Volunteers fluent in Chinese were also dispatched to provide Chinese language instruction.¹⁰⁷

Since 2017, Mauritius and China have been debating a free trade agreement (FTA), which both nations formally signed in 2019. According to the agreement, Mauritius would have duty-free access to the Chinese market. The deal lowers tariffs on a range of Mauritian exports, including sugar, instant noodles, live animal exports, fish and fish products, and instant noodles. One of the important infrastructure projects that China is contributing heavily to is the construction of the Bagatelle Dam and the new airport. Mauritius wants to participate in China's grandiose belt and road initiative, but it is too far south to have any real impact.¹⁰⁸

1.3.10 Mozambique - A Brief History

On June 25, 1975, Mozambique declared its independence from Portugal. The Republic of Mozambique is a nation in Southern Africa that spans 801,590 square kilometers and is situated in both the Southern and Eastern Hemispheres of the planet. Six nations surround it on all sides. To the north, Tanzania, to the northwest, Zambia, Malawi, and to the west, Zimbabwe. Mozambique shares a border to the southwest with South Africa and Eswatini. The nation also has shoreline on the eastern shore of the Indian Ocean. The Mozambique Channel divides Mozambique from the island nations and territories of Madagascar, Comoros, and Mayotte. 10 provinces, 129 districts, and 405 administrative posts make up Mozambique's administrative structure. Coal, titanium, natural gas, hydropower, tantalum, and graphite are examples of natural resources. By 2020, Mauritius's GDP will be 14.02 billion USD.¹⁰⁹

Chinese assistance for Mozambique stretches back to the country's struggle for independence from Portugal in the early 1960s. China and Mozambique have "harmonious" relations built on mutual respect and equality. China has built significant

¹⁰⁷ "Mauritius," FMPRC, accessed November 26, 2022, https://www.fmprc.gov.cn/mfa_eng/gjhdq_665435/2913_665441/3039_664104/.

¹⁰⁸ "China-Mauritius relations: After false starts, how the Free Trade Agreement can deepen economic ties," Attention Required! | Cloudflare, accessed November 26, 2022, <https://lexpress.mu/node/386997>.

¹⁰⁹ "Mozambique Maps & Facts," WorldAtlas, last modified February 25, 2021, <https://www.worldatlas.com/maps/mozambique>.

government structures at the national parliament, the foreign ministry, the Joaquim Chissano Conference Center, and a residential area to accommodate Mozambique's defence force members since the country gained independence (FADM). Additionally, China donated a brand-new national stadium to Mozambique for the sum of 15 million USD. China has recently dispatched a sizable number of professionals, including teachers, engineers, medics and nurses, to Mozambique as part of an aid initiative. Additionally, China has provided soft loans totaling about 3 billion USD for significant infrastructure projects including the Mphanda Nkuwa mega-dam in Tete Province, which is projected to cost 2.3 billion USD. China is interested in Mozambique's fish, raw materials, precious stones, and timber.¹¹⁰

On July 12, 2019, the former president of Mozambique, Joaquim Chissano, spoke at a conference on the relations between Mozambique and China. Chissano reaffirmed that China's assistance was essential to Mozambique's liberation and that win-win cooperation between the two nations is possible given that they both share common objectives such as social justice, equality, and independence. He said that by partnering with the Belt and Road Initiative (BRI), "we Africans can achieve our goals as long as we keep to our own ideas and aims." Each person's life should be improved and both parties should reap the rewards.¹¹¹

1.3.11 Rwanda - A Brief History

On July 1st, 1962, Belgium recognized Rwanda's independence. Republic of Rwanda is the formal name for it. The landlocked nation of Rwanda is located in Central-Eastern Africa's African Great Lakes region and has a total size of 26,338 sq. km. It is located in the eastern and southern hemispheres of the planet. Mountainous terrain dominates western Rwanda, but undulating hills in the country's centre give way to savanna, plains, and swamps as they move eastward. The lakes include Lake Kivu, Burera, Cohana, Ruhondo, Muhazi, Rweru, and Ihema, among others. While 20 per cent of Rwanda drains

¹¹⁰ "China's Relations with Mozambique: A Mixed Blessing," Center for Strategic and International Studies |, accessed November 26, 2022, <https://www.csis.org/analysis/china%E2%80%99s-relations-mozambique-mixed-blessing>.

¹¹¹ "Mozambique, China Eye Closer Ties on Traditional Friendship - Xinhua | English.news.cn," Xinhua, accessed November 26, 2022, https://www.xinhuanet.com/english/2019-07/12/c_138220539.htm.

via the Rusizi River into the Congo, the remaining 80 per cent drains via Lake Victoria into the Nile.¹¹²

There are 30 districts in Rwanda, which is separated into five provinces. The largest and capital city of Rwanda is called Kigali, and it is situated in the Kigali province. Burundi, Tanzania, Uganda, and the Democratic Republic of the Congo are all neighbors of Rwanda. According to the most recent United Nations statistics, Rwanda has a population of 12,610,262. By 2020, the Gross Domestic Product (GDP) was 10.33 billion USD.¹¹³

Contact between China and Africa first occurred along sea routes in the seventh century, and it culminated with Admiral Zheng He, a renowned Chinese navigator, leading fleets to the east coast of Africa four times in the fifteenth century and visiting locations in the region of East Africa where Rwanda is now located. On November 12, 1971, diplomatic ties between Rwanda and China were established. Chinese President Xi Jin Ping's visit to Rwanda in July 2018 further solidified the two countries' diplomatic ties, which will celebrate their 50th anniversary in 2021. President Xi and President Kagame inked 15 bilateral agreements while they were in each other's country. Visa waivers, boosting bilateral e-commerce investment, cooperation in civil transport, law enforcement, and human resource development were the main topics of the agreements. They comprised loans for building, remodeling hospitals, and building a 14 km route to the new Bugesera airport. In the field of education, 200 scholarships for undergraduate, graduate, and postgraduate studies in China have been awarded to Rwandan students. The leading Seeds for the Future programme of Chinese tech giant Huawei invited a number of youngsters to visit their facilities in China for a hands-on learning experience. The Agriculture Technology Demonstration Center at the University of Rwanda has invited 100 Rwandans to visit China to learn about agricultural technology there. They will also share their knowledge and expertise with Rwandan farmers there.¹¹⁴

The speed of China-Rwanda collaboration has further cemented as the COVID-19 virus has spread throughout the world. A debt cancellation arrangement of about \$6 million was completed, which will free up some funds to be used for incentives that are required.

¹¹² "Rwanda," Central Intelligence Agency - CIA, last modified August 23, 2022, <https://www.cia.gov/the-world-factbook/countries/rwanda/>.

¹¹³ "Rwanda Maps & Facts," WorldAtlas, last modified February 24, 2021, <https://www.worldatlas.com/maps/rwanda>.

¹¹⁴ "50 Years of Rwanda-China Relations," CGTN, accessed November 26, 2022, <https://news.cgtn.com/news/2021-07-17/50-years-of-Rwanda-China-relations-11WFbdEXEFG/index.html>.

China guarantees that it will continue to provide financial assistance to help Rwanda overcome poverty and the negative effects of the COVID-19 pandemic.

China and Rwanda have a long history of friendship, cooperation, and siblinghood. 70% of Rwanda's highways, an important commercial zone and industrial hub, and a \$27 million administrative office facility that contains the prime minister's offices were all built with Chinese assistance. As more Chinese companies register in Rwanda on a regular basis—24 more did so in Rwanda last year—the link is further solidifying.¹¹⁵

1.3.12 Seychelles - A Brief History

Before being discovered by Europeans at the beginning of the 16th century, the Seychelles were uninhabited. The islands were given to Great Britain in 1814 after a protracted conflict between the two countries. A plantation-based economy dependent on imported labor, particularly from European colonies in Africa, emerged during colonial authority. On June 29, 1976, Seychelles declared their independence from the UK. The archipelagic island nation of Seychelles is officially known as the Republic of Seychelles and is located in the Indian Ocean's Somali Sea. The Seychelles are situated in the Earth's southern and eastern hemispheres, respectively. It is situated northeast of Madagascar, another African island nation. The Maldives are to the east, Comoros is to the south, and Mauritius is to the south of the Seychelles. The Exclusive Economic Zone in the Seychelles encompasses a total area of 1,336,559 square kilometers and is made up of 100 islands with a combined land area of 452 square kilometers. There are 26 administrative districts in Seychelles. The Victoria's national capital is made up of the three districts of English River, Mont Fleuri, and Saint Louis. By 2020, the Seychelles' Gross Domestic Product (GDP) will be valued 1.125 billion USD.¹¹⁶

The People's Republic of China and the Republic of Seychelles continued to have positive, constructive ties in 2013. High-level political discussions between the two nations were formalized by an agreement on the establishment of a political consultation mechanism between the foreign ministries of the People's Republic of China and the Republic of Seychelles. Significant progress had been made in bilateral commercial

¹¹⁵ "Rwanda and China Sign US\$ 60 Million Grant and US\$ 6 Million Debt Exemption," Home, accessed November 26, 2022, <https://www.minecofin.gov.rw/news-detail/rwanda-and-china-sign-us-60-million-grant-and-us-6-million-debt-exemption>.

¹¹⁶ "Seychelles Maps & Facts," WorldAtlas, last modified February 24, 2021, <https://www.worldatlas.com/maps/seychelles>.

relations. The Chinese counterpart took some initiative with the building of the "Palais de Justice," the enlargement of the Anse Royale Hospital and the donation of five ambulances, and the donation of 20,000 USD for flood assistance by the Red Cross. The residents also appreciated various micro- and small-scale community initiatives, such as water drains, bus stops, and pedestrian walkways. The two countries collaborated militarily as well. The Chinese Navy made a port call at Victoria, where there was a public open house, a welcome on deck, and an army square formation dispatched to participate in the Seychelles National Day parade. A memorandum of understanding (MOU) was signed by the Ministry of Culture of Seychelles and the Inner Mongolia Autonomous Region of China to improve communication and exchanges regarding dance, chorus, and libraries. A deal had been reached on educational collaboration for teacher exchanges and training. In actuality, Seychelles launched a nonstop service to Hong Kong.¹¹⁷

Tanzania and the Seychelles were two of the countries visited by Chinese Foreign Minister Wang Yi during his trip to five African states. Wang outlined a seven-point strategy to improve China-African relations for 2021, focusing on advancing the continent's industrial potential as well as collaboration in the fields of health, agriculture, digital, environmental, and military and security issues. New members joining BRI will probably give a project some new life. Seychelles joined BRI in 2018. The two sides expressed a desire to increase their collaboration in areas such as environmental protection, blue economy tourism, and renewable energy as they celebrated their 45 years of diplomatic relations. African countries' increasing participation in the Belt and Road Initiative was described by Wang as evidence of China's involvement in "driving a new era of globalization." China is helping Seychelles through the post-pandemic crisis by sending 50,000 doses of the Sinopharm COVID-19, produced in China and given by the United Arab Emirates, to help the island nation get through this difficult time.¹¹⁸

¹¹⁷ "Seychelles," FMPRC, accessed November 26, 2022, https://www.fmprc.gov.cn/mfa_eng/gjhdq_665435/2913_665441/3079_664184/.

¹¹⁸ Eleanor Albert, "China's Foreign Minister Revives Belt and Road on 5-Country Africa Tour," *The Diplomat*, last modified January 12, 2021, <https://thediplomat.com/2021/01/chinas-foreign-minister-revives-belt-and-road-on-5-country-africa-tour/>.

1.3.13 Somalia- A Brief History

Between the seventh and the twelfth centuries A.D., Muslim Arab immigrants and Persian traders established coastal trading ports along the Gulf of Aden and the Indian Ocean, establishing Somalia's close economic ties with the Arab Peninsula. Between the seventh and the twelfth centuries B.C., trade missions from ancient Egypt were conducted in different locations, including what are now Eritrea, Djibouti, and Somalia, along the northeastern coast of Africa. The Somali Peninsula was home to colonies from Britain and Italy in the late 19th century. They remained there as colonies until 1960, when Italian and British Somaliland merged to become the Republic of Somalia after British Somaliland attained independence.¹¹⁹

Africa's easternmost region is home to the Somali Peninsula, where Africa and Asia meet. Along with the Indian Ocean to the east, Kenya, Ethiopia, the Gulf of Aden to the north, the Arabian Peninsula to the south, and the southernmost point of the equator, it has a boundary with Djibouti in the northwest. 637,660 square kilometers make up the entire nation, of which 627,340 square kilometers are made up of land and 10,320 square kilometers are made up of water. It is the country in Africa with the longest coastline, measuring 3200 kilometers, and has a land border that is 2340 kilometers long. While other regions have a tropical desert climate, the southwest has a savanna climate with high temperatures all year round, arid conditions, and little precipitation.¹²⁰

Al-Shabaab, a new Islamist group that merged with Al Qaeda in 2012, is the primary resistance force in Somalia. It engaged in warfare alongside the AU Mission in Somalia and the Transitional Government of Somalia. Attacks occurred in a number of nations, including Somalia, Kenya, and Uganda. Recent events have impacted Somalia's politics, economics, and society negatively, substantially impeding its progress. Despite having less influence than it previously did, the organization nevertheless has a significant impact on Somalia's economic and social growth.¹²¹

China and Somalia established diplomatic relations on December 14, 1960. The Chinese embassy, the medical team, and the engineering and technical staff were forced to depart

¹¹⁹ "Somalia," Central Intelligence Agency - CIA, last modified August 17, 2022, <https://www.cia.gov/the-world-factbook/countries/somalia/>.

¹²⁰ "Somalia Maps & Facts," WorldAtlas, last modified February 24, 2021, <https://www.worldatlas.com/maps/somalia>.

¹²¹ Abdilahi I. Abdilahi, "Cooperation and Development between China and East Africa," *Open Journal of Social Sciences* 08, no. 04 (2020): xx, doi:10.4236/jss.2020.84011.

Somalia in January 1991 after the Somali civil war started at the end of 1990. Since then, the Chinese Embassy in Kenya has taken care of matters relating to Somalia. The Chinese government recognized the ambassador to China and the Transitional Federal Government when they were created on December 28, 2005. From 2003 to 2007, China coordinated the UN Security Council's efforts in Somalia and continually encouraged and supported the country's peace process. The Red Cross and the Chinese government have been donating supplies and medication to the disaster's victims every year since 1992. In August 2011, Somalia got 16 million USD in food aid from the Chinese government to help them cope with the drought.¹²²

China has welcomed important Somalia leaders on trips since 2006. Both the formal government that assumed office in 2012 and the two transitional governments in Somalia gave close connections with China a high priority, regularly reaffirmed their support for one-China policy, and expressed a desire to further deepen ties and increase cooperation with China. To advance the development of cordial and cooperative ties between China and Somalia, the Chinese government decided to reopen the embassy there on June 30. A re-embassy team would leave for Somalia on July 1. The restoration team arrived in Mogadishu on July 2. On May 30 and May 31, 2015, Liu Guijin, Special Envoy for the China-Africa Cooperation Forum of the Chinese Ministry of Foreign Affairs, traveled to Somalia. The Economic and Commercial Counselor's Office of the Chinese Embassy in Somalia formally opened its doors on June 24, 2015.¹²³

1.3.14 South Sudan - A Brief History

South Sudan, which declared its independence from Sudan on July 9, 2011, is the world's newest country. South Sudanese society is significantly impacted by the seasonality of migration patterns and fluctuations in precipitation. The area that is now South Sudan was first acquired by Egypt, and in the late 19th century, Egyptian and British colonial officials divided authority of the area. Sudan's northern and southern areas have drastically diverse cultures as a result of Christian missionaries spreading English and Christianity rather than Arabic and Islam. When the Southern region of Sudan gained independence in 1956, it was promised that it would participate completely in the political

¹²² "Somalia," FMPRC, accessed November 26, 2022, https://www.fmprc.gov.cn/mfa_eng/gjhdq_665435/2913_665441/3089_664204/.

¹²³ Abdilahi I. Abdilahi, "Cooperation and Development between China and East Africa," *Open Journal of Social Sciences* 08, no. 04 (2020): xx, doi:10.4236/jss.2020.84011.

system. There were two civil wars (1955–1972 and 1983–2005) as a result of the Arab government in Khartoum breaching its pledges, which led to up to 2.5 million deaths, primarily among civilians from malnutrition and drought. The Second Sudanese civil war, one of the deadliest since World War II, wreaked havoc on Southern Sudanese civilization by causing humanitarian crises and economic deterioration. A Comprehensive Peace Agreement, supported by the US, was the result of peace talks. The agreement, which was signed in January 2005, gave the South six years of independence before a vote on the final status. 98 per cent of voters in this referendum, which was conducted in January 2011, favored separation. Since gaining independent, South Sudan has failed to establish a stable government and has been beset by rampant corruption, political unrest, and inter-communal warfare.¹²⁴

With a surface size of 619,745 square kilometers, the Republic of South Sudan is a landlocked nation in East-Central Africa in both the Northern and Eastern Hemispheres of the planet. South Sudan is bordered by six nations. The Democratic Republic of the Congo (DRC), the Central African Republic (CAR), the Sudan, Ethiopia, Kenya, and Uganda are those to the south, southwest, west, and east, respectively. South Sudan's capital, Juba, had a 12 billion USD GDP in 2015.¹²⁵

China expressed desire in establishing cordial diplomatic ties with South Sudan based on the "Five Principles of Peaceful Coexistence" after Southern Sudan declared its independence on July 9, 2011. Due to South Sudan's oil riches, it has been said that China has expressed interest in the country. However, according to Merriden Varrall's research, China replied through three of the country's six narratives. First, China actively participated in the peace process alongside its Western counterparts and deployed the most peacekeeping soldiers. Second, unlike the EU and US, China is interested in long-term relations with East Africa and South Sudan. Last but not least, China aspires to be the dominant global and multilateral actor. Chinese diplomats and civil officials play a significant role in conflict resolution, peacekeeping, and support for regional

¹²⁴ "South Sudan," Central Intelligence Agency - CIA, last modified November 14, 2022, <https://www.cia.gov/the-world-factbook/countries/south-sudan/>.

¹²⁵ "South Sudan Maps & Facts," WorldAtlas, last modified February 24, 2021, <https://www.worldatlas.com/maps/south-sudan>.

intergovernmental organizations in Africa. South Sudan is also taking positive action by preserving the one-China policy.¹²⁶

1.3.15 Tanzania- A Brief History

Unlike Tanganyika, which achieved independence from the UK on December 9, 1961, Zanzibar did so on December 10, 1963. The United Republic of Tanganyika and Zanzibar was founded on April 26, 1964, when both later joined forces. Tanzania received its present name on October 29, 1964. East Africa's Great Lakes region includes Tanzania. It can be found slightly south of the equator in the Southern and Eastern Hemispheres. It is one of the ten nations with the greatest number of international borders. Tanzania shares borders with Kenya, Mozambique, Zambia, Burundi, Rwanda, Uganda, Congo, and Malawi, making a total of 8 nations. Tanzania's current capital is Dodoma.¹²⁷

Tanzania and China have cordial relations that are based on cooperation. Close high-level interactions between the two nations have boosted their political trust in one another. The two nations decided to develop a comprehensive partnership of mutual benefit and win-win cooperation during the 24–25 March 2013 visit of Chinese President Xi Jinping. 15 documents covering trade, financial investment, infrastructure, and culture were signed by both parties. Tanzania's largest trading partner and second-largest foreign investor is China. An agreement on the promotion of investments and reciprocal protection had previously been signed by the two parties. Both nations actively cooperated in cross-border interactions. The China Cultural Center project has made encouraging strides. University of Dodoma and University of Dar es Salaam now each have a Confucius Institute.¹²⁸

1.3.16 Uganda - A Brief History

Up to 65 ethnic groups speak languages from three of Africa's four major linguistic families in Uganda, a former hub for innumerable migrations. In the 1820s and 1840s, Muslim traders from Egypt and Swahili traders from the Indian Ocean coast respectively arrived in northern Uganda. In search of the Nile River's source, British explorers first

¹²⁶ "Political Exchanges," China Embassy, accessed November 26, 2022, <https://ss.china-embassy.gov.cn/eng/sbgx/zjjw/>.

¹²⁷ "Tanzania Maps & Facts," WorldAtlas, last modified February 24, 2021, <https://www.worldatlas.com/maps/tanzania>.

¹²⁸ "Tanzania," FMPRC, accessed November 26, 2022, https://www.fmprc.gov.cn/mfa_eng/gjhdq_665435/2913_665441/3099_664224/.

arrived in the region in the 1860s. Over the following decades, their influence grew thanks to the introduction of Christian missionaries and trade deals. In 1894, Uganda became a protectorate of the British. It was more challenging to create a unified independent nation because of the discrepancies in how Britain administered Uganda's southern and northern regions. Uganda was partitioned along colonial lines, which brought together a variety of ethnic groups with different governmental structures and cultural traditions. When Uganda gained independence in 1962, it had one of the most developed economies and one of the greatest educational systems in Sub-Saharan Africa, but it also experienced political upheaval and an internal conflict that lasted for more than 20 years.¹²⁹

The Republic of Uganda is situated in south-central Africa, close to the Equator, and it shares borders with the Democratic Republic of the Congo (DRC), Kenya, Rwanda, Sudan, and Tanzania. In the Eastern Hemisphere of the planet, Uganda is a landlocked nation without access to the sea. Both the northern and southern hemispheres of the planet are covered by the nation. Kampala serves as Uganda's capital. The nation is organized into 121 districts that make up the four main administrative divisions called regions, which are further subdivided into 15 sub regions. Districts are further divided into more compact administrative entities. These consist of 13 municipalities, 1 city council, and 146 counties. In 2020, Uganda's GDP was 37.37 billion dollars.¹³⁰

On October 18, 1962, only a few days after Uganda attained independence from British colonial rule on October 9, 1962, China formally established diplomatic relations with that country. China-Uganda ties have been improving for 59 years, and they seem bright for the future. The pursuit of peace and stability will be anchored on both sides' shared values of solidarity, cooperation, and prosperity. Through concessional loans, China has assisted Uganda in establishing significant infrastructure projects like hydropower plants, highways, and hospitals. Both countries chose to strengthen their relations in 2019 to a complete cooperative alliance. The Belt and Road Initiative is being implemented

¹²⁹ "Uganda," last modified October 20, 2022, <https://www.cia.gov/the-world-factbook/countries/uganda/>.

¹³⁰ "Uganda Maps & Facts," WorldAtlas, last modified February 24, 2021, <https://www.worldatlas.com/maps/uganda>.

concurrently with the decisions taken during the Forum on China-Africa Cooperation Beijing Summit in September 2018.¹³¹

1.3.17 Zambia - A Brief History

Over the course of the last thousand years, several waves of Bantu-speaking people have entered and fled what is now Zambia. The region that is today Zambia fell under the authority of the erstwhile British South Africa Company when Northern Rhodesia was established in 1911 as the protectorate. The British started acquiring mining and other economic concessions from various local authorities in the 1880s. The UK achieved administrative supremacy in 1924. Mining innovations in the 1920s and 1930s sparked development and immigration. After the country obtained independence in 1964, it was given the name Zambia.¹³²

Landlocked Republic of Zambia is located in Southern and Central Africa. In the Southern Hemisphere, it is almost exactly halfway between the equator and the Tropic of Capricorn. It is situated in the world's Eastern Hemisphere longitudinally. Seven nations surround Zambia on all sides. The Congo and Zimbabwe and Botswana form its northern and southern borders, respectively. Tanzania, Malawi, and Mozambique all border the nation to the north, east, and south, respectively. Namibia and Zambia have a border with Angola's southwest. The capital of Zambia is Lusaka. It has ten provinces and a wealth of biodiversity that is protected in several of its protected areas. Zambia is a resourceful nation with natural resources including coal, emeralds, gold, silver, uranium, copper, cobalt, zinc, lead, and hydropower. Zambia's 2020 GDP was 19.32 billion USD.¹³³

On October 29, 1964, China and Zambia formally established diplomatic ties. 2019 marked the 55th anniversary of the two nations' establishing of diplomatic ties. Mutual respect and equal treatment are the cornerstone of this relationship. To become independent and develop, the two sides aid one another. Teachers from the University of Zambia's Confucius Institute offered their expertise in teaching Chinese. China and

¹³¹ "Uganda, China Mark 59 Years of Diplomatic Ties," CN News, accessed November 26, 2022, https://www.news.cn/english/africa/2021-10/18/c_1310253203.htm.

¹³² "Zambia," Central Intelligence Agency - CIA, last modified August 2, 2022, <https://www.cia.gov/the-world-factbook/countries/zambia/>.

¹³³ "Zambia Maps & Facts," WorldAtlas, last modified February 24, 2021, <https://www.worldatlas.com/maps/zambia>.

Zambia have a long-standing friendship, and they collaborate and exchange ideas in a variety of areas, including politics, the economy, culture, and other areas.¹³⁴

The two nations' mutually beneficial business collaboration quickly increased and produced successful outcomes. The third-largest commercial partner of Zambia, China, has boosted its investments in a variety of sectors. More than 500 Chinese-owned companies operate in Zambia, specializing in manufacturing, infrastructure development, agriculture, and mining. China provided funding for significant projects in Zambia, including the creation of the Lusaka International Airport and the renovation of the Mbala-Nakonde and Mansa-Luwingu roads. Zambia and China's Economic Trade Cooperation Zone has made great progress. The collaboration measures with regard to Zambia were carried out successfully by the Forum on China-Africa Cooperation (FOCAC).¹³⁵

1.3.18 Zimbabwe - A Brief History

Zimbabwe is a landlocked nation in southern Africa. It is located in the southern and eastern hemispheres of the planet. Four countries border Zimbabwe. South Africa and Zambia, respectively, encircle Zimbabwe's northern and southern borders. Its eastern and northeastern boundaries are shared with Mozambique, and its western and southwesterly borders are shared with Botswana. The distance between Zimbabwe and Namibia at their northwest corner is only about 150 meters. Harare is the name of the capital of Zimbabwe. Zimbabwe is made up of eight provinces and two cities with provincial status. Zimbabwe's GDP will reach 16.77 billion USD by 2020. Natural resources include things like coal, asbestos, copper, iron ore, gold, nickel, vanadium, lithium, tin, and platinum group metals. Sugar cane, corn, milk, tobacco, cassava, vegetables, bananas, meat, cotton, and oranges are examples of agricultural products.¹³⁶

Deep ties have existed between China and Zimbabwe ever since the Rhodesian Bush War. After failing to get Soviet support in 1979, Robert Mugabe resorted to China, which gave his guerilla soldiers equipment and training. On April 18, 1980, Zimbabwe's Independence Day, the two nations established diplomatic ties. Since that time, relations

¹³⁴ "Zambia Commemorates 55th Anniv. of Independence - Xinhua | English.news.cn," Xinhua, accessed November 26, 2022, https://www.xinhuanet.com/english/2019-10/25/c_138500965.htm.

¹³⁵ "Zambia," FMPRC, accessed November 26, 2022, https://www.fmprc.gov.cn/mfa_eng/gjhdq_665435/2913_665441/3114_664254/.

¹³⁶ "Zimbabwe Maps & Facts," WorldAtlas, last modified February 24, 2021, <https://www.worldatlas.com/maps/zimbabwe>.

between the two nations have been stable and cordial. High level officials had visited each other's states in return. Agreements on trade, investment protection, and economic and technical cooperation have been signed by the governments of China and Zimbabwe. Additionally, a joint economic and trade commission between the two countries has been established. China helped Zimbabwe build the Harare stadium, clinics, dams, dormitories for schools, wells, and apparel factories. It also helped Zimbabwe rebuild its No. 4 blast furnace of the Zimbabwean Iron and Steel Corporation. Additionally, a treaty on collaboration in higher education and a cultural agreement were inked by the nations. According to the deal, Zimbabwean students are attending Chinese universities while Chinese educators and medical teams are working in Zimbabwe.¹³⁷

China is Zimbabwe's largest investor and fourth-largest trading partner, with billions of pounds invested in industries ranging from agriculture to construction. Zimbabwe favoured the "Look East" policy and positioned China against the West after EU sanctions were imposed in 2002. China's military participation expanded during Zimbabwe's "Look East" era. Significant purchases were made, including JF-17 Thunder fighters, Hongdhu JL-8 jets, radar, and weaponry. President Xi Jinping had visited Zimbabwe in 2015, while President Mugabe had been to Beijing in January 2017. In 2016, trade between the two countries was worth 1.1 billion USD, with China being the biggest buyer of cotton, various minerals, and tobacco from Zimbabwe. Zimbabwe received finished commodities such as clothing, electronics, and other items in exchange. Chinese state construction companies, who have also been active in creating infrastructure, most notably Zimbabwe's 100 million USD National Defense College, sponsored a new 650-seat parliament in Harare.¹³⁸

¹³⁷ "Embassy of the People's Republic of China in the Republic of Zimbabwe," China Embassy, accessed November 26, 2022, <https://zw.china-embassy.gov.cn/eng/>.

¹³⁸ Dr A. Vines, "What is the Extent of China's Influence in Zimbabwe?," BBC News, last modified November 20, 2017, <https://www.bbc.com/news/world-africa-42012629>.

Chapter 2

DYNAMICS OF CHINA-EAST AFRICAN COUNTRIES' RELATIONS: FOCUSING ON BRI

Relations between nations have never remained constant. Governments have had a variety of motivations for engaging in particular behavior with other states around the world. A state's international relations are governed and guided by a wide foreign policy framework with defined goals and objectives, making it one of the most crucial areas of statecraft. These aims and objectives form the basis of foreign policy, even if they are not a separate set of rules from domestic politics and policies. Instead, a state's internal or domestic policies have continued to influence foreign policy as it has evolved. Since no state can exist in isolation, it must protect its interests through the protection of those that are focused on its population rather than by harsh politics of military and political power. Every state's top priority is to improve the quality of life for its citizens, and this can be done by providing them with fair economic opportunities, social services, educational opportunities, training opportunities, and industrial development. This can be done by exploring and taking advantage of new opportunities, even those that exist outside of the country.¹³⁹

In addition to high-level political meetings, frequent interactions between the parties, governments, armed forces, businesses, and cultural institutions, as well as close economic and trade cooperation, globalization has had a quick and significant impact on the development of friendly and cooperative relations between China and East African countries. Both pieces of information show that China and East Africa have close development and cooperation links. The key forces behind the development of cooperative relations between the two sides are their shared needs, the political stability of these African countries, and the Chinese government's improved African policy.¹⁴⁰

This chapter has been divided broadly into two parts. In first part dynamics of China-East African countries' relations are discussed before BRI. The second part of this chapter comprised of dynamics of China-East African countries' relations after BRI. The

¹³⁹ Gerry C. Alons, "Predicting a State's Foreign Policy: State Preferences between Domestic and International Constraints," *Foreign Policy Analysis* 3, no. 3 (2007): 211-32.

¹⁴⁰ Abdilahi I. Abdilahi, "Cooperation and Development between China and East Africa," *Open Journal of Social Sciences* 08, no. 04 (2020): xx, doi:10.4236/jss.2020.84011.

dynamics of China-East African countries are discussed from political, economic, social, security and military perspectives. The chapter broadly analyses the reasons of engagement between China and East-Africa and their future prospects.

2.1 Dynamics of China-East African Countries Relations before BRI

China has long had diplomatic ties with the nations of East Africa and has signed agreements for economic, technological, and cultural cooperation with practically all of them. Friendly collaboration has been progressing since the 1960s, and it accelerated in the 1990s, particularly in the later decade. Dynamics assesses the interactions, relationships, and potential outcomes between the parties. The bilateral relationship between China and East Africa can be examined from an infrastructure, political, economic, social, military, and security perspective.¹⁴¹

2.1.1 Political Dynamics

Politics, which comes from the Greek word "Polis," is where the word "political" originates. Politics is defined as "the activities related with the governing of a country or area, notably the discussion between parties having power" in the Oxford Languages dictionary. President Moi and President Nirel of Tanzania each paid China five and three visits, respectively. The Prime Minister and Deputy Prime Minister, the Chairman of the Standing Committee of the NPC, and the Chairman of the National Committee of the Chinese People's Political Consultative Conference are among the Chinese authorities who have visited countries in East Africa. The number of visitors has increased since the 1990s. Premier Li Peng of the State Council recently traveled to Tanzania. Li Peng, the head of the Standing Committee of the National People's Congress, visited Kenya in 1999. In 2002, Zhu Ji, the premier of the State Council, visited Kenya. In 2006, President Hu Jintao visited Kenya once more. In addition, President Xi Jinping visited Africa in 2018 and met with the EAC's top representatives to ask for their assistance and cooperation on a number of topics.¹⁴²

The globe is gradually moving away from socialism and communism and toward capitalism in the age of globalization. Africa is split into two groups: socialist capitalism

¹⁴¹ Abdilahi I. Abdilahi, "Cooperation and Development between China and East Africa," *Open Journal of Social Sciences* 08, no. 04 (2020): xx, doi:10.4236/jss.2020.84011.

¹⁴² Abdilahi I. Abdilahi, "Cooperation and Development between China and East Africa," *Open Journal of Social Sciences* 08, no. 04 (2020): xx, doi:10.4236/jss.2020.84011.

and western capitalism. Depending on their needs, many nations are gravitating in various directions. China is a significant actor in this scenario and is seeking to strengthen its political clout. Africa has been a major area of concern for Chinese foreign policy ever since the founding of the People's Republic of China in 1949. In order to further its larger goal of making Beijing the center of the worldwide communist movement, the CCP actively sponsored a number of national liberation movements in Africa from the 1950s until the late 1970s. Beijing has a multi-tiered system to categorize the importance of its diplomatic ties with nations across the world, including those in Africa. Beijing will interact with a nation more, for instance by enhancing diplomatic and economic links, the more collaboratively they are. Comprehensive Strategic Cooperative Partnership, Comprehensive Strategic Partnership, and Strategic Partnership are the three highest levels of a partnership. The five East African states that make up the "Comprehensive Strategic Cooperative Partnership" are Zimbabwe, Mozambique, Tanzania, and Ethiopia. Beijing's foreign policy in Africa during the Cold War regularly conflicted with that of the US and the Soviet Union. Beijing maintained formal diplomatic relations with the majority of African countries by the middle of the 1980s, and it had also kept up its support of diplomatic financial aid for African political parties, organizations, and states. Since the year 2000, these ties have gotten stronger.¹⁴³

The main tool Beijing uses to promote its concept of totalitarian rule over the African continent is the CCP's party training programme. The overall goal of the programme is to equip African political parties to emulate China's one-party form of governance and impede the continent's sweeping political liberalization and democratization. According to the CCP, political parties in Africa, especially the ruling parties, have become more interested in holding party-to-party training and engagements as a result of the program's reciprocal appeal. The demands of the various nations serve as the foundation for the CCP's training. For instance, the Ethiopian People's Revolutionary Democratic Front (EPRDF) was trained in Marxist-Leninist roots and traditional Leninist theory, propaganda, and party management. The ruling party in South Sudan underwent special training in order to keep total control over the military. The powerful Jubilee party in Kenya likewise desired to gain knowledge from the CCP's experience.

¹⁴³ U.S.- CHINA | ECONOMIC and SECURITY REVIEW COMMISSION, accessed November 27, 2022, https://www.uscc.gov/sites/default/files/2020-12/Chapter_1_Section_3--Chinas_Strategic_Aims_in_Africa.pdf.

The Chinese government has stepped up its efforts to isolate Taiwan on the international scene by using its political clout in Africa. Twenty African nations still maintained diplomatic ties with Taipei in 1971, the year Beijing seized control of Taipei's administration of China's seat at the UN. Chinese pledges of political and financial help, according to Shin Kawashima, a lecturer at the University of Tokyo, "created pressure on African states to establish diplomatic relations with China so that they too would benefit from the economic generosity." China also seeks to curtail other countries' informal connections with Taipei. China has even challenged Taiwan's independence and judicial system by using its influence in Africa. Despite the vociferous objections of Taipei, the Kenyan government decided to transfer Taiwan people suspected of fraud to China rather than Taiwan in 2016, at the request of Chinese officials.¹⁴⁴

Most African nations, particularly those in East Africa, are in favor of China on the political front. Tanzania, Uganda, Zambia, Zimbabwe, Burundi, Djibouti, Eritrea, Ethiopia, Kenya, Madagascar, Mauritius, Mozambique, and Seychelles support Beijing's maritime claims in the South China Sea. Burundi, Djibouti, Eritrea, Madagascar, Mozambique, South Sudan, Tanzania, Uganda, Zambia, and Zimbabwe have all openly backed China's Xinjiang Policy. Additionally, Burundi, Djibouti, Eritrea, Madagascar, Mozambique, and South Sudan backed China's stance on Hong Kong. All of these political exchanges show that East Africa and China have political understanding. To further their own political goals, both players assist one another on many venues and on diverse bases.¹⁴⁵

This suggests that before the BRI was launched, China and East Africa had actual and existential political links. Both countries' political leaders had been in touch often. China had played a crucial role in advancing its political ambitions through the party training programme. In comparison to the United States and the Soviet Union, China had played a significant role in the East African region. China is constantly looking for ways to introduce its "One China Policy" to Africa. China had been able to gain the trust of East African nations on the UN's negotiating table in areas of its political interest through manipulating political dynamics.

¹⁴⁴ *China's Strategic Aims in Africa*, (J Development, 2020).

¹⁴⁵ Catherine Putz, "2020 Edition: Which Countries Are For or Against China's Xinjiang Policies?," *The Diplomat* – The Diplomat is a Current-affairs Magazine for the Asia-Pacific, with News and Analysis on Politics, Security, Business, Technology and Life Across the Region, last modified August 8, 2022, <https://thediplomat.com/2020/10/2020-edition-which-countries-are-for-or-against-chinas-xinjiang-policies/>.

2.1.2 Economic Dynamics

Any state's bilateral ties are fundamentally influenced by its economy. Each country formulates its foreign policy in line with its economic objectives. Since the late 1990s, East Africa and China have developed strong economic and trade connections. China is still providing help to countries in East Africa, including relief from debt, staff training, interest-free loans, and loans with concessions, unpaid assistance, and gifts in kind. Trade was also in better health in the 1990s.¹⁴⁶

China invests in East Africa using a unique strategy. With the stability of the area in mind, it began with very little investment and gradually developed it. Chinese businesses have played a significant role in a number of engineering contracting projects. Ports, airports, railroads, and other large-scale projects are all included in the projects. The region of East Africa is abundant in minerals, oil, gas, bauxite, diamonds, gold, and iron ore. In addition, it is the primary producer of rubber, cotton, cocoa, coffee, and chocolate. Natural resources must still be taken and used up in large quantities. Some have already been exploited, while others are still being worked on. One of the key players seeking the chance to access these natural riches is China.¹⁴⁷

In a question about the economic dynamics of China in East Africa before BRI, Ms. Yike Fu replied that historical factors matters. BRI is kind of broader definition from previously old Silk Road and Maritime Silk Road. Location is important for China to go in Africa and invest there. China-Africa relation broadly started since 1950's, which was further augmented after the FOCAC summits. China is interested in trade and economy, which can be seen from the fact that China's FDI in 2013 was more than US or any other counterpart.¹⁴⁸

2.1.3 Social Dynamics

Soft diplomacy is an important tool to achieve political and economic objectives. Social contacts of China with Africa and specifically with East Africa dates back to 9th century of Tang dynasty. These contacts were continued by the Song dynasty in 12th century and Ming dynasty in 15th century. The cultural and educational collaboration between China

¹⁴⁶ Abdilahi I. Abdilahi, "Cooperation and Development between China and East Africa," *Open Journal of Social Sciences* 08, no. 04 (2020)

¹⁴⁷ Ambassador (R) T. Altaf, "Pakistan can learn a lot from China's experience in Africa" (seminar, Institute of Policy Studies, Islamabad, December 8, 2021).

¹⁴⁸ Miss Y. Fu, Zoom Interview, July 22, 2022.

and East Africa has steadily increased among societal dynamics. With numerous nations in East Africa, China has inked cooperation agreements in the fields of culture and education. A project agreement for higher education development cooperation was signed in 2000 by Tanzania's and China's governments. Each year, the Chinese government offers tens of overseas students' spots to study in Chinese colleges from countries in East Africa. China has sent 72 agricultural and urban vocational teachers to Ethiopia since June 2001 in accordance with the cooperation agreement between the two countries, so they can apply to teach there and develop local professional teachers and pupils. The Chinese Ministry of Foreign Affairs then organized training sessions for administrative and technical cadres, to which various East African countries sent representatives in order to give training services to African nations. Among other cultural organizations, the Kenya Dance Troupe and the Tianjin Acrobatic Troupe of China exchanged visits. In addition, China has organized a film festival and sent troupes performing acrobatics, folklore, music, and dance to the Seychelles and Comoros. China is still sending medical teams to countries including Eritrea, the Comoros, the Seychelles, and Djibouti.¹⁴⁹

In a question about the social dynamics of China in East African countries, Mr. Patrick Anam replied that China's relationship with EAC are based on trade, infrastructure financing and people-to-people relationship. Most of the projects are not within BRI but are most important for regional integration.¹⁵⁰

The media on both sides are working together more and more. Newspapers from numerous East African nations have regularly used the news from the Xinhua News Agency. A radio and television cooperation agreement was signed by the governments of China and Kenya in May 2001. For interviews, China Central Television dispatched correspondents to Africa, especially East Africa. The Chinese broadcaster ran documentaries about Kenya nonstop in October 2003. All of these media-related initiatives have a significant impact on helping China project the appropriate image in the nations of East Africa. Additionally, it provides an opportunity for people on both sides to interact and learn about one another's cultures and lifestyles. It can also be a road map for

¹⁴⁹ Abdilahi I. Abdilahi, "Cooperation and Development between China and East Africa," *Open Journal of Social Sciences* 08, no. 04 (2020)

¹⁵⁰ Mr. P. Anam, Phone Interview, Kenya August 9, 2022.

tourism across the region, which will further increase the social activities between the two sides.¹⁵¹

2.1.4 Military Dynamics

After 1979, China established military ties with a number of East African nations. China and Tanzania and Madagascar have had military exchanges and cooperation for longer, and military chiefs from the two nations have visited each other frequently. General Mbo, the head of Tanzania's national defense forces, Minister Majogo, the minister of national defense and national services, and Admiral Vaitala, the head of the national defense forces, have all travelled to China since 1998. Defense ministers from Ethiopia and Eritrea went to China in 2002. The same year, China also dispatched 14 experts to Eritrea to help in mine clearance. Early in the 1970s, the Chinese People's Liberation Army's deputy chief of general staff, Li Da, visited Tanzania; in 1996, a military friendly delegation from the Chinese People's Liberation Army's Lanzhou Military District travelled to Uganda, Kenya, Ethiopia, and Eritrea.¹⁵²

China has increased its military influence in addition to its involvement in politics and the economy. Beijing has mostly avoided increasing its overt military presence on the continent in favor of employing other means of military influence to further its political and economic goals. By providing military training programmes, selling weapons, participating in joint exercises, and sending military units on UN-sponsored missions, China has increased its military influence. However, some military operations serve China's operational needs.¹⁵³

Africa has been and continues to be a significant source for China's commodity reserves, despite the fact that China does not view the continent as a whole in terms of security plans. Africa has always been viewed as a significant international challenge to the eastern and western blocs. In 1960, China helped and trained the liberation movements in Zimbabwe and Mozambique, which increased the military might of Africa. Since the

¹⁵¹ Abdilahi I. Abdilahi, "Cooperation and Development between China and East Africa," *Open Journal of Social Sciences* 08, no. 04 (2020)

¹⁵² Abdilahi I. Abdilahi, "Cooperation and Development between China and East Africa," *Open Journal of Social Sciences* 08, no. 04 (2020)

¹⁵³ *China's Strategic Aims in Africa*, (J Development, 2020).

1990s, China's military involvement has grown with time, and it has participated excessively in many UN peacekeeping missions.¹⁵⁴

2.2 Dynamics of China-East African Countries Relations after BRI

China's president Xi Jinping first proposed the Belt and Road Initiative in 2013. It is also referred to as the Silk Road Economic Belt and the 21st Century Maritime Silk Road (BRI). The BRI will travel across countries in Asia, Europe, and Africa. Djibouti, Ethiopia, Kenya, Rwanda, Uganda, and Tanzania are among the countries that share a border with the BRI in East Africa. Most East African nations are now connected to China and the rest of the globe thanks to BRI, and the bilateral relationship between China and East Africa is growing and assuming a new level of significance. China is of the opinion that the proposal will benefit both parties and result in a win-win situation. Dynamics before the initiation of BRI and after the initiation of BRI are somehow same; yet, the approaches are different.¹⁵⁵

China's influence in Africa has considerably increased as a result of the BRI. In 52 of the 54 African countries, it has undertaken bilateral investments, and it is about to do the same in Sao Tome and Principe, the 53rd. According to official Chinese data, 49 out of 54 countries, or 90 per cent of them, have already signed Memoranda of Understanding. While 12 East African nations make up the BRI's geographical membership, the infrastructure, economy, political, social, and security paradigms can be used to measure the dynamics of China and the East African nations.¹⁵⁶

2.2.1 Infrastructural Development under BRI

The growth of port facilities, railway networks, and other forms of transportation in Africa may lead to a fair trade balance between China and Africa. Exports from East Africa may rise by 192 million USD a year if BRI projects are effectively completed, according to the United Nations Economic Commission for Africa (UNECA). Trade will

¹⁵⁴ Robert I. Rotberg, *China into Africa: Trade, Aid, and Influence* (Washington: Brookings Institution Press, 2009)

¹⁵⁵ Nancy M. Githaiga, Alfred Burimaso, and Salum M. Ahmed, "The Belt and Road Initiative: Opportunities and Risks for Africa's Connectivity | China Quarterly of International Strategic Studies," World Scientific Publishing Co Pte Ltd, last modified August 19, 2019, <https://www.worldscientific.com/doi/10.1142/S2377740019500064>.

¹⁵⁶ Christoph N. WANG, "Countries of the Belt and Road Initiative (BRI)," Green Finance & Development Center – Research, Advisory and Capacity Building for Greening Finance and Development, accessed November 27, 2022, <https://greenfdc.org/countries-of-the-belt-and-road-initiative-bri/>.

be more advantageous for nations who are a part of global value chains and connected to the new BRI infrastructure.¹⁵⁷

China's claims that its investments are customized to meet regional requirements and adhere to its leadership's frequently stated "win-win model of cooperation" are only partially accurate. Up to 2021, Africa would have a 93 billion USD annual infrastructure deficit, according to the African Development Bank (ADB). The majority of China's infrastructure projects in Africa are mostly financed by Chinese companies that are suffering from overcapacity in crucial industries like steel, iron, and cement. The majority of the infrastructure development gap is anticipated to be filled by the Belt and Road Initiative.¹⁵⁸

The foundation of the BRI is infrastructure, and China is planning significant infrastructure projects not just in Africa but also in the region of East Africa. The Asian Infrastructure Investment Bank (AIIB) contributed the first capital of 40 billion USD for the Silk Road Fund, and it is anticipated that China will invest 350 billion USD to BRI projects by 2022. There is an obvious need for more infrastructures spending in East Africa. Infrastructure in Africa has a favorable impact on commerce and economic growth, according to empirical study in the region.

The quality of the infrastructure in the East African region continues to be poor. According to data from the World Bank (2018), all of the nations in the region—aside from Burundi—saw improvements in the quality of their commerce and transportation infrastructure between 2007 and 2016. Burundi had the worst performance in 2016, coming in at number 48, while Kenya had the highest performance at number 42. (147). However, the region's nations continue to perform poorer than its main trading partners, China (ranked 23), and India (ranked 36). The need for better infrastructure is highlighted by the low infrastructure rankings for East African nations, and the BRI provides a chance for member states to raise the standard of infrastructure. According to data provided by Deloitte, Kenya is the region's project powerhouse, accounting for 11 sizable projects, or 25.6 per cent of the total. Ethiopia, Uganda, and Tanzania follow closely

¹⁵⁷ Nancy M. Githaiga, Alfred Burimaso, and Salum M. Ahmed, "The Belt and Road Initiative: Opportunities and Risks for Africa's Connectivity | China Quarterly of International Strategic Studies," World Scientific Publishing Co Pte Ltd, last modified August 19, 2019, <https://www.worldscientific.com/doi/10.1142/S237740019500064>.

¹⁵⁸ Dr. L. Venkateswaran, "China's belt and road initiative: Implications in Africa," ORF, last modified August 24, 2020, <https://www.orfonline.org/research/chinas-belt-and-road-initiative-implications-in-africa/>.

behind with each having 9 projects. Around 80 per cent of the projects in the region between 2013 and 2016 in terms of value were related to transportation and energy. However, there is also some proof that the level of infrastructure spending in the area has peaked. The Deloitte source also demonstrates the enormous growth in infrastructure provision made possible by Chinese developments from the early 2000s. With a fairly noticeable increase since 2010, the total infrastructure spending associated with Chinese projects surpassed 6 billion USD in 2014.¹⁵⁹

As a component of a new 12,070-kilometer Asia-Africa-Europe cable, China Construction Bank has funded an undersea fiber optic cable installed by Huawei Marine Networks to connect Pakistan with an East African nation. China will be able to link with markets throughout the world, including those in East African nations, thanks to this project. The goal of the initiative is to give East African countries access to broadband internet, which will completely alter how this region uses ICT. The project involves a radical shift in infrastructure development because it is virtually impossible to advance society without ICT.¹⁶⁰

Prospects for development have clearly been impacted by Chinese intervention, notably in the field of infrastructural supply. China's infrastructure projects are split about evenly between transportation and energy, particularly railroads and hydropower. SGR Phase II Nairobi to Malaba Sub-Phase 1, Nairobi to Naivasha segment 120.4 km of 1,500,000,000 USD sponsored by Exim Bank in Kenya are a few of the important transportation projects in the area. Exim Bank in Uganda is financing the 600 MW Karuma Hydro-Power Project, which costs 1,445 million USD. Exim Bank and CCECC provided funding for Hasan Gouled Aptidon International Airport and Ahmed Dini Ahmed International Airport in Obock in Djibouti at a cost of 596 million USD. Lamu Coal Power Station of 1,050 MW is costing 900 million USD between Karuma and Soyo in Kenya being financed by ICBC.¹⁶¹

¹⁵⁹ Rodgers Mukwaya and Andrew Mold, "Modelling the economic impact of the China Belt and Road Initiative on East Africa," Global Trade Analysis Project (GTAP), accessed November 27, 2022, <https://www.gtap.agecon.purdue.edu/resources/download/9118.pdf>.

¹⁶⁰ James G. Evans, "Connecting the World-Island: What will China's peace cable bring to Pakistan and East Africa?" *YouTube*, October 29, 2021, https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=4LU2Krn75s&list=PLtFT2qhmGM2ZL__eC1U21_K2mWSffKaPd&index=5.

¹⁶¹ Muhammad S. Farooq et al., "Kenya and the 21st Century Maritime Silk Road: Implications for China-Africa Relations," World Scientific Publishing Co Pte Ltd, last modified February 11, 2019, <https://www.worldscientific.com/doi/10.1142/S237740018500136>.

According to the International Atomic Energy Agency (IAEA), 2 trillion USD investments will be needed in power sector in Africa by 2040. China has the capability to play a remarkable role to tap green energy resources in East Africa. According to Sustainable Development Goal-7 (SDG) of United Nations, solar and wind energy projects can solve power issues of energy starved Africa. Green energy has advantage that it is evenly distributed and locally produced. It needs simpler and cheaper technology as compare to other forms of energy. It is truly renewable and infinite in dimension. Along with that it is also helpful in reduction of green house gas emission and there is flexibility in its application. Africa needs institutional capacity in public and private sector along with financial, technological and institutional support this is what China can provide. China emerged as suitable candidate for 'Africa's Green Energy Transition'. China is comprehensively involved in African energy market particularly in solar and wind. This engagement is increased after President Xi Jinping announcement of BRI in 2013. China has committed for loans over 30 billion USD in the power sector, projects spread over North, South, East and West Africa. Among top Solar PV suppliers in 2019, only two firms 'Canadian Solar' and 'Hanwha Q Cells' are non-Chinese, while, other are Chinese driven firms. China is also successful in top 10 wind turbine suppliers of 2019. According to Chinyemura and Shen, among 9 countries there are 21 activities of green energy projects with capacity of 3.12 GW which is more than combined projects of US and EU. The projects are equally spread in East African region. In Ethiopia, China has launched three wind projects namely: Adama I, Adama II, and Adama III wind plant. In Kenya, Garissa Solar Plant is constructed with the Chinese assistance. There is also wind plant launched in Tanzania, while, in Uganda and Zambia there are solar plants operational along with Gwanda solar plant of Zimbabwe.¹⁶²

The 500 km-long motorway connecting Eritrea's Massawa and Assab harbors—both of which contain SEZs—was overseen by the China Shanghai Corporation for Foreign Economic and Technological Corporation (SFECO) (SEZ). The Mtwara to Dar es Salaam Natural Gas Pipeline construction as well as the equipment installation for the Tanzania Modern Agriculture Demonstration Park have already begun. Tanzania is now engaged in

¹⁶² Institute of Development Studies, "China and Africa's Green Energy Transition: Potentials and Barriers," *YouTube*, June 28, 2021, https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=VwyfvgI0f1g&list=PLtFT2qhmGM2ZL__eC1U21_K2mWSffKaPd&index=10&t=3389s.

a number of significant projects, including construction of the Bagamoyo port, a 600 megawatt power plant, and an industrial zone. The Julius Nyerere International Conference Center, which was built with Chinese assistance, is now owned by Tanzania. The solar energy undertaking was also completed. The construction project for the Tanzanian Foreign Ministry's offices also went off without a hitch.¹⁶³

Other infrastructure projects, notably the Ethiopia-Djibouti railway project, are funded by a Chinese bank and have a 14.4 billion USD estimated worth. Between 2013 and 2020, China made investments and signed contracts totaling \$1.02 billion USD in Djibouti, primarily in the transportation industry. Additionally, a Chinese corporation promised to fund the renovation of the Djibouti port. In order to transform the Port of Djibouti into a significant global commercial hub, the largest port operator in China, China Merchants Group, also committed to invest 350 million USD with the state-owned enterprise Great Horn Investment Holding. The port in Djibouti City is a 3 billion USD development project that includes a free trade zone and a business district. There is numerous business potential given that China owns around 23.5 per cent of the port of Djibouti, which would be the largest deep-water port in East Africa. The Doraleh Multi-purpose Port in Djibouti will get 590 million USD from China Merchants Ports Holdings. The Djibouti International Free Trade Zone, which will be the largest free-trade zone in Africa, is being developed with a USD 3.5 billion investment from the China port operator. Other Chinese-backed investment projects in Djibouti include the Arta Hospital, People's Palace renovations, completed solar power projects, port facilities, a railway, two airports, and a pipeline to bring water in from Ethiopia.¹⁶⁴

To sum up, from infrastructural point of view, BRI is emerging as boon for the underdeveloped East Africa. All mentioned projects that spread across from road networks to railway networks and from airports to sea ports, from non-renewable energy to renewable energy indicates that BRI is a recipe for the infrastructural development for East Africa, and China is a key player surpassing all major competitors.

¹⁶³ Rober T. Lisinge, "The Belt and Road Initiative and Africa's Regional Infrastructure Development: Implications and Lessons," Taylor & Francis, last modified April 29, 2020, <https://www.tandfonline.com/doi/abs/10.1080/19186444.2020.1795527>.

¹⁶⁴ Nancy M. Githaiga, Alfred Burimaso, and Salum M. Ahmed, "The Belt and Road Initiative: Opportunities and Risks for Africa's Connectivity | China Quarterly of International Strategic Studies," World Scientific Publishing Co Pte Ltd, last modified August 19, 2019, <https://www.worldscientific.com/doi/10.1142/S2377740019500064>.

2.2.2 Political Dynamics of BRI

East Africa and China are mutually dependent from a political standpoint. Beijing has so far published two white papers on its policy toward Africa. The white paper from 2006 called for a different kind of strategic cooperation with Africa, whereas the one from 2015 gives the continent a far higher importance. China's foreign ministry expressed interest in the continent by referring to the continent as a "Comprehensive Strategic Cooperative Partnership". The 2015 white paper emphasizes Africa's contribution to creating a "Community of Common Human Destiny." CCP advances this idea in support of a system of world governance led by China. Beijing is attempting to win Africa over to its larger foreign policy objective of changing the international order. During the course of time, Beijing's efforts to transfer its model of political governance and economic prosperity to several African nations have also risen.¹⁶⁵

China wants to be accepted politically. The Chinese government believes that strengthening relations with Africa will boost China's influence around the world. The "One China" policy of Beijing, which is required to draw Chinese money and investment, is backed by the majority of African countries. China has sought a more constructive role as a contributor to regional peace, in part to lessen security-related threats to China's economic interests. African nations rely to China for trade, aid, and investment in infrastructure as well as for political legitimacy and respect.¹⁶⁶

By using its most important bilateral ties and influence in important regional and international institutions, China tries to achieve its goals in Africa. With the establishment of the Forum on China-Africa Cooperation (FOCAC) in 2000, a significantly more assertive approach has replaced the largely passive one employed in the 1990s. FOCAC significantly increases Beijing's ability to persuade a sizable chunk of Africa to support its geopolitical and economic goals. The fame of FOCAC can be gauged from the fact that the summit of FOCAC which was held in 2018 was attended by the head of 53 African states who agreed to defend each other interests including human rights and issue of Taiwan. The two parties also made a vow to develop a "Model of International Relations" based on the "Community of Common Human Destiny." Beijing employs a variety of

¹⁶⁵ *China's Strategic Aims in Africa*, (J Development, 2020).

¹⁶⁶ Larry Hanauer and Lyle J. Morris, "China in Africa," RAND Corporation Provides Objective Research Services and Public Policy Analysis | RAND, accessed November 30, 2022, https://www.rand.org/pubs/research_briefs/RB9760.html.

regional organizations and projects, including FOCAC, to amplify its influence in Africa, including the AU, the East African Community, and the OIC. China places a high value on its relations with the AU. The "Community of Common Human Destiny" idea suggested by Beijing received official endorsement from the AU for the first time. In 2015, Huawei installed the servers at the China Permanent Mission to the AU, which has its headquarters in Addis Ababa, the capital of Ethiopia. China's innovations in the installation of telecoms equipment in African government buildings are reviving the "Digital Silk Road in Africa."¹⁶⁷

Beijing also enjoys a long-standing relationship with the OIC, an organization with 27 members from Africa, five of which are from East Africa but which is not a regional body. Senior officials from China and the OIC often interact, and the OIC has backed China on a number of social issues affecting Muslims. Beijing has also used its influence to win votes at the UN from Africa in support of significant Chinese foreign policy goals. Currently, the 54 countries of Africa with official recognition account for around 25% of the UN's membership and are represented in the General Assembly. Beijing views the collaboration of these countries as being crucial to attaining its geopolitical objectives. In the UN General Assembly and UN Security Council, China can more easily win over African support. By putting new language into UN documents in 2017 and 2018, China first introduced resolutions to modernize human rights and governance norms. Both resolutions, which the US opposed, had almost complete African support. China has benefited greatly from African assistance in achieving leadership positions in significant UN organizations. China's vice minister of agriculture and rural affairs, Qu Dongyu, was chosen in June 2019 to run the UN Food and Agriculture Organization (FAO), which is in charge of establishing international agricultural and food security policies.¹⁶⁸

China is concerned about resolving regional political concerns since it has substantial investments in the nations of East Africa. Ethiopia is an important ally of Eritrea in its efforts to integrate. China is Ethiopia's largest investor in terms of numerous manufacturing pilot projects. Eritrea's inclusion in the BRI improves connectivity and enables Ethiopia to export goods because it is a landlocked nation. Eritrea's role as a transit nation is crucial for Ethiopia's economic progress. The US's position on how

¹⁶⁷ *China's Strategic Aims in Africa*, (J Development, 2020).

¹⁶⁸ *China's Strategic Aims in Africa*, (J Development, 2020).

Eritrea and Ethiopia should handle their relations in this situation is quite beneficial. Relations between Eritrea and Ethiopia with regard to China are crucial for integrating insurgents in Ethiopia. Relations between China and Eritrea are good, and the future seems promising. Additionally, China has had a long history of connections with its neighbors, including Egypt, Sudan (North and South), Somalia, and the Middle East across the Gulf. China wants Eritrea to maintain stability and peace, which is a requirement for development and taking use of unique favorable geopolitical positions in the Red Sea, as well as to concentrate on logistics and connectivity. All of this will contribute to Eritrea's change, and China views Eritrea as vital as any other larger neighboring nations. The foundation of the two countries' relations is a sincere sense of equality and mutual gain. From a Chinese standpoint, Eritrea has enormous development potential in terms of logistics, connectivity, shipping, mining, and agricultural development. However, peace and stability are necessary before economic recovery and transformation can begin.¹⁶⁹

China sees Ethiopia as a major political and economic ally in its new Africa Policy. Ethiopia's most valuable political asset is Addis Ababa, which is home to the African Union, the UN Economic Commission for Africa, the Intergovernmental Authority for Development (IGAD), which is close to Djibouti, and other key non-governmental organizations. Ethiopia is crucial in granting China influence in politics on the African continent.¹⁷⁰

By using multilateralism as a fig leaf, China is attempting to conceal itself. It does so primarily through China's participation in the UN, which has been a pillar of Chinese foreign policy. This year, the UN Secretary General delivered the keynote address for the first time in FOCAC history. The Sustainable Development Goals (SDGs) are strongly supported by China, and China's backing of UN initiatives and peacekeeping missions in

¹⁶⁹ The Newsmakers, "What are China's Ambitions in Africa?" *YouTube*, January 4, 2022, https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=oPlxJwQuUBQ&list=PLtFT2qhmGM2ZL__eC1U21_K2mWSffKaPd&index=4&t=599s.

¹⁷⁰ "China-Ethiopia Relations and the Horn of Africa," ISPI, last modified June 24, 2021, <https://www.ispionline.it/en/publication/china-ethiopia-relations-and-horn-africa-23968>.

Africa lends them worldwide validity. China participated in the Somalia peacekeeping effort. China's contribution to the political stability of East Africa is crucial.¹⁷¹

2.2.3 Economic Dynamics of BRI

Economic relations between nations are extremely important. Beijing leverages its relations with African nations to advance significant goals like obtaining preferential access to the continent's natural resources and getting around trade restrictions imposed by the US and the EU by exploiting free trade zones. All of these activities aid in expanding the market for Chinese goods to African nations. Additionally, it is recruiting African support for Chinese international political objectives including backing the Belt and Road Initiative.

China's commerce with the seven East African countries of Kenya, Tanzania, Ethiopia, Mauritius, Madagascar, Djibouti, and Uganda exceeded \$10 billion in 2018, according to figures from China's Customs and Ministry of Commerce in Africa. East African nations have consistently witnessed double-digit growth over the past few years, although making up a very modest share of China's overall global commerce. It is believed that Chinese investment began in the 1990s. In addition to establishing investment development and trade promotion centers in Kenya and Tanzania, China has inked bilateral investment protection agreements with Mauritius, the Seychelles, Kenya, and Ethiopia. In spite of the fact that not all of China's investments to this point have been profitable, some have grown and helped both their owners' countries and China as a whole. According to reports, there are close to 200 Chinese businesses of all stripes operating in Kenya, the majority of which were founded during the last ten years. These businesses serve China's economic interests in the area.¹⁷²

Additionally, engineering contracting has grown quickly. Official statistics show that China's turnover and contracting value in East Africa have both increased. However, conditions vary depending on the nation. Countries like Ethiopia, Tanzania, Kenya, Seychelles, and others have developed quickly and significantly. Additionally, Chinese enterprises are steadily expanding their contracting business with Madagascar and Eritrea.

¹⁷¹ "Beijing Changing Norms of Development, Cautiously," *ISPI*, June 24, 2021, <https://www.ispionline.it/en/pubblicazione/beijing-changing-norms-development-cautiously-21284>.

¹⁷² Nancy M. Githaiga, Alfred Burimaso, and Salum M. Ahmed, "The Belt and Road Initiative: Opportunities and Risks for Africa's Connectivity | China Quarterly of International Strategic Studies," World Scientific Publishing Co Pte Ltd, last modified August 19, 2019, <https://www.worldscientific.com/doi/10.1142/S237740019500064>.

Although it remains shaky in some nations, labor collaboration between China and East African nations is also growing. All of these initiatives help to improve the economic climate for China in the East African region.¹⁷³

According to Shimpoa, Africa trade with China has crossed 200 billion USD last year, an increase of 40 percent an year before. Under the BRI, China has funded the construction of highways, railways, power plants, and other infrastructure projects across the continent. Projects that are launched in East Africa are Bagamoyo port of 10 billion USD, Mombasa-Nairobi Railway of 3.6 billion USD and Addis Ababa-Djibouti Railway of 4.5 billion USD in Djibouti and Ethiopia. All these projects are helpful in generating economic opportunities and helping the state and public.¹⁷⁴

The cornerstone of Chinese engagement is unquestionably financing for investment projects or loans with commercial terms. While this form of financing for development may aid in that goal, it is also motivated by economic prospects and the desire for a market. Chinese financing must produce profits in addition to providing aid. While credit lines for state-owned businesses aided in their entry into the market, Chinese financial institutions are becoming more cautious of "white elephant" initiatives, which are prestige endeavors with little bearing on the country's progress.¹⁷⁵

The Beijing government has significant economic interests in Djibouti since Chinese banks are funding infrastructure projects worth approximately 14.4 billion USD there. It presents opportunities for Djibouti's growth. Due to Chinese aid and investment, economic growth has surpassed 5 percent and was 6.7 per cent in 2017. The infrastructure development initiatives, which were launched in 2015 with Chinese assistance, have significantly influenced Djibouti's economic growth. More than 50,000 jobs are anticipated to be created by the 3.5 billion USD Djibouti International Free Trade Zone by 2025, making it the largest free trade zone in Africa. Due to its strategic location, Djibouti is significant to China. Over 40% of oil imports cross the Indian Ocean, and a significant percentage of the \$1 billion USD in trade between China and the European

¹⁷³ Abdilahi I. Abdilahi, "Cooperation and Development between China and East Africa," *Open Journal of Social Sciences* 08, no. 04 (2020): xx, doi:10.4236/jss.2020.84011.

¹⁷⁴ The Newsmakers, "What are China's Ambitions in Africa?" *YouTube*, January 4, 2022, https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=oPlxJwQuUBQ&list=PLtFT2qhmGM2ZL__eC1U21_K2mWSffKaPd&index=4&t=599s.

¹⁷⁵ Larry Hanauer and Lyle J. Morris, "China in Africa," RAND Corporation Provides Objective Research Services and Public Policy Analysis | RAND, accessed November 30, 2022, https://www.rand.org/pubs/research_briefs/RB9760.html.

Union (EU) passes through the Gulf of Aden. Djibouti, which sits at the Red Sea's entrance, is a crucial position that makes it easier to travel to North Africa and the Middle East. Djibouti transforms into a logistics hub along the commercial routes that go from China to the Indian Ocean and the Gulf of Aden, and from there to the Mediterranean through the Red Sea and the Suez Canal. In the context of the Belt-Road Project, the investment in Djibouti will optimize strategic position because 4 per cent of Beijing's natural gas imports and 3 per cent of its crude oil imports pass through the Bab-ul-Mandeb.¹⁷⁶

China and East African have huge economic opportunities in post-BRI era in the shape of trade and investment. Investment in infrastructure generates economic activities and jobs. Along with that connectivity with international markets through road, railway, sea ports and airports helps in changing the economic landscape of the states involved. East African countries serve as a market for Chinese goods along with reciprocal trade opportunities.

2.2.4 Social Dynamics of BRI

Giving aid and providing lenient loans is a motivator for social activity. Statistics from the overseas bureaus of the Ministry of Commerce reveal that, excluding Eritrea and the Comoros, China gave East Africa roughly 28 billion Yuan in economic support from 2008 to 2018. The value of the assistance that various countries have received ranges from tens of millions to several hundred of millions of Yuan. Despite the fact that China no longer has significant projects in East Africa, including the Tanzania-Zambia Railway. Road construction, well drilling, water supply installation, office and home construction, and undertaking the technical rebuilding of previously aided businesses, farms, and presents are examples of smaller and medium-sized projects.¹⁷⁷

China presently pays between 7 and 8 billion USD annually on foreign aid, according to estimates (the exact annual numbers are not published by Beijing, despite improvement in the reporting). China has committed to giving at least half of its annual aid, which is equivalent in size to some specific bilateral contributions from Europe and totals around 4

¹⁷⁶ Göktuğ ÇALIŞKAN, "The Only Place In The World China Has A Military Base: Djibouti," ANKASAM | Ankara Kriz Ve Siyaset Araştırmaları Merkezi, last modified October 22, 2021, <https://www.ankasam.org/the-only-place-in-the-world-china-has-a-military-base-djibouti-v/?lang=en>.

¹⁷⁷ Abdilahi I. Abdilahi, "Cooperation and Development between China and East Africa," *Open Journal of Social Sciences* 08, no. 04 (2020): xx, doi:10.4236/jss.2020.84011.

billion USD, to Africa. In other words, even while the 15 billion USD in FOCAC 2018 commitments call for an increase in Chinese help abroad, they mostly indicate that the degree of engagement will remain the same.¹⁷⁸

Africa now has exceptionally high unemployment rates among recent graduates. Giving these graduates jobs will encourage sustained growth and boost social stability. All of this can only be accomplished through increasing intra- and intercontinental trade, the cornerstone of which are BRI projects. There are subtle direct and indirect consequences on the social structure of the African and East African economies.

Poverty is among the social problems of East African region. China-Africa engagement is from past 43 years. China has great transformation in its economic development by uplifting hundreds and billions of people from poverty. One key pillar of this transformation is building up infrastructure and connectivity of all kinds throughout China. China wants to share its experience and success stories with many countries in the world especially in Africa. Africa is the continent that is least inter connected with in the continent itself and confronting with social issues like poverty and food insecurity. China is willing to commit as much as possible to Africa. All such initiative will bring two sides closer and help in eradicating social problems like poverty and food insecurity.¹⁷⁹

Many African countries have their own expertise and resources and by migrating some of the manufacturing capacities and capabilities to Africa by that China will serve mutual benefit. But the key would be to build nation building capabilities in African countries and focusing on infrastructure role out, because without infrastructure and connectivity it will be costly doing trading and manufacturing in Africa. China by outsourcing its factories and jobs to Africa can change and improve the social dimensions as it did in its own country. There is recalibration in the last twenty years in China-Africa relations. Xi Jinping's speech of FOCAC Summit-2018 indicates that China has recalibrated its foreign policy. Landing into institutions, banks and determination of increasing production as well as agro-industry is a significant development. In food production both China and Africa has challenges in this sector. Through FOCAC, China intends 20 billion

¹⁷⁸ Larry Hanauer and Lyle J. Morris, "China in Africa," RAND Corporation Provides Objective Research Services and Public Policy Analysis | RAND, accessed November 30, 2022, https://www.rand.org/pubs/research_briefs/RB9760.html.

¹⁷⁹ The Newsmakers, "What are China's Ambitions in Africa?," *YouTube*, January 4, 2022, https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=oPlxJwQuUBQ&list=PLtFT2qhmGM2ZL_eC1U21_K2mWSffKaPd&index=4&t=599s.

USD investments that will be beneficial to both China and Africa. This relation is not monolithic but changing and evolving and calls for sophistication and more new wants. China should not engage with governments that are not popular. For an instance, Eritrean regime where number of refugees has increase and there the regime and citizen think differently. But currently China is doing well by engaging with civil society which boosts the confidence of masses on Chinese initiatives.¹⁸⁰

China-East Africa relations are gaining new traction in the wake of the outbreak. China offers to provide Africa 1 billion additional COVID-19 shots. In a recent forum for cooperation between China and Africa, China reaffirmed its commitment to funding more initiatives in that continent. Additionally, 200 million doses of the COVID-19 vaccine will be given, along with an extra 1 billion doses, of which 600 million will be donated and 400 million will be produced through a joint venture. The COVID-19 vaccine is another crucial objective for the AU. African countries are requesting that China open up production facilities so they can buy vaccines. As part of the continuing AU push to establish five vaccine manufacturing facilities throughout the continent, the African side is also attempting to garner Chinese support. As part of a larger strategy to solve supply constraints, the AU hopes to follow Egypt's example and produce the first Chinese COVID-19 vaccine in Africa through a partnership with Sinovac. The connections between China and the African countries promote social harmony. As a result, the two actors become friendlier, providing China an edge over its competitors.¹⁸¹

In an effort to lessen the likelihood that they would be forgotten by the major powers after the Cold War, African states created the FOCAC organization on their own initiative. With a focus on capacity-building in Africa, FOCAC launched an in-country training programme. The strategy is focused on multi-year programmes for public servants with administrative and policy responsibilities, mentoring programmes between institutions in China and Africa, political party exchanges to build cadres and propagate norms, and workshops for vocational education. In terms of educating Africans, China had surpassed nations like India, Germany, Japan, and the United States by the year 2020. Every three years, the African Union (AU) members are given roughly 50,000 training spots in each

¹⁸⁰ The Newsmakers, "What are China's Ambitions in Africa?," *YouTube*, January 4, 2022, https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=oPlxJwQuUBQ&list=PLtFT2qhmGM2ZL__eC1U21_K2mWSffKaPd&index=4&t=599s.

¹⁸¹ "China's Xi Pledges Another 1 Bln COVID-19 Vaccine Doses for Africa," Reuters, last modified November 30, 2021, <https://www.reuters.com/world/africa/chinas-xi-pledges-10-bln-credit-line-african-financial-institutions-2021-11-29/>.

of these four categories. Culturally, China has become more widespread. In 2000, there were less than 2,000 African students studying in China, and there were no Chinese cultural institutes there. China now has the second-highest number of cultural institutions in Africa, behind France's Alliance Francaise. Africa's universities, particularly those in East Africa, have started Confucius Institutes. These organizations are there to teach their African counterparts Chinese language and culture. These groups support the development of interpersonal relationships, which ultimately changes the social environment.¹⁸²

China has the highest numbers of out-born tourists in the world. East African countries, especially, Kenya is known for its tourism industry. Hence, there is cheap tourist destination available to Chinese counterpart. China also gained experience in tourism from African countries which was the most developed industry in this region. Tourism not only stops here but it has impact on other political, economical and infrastructural domain of life. Students of East African countries are offered scholarships in China, which are helpful in changing the life styles of African and helping it change their lives.¹⁸³

The list of joint ventures between China and Africa is fascinating and represents knowledge-production objectives. They include the Geo-science Cooperation Center, the Energy Technical Cooperation Center, the Ocean Science and the Blue Economy Cooperation Centre, and the Research Center for the Development of Green Agriculture. The most important message is contained in it: while Europe struggles to effectively explain its focus on halting migration from Africa, China is investing in shared skills and is swiftly emerging as the most important partner for Africa's future.

2.2.5 Security Dynamics of BRI

Prior to World War I, Alfred Thayer Mahan had a significant impact on the development of naval fortifications. He stressed the value of sea power and served as an inspiration for the development of navies all around the world. The USS Mahan is one of the ships that bear his name. With the publication of "Influence of Sea Power upon the History 1660-1783" in 1890, A. T. Mahan changed the perceptions of many countries by arguing that

¹⁸² *China's Strategic Aims in Africa*, (J Development, 2020).

¹⁸³ OECD, "Outbound Tourism," OECD Statistics, accessed November 30, 2022, https://stats.oecd.org/index.aspx?DataSetCode=TOURISM_OUTBOUND.

countries that conquered and maintained control of the sea were the ones that dominated the world. A T Mahan was of the opinion that "Whoever rules the waves controlled the world" by placing priority on sea routes. Trade, according to Mahan, is crucial for all states, and the majority of it travels by water. Every state want to travel along the sea route in a safe and secure manner, hence it is crucial for any state to develop strong maritime power and seize some key sea ports. And controlling those land bases that benefited from strategic location, coastal shape, and defensive depth to their hinterlands was the only way to dominate the sea.¹⁸⁴

The "String of Pearls" was created by China's strategic culture, which has its origins in A. T. Mahan's geopolitical theory. The "String of Pearls" is a geopolitical concept referring to the network of Chinese objectives in the Indian Ocean region (IOR). Between the Chinese mainland and Port Sudan, it explicitly alludes to the network of Chinese economic and military infrastructure that China has erected in countries bordering the Indian Ocean. In Bangladesh, Sri Lanka, and Pakistan, China has constructed a significant number of port infrastructure facilities. Its first military presence in East Africa is located in Djibouti. It has also contributed to port development projects in Tanzania and two ports in Kenya. It has close relations with Eritrea and the Comoros as a result of its advantageous location in respect to the ports and coastal areas.¹⁸⁵

China is investing all along the coastline, from the Gulf of Aden to the Mediterranean Sea via the Suez Canal, in ports and areas close to ports. East Africa is home to eight of the 49 countries, or close to 70 per cent of the continent's countries, that China claims have signed MoUs or formally supported the BRI. China expects to have secure trade and transport channels. China's high-level military missions frequently corresponded with the countries of East Africa to get these favors. General Li Jinai, the Political Commissar of the General Equipment Department of the Chinese People's Liberation Army, and Fu Quanyou, the Deputy Chief of General Staff, visited Kenya and Tanzania in 2017.¹⁸⁶

¹⁸⁴ US Department of State, "Mahan's The Influence of Sea Power upon History: Securing International Markets in the 1890s," State.gov, last modified January 20, 2009, <https://2001-2009.state.gov/r/pa/ho/time/gp/82203.htm#:~:text=Mahan%20argued%20that%20British%20control,%2C%20political%2C%20and%20economic%20power>.

¹⁸⁵ Ambassador (R) T. Altaf, "Pakistan can learn a lot from China's experience in Africa" (presentation, Institute of Policy Studies, Islamabad, December 8, 2021).

¹⁸⁶ Abdilahi I. Abdilahi, "Cooperation and Development between China and East Africa," *Open Journal of Social Sciences* 08, no. 04 (2020): xx, doi:10.4236/jss.2020.84011.

China aims to expand its naval footprint from the Indian Ocean into the Atlantic Ocean. The first military station for Beijing is already in Djibouti. Beijing's plans to construct a second facility may be motivated by the city's growing political and economic influence. In order to promote its strategic objectives, China may in the future use its control over these ports for military (monitoring and blocking deep-sea and international maritime traffic) and commercial (movement of raw materials, finished goods, and labor) purposes.¹⁸⁷

China is massively involved in various sectors in Africa. To secure these stakes is priority of China. For instance, China is using 20 per cent of its connectivity projects including rail and road lines to connect 10 per cent industrial projects which include mineral processing and 15 per cent energy projects (oil and renewable energy) in the hinterland of Africa. Infrastructural sector, including ports form 45 per cent of the Chinese projects. Together, these four areas account for approximately 90 per cent of the company's initiatives across 49 African nations. Oil and gas in particular are of interest to China in terms of accessing natural resources. By 2020, China is anticipated to buy more oil from foreign nations than the United States. China is making significant investments in the African oil industry to secure future supplies. As labor costs rise in China, Africa, a key market for Chinese exports, might boost China's ambitions to restructure its economy away from labor-intensive sectors.¹⁸⁸

In addition to phosphate, copper, cobalt, gold, iron ore, cocoa, bauxite, coal, lithium, steel, and marble, China also uses the sea to bring finished goods and Chinese labor back to Africa. The Addis Ababa-Adama Highway, which links to the Addis-Djibouti railway line and the port in Djibouti, is not far from Ethiopia's industrial park. In order to secure its investments and the labor force it has deployed in Africa, China aims to protect trade routes. In order to safeguard its security interests in Africa, the People's Liberation Army (PLA) Navy erected its first overseas military facility in Djibouti in 2017.¹⁸⁹

¹⁸⁷ Göktuğ ÇALIŞKAN, "The Only Place In The World China Has A Military Base: Djibouti," ANKASAM | Ankara Kriz Ve Siyaset Araştırmaları Merkezi, last modified October 22, 2021, <https://www.ankasam.org/the-only-place-in-the-world-china-has-a-military-base-djibouti-v/?lang=en>.

¹⁸⁸ Dr. L. Venkateswaran, "China's belt and road initiative: Implications in Africa," ORF, last modified August 24, 2020, <https://www.orfonline.org/research/chinas-belt-and-road-initiative-implications-in-africa/>.

¹⁸⁹ Dr. L. Venkateswaran, "China's belt and road initiative: Implications in Africa," ORF, last modified August 24, 2020, <https://www.orfonline.org/research/chinas-belt-and-road-initiative-implications-in-africa/>.

Beijing is interested in using the Indian Ocean as a route to the Red Sea. Every New Year's first visit by China to Africa for the past ten years shows the symbolism and substance of China-Africa relations, which are founded on mutual respect and benefit. From a geostrategic perspective, China places a significant deal of importance on the Comoros, Eritrea, and Kenya. It may facilitate China's access to the Mediterranean Sea and the Red Sea via the Suez Canal. Given that China is the world's greatest producer of goods, access to this market is crucial for other nations. Therefore, China, like any other maritime nation, places importance on the security of this navigation channel. Because it is a part of the Indian Ocean and has a sizable exclusive economic zone, Comoros is significant from a geopolitical standpoint (EEZ). Interaction with the country of East Africa is crucial when the US and other nations discuss the Indian-Pacific concept. In Africa and East Africa, China and the United States are vying for dominance. The US was losing its political influence on the continent under Trump. Ten to fifteen years ago, the US had more porches. In addition to China's rise, middle power nations like Turkey and the UAE also appear to tip the scales in their favor considerably more than the US is now able to. But unlike the US, which is advocating for democratic concerns, China has a non-interference policy that is compatible with African matters.¹⁹⁰

Undersea cables forms core part of the 'Digital Silk Road Initiative', and 'Peace Cable' is one of the significant projects. This project aims to connect Pakistan with East Africa and Europe. China's Belt and Road Initiative, as well as its digital component called the 'Digital Silk Road' aim to build physical infrastructure that will help to improve and build economic partnerships between China and other parts of the world. One of the distinguishing features of the 'Digital Silk Road' and the Chinese approach to the expansion of digital infrastructures is the belief or the idea that individual countries should retain cyber or digital sovereignty and this is the notion that their governments ought to choose their own path of cyber development in which China will not interfere. Recipient countries may find that the Chinese digital development model is offering a welcome contrast to Western condition based development models. Peace cable benefit the whole technological ecosystem in these countries and enhance access to education, healthcare, e-government services also strengthening business environment as well. Peace cable would lead to reduction in the cost of connectivity in East Africa, and attractiveness

¹⁹⁰ The Newsmakers, "What are China's Ambitions in Africa?," *YouTube*, January 4, 2022, https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=oPlxJwQuUBQ&list=PLtFT2qhmGM2ZL__eC1U21_K2mWSffKaPd&index=4&t=599s.

as an investment location. With increase in Foreign Direct Investment (FDI) there would be increase in international and local enterprises requirements to have stable and fast data connection.¹⁹¹

Conclusion

China-East African relations are being readjusted and reshaped in the light of China's launch of the Belt and Road Initiative. Since the 1960s, China has maintained official relations with the East African region. China will continue to play a significant role as an economic, political, and security partner for the nations of East Africa. The political, social, military and security contexts all play a role in China's relationship with East Africa. The "21st Century Maritime Silk Road" presents a chance to strengthen Sino-East African relations and ought to be further investigated by the political leaders of both nations. The MSR has so far had a minimal impact on East Africa, which contrasts with the optimism that has surrounded Sino-East African relations over the previous ten years. As the Maritime Silk Road develops, China and the nations of East Africa must cooperate to take advantage of the chance to strengthen their ties in all areas. This would benefit not just China and East Africa but the entire world.

¹⁹¹ James G. Evans, "Connecting the World-Island: What will China's peace cable bring to Pakistan and East Africa?" *YouTube*, October 29, 2021, https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=4LU2Krn75s&list=PLtFT2qhmGM2ZL__eC1U21_K2mWSffKaPd&index=5.

Chapter Three

Integration of China's BRI in Kenya

The Theory of Economic Integration stresses on the notion of regional integration. China's BRI is the outcome of this notion to integrate the regions and world to have common market and having win-win situation for all. As BRI is operating through various corridors across the world, Africa is a part of these corridors. China is stressing to include all states that have coastal lines to be a part of BRI in order to secure trade routes. Most of the East African states are part of BRI along with Kenya which possess important geo-strategic position.

This chapter is broadly divided into four portions. In first portion the current level of interaction is discussed between China and Kenya. In the second portion the factors for integration of BRI in Kenya is analyzed. The third portion comprises of all major BRI projects in Kenya, while, the last portion evaluates the impact of all these projects on the Kenya's Big Four Agenda and Vision-2030.

3.1 The Current State of China-Kenya Bilateral Relations

China and Kenya have a long history of friendship. Zheng He, the great navigator, navigated this part of the land 600 years ago, landing on the eastern coast of Kenya and arriving in Malindi. He returned to China with a giraffe, which was considered a sign of good fortune and kingship because it resembled the creature 'Kylin' in Chinese mythology. Following that, Zheng He's fleet made frequent trips to Kenya and other parts of Africa to spread the 'blessing of peace' of ancient China. China later became Kenya's largest trading partner, supplier, lender, and source of foreign tourists due to rapid growth.¹⁹²

In May 2017, President Xi Jinping and Kenyatta elevated China-Kenya relations to a comprehensive strategic partnership. Both heads of state saw a bright future for bilateral relations. On the occasion of the 55th anniversary of the establishment of diplomatic ties between China and Kenya, Wang Yi, Chairman of the National Committee of the Chinese People's Political Consultative Conference (CPPCC), stated that 'China-Kenya relations

¹⁹² Mister A. Toumert, "The Impact of the Belt and Road Initiative in Boosting Local Business through Asia and Africa Satisfaction: A Study of Kenya-China Business Projects," *Open Journal of Business and Management* 09, no. 04 (2021): xx, doi:10.4236/ojbm.2021.94094.

are a good example for China-Africa cooperation'. Wang urged the two countries to improve the coherence of their development plans and further fortify their political connections. Wang emphasized further that people should encourage high-level collaboration in more areas, strengthen coordination on international and regional affairs, and support one another firmly on issues relevant to their major concerns and areas of interest.¹⁹³

The Belt and Road Initiative has led to a new stage in the relationship between China and Kenya. During his visit to Beijing in 2017 for the International Cooperation Forum of the New Silk Road, President Uhuru Kenyatta committed to actively participate in the Belt and Road Initiative and encouraged China to strengthen cooperation in areas like investment, economy, commerce, and tourism. The level of bilateral collaboration between China and Kenya is equivalent to an international strategic alliance. The two countries have decided to continue building ports and roadways in addition to integrating the Mombasa Port Terminal, Mombasa Special Economic Zone, and the Mombasa-Nairobi Normal Channel Railway Project.¹⁹⁴

3.2 Factors for Integration of China's BRI in Kenya

There are multiple factors of China's integration of BRI, generally in East Africa and particularly in Kenya. The factors may vary a little between East Africa and Kenya, yet, it overlaps largely. Some of the major factors for integration of BRI in Kenya include: development of Kenya's economy, stability of Kenya, and strategic location of Kenya, stable macroeconomic environment and higher level of tourism.

3.2.1 Historical Roots

Zheng, a well-known Ming Dynasty navigator on the fourth expedition of his Treasure Fleet, he set foot on Kenya's coast for the first time more than 600 years ago at Malindi. As a result, China's relationship with Kenya officially began. China became the fourth nation in the world to formally recognize and establish diplomatic relations with Kenya in

¹⁹³ Muhammad S. Farooq et al., "Kenya and the 21st Century Maritime Silk Road: Implications for China-Africa Relations," World Scientific Publishing Co Pte Ltd, last modified February 11, 2019, <https://www.worldscientific.com/doi/10.1142/S2377740018500136>.

¹⁹⁴ Mister A. Toumert, "The Impact of the Belt and Road Initiative in Boosting Local Business through Asia and Africa Satisfaction: A Study of Kenya-China Business Projects," *Open Journal of Business and Management* 09, no. 04 (2021): xx, doi:10.4236/ojbm.2021.94094.

1963. Since then, particularly after the end of the Cold War, both nations have experienced an increase in high-level political and military interactions.¹⁹⁵

3.2.2 Development of Kenya's Economy

In the 50 years since the end of colonialism, Kenya has grown to be the second-largest economy in East Africa, contributing 19 per cent of the region's GDP. The fourth-largest economy in Sub-Saharan Africa is Kenya. Kenya's economy is primarily driven by three industries: manufacturing, real estate, and financial services, as well as agriculture. In 2017, these industries contributed 31.5 per cent, 14.9 per cent, and 8.4 per cent of the GDP, respectively. Kenya moved up more than 40 positions to rank 80 in 2017 in the Doing Business Index, published by the World Bank. Due to the strong performance of the services sector and increased business confidence, the GDP growth is also anticipated to increase to 5.7 per cent in 2018. After Morocco, Kenya was ranked as the second most desirable investment location in Africa by Ernst & Young's 2017 Attractiveness Index. This suggests that Kenya has attracted investors to some degree. Significant foreign investment has been made in the infrastructure, horticulture, oil and gas, and tourist industries. Building and construction, infrastructure improvement, manufacturing, transportation, services, tourism, agriculture, wholesale, and retail are additional industries that contribute to economic growth.¹⁹⁶

3.2.3 Stability of Kenya

Kenya has been one of Africa's most prosperous and stable countries since its independence in 1963, serving as an important entry point for outsiders interested in doing business, investing, and collaborating on technology with the continent. Kenya's domestic economy expanded rapidly in the 1990s, creating a larger market for imports. More foreign direct investment (FDI) and foreign businesses have recently arrived in

¹⁹⁵ Mister A. Toumert, "The Impact of the Belt and Road Initiative in Boosting Local Business through Asia and Africa Satisfaction: A Study of Kenya-China Business Projects," *Open Journal of Business and Management* 09, no. 04 (2021): xx, doi:10.4236/ojbm.2021.94094.

¹⁹⁶ Candice S. Newcomb, "The Impact of Chinese Investments on the Kenyan Economy," (master's thesis, Chapman University, Orange CA, 2020).

Kenya as a result of the recent development of regional integration in Eastern Africa, using the country as a gateway to the markets of East and Central Africa.¹⁹⁷

By regulating taxes, regulations, and providing security, politics is one of the elements that significantly contributes to the growth and development of international trade between Kenya and China. The stability and political environment influence how the investors will respond. Investors will most likely steer clear if political unrest is widespread. Thus, one of the justifications for China's BRI's integration in Kenya is the country's stability.¹⁹⁸

3.2.4 Strategic Location of Kenya

Kenya serves as an important transit hub for goods shipped internationally due to its advantageous location along the Indian Ocean and commercial port at Mombasa. Kenya is the point at which the maritime Belt and Road enters Africa from Asia. The main components of the project are the renovation of Mombasa port, the development of a modern port in Lamu, and the construction of a new standard gauge railway line connecting Mombasa port to Nairobi and landlocked neighboring countries. The railway and pipeline are intended to connect Ethiopia, Rwanda, and Burundi in order to facilitate export and connect the port in Kenya with the oil deposits in South Sudan and Uganda.¹⁹⁹

Through the LAPSSET initiative, Kenya would thus also gain a lot from the Silk Road strategy. Kenya seeks to establish itself as the entryway to East and Central Africa as well as the point of departure for all goods travelling through the port of Mombasa to Asia and Europe. Additionally, it offers connectivity between the Atlantic and Indian Oceans, which is advantageous in any unfavorable situation.²⁰⁰

¹⁹⁷ Muhammad S. Farooq et al., "Kenya and the 21st Century Maritime Silk Road: Implications for China-Africa Relations," World Scientific Publishing Co Pte Ltd, last modified February 11, 2019, <https://www.worldscientific.com/doi/10.1142/S2377740018500136>.

¹⁹⁸ Candice S. Newcomb, "The Impact of Chinese Investments on the Kenyan Economy," (master's thesis, Chapman University, Orange CA, 2020).

¹⁹⁹ Mister A. Toumert, "The Impact of the Belt and Road Initiative in Boosting Local Business through Asia and Africa Satisfaction: A Study of Kenya-China Business Projects," *Open Journal of Business and Management* 09, no. 04 (2021): xx, doi:10.4236/ojbm.2021.94094.

²⁰⁰ Muhammad S. Farooq et al., "Kenya and the 21st Century Maritime Silk Road: Implications for China-Africa Relations," World Scientific Publishing Co Pte Ltd, last modified February 11, 2019, <https://www.worldscientific.com/doi/10.1142/S2377740018500136>.

Kenya imports primarily finished goods including household electric appliances, building supplies, machinery for the agricultural and industrial sectors, textiles, and medications from China. A significant source of raw materials for the Chinese manufacturing industry is Kenya. Due to these continuous hostilities and China's involvement in Sudanese oil, the Kenyan route gives South Sudan a chance to export oil to China without battling with the Republic of Sudan. In a similar line, China's sources of oil import have been broadened as a result of the discovery of oil resources in Northern Uganda. Kenya allows Uganda, a landlocked nation, to export its oil.²⁰¹ The safe Kenyan route allows China to gradually expand the MSR into the interior of Africa. In the event that a security concern develops in the Horn of Africa, Mombasa can also act as a vital port of call for China.

In a question about the strategic location of Kenya and how this quality is being utilized by China for the exploration and transportation of natural resources from Dr. Cliff Mboya, he replied that Kenya is strategically located on the East African coast. The Indian Ocean Region (IOR) has become very strategic geographical area and sea route for China's economic and political ambition. The Indian Ocean Region is a key trade route. As China is expanding its influence not only in this region but on global level, securing these maritime trade routes is a part of its geo-political calculation. To secure these maritime routes is also a part of BRI and this is basically for China's access capacity in terms of production of goods and material that it wants to take to the rest of the world. Indian Ocean Region is important for China's economy as well as its geopolitical interest, for achieving that objective China has already built international military base in Djibouti. China has invested in the Indian Ocean Region in ports and railways. Port of Lamu is built and the old port of Mombasa has been expanded to link hinterland and bring coal and other resources to the ports and bring out excess capacity from China to find markets in the African hinterland. Chinese have expanded port of Djibouti, and linked it to the port of Ethiopia with railway. Special Economic Zones are made in Mombasa, Djibouti and Egypt to promote trade and economic activities in the Indian Ocean Region and East African coast. The main idea of China is to construct regional connectivity to expand China's trade and economic influence in the region. So the Indian Ocean Region

²⁰¹ Candice S. Newcomb, "The Impact of Chinese Investments on the Kenyan Economy," (master's thesis, Chapman University, Orange CA, 2020).

including Kenya holds strategic importance in exploration and transportation of raw material as well as regional connectivity and security means.²⁰²

In a question about the strategic location of Kenya and utilizing its geo-strategic position for offensive objective, Dr. Muhammad Tayyab Safdar replied that Chinese do not see themselves as an expansionist powers. They do have pretention to be a great power and they are an emerging power. Though the railway line that cross-crosses Africa is a dual use infrastructure, but it's doubtful that China will use it as a strategic spring board against US in the near future. It involves some sort of paranoia. If the US would have used such incentives, no one would have asked such questions.²⁰³

3.2.5 Stable Macroeconomic Environment

East Africa's transportation, financial, and commercial hub is Kenya. Over the last eight years, Kenya's real GDP growth has increased by an average of 5 per cent. The GDP increased by 5.4 per cent in 2019. Kenya has been classified as a lower middle income country since 2014 because its per capita GDP exceeds a World Bank threshold. Agriculture continues to be the cornerstone of Kenya's economy, contributing one-third of its GDP. A total of 44.2 million individuals, or 75 per cent of Kenya's population, are employed in agriculture on a part-time basis. The rate of industrial growth in 2017 was 7 per cent. In 2019, the current account deficit increased from 6.8 per cent of GDP to 5.4 per cent of GDP, helped by a significant decrease in the cost of importing oil. At the end of November 2019, the foreign exchange reserves were calculated to be 8.96 billion USD. At the end of November 2020, the KSH/USD exchange rate was 110. All of these figures point to macroeconomic stability, which qualifies Kenya as an appropriate country for commerce, enterprises, and foreign direct investment²⁰⁴

3.2.6 Higher Level of Tourism

After horticulture and agriculture, tourism is Kenya's third-largest contributor to GDP and top earner of foreign money. Kenya is home to a variety of tourist attractions, including national parks, highlands, and sandy beaches along its coast. Attractions provide benefits

²⁰² Cliff Mboya, Zoom Interview, Kenya August 11, 2022.

²⁰³ Muhammad T. Safdar, Zoom Interview, USA August 18, 2022.

²⁰⁴ *2017 Chinese Enterprises in Kenya Social Responsibility Report*, (Kenya China Economic and Trade Association, 2017), <https://www.tralac.org/images/News/Reports/2017%20Chinese%20Enterprises%20in%20Kenya%20Social%20Responsibility%20Report%20KCETA.pdf>.

to the tourism sector and have an effect on a number of other service-related industries, including those in the hotel and restaurant sectors, among others. Tourists can also support regional small enterprises that offer a variety of mementos and works of traditional African art. In 2018, 8.8 per cent of the country's gross domestic product was made up of travel and tourism. After South Africa and Nigeria, Kenya currently has the third-largest tourism economy in Sub-Saharan Africa, according to the Ministry of Tourism and Wildlife.²⁰⁵

China receives the most foreign visitors. 11,231,800 international departures are made just in 2019 and 8,559,200 are made solely in 2020. In 2019, around 8.5 per cent of Chinese travelers went to Africa. Kenya might be an easy destination for Chinese travelers as its tourism sector is rather developed and home to one of the best resorts. Given its historical origins and the BRI's further encouragement, tourism has the potential to be a source of income for Kenya. As a result, Chinese people will also learn about Kenya's environment and culture, expanding opportunities for commerce and business.

3.3 Major Projects of BRI in Kenya

Under the BRI for Africa, China has announced 40 billion USD in projects. In Kenya, 21 megaprojects have been launched or are currently being built, while the majority of smaller and medium-sized BRI projects are already underway or have been finished. Several of the largest BRI projects are:

3.3.1 Standard-Gauge Railway (SGR)

Chinese proverb: "Build roads first if you wish to succeed." A 3.8 billion USD agreement was reached during a meeting between Chinese Premier Li Keqiang and Kenyan President Uhuru Kenyatta in May 2014. It advocated for the construction of a 472-kilometer SGR that would connect the coastal city of Mombasa with Nairobi, Kenya's capital. The Mombasa to Nairobi (Phase-I) line is 485 kilometers long, the Nairobi to Naivasha route is 120 kilometers long, and the Naivasha to Kisumu and Malaba route is 369 kilometers long. The SGR is the largest project of its kind since Kenya's independence. The SGR's Phase 1 opening on May 31, 2017, ended a 110-year reliance on colonial infrastructure. Construction began in October 2013. SGR will connect towns

²⁰⁵ Candice S. Newcomb, "The Impact of Chinese Investments on the Kenyan Economy," (master's thesis, Chapman University, Orange CA, 2020).

in Kenya with those in Uganda, Rwanda, South Sudan, and Ethiopia once all phases are completed as part of a larger East African regional integration strategy. The Lamu Port, South Sudan, and Ethiopia Transport Corridor (LAPSSET) is expected to have a significant impact on Kenya's progress as a nation. According to the Kenyan government, LAPSSET lays the groundwork for Northern Kenya's opening up and integration into the national economy. Kenya is constructing a 2000-kilometer transportation network to "connect" and "make Africa seamless." According to the government, LAPSSET will help Kenya develop into a valuable, nationally and internationally networked region linked to global supply chains. The Lamu port, the SGR line, the highway, the oil refinery, the resort cities, the airport, and pipelines for crude oil and other products are all part of the LAPSSET project. Once the project is completed, Africa will have access to the east-west link. For the first time in Africa, a railroad will connect the Indian and Atlantic Oceans.²⁰⁶

The recently finished Mombasa-Nairobi single gauge railway is the project's centerpiece not just because of its connection and potential to stimulate economic growth, but also because of its symbolic significance. The Chinese government claims that Kenya will benefit in numerous ways from the initiative. Reduced freight transfers, improved commuter convenience between Mombasa and Nairobi, an estimated 1.5% increase in Kenya's GDP, the creation of 46,000 jobs and a cascade effect on the local economy through extensive subcontracting with Kenyan companies, technology transfer and mentoring through a new rail engineering academy, and new study and training opportunities are just a few of these benefits.²⁰⁷

The standard gauge railway, one of the BRI projects in East Africa, will link the ports of Mombasa and Dar es Salaam to Kenya, Uganda, Tanzania, and Rwanda. It is anticipated that the standard gauge railway will lower transportation costs in the area, which will have an impact on trade and welfare. According to conservative estimates, the overall exports of the impacted nations might rise by 192 million USD and their welfare by

²⁰⁶ Evaristus M. Irandu and Hesbon H. Owilla, "The Economic Implications of Belt and Road Initiative in the Development of Railway Transport Infrastructure in Africa: The Case of the Standard Gauge Railway in Kenya," *The African Review*, 2020, xx, doi:10.1163/1821889x-12340027.

²⁰⁷ Neil Renwick, Jing Gu, and Sen Gong, *The impact of BRI investment in infrastructure on achieving the Sustainable Development Goals*, (China: Centre for International Knowledge on Development, 2018), https://assets.publishing.service.gov.uk/media/5be9560ced915d6a166edb35/K4D_Helpdesk_BRI_REPOR T_2018_final.pdf.

almost 1 billion USD. SGR can thereby alter the socioeconomic situation in Kenya and its surrounding nations.

3.3.2 Expansion of Mombasa port

The entrance to East and Central Africa is through the Kenyan port city of Mombasa. The Belt and Road Initiative has given China increased access to regional resources and export markets in Africa. Kenya's Mombasa port is a significant national resource. It benefits the nation's maritime sector and has strategic advantages for the continent of East Africa. The 19-terminal port manages 1.1million Twenty Equivalent Units (TEU) annually with its two container terminals. The Mombasa Container Terminal (Berth-19) and Kipevu Container Terminal were built by the China Road and Bridge Corporation (CRBC) in 2013 and 2016, respectively. Despite the fact that the Japan International Cooperation Agency funded the port's expansion, it is critical to the Belt and Road Initiative because it serves as an entry point to East and Central Africa (JICA). It handles imports and exports for Kenya, Uganda, Rwanda, the Democratic Republic of the Congo, South Sudan, and Burundi. It's rumored that the rail and road networks China created have improved Africa's hinterland connection. The Chinese benefit from this because they can export more commodities to Africa and have access to the local resources. According to history, traders used Mombasa as a point of entry into East Africa from Portugal, India, Persia, and the Arab world.²⁰⁸

3.3.3 Special Economic Zone

Special Economic Zones (SEZs) are predetermined geographic locations where local and foreign enterprises can conduct business and make investments without being subject to the same restrictions and laws that apply to the rest of the country. SEZs were established in order to encourage investment and hasten China's economic progress. Early in the 1980s, China started creating special economic zones as part of Deng Xiaoping's push to speed up growth. Since the time of Deng Xiaoping, SEZs have been significant

²⁰⁸ Aliasger Bootwalla, "Shadow of Debt over Mombasa Port," Gateway House, last modified July 1, 2021, <https://www.gatewayhouse.in/mombasa-port/>.

contributors to China's economic growth, accounting for roughly 10 per cent of its GDP.²⁰⁹

By the year 2030, Kenya hopes to have a newly industrialized, middle-income status with a high standard of living for all of its population. The achievement of this objective requires the creation of Special Economic Zones. Many zones and industries have been designated for development. The agricultural zone would support the agricultural industry and businesses and services that are related to it. To make it easier to provide services to call centers, BPOs, corporate offices, management consulting, advisory services, and other comparable organizations, business service parks were developed. In a free trade zone, a customs-controlled area where commodities may also be handled in methods besides manufacturing and processing, such as bulk breaking, repacking, sorting, mixing, trading, or other forms of handling, commodities may be unloaded for storage or transshipment. Back office assistance is provided by the procurement, finance, accounting, and human resources departments in a company that offers outsourcing services. Business Processing Outsourcing is the name of this organization (BPO). When items that are regarded to be outside of the scope of customs are imported, a Freeport zone is established at the port (EAC Countries). A region known as Industrial Park has a strong infrastructure to support the manufacturing and processing industries. ICT Park will serve the ICT sector, while Scientific and Technology Park will support the scientific and technology sector. The Livestock Zone is also framed by activity relating to livestock.²¹⁰

The Belt and Road Initiative (BRI) has recently come to rely heavily on special economic zones (SEZs), with many of the participating countries anticipating that these zones will enable them to experience economic growth on par with China. The steady domestic development that Chinese companies were able to achieve through the SEZs outside of China is now being replicated by Chinese enterprises. According to the China Ministry of Commerce, Chinese businesses had spent more than 18.5 billion USD in such areas along the BRI as of April 2018. At that point, work on 56 economic cooperation zones had either started or been completed in 20 BRI nations. The Special Economic Zones are

²⁰⁹ "SEZs Along Belt and Road Encourages Growth in Frontier Regions (Africa Focus)," Standard Chartered, last modified April 17, 2019, <https://www.sc.com/en/feature/encouraging-growth-in-frontier-regions-africa-focus/>.

²¹⁰ "Special Economic Zones," Kenya Investment Authority, accessed December 3, 2022, <https://www.invest.go.ke/special-economic-zones/>.

believed to generate 1 billion USD in tax revenue and over 177,000 jobs for host countries. In 2000's Kenya established industrial and business parks and export processing zones that did not produced desired outcomes. The adoption of the SEZ model which was previously practiced in China is expected to perform better due to favorable timeline and its connectivity with other zones of BRI. Kenya declared plans to establish a series of SEZs adjacent to the ports of Mombasa, Lamu, and Kisumu on Lake Victoria. A regional project that has been discussed since the 1970s and is now really being built is the Lamu SEZ, which is a part of the Lamu Port-South Sudan-Ethiopia Transport (LAPSSET) Corridor. At Lamu, work is being done on an oil pipeline, a deep-water 32-berth port, a new international airport, road and rail links to South Sudan and Ethiopia, and a "resort city." Additionally, Kenya has approved the construction of private SEZs on land concessions given to international corporations. The 700-acre Pearl River SEZ site in Eldoret, in the eastern Rift Valley of Kenya, where a 2 billion USD smart city project is being created with a local partner, was officially opened in mid-2017 by China's Guangdong New South Group.²¹¹

3.3.4 Construction of Deep-Water Port at Lamu

Lamu is a small archipelago in Kenya, located north of Mombasa. Lamu's port is part of the Lamu Port South Sudan Ethiopia Transport Corridor project (LAPSSET). Mombasa is currently Kenya's only deep-water port. Plans for a second one were made beginning in the mid-1970s to reduce economic dependency on Mombasa. The presidents of South Sudan, Kenya, and Ethiopia laid the foundation stone for the port in March 2012. The goal of the Lamu port was to open up commercial routes to the economically isolated nations of East Africa. More precisely, it was intended as a substitute route for South Sudan's oil, which is now transported to Port Sudan via the Greater Nile Oil Pipeline.²¹²

Kenya's Vision 2030 development plan, which has been labeled a "game-changing" project, includes the Lamu port as a crucial element. Its new goal is to integrate Kenya's economically underdeveloped northern region. A pipeline, a railroad, a road system connecting Lamu, Garissa, Isiolo, Moyale, and Turkana, a dam along the Tana River,

²¹¹ "SEZs Along Belt and Road Encourages Growth in Frontier Regions (Africa Focus)," Standard Chartered, last modified April 17, 2019, <https://www.sc.com/en/feature/encouraging-growth-in-frontier-regions-africa-focus/>.

²¹² Mister A. Toumert, "The Impact of the Belt and Road Initiative in Boosting Local Business through Asia and Africa Satisfaction: A Study of Kenya-China Business Projects," *Open Journal of Business and Management* 09, no. 04 (2021): xx, doi:10.4236/ojbm.2021.94094.

airports, and tourism destinations are all planned for the corridor. Along the road, there are also proposals to build a number of industrial districts. The port of Lamu will develop into a lucrative and major addition to Mombasa's downtown. It is intended that by competing with the ports of Djibouti on the horn of Africa and Durban in South Africa, the port can draw big shipping lines and operate primarily as a centre for transshipment. Additionally, it would supply significant South Sudanese and southern Ethiopian markets.²¹³

With 52 billion USD in bilateral loans in 2018, China is the nation with the most investments in Kenya. The construction of three berths at the deep-sea Lamu port in Manda Bay, Lamu County, is intended to enhance logistics and trade in the markets of Ethiopia, Kenya, and South Sudan. To develop the final 20 seats, the Chinese are in discussions with the Kenyan government. The top three places are 367 million USD each.²¹⁴

3.3.5 Construction of Coal Power Plant at Lamu

The mainstay of many nations' energy infrastructures had been coal-fired power plants. Coal-fired power plants have shown to be a wise choice for investors due to their stable and simple to calculate profits, making them investments with manageable risks. Due to this, investors have had a lot of opportunity to practice valuing assets in coal-fired power plants. In 2019, there were no coal-fired power plants active in Kenya. In 2017, it mostly relied on renewable energy, mainly hydropower (827 MW), bio-energy (852 MW), and thermal electricity (6,729 MW). Kenya's production of renewable energy increased by more than 200 per cent between 2000 and 2017. But when energy usage increased from 293 TWh in 1990 to 798 TWh in 2016, a 272 per cent increase, the Kenyan government realized that its energy supply needed to be improved. As a result, in the middle of 2013, the Kenyan government chose to construct Lamu, Kenya's first coal-fired power station, a 1050 MW facility.²¹⁵

²¹³ "Kenya's Lamu Port is Complete, But Its Value Remains an Open Question," The Maritime Executive, last modified May 24, 2021, <https://maritime-executive.com/editorials/kenya-s-lamu-port-is-complete-but-its-value-remains-an-open-question>.

²¹⁴ Aliasger Bootwalla, "Shadow of Debt over Mombasa Port," Gateway House, last modified July 1, 2021, <https://www.gatewayhouse.in/mombasa-port/>.

²¹⁵ Christoph N. WANG, "Kenya's Lamu Coal Fired Power Plant – Lessons Learnt for Green Development and Investments in the BRI," Green Finance & Development Center – Research, Advisory and Capacity Building for Greening Finance and Development, accessed December 3, 2022, <https://greenfdc.org/kenyas-lamu-coal-fired-power-plant-lessons-learnt-for-green-development-and-investments-in-the-bri/>.

3.3.6 The Konza Smart City

The Konza will have an integrated urban information and communication technology (ICT) network to encourage the delivery of connected urban services and enable large-scale management of those services. The following four important city services will be integrated specifically into a smart city framework. Firstly, infrastructure services including utilities, public safety, and environmental protection. Secondly, citizen services, which involve participation and access. Thirdly, there are city services, which include development, planning, and city information. Business services, which include assistance for regional trade, are last but not least.²¹⁶

The National Cloud Data Center, Smart ICT Network, Public Safe City, Smart Traffic Solution, and a Government Cloud and Enterprise Service were all built as part of the ICT ministry's and Huawei's Konza Smart City initiative. They are all a component of the bigger project known as Konza Technopolis, also known as Konza Technology City, which was launched in 2008 as a Kenya Vision 2030 initiative. For 172.7 million USD, Chinese telecoms behemoth Huawei will build a data centre, smart city, and surveillance project in Kenya. The Konza Technology City will be built using Chinese concessional loans, which are backed by the government and have lower interest rates than market loans. The use of concessional loans in conjunction with the purchase of Huawei equipment has proven to be a highly successful tactic for winning contracts in underdeveloped countries. In a 2016 Policy Research Working Paper, the World Bank provides some information on Huawei's experience in Kenya: For its international expansion, the large telecoms corporation Huawei obtained a 10 billion USD loan from the Chinese Development Bank in 2004. The China EXIM Bank further offers state-owned businesses accessible financing to help them compete for significant infrastructure projects. Huawei received a 60.1 million USD contract from the China Exim Bank in 2012 to build Kenya's national fiber-optic network.²¹⁷

In a question about the future prospects and viability of Konza City project, Dr. Cliff Mboya replied that Konza City project is a well intended project. With COVID-19,

²¹⁶ "Smart City," Konza Technopolis, last modified September 13, 2019, <https://konza.go.ke/smart-city/>.

²¹⁷ Sebastian Moss, "Huawei to build Konza data center and smart city in Kenya with Chinese concessional loans," last modified April 30, 2019, <https://www.datacenterdynamics.com/en/news/huawei-build-konza-data-center-and-smart-city-kenya-chinese-concessional-loan/#:~:text=Chinese%20telecoms%20giant%20Huawei%20will,better%20rates%20than%20market%20loans.>

everything is getting digital; therefore, we need to put development in that direction. Cloud Data Centre has the capacity of government's service delivery at the door steps. Despite of the pros and cons of surveillance, it is beneficial in terms of security and safety perspective. It is an ongoing project, though behind schedule the plan is interesting for public service delivery and provides good business environment. It offers a lot of opportunities for ICT sector in terms of investment and offers massive jobs for ICT talent in Kenya. According to estimates it generates 17000 jobs once the plan is completed. It also provides smart traffic solution which can solve Nairobi's traffic problem. The critics view that project is in rural centre is not right, rather, we cannot put such projects in the middle of Nairobi. Through expressway the city is accessible within 30 minutes drive. So in terms of Konza City project, Kenya is in the right direction and the project promises a lot of opportunities in terms of investment and development.²¹⁸

3.3.7 Olkaria IV Geothermal Power Station

The 140 megawatt (MW) Olkaria IV geothermal power station in the Olkaria Ward of Nakuru County began building in 2012 under the direction of the Kenyan government. Kenya became the eighth-biggest geothermal power generator in the world and the largest in Africa after the project was finished in 2015. The project sought to accomplish the government's dual objectives of attaining universal access to electricity by 2020 and making the transition to renewable energy by securing more than 50 per cent of its power supply from geothermal sources by 2025. The project had a 714 million USD total cost, with the EXIM Bank of China providing funding for 13 per cent of it. Research conducted by Aid Data on China specifically revealed that China provided 94.7 USD million in concessional loans and that the Chinese state-owned Great Wall Drilling Company implemented the project (GWDC). Given its relatively low carbon dioxide emissions, geothermal energy is more cost-effective and environmentally friendly than other energy sources since it prevents the air and water pollution caused by fossil fuel power plants. Geothermal energy is more readily available, which leads to more stable energy prices and a drop in the price of electricity from 0.15 USD per kWh to 0.085 USD per kWh. Compared to the fossil fuel business, the geothermal energy sector requires more work. Over 10,000 Kenyans have found skilled employment in the geothermal energy sector, both directly and indirectly. Additionally, a 10-kilometer road is being

²¹⁸ Cliff Mboya, Zoom Interview, Kenya August 11, 2022.

developed to improve access to the Olkaria IV power plant. As a result, the project is assisting Kenya in meeting its energy needs while also creating jobs and improving infrastructure.²¹⁹

3.3.8 Other BRI Projects in Kenya

While the majority of the smaller or medium-sized BRI projects in Kenya are either under way or have been completed, there are more than 21 megaprojects that have been initiated or are currently being constructed. In connection to the major projects, some of the smaller and medium-sized projects are the Nairobi JKIA expansion, the Nairobi City Center EHV and 66KV Network Upgrading and Reinforcement, the Nairobi By-pass, the Nairobi Expressway, and the Nairobi Global Trade Center.²²⁰

3.4 Impact of BRI on Kenya's Big Four Agenda and Vision 2030

Kenya, like all other developing countries, must take a strategic approach to achieving the United Nations' Sustainable Development Goals (SDG) 2030. These goals, whose completion deadline coincides with the Kenya Vision 2030 national development strategy, have piqued the nation's interest. Kenya Vision 2030 is built on three major pillars: economic, social, and political. The government's key projects and reforms, known as "The Big Four" Agenda, will be executed during a five-year period, from 2018 to 2022. The Big Four are universal access to affordable healthcare, affordable housing, manufacturing, and food security.²²¹

Every endeavor and effort has benefits and drawbacks. After joining BRI, Kenya's sustainable development has been profoundly impacted. The East African region's economy is expanding the quickest in Kenya. It is thought that joining BRI will benefit Kenya's socioeconomic development. The effort is examined in light of Kenya's Vision 2030 and the Big Four Agenda.

²¹⁹ Adedeji Adeniran et al., *Estimating the Economic Impact of Chinese BRI Investment in Africa*, (South African Institute of International Affairs, 2021), <https://saiia.org.za/wp-content/uploads/2021/06/Special-Report-adeniran-ekeruche-onyekwena-obiakor.pdf>.

²²⁰ "Ambassador Zhou Pingjian: FOCAC, Win-win Cooperation Carries On," China Embassy.gov, accessed December 3, 2022, https://ke.china-embassy.gov.cn/dsxx/dszs/202111/t20211126_10453497.htm.

²²¹ Eng. P. Mutinda, "Role of Big Four Agenda and Vision 2030 for Kenya's Sustainable Development" (Paper presented at 27th IEK International Conference, Mombasa, Kenya, November 24, 2020).

3.4.1 Manufacturing

Maintaining economic growth, creating jobs, and eradicating poverty all depend on the manufacturing sector. To advance the industry, it is also urged that infrastructure be built, including roads and energy sources. Like many other developing countries, Kenya has had difficulty creating a robust industrial sector; as a result, the country's economy has mostly depended on its agricultural and service sectors to thrive. It is planned to boost manufacturing's contribution to GDP from 9.2 per cent in 2016 to 15.5 per cent in 2022 through the building of industrial parks, special economic zones, and the implementation of policies to enhance processing of textiles, leather, oil, gas, construction materials, foods, fish, and iron.²²²

Kenya surpassed the United States as China's sixth-largest trading partner in Africa in 2014, becoming the country's primary trading partner. Kenya imported 3,778 billion USD from China in 2017, accounting for more than 23 per cent of total imports. However, only 96.7 million USD, or 1.68 per cent of Kenya's total exports, were sent to China in 2017. The majority of China's exports to Kenya are higher-value finished goods, transportation machinery and equipment, and other items. Kenya exchanges low-value agricultural products and natural resources with China. Kenya has the ability to sell higher-value goods to China in the future thanks to its oil and titanium exports, and a new agreement to export additional agricultural items like avocados and floriculture also increases Kenya's chances of doing so and generating more cash. Kenya's titanium exports to China are significant. The value of Kenya's titanium exports in the first nine months of 2017 was 93.81 million USD.²²³

3.4.2 Affordable Healthcare

The goal is to increase existing Universal Health Coverage (UHC) from 36 per cent to 100 per cent by 2022 by increasing NHIF acceptance, increasing budgetary allocation to health, and adopting low-cost service delivery modes. This agenda is in line with the third Sustainable Development Goal (SDG): Good health and well-being—ensure good health and well-being for all people of all ages. Significant governance reforms and tight strategic coordination between the national and county levels of government are

²²² Eng. P. Mutinda, "Role of Big Four Agenda and Vision 2030 for Kenya's Sustainable Development" (Paper presented at 27th IEK International Conference, Mombasa, Kenya, November 24, 2020).

²²³ Jing Gu and Shen Qiu, "The Belt and Road Initiative and Africa's Sustainable Development: A Case Study of Kenya," *IDS Bulletin* 50, no. 4 (2019): xx, doi:10.19088/1968-2019.140.

necessary for the UHC to be successful. It depends on the counties' health facilities getting better and hiring more medical personnel. BRI has the capacity to assist Kenya in achieving its goals under the AU Vision 2063, the SDGs, the HCI, the MTP, and the FOCAC agenda. While the BRI aims to create the Healthy Silk Road, a new centre for health cooperation, the objective to broaden and improve global connections would generate a major rise in the movement of people and, as a result, a raised risk of the transmission of infectious illnesses. The BRI complies with the current international regulations governing occupational health and environmental standards in practice. In August 2017, the Chinese government hosted the first iteration of the "Belt and Road High Level Meeting on Health Cooperation toward Healthy Silk Road".²²⁴

The practical framework for collaboration on building of hospitals, medical infrastructure, provision of equipment, training of staff, and commercial pharmaceutical assistance is provided by the government-to-government agreement on health. In addition, China donated four modular container clinics to Kenya's Ministry of Health for fighting contagious diseases especially in under-privileged communities in 2016. Similarly, in 2018, the Chinese government donated and built computed tomography (CT) scanners in 37 Kenyan hospitals to increase survival rates and provide better emergency diagnostics for victims of traffic accidents. These hospitals are mostly situated along Kenya's major roads. The scanners can be used to find cancer as well. The Kenyan government hired a Chinese and a Kenyan medical firm to collaborate on the project. In addition, 37 radiologists and radiographers from Kenya who are undergoing training in China will share their knowledge and expertise. All these activities support the Kenyan government's Big Four agenda goal of providing universal health care and achieving sustainable development goals.²²⁵

3.4.3 Affordable Housing

The creation of appropriate, standardized, and well-spaced homes with constant access to electricity and clean water is necessary for affordable housing. The houses must be close to both the lowest, middle, and elite classes in society and must be situated in respectable neighborhoods. Every citizen has a right to basic standards of cleanliness and accessible,

²²⁴ Eng. P. Mutinda, "Role of Big Four Agenda and Vision 2030 for Kenya's Sustainable Development" (Paper presented at 27th IEK International Conference, Mombasa, Kenya, November 24, 2020).

²²⁵ Jing Gu and Shen Qiu, "The Belt and Road Initiative and Africa's Sustainable Development: A Case Study of Kenya," *IDS Bulletin* 50, no. 4 (2019): xx, doi:10.19088/1968-2019.140.

suitable housing, according to Article 43 of Chapter 4 of the constitution. By 2022, it is intended to build at least 500,000 new, reasonably priced homes, enhancing Kenyans' quality of life. This agenda complies with the third Sustainable Development Goal (SDG), which aims to create inclusive, secure, resilient, and sustainable cities and communities.²²⁶

China Wu Yi Group invested 94 million USD in 2015 to open a warehouse market for industrialised building materials in Nairobi and the Kenya Building Industrialization Research Development and Production Base. Once the project is up and running, it will be able to supply the local markets with affordable, high-quality, and environmentally friendly building materials, enough to construct roughly 1,500 dwelling units.²²⁷

3.4.4 Food Security

Food security is condition in which everyone in a state has access to an adequate supply of safe and nutritious food that fulfills their dietary need for an active and healthy life. In Kenya, the agriculture sector contributes around 30 per cent of the country's annual GDP. By boosting food production and availability, lowering food prices to ensure affordability, and encouraging value addition along the value chain of food processing, the government aimed to achieve total food security. This agenda complies with the second SDG, Zero Hunger—End Hunger, achieve food security, improve nutrition, and promote sustainable agriculture.²²⁸

Kenya is experiencing issues with its ability to access food. Between July and October 2021, an estimated 2.1 million persons (14 percent of the population under study) will likely experience severe acute food insecurity (IPC Phase 3 or 4). This Kenyan Sustainable Development Goal (SDG) can be addressed by China BRI.²²⁹ In order to address difficulties with food security, Kenya is planning to open a special economic zone

²²⁶ Eng. P. Mutinda, "Role of Big Four Agenda and Vision 2030 for Kenya's Sustainable Development" (Paper presented at 27th IEK International Conference, Mombasa, Kenya, November 24, 2020).

²²⁷ *2017 Chinese Enterprises in Kenya Social Responsibility Report*, (Kenya China Economic and Trade Association, 2017), <https://www.tralac.org/images/News/Reports/2017%20Chinese%20Enterprises%20in%20Kenya%20Social%20Responsibility%20Report%20KCETA.pdf>.

²²⁸ Eng. P. Mutinda, "Role of Big Four Agenda and Vision 2030 for Kenya's Sustainable Development" (Paper presented at 27th IEK International Conference, Mombasa, Kenya, November 24, 2020).

²²⁹ "Integrated Food Security Phase Classification," IPC Kenya Alert, last modified September 2021, <https://www.ipcinfo.org/ipcinfo-website/alerts-archive/issue-47/en/#:~:text=An%20estimated%202.1%20million%20people,people%20classified%20in%20these%20conditions.>

that will include an agriculture zone, a livestock zone, and a science and technology park. In terms of FDI stock, agriculture surpassed manufacturing as Kenya's second-largest economic sector in 2015. Kenya's agro-business investment climate is favorable, and BRI offers China the chance to increase its investment in agro-based industries. In Naivasha and Machakos, two Chinese enterprises, Yishan Agriculture and Senju International, were discovered planting pyrethrum, and both of them are using local farmers as subcontractors. In 2016, Fujian Province investors made investments in Kenya's horticultural sector, and China also shipped donkey meat and hides. Such rewards are intended to address Kenya's food insecurity.²³⁰

In a question about food insecurity in Kenya and UN second Sustainable Development Goal, Dr. Cliff Mboya replied that it is very possible to link the BRI with SDG's because it is all development driven initiative. BRI is promising initiative towards the attainment of Kenya's food security and social development. If we look at the diplomatic engagement between Kenya and China, we can see a lot of initiatives of BRI are promising to deliver Kenya's SDG's. Kenya has initiative of the Vision 2030 development and blueprint for Big Four Agenda that includes manufacturing, universal health care, affordable housing and food security, so all these are pursued through BRI framework. Initially BRI focused on infrastructure projects but second BRI Forum focused on the active engagement on SDG's through industrialization, health, education, energy and environmental position. Some initiatives are going on in agriculture sector but the coordination in agriculture sector is still poor. China is sending agriculture experts to different African countries. They are focusing on Chinese rice varieties which are drought resistant. It is good initiative to tackle food security but this initiative can be expanded to other sectors.²³¹

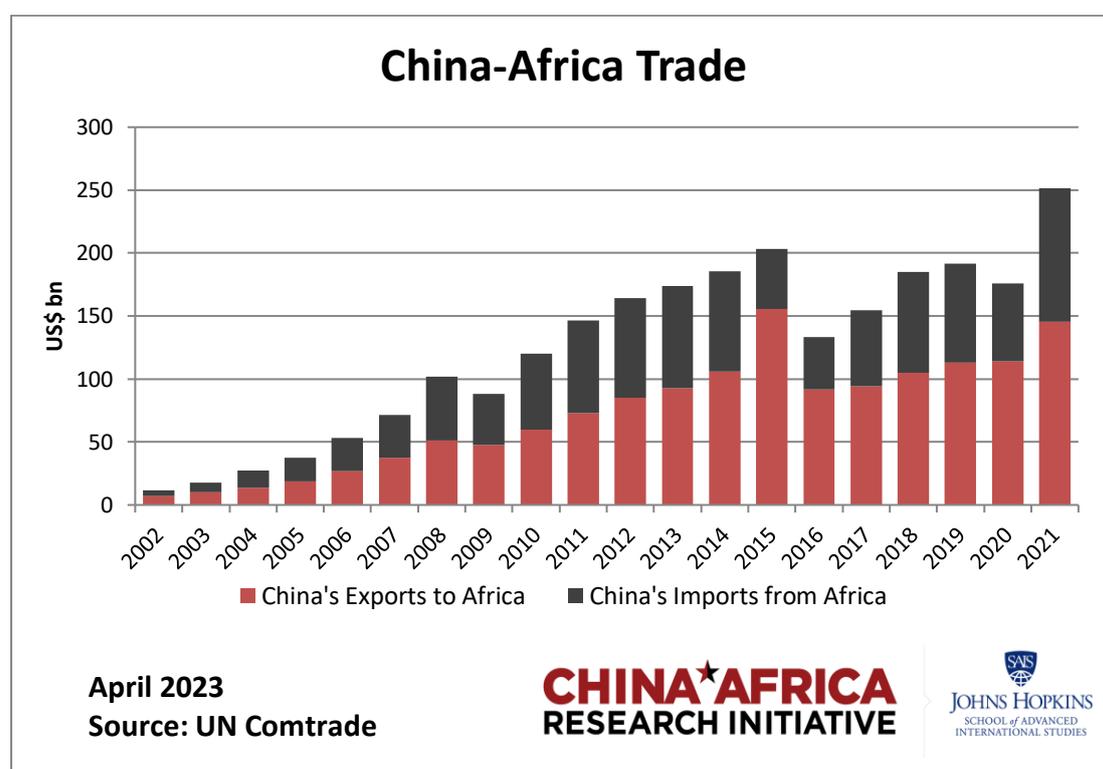
3.5 Exports and Imports Value of China with East Africa

After analyzing the factors for 'Integration of China's BRI in Kenya' and evaluating the major BRI projects in Kenya which will play a robust role in the sustainable development of Kenya and achieving its objective of 'Vision 2030', it is pertinent to see the over-all trade situation of China with Africa and specifically with East Africa. Such over-view is helpful in deriving improvement during the course of time.

²³⁰ Ying Xia, "Chinese Agriculture and Manufacturing Investment in Kenya: a Scoping Study," *China Africa Research Initiative*, no. 30 (August 2019): xx, https://africa.isp.msu.edu/files/8416/3625/3755/WP_30_Xia_Chinese_Investment_Kenya.pdf.

²³¹ Cliff Mboya, Zoom Interview, Kenya August 11, 2022.

Chart from ‘China-Africa Research Initiative’, data of which is extracted from UN Comtrade indicates that over-all China-Africa bilateral trade has been steadily increasing for the past two decades with little disruption in 2020 due to uncertainties evolved due to COVID-19. The data from graph is indicative of the fact that combined imports and exports trade volume between China and Africa was around 180 billion USD in 2013 which peaked to record high in 2021 i-e 251 billion USD.



Source: China-Africa Research Initiative

3.5.1 Exports Value of China with East Africa

To evaluate bilateral trade between China and East Africa, data of 2013 has been extracted from ‘World Integrated Trade Solution of World Bank’ and 2021 from ‘Trading Economics’. The table below indicates that exports volume of China with East African states has exceeded the double figure between 2013 and 2021.

Table 2: Exports Value of China with East Africa

S.NO	Country	Exports Value (2013)	Exports Value (2021)
1	Kenya	\$ 3.12 B	\$ 6.73 B
2	Burundi	\$ 50.96 M	\$ 126.90 M
3	Comoros	\$ 29.86 M	\$ 56.95 M
4	Djibouti	\$ 1.01 B	\$ 2.57 B
5	Eritrea	\$ 137.95 M	\$ 69.96 M
6	Ethiopia	\$ 1.86 B	\$ 2.29 B
7	Madagascar	\$ 0.64 B	\$ 1.28 B

8	Malawi	\$ 213.79 M	\$ 280.53 M
9	Mauritius	\$ 648.70 M	\$ 877.78 M
10	Mozambique	\$ 1.11 B	\$ 2.90 B
11	Rwanda	\$ 134.10 M	\$ 335.14 M
12	Seychelles	\$ 38.66 M	\$ 68.65 M
13	Somalia	\$ 133.76 M	\$ 999.70 M
14	South Sudan	\$ 75.08 M	\$ 139.82 M
15	Tanzania	\$ 3.14 B	\$ 6.14 B
16	Uganda	\$ 0.045 B	\$ 1.02 B
17	Zambia	\$ 729.69 M	\$ 780.85 M
18	Zimbabwe	\$ 413.82 M	\$ 920.01 M

Source: wits.worldbank.org (2013)

Source: tradingeconomics.com (2021)

3.5.2 Imports Value of China with East Africa

The table below present imports value of China with East African states in 2013 when BRI was launched and lastly, 2021 when trade volume touched record high. The data below identifies that imports volume between 2013 and 2021 has significantly improved for China which means that exports of East African states also improved with exception of Malawi, Rwanda, Somalia and Uganda.

Table 3: Imports Value of China with East Africa

S.NO	Country	Imports Value (2013)	Imports Value (2021)
1	Kenya	\$ 52.78 M	\$ 226.54 M
2	Burundi	\$ 9.3 M	\$ 9.61 M
3	Comoros	\$ 7.79 K	\$ 114.11 K
4	Djibouti	\$ 0.27 M	\$ 55.81 M
5	Eritrea	\$ 50.93 M	\$ 389.73 M
6	Ethiopia	\$ 315.68 M	\$ 366.01 M
7	Madagascar	\$ 173.90 M	\$ 331.90 M
8	Malawi	\$ 38.42 M	\$ 9.81 M
9	Mauritius	\$ 12.86 M	\$ 35.74 M
10	Mozambique	\$ 0.45 B	\$ 1.14 B
11	Rwanda	\$ 108.44 M	\$ 28.72 M
12	Seychelles	\$ 401.85 K	\$ 13.08 K
13	Somalia	\$ 16.39 M	\$ 10.80 M
14	South Sudan	\$ 2468.34 M	\$ 299.41 M
15	Tanzania	\$ 552.54 M	\$ 604.96 M
16	Uganda	\$ 71.92 M	\$ 43.90 M

17	Zambia	\$ 3.04 B	\$ 4.39 B
18	Zimbabwe	\$ 687.83 M	\$ 960.12 M

Source: wits.worldbank.org (2013)

Source: tradingeconomics.com (2021)

From analyzing and evaluating the data above, it is concluded that imports and exports value for China and East Africa has improved during the course of time. After the completion of important BRI projects like LAPSSET which will connect Kenya, Rwanda, South Sudan Tanzania, and Uganda through rail, road and port networks. Such initiative will change the entire business environment, resultantly; the current trade volume between the two actors will further improve by creating win-win situation for all stakeholders.

Conclusion

The 'Theory of Economic Integration' is based on regional integration through socio-economic means. China intends to achieve its economic cum geo-strategic objectives through regional integration. The bonhomie between China and Kenya at the back drop of BRI is the result of multiple factors. Historical linkages between China and Kenya, development of Kenya's economy, stability and strategic location, stable macro-economic environment and opportunities in tourism serves as a reason for integration of China's BRI in Kenya. China has made significant investments in Kenya, helping the nation to achieve "Vision Kenya 2030" by fostering social and economic development. Kenya benefits from significant infrastructure investment that satisfies Kenya's Big Four Agenda, Vision 2030, and the UN's "Sustainable Development Goal." Kenya's development has benefited greatly from China's involvement in banking, education, and telecommunications. Kenya's infrastructure gap has been addressed in large part by China. Construction on roads, railways, electrical networks, and ports is accelerating faster than anyone could have imagined. These initiatives not only provide significant employment opportunities for Kenyans, but they also improve the country's economic performance. Given that the Kenyan government has taken a very positive and cooperative stance toward China's expanding presence in the country under the MSR initiative, it must ensure that Chinese businesses do not gain an advantage over Kenyan and indigenous businesses, and that the socioeconomic relationship between China and Kenya is viewed as beneficial to both countries.

Manufacturing, affordable healthcare, affordable housing and food security are the Kenya's Big Four Agenda and Vision 2030. BRI through various incentives and projects has the capacity to address these objectives of Kenya. Without any doubt, there lies an opportunity for Kenya to improve the living standards of the Kenyans. For China, it's helpful in terms of achieving economic, political, social and geo-strategic objectives. Therefore, integration of China's BRI in Kenya has positive impact for both China and Kenya which appears as boon for the entire region.

Chapter Four

Opportunities and Challenges for Kenya under Belt and Road Initiative

This chapter highlights significance of BRI for Kenya, and brings out meaningful issues standing as an obstacle in economic, military and socio-economic ties between China and Kenya in the domain of BRI. It looks at the opportunities and challenges for Kenya in reference to BRI.

4.1 Opportunities for Kenya under the Belt and Road Initiative

At a time when globalization is waning and US leadership is coming under more scrutiny, China emphasized the BRI's practical advantages for participating nations. There is still a chance that unresolved issues in the midst of the US-China trade war could lead to additional protectionist policies, which could further disturb patterns of trade and investment. In order to restructure supply chains and adjust to changing trade patterns, the BRI may therefore become more crucial for China and its partner nations.

4.1.1 Job Creation

There are 73 member companies in the Kenya China Economic and Trade Association, and there are 11 member companies on the board. According to statistics, the average staff localization rate for KCETA member companies was 87 per cent as of the end of 2016. 44 per cent of the executive team is made up of locals, compared to 91 per cent of full-time local employees and 96 per cent of temporary local workers. While a World Bank analysis shows that Chinese companies in Kenya employ 360 local workers on average, a number that is far higher than the 147 local workers averaged by foreign-invested companies in Kenya. Chinese businesses are therefore giving Kenyans a significant number of job chances.²³²

Infrastructure projects have provided jobs as a result of their part in supporting better regional productivity. For instance, by 2017, Chinese companies located along the project's corridors created around 180,000 new jobs and nearly 1.1 billion USD in tax revenue. Kenya's railway expansion alone created 46,000 local jobs, or at least 60 new

²³² 2017 Chinese Enterprises in Kenya Social Responsibility Report, (Kenya China Economic and Trade Association, 2017), <https://www.tralac.org/images/News/Reports/2017%20Chinese%20Enterprises%20in%20Kenya%20Social%20Responsibility%20Report%20KCETA.pdf>.

jobs for every built kilometer, while Sino Hydro Co. Ltd. hired more than 3,000 locals. In Africa, youth make up 60 per cent of the unemployed on average; the BRI will be crucial in addressing this problem. The Confucius Institute at the University of Nairobi organized "Dreams and Future Achievements," a campus hiring event for Chinese companies, on November 30, 2016. On campus, more than 21 Chinese companies providing job opportunities greeted close to 500 students. It was a job expo in Kenya targeted exclusively towards Chinese businesses. The students are appreciative of the chance to find a variety of interesting employment that will allow them to achieve their goals.²³³

In a question about the job creation by BRI projects, Dr. Sylvanus Wekesa replied that the BRI has spread through multiple sectors in which infrastructure and development is the biggest sector. According to government data, the SGR has generated at least 30,000 jobs. But on one hand the SGR has generated jobs, on another hand it leads to unemployment for the truck drivers and logistic companies due to absurd government policies. For instance, to make SGR profitable, government wants logistic companies to transport goods via SGR from the port of Mombasa. There are inland depots being formed for container handling in Nairobi and Navasha, to transport goods to the neighboring Uganda, South Sudan and the Democratic Republic of Congo. Resultantly, container handling at the port of Mombasa is reduced which has struck the port of Mombasa with reduction in revenue. Despite of the jobs creation by the SGR there is a counter effect. Nevertheless, the road and infrastructure construction generated secondary and services jobs to absorb youth bulge, but still that is not enough to alter the rate of unemployment.²³⁴

4.1.2 Strengthen Cooperation in Human Resources

Any country's progress requires a wide pool of talents with knowledge and abilities. Kenya is in a difficult situation since there are not enough competent young people and a high unemployment rate—almost 40 per cent on average over the previous few years. Chinese businesses operating in Kenya actively nurture local talent, which not only affects their management and cost-control strategies but also helps Kenya meet its talent

²³³ 2017 *Chinese Enterprises in Kenya Social Responsibility Report*, (Kenya China Economic and Trade Association, 2017), <https://www.tralac.org/images/News/Reports/2017%20Chinese%20Enterprises%20in%20Kenya%20Social%20Responsibility%20Report%20KCETA.pdf>.

²³⁴ Sylvanus Wekesa, Zoom Interview, London, UK August 8, 2022.

demands for future economic and social development.²³⁵ Exchange of administrative and governmental experience will result from participation in BRI. The Kenyan government is hoping that taking part in BRI will hasten the execution of its national development plans. Based on three pillars—economic, social, and political—the Kenyan "Vision 2030" initiative, which was introduced in 2008, promises to transform Kenya into a new industrialized nation by the year 2030.

A multinational company, Huawei. Kenya has expressed interest in adopting Huawei's smart city and intelligent traffic system technologies. They had already been useful in assisting with Nairobi's traffic-related issues. In Kenya, Huawei started "Seeds for the Future," its flagship worldwide ICT training programme, in 2014. Outstanding college students majoring in ICT are chosen by Huawei each year, and they are brought to its headquarters for a month of professional training. There, they receive cutting-edge technical instruction and firsthand awareness of the industry. In order to gain first-hand experience with international company operations and cross-cultural management, the programme also provided opportunities for students to meet with Huawei executives and industry experts.²³⁶

Kenya and other African countries, notably, are enticed to replicate China's history of swift and wealthy economic growth. In addition to initiatives for training, education, and healthcare, it has made significant investments in large-scale infrastructure, industrial, and connectivity projects that are critical for government across Africa and, more importantly, provide local populations with quick delivery, widespread visibility of progress, and active governance. The Kenyan community is changing as a result of similar human resource development measures implemented by China and Kenya.²³⁷

Leading railroad experts are now being trained in China. At the start of the Mombasa-Nairobi SGR project, China Communication Construction Company (CCCC) devised a

²³⁵ *2017 Chinese Enterprises in Kenya Social Responsibility Report*, (Kenya China Economic and Trade Association, 2017), <https://www.tralac.org/images/News/Reports/2017%20Chinese%20Enterprises%20in%20Kenya%20Social%20Responsibility%20Report%20KCETA.pdf>.

²³⁶ *2017 Chinese Enterprises in Kenya Social Responsibility Report*, (Kenya China Economic and Trade Association, 2017), <https://www.tralac.org/images/News/Reports/2017%20Chinese%20Enterprises%20in%20Kenya%20Social%20Responsibility%20Report%20KCETA.pdf>.

²³⁷ Institute of Development Studies, "China and Africa's Green Energy Transition: Potentials and Barriers," *YouTube*, June 28, 2021, https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=VwyfvgI0f1g&list=PLtFT2qhmGM2ZL__eC1U21_K2mWSffKaPd&index=10&t=3389s.

three-pronged training strategy to create railway professionals for Kenya. This strategy featured cooperative education programmes in linked key disciplines between Chinese and Kenyan universities, educating local workers on-the-job during the building stage, and training for railway engineering staff during the operating stage.²³⁸

4.1.3 Enhanced Security Cooperation

Kenya and China have long-standing security relations. China's contribution to the continent's security is practical and direct. China has always been eager to work on projects that promote security and peace in Africa. It has already taken part in five UN peacekeeping missions in Africa and is the second-largest financial supporter of UN peacekeeping operations, including contributions to the Intergovernmental Authority on Development (IGAD), South Sudan Mediation, and the African Union Mission in Somalia (AMISOM).²³⁹

In a question about the security cooperation between China and Kenya under BRI and China's role in peace and stability in Africa continent, Dr. Sylvanus Wekesa replied that China's relation with Africa dates back to 1970's. There had been security cooperation with Tanzania and Zambia long ago. Initiation of BRI coincided with Kenya's transition, when President Moi Kibaki came to the office in 2002. There comes radical shift in the foreign policy of Kenya during the tenure of President Moi Kibaki. He steered the country to look towards the Far East which means China. All of a sudden, Chinese manufactured military products were highly visible. China revamped Kenya's military arsenal and joint training began. China has supported CCTV surveillance system in the capital city of Nairobi and radios for communication facility in the security sector. China also has exchanged arms personnel career as well as anti-tank missiles. Kenya is involved in the peace-keeping mission around the region which further gives leverage to China. China's engagement with African Union on continental level cemented its position as a player in the security dynamics. But Kenya's military policy is multifaceted. It does not put all eggs in one basket. It has long standing security agreement with UK as well as with US regarding 'War on Terror'. But currently, for Africa continent United States and

²³⁸ 2017 Chinese Enterprises in Kenya Social Responsibility Report, (Kenya China Economic and Trade Association, 2017), <https://www.tralac.org/images/News/Reports/2017%20Chinese%20Enterprises%20in%20Kenya%20Social%20Responsibility%20Report%20KCETA.pdf>.

²³⁹ Venkateswaran Lokanathan, "China's belt and road initiative: Implications in Africa," ORF, last modified August 2020, <https://www.orfonline.org/research/chinas-belt-and-road-initiative-implications-in-africa/>.

UK both will not put their boots on ground in terms of security. Hence, if China can cover that security gap by deploying troops for peace keeping mission, it is a good omen. But China's efficacy in terms of security dynamics still needs to be seen.²⁴⁰

4.1.4 Advance Production Capacity Cooperation

The BRI economic zone entails the development of other economic zones, including the free port of Dongo Kundu, whose construction started in 2018. Such economic initiatives support cooperation and increasing production capacity in these areas. Since Kenya signed the Memorandum of Understanding with Beijing to execute BRI, Chinese construction companies have continued to proliferate in the nation, not harming Kenya's interests but assisting Kenya in building a strong foundation for its economic infrastructure. For Kenyan youth, all of these Chinese businesses are sources of employment.²⁴¹

China is assisting Kenya in constructing cutting-edge communication networks. JTL hired ZTE in 2012 to construct its fiber-optic broadband network in order to provide high-end corporate clients with broadband access of the highest quality. ZTE and JTL began working together to build LTE networks in 2016. The Kenyan telecommunications sector was able to offer local customers a better user experience at lower prices thanks to these ongoing upgrades to its telecommunications infrastructure, giving Kenyans access to convenient and comprehensive telecommunication services for costs that are above average for Africa. Kenya now has the highest mobile phone ownership and internet penetration rates in Africa at 86 per cent and 60 per cent, respectively. In the past, the Yocean Group operated in the engineering and trading of power equipment in East Africa. Yocean began fixing broken transformers in Kenya. Yocean began manufacturing transformers in Kenya after being encouraged by the country's policy to support the domestic manufacturing sector and industrialization. A contract for transformers for 30

²⁴⁰ Sylvanus Wekesa, Zoom Interview, London, UK August 8, 2022.

²⁴¹ Sebastian Moss, "Huawei to build Konza data center and smart city in Kenya with Chinese concessional loans," last modified April 30, 2019, <https://www.datacenterdynamics.com/en/news/huawei-build-konza-data-center-and-smart-city-kenya-chinese-concessional-loan/#:~:text=Chinese%20telecoms%20giant%20Huawei%20will,better%20rates%20than%20market%20loans>.

million USD was awarded to Yocean in September 2016. All of these measures aid in transforming Kenya's economic environment.²⁴²

4.1.5 Strengthen Cooperation in Emerging Fields

According to the African Development Bank (ADB), Africa will have a 93 billion USD annual infrastructure deficit until 2021. Despite the fact that the majority of BRI projects in Africa and Kenya are in the infrastructure sector, Kenya will have the opportunity to improve its infrastructure.

The "Big Four Agenda," a strategic plan unveiled by President Uhuru Kenyatta in 2017, intends to improve collaboration in frontier industries. The plan's first objective is to expand Kenya's industrial sector, with a focus on the blue economy, textiles, and agribusiness. Secondly, provide 500,000 housing units at an affordable price by 2023 to address urbanization-related problems. Provide healthcare to all Kenyans, followed by developing agriculture to fight malnutrition, as the next two priorities. The BRI is one potential method for Kenya to accomplish these targets, which all call for significant expenditures and infrastructure modernization.²⁴³

Chinese companies support the industrial sector's modernization and reorganization. In response to BRI, China developed new business models, looked into manufacturing possibilities, supported the development of regional industrial parks and research facilities, imported cutting-edge technology, equipment, and services, and encouraged the development of a full industrial chain, thereby fostering Sino-African capacity cooperation and fostering the industrialization of Africa. In contrast to conventional infrastructure building, Chinese companies have contributed to the growth of the construction sector, which will be helpful in achieving Vision 2030's second goal of developing affordable homes. China Wu Yi Group invested 94 million USD in 2015 to create the Kenya Building Industrialization Research, Development and Production Base and a warehouse market for industrialized building materials in Nairobi. When the project is completed, it will be able to provide the local market with enough affordable, high-

²⁴² *2017 Chinese Enterprises in Kenya Social Responsibility Report*, (Kenya China Economic and Trade Association, 2017), <https://www.tralac.org/images/News/Reports/2017%20Chinese%20Enterprises%20in%20Kenya%20Social%20Responsibility%20Report%20KCETA.pdf>.

²⁴³ Eng. P. Mutinda, "Role of Big Four Agenda and Vision 2030 for Kenya's Sustainable Development" (Paper presented at 27th IEK International Conference, Mombasa, Kenya, November 24, 2020).

quality, and eco-friendly building materials to build about 1,500 homes. In order to create digital and mobile health solutions that address the lack of medical resources by improving the efficacy of diagnosis and treatment, Huawei worked with Micro Clinic and other companies in the health sector. 42 clinics and two hospitals have already started using the digital mobile health system in the Lamu and Nairobi regions.²⁴⁴

China has also been helpful in the agricultural sector, which will assist Kenya achieve its fourth Vision 2030 aim. In Naivasha and Machakos, two Chinese enterprises, Yishan Agriculture and Senju International, were discovered planting pyrethrum, and both of them are using local farmers as subcontractors. In 2016, Fujian Province investors made investments in Kenya's horticultural sector, and China also shipped donkey meat and hides. These incentives are intended to address Kenya's food insecurity.²⁴⁵

4.1.6 Coordination on International and Regional Issues

A Memorandum of Understanding (MoU) on BRI cooperation with China has been signed by the African Union. Kenya may use both the AU and BRI, where it is a member, as diplomatic platforms and as symbols of goodwill. Kenya and China help one another on global and local issues. Kenya and China both favour a peaceful resolution to China's maritime claims in the South China Sea, as well as Kenya's other international and regional concerns.²⁴⁶

In a question regarding coordination between China and Kenya on international and regional issues, Dr. Sylvanus Wekesa replied that Kenya supports China's maritime claims in South-China Sea. When Kenya has permanent seat in UN Security Council, its voting pattern has been very consistent in supporting China. Similarly, when International Court of Justice gave ruling in favor of Somalia in its maritime dispute with Kenya, Kenya blatantly refused to recognize the ruling with the backing of China. So it's a classic example of "You scratch my back, I will scratch your back". In the post-BRI world, China adopts the 'Carrot and Stick' policy. China lends money for infrastructure

²⁴⁴ 2017 *Chinese Enterprises in Kenya Social Responsibility Report*, (Kenya China Economic and Trade Association, 2017), <https://www.tralac.org/images/News/Reports/2017%20Chinese%20Enterprises%20in%20Kenya%20Social%20Responsibility%20Report%20KCETA.pdf>.

²⁴⁵ Ying Xia, "Chinese Agriculture and Manufacturing Investment in Kenya: a Scoping Study," *China Africa Research Initiative*, no. 30 (August 2019): xx, https://africa.isp.msu.edu/files/8416/3625/3755/WP_30_Xia_Chinese_Investment_Kenya.pdf.

²⁴⁶ Candice S. Newcomb, "The Impact of Chinese Investments on the Kenyan Economy," (master's thesis, Chapman University, Orange CA, 2020).

for its support on multilateral forum. Kenya supports China on the issue of Taiwan and Uighur Muslims, but it sometimes put Kenya in an awkward position as you need to be cautious while talking on controversial issues. Nevertheless, Kenya needs China's support for its maritime claims with Somalia, similarly, Kenya has to support China on international forums.²⁴⁷

When similar question asked from Dr. Cliff Mboya, he was of the view that most of the African countries including Kenya remain neutral on controversial issues. Neutrality is the key policy position of African countries and AU when it comes to big power competition. As China adopts the stance that west should not interfere and adopt aggressive stance on the issue of South-China Sea, Kenya supports this stance, but that does not mean it supports China's maritime claims in South-China Sea. Kenya calls for the peaceful resolution of China's maritime claims through dialogue and consultation.²⁴⁸

4.1.7 Tremendous Size and Scope

In order to assess the scale and breadth of BRI in Kenya, it is critical to look at the continent's broader trade and commercial environment. The trade relationship between China and African countries is unbalanced. According to the China-Africa Research Initiative (CARI), Africa recorded a 34 billion USD deficit with China in 2015 on 172 billion USD in total trade. Furthermore, according to Xinhua News, the same year saw a 40 per cent decrease in African imports, which is attributed to the Chinese economy's general slowdown. This pattern has continued, and in August 2018, China had a 27.91 billion USD trade surplus with Africa. Evidently, for Africa to truly gain from trade with China, the nature of the two nations' current relationship must be modified. The BRI appears to be a fantastic opportunity to reduce these trade deficits with Kenya in addition to Africa.²⁴⁹

China has grown from a minor investor to Africa's most important economic partner in the last two decades. Since 2000, Chinese direct investment has increased by 40 per cent per year, while trade with China has increased by 20 percent per year. After 2000, China's growth shifted to a resource-intensive model, and its entry into the World Trade

²⁴⁷ Sylvanus Wekesa, Zoom Interview, London, UK August 8, 2022.

²⁴⁸ Cliff Mboya, Zoom Interview, Kenya August 11, 2022.

²⁴⁹ Nancy M. Githaiga, Alfred Burimaso, and Salum M. Ahmed, "The Belt and Road Initiative: Opportunities and Risks for Africa's Connectivity | China Quarterly of International Strategic Studies," World Scientific Publishing Co Pte Ltd, last modified August 19, 2019, <https://www.worldscientific.com/doi/10.1142/S237740019500064>.

Organization (WTO) in 2001 facilitated this economic interdependence. Since then, both China's imports of raw materials from Africa and Africa's imports of Chinese manufactured goods have increased. In 2013, China overtook Europe as the continent's top commercial partner, and it has since become a significant exporter and development partner.²⁵⁰

If effectively implemented, BRI projects are said to have the potential to improve global welfare. Nearly two-thirds of the world's populations live in BRI economies, which account for one-third of global commerce and GDP. The programme is thought to be useful in helping the member countries' impoverished populations.²⁵¹ The poverty line that is people earning 1.90 USD a day, 25 per cent people are believed to be under poverty line in Kenya. ²⁵²Hence, BRI offers opportunity for the member states to make their lives good.

The BRI economies are increasingly interconnected with those of the rest of the world. Over the previous two decades, the proportion of BRI countries' exports nearly doubled. If BRI projects are successfully implemented, they may help to expand commerce in countries that have not been able to fully integrate into the global economy. Kenya and China have signed a number of memoranda of understanding and agreements in recent years to capitalize on significant untapped potential. Kenya and China reached an agreement in 2014 to increase Chinese tourism to Kenya and increase Kenyan agricultural exports to the Chinese market.²⁵³

Kenya is seeing success as a result of joining BRI. Kenya's manufacturing production has increased and become more diverse while imports from China have been rising to record high levels. Therefore, it is unwise to take seriously the Western claim that China's imports to Kenya have hurt its economy.

²⁵⁰ Nancy M. Githaiga, Alfred Burimaso, and Salum M. Ahmed, "The Belt and Road Initiative: Opportunities and Risks for Africa's Connectivity | China Quarterly of International Strategic Studies," World Scientific Publishing Co Pte Ltd, last modified August 19, 2019, <https://www.worldscientific.com/doi/10.1142/S2377740019500064>.

²⁵¹ "The Belt and Road Initiative 2020 Survey – A More Sustainable Road To growth?," Central Banking, last modified November 23, 2022, <https://www.centralbanking.com/central-banks/economics/4737966/the-belt-and-road-initiative-2020-survey-a-more-sustainable-road-to-growth>.

²⁵² "Extreme poverty rate in Kenya from 2016 to 2025," Statista, n.d.<https://www.statista.com/statistics/1227076/extreme-poverty-rate-in-kenya/#:~:text=In%202022%2C%2017%20percent%20of,whom%20were%20in%20rural%20areas>.

²⁵³ "Obstacles to the BRI in Kenya," OBOReuropa, last modified July 11, 2020, <https://www.oboreuropa.com/en/obstacles-bri-kenya/>.

China extended a 60 billion USD development financing offer to Africa at the Forum for China-Africa Cooperation in 2018. Such contributions can assist Kenya in improving its infrastructure and economic prospects. Unlike the Western counterpart, who imposes stringent conditions, China's funding strategy is cooperative, combining grants, aid, and loans (free or at low interest rates).²⁵⁴

4.1.8 Improving Connectivity

BRI intends to increase cross-border trade, investment, and economic growth in BRI economies by increasing the capacity and network of railways and other transportation infrastructure. Every day that a product is delayed in reaching the consumer from the manufacturing gate is thought to reduce trade by 1 per cent. To address this challenge, regional cooperation on infrastructure upgrades is required. The Mombasa Port and the Mombasa-Nairobi Standard Gauge Railway are two examples of the initiatives that will improve connectivity and transportation infrastructure.²⁵⁵

China Road and Bridge constructed the Nairobi Outer Ring Road, greatly alleviating Nairobi's traffic congestion. Sino Hydro hired a contractor to restore the Kisumu highway. Berth No. 19 at Mombasa port was the first port project in Kenya that Chinese companies were contracted to finish. After being completed on August 28, 2013, the largest port in East Africa now has a substantially better capability for handling cargo. Kenya's first motorway, the Nairobi-Thika Freeway, was constructed by China Wu Yi, Petrol China Shengjian, and Sino Hydro and completed in November 2012. Both the local economy and traffic congestion are reduced.²⁵⁶

4.2 Challenges for Kenya under Belt and Road Initiative

There are a variety of operational and tactical issues with the Belt and Road Initiative. According to Chinese sources, Beijing is allegedly utilizing BRI investments as a plan to secure energy supplies, stabilize border regions, and develop diplomatic and commercial

²⁵⁴ Mister A. Toumert, "The Impact of the Belt and Road Initiative in Boosting Local Business through Asia and Africa Satisfaction: A Study of Kenya-China Business Projects," *Open Journal of Business and Management* 09, no. 04 (2021): xx, doi:10.4236/ojbm.2021.94094.

²⁵⁵ "The Belt and Road Initiative 2020 Survey – A More Sustainable Road To growth?," Central Banking, last modified November 23, 2022, <https://www.centralbanking.com/central-banks/economics/4737966/the-belt-and-road-initiative-2020-survey-a-more-sustainable-road-to-growth>.

²⁵⁶ *2017 Chinese Enterprises in Kenya Social Responsibility Report*, (Kenya China Economic and Trade Association, 2017), <https://www.tralac.org/images/News/Reports/2017%20Chinese%20Enterprises%20in%20Kenya%20Social%20Responsibility%20Report%20KCETA.pdf>.

ties with BRI partners. However, a number of factors, including the potential for coordinated and unidirectional pushback from other major economic rivals to China as well as the physical risks of working in far-off and unstable regions, may limit these aims. Kenya is also facing difficulties connected to the BRI.

4.2.1 Growing Criticism from West

As the MSR develops, there are more potential for the relationship between China and Africa to grow, but there are also more obstacles that both sides must overcome in order to increase communication and cooperation. A significant obstacle is the growing accusations of China's "neo-colonialism" in Africa, particularly from Western nations like the United States, which China has consistently denied. Consider how Chinese businesses have performed there. Chinese businesses are without a doubt Africa's top choice for infrastructure development since jobs can be finished quickly and affordably with little bureaucratic dithering. However, there is concern that the short-term low-cost solution may prove to be costly in the long run, as large-scale Chinese infrastructure, mining, and agricultural initiatives in Africa may result in evictions and environmental harm to host people's lives. Furthermore, many Chinese businesses prefer to hire their own employees for construction jobs rather than local labor, which is harmful to the growth of regional labor markets.²⁵⁷

4.2.2 Debt Trap Diplomacy

China is being criticized for its debt trap diplomacy which doubts that China is excessively lending money to low-income states at the backdrop of BRI which later cannot repay these debts to China. Resultantly, these poor states surrender some national assets to China, which then might use for achieving strategic and military objectives. Debt trap diplomacy is among the pressing challenges faced by the BRI members in general and Kenya in particular. According to some analysts BRI is a bilateral venture, simultaneously, political and economic adventurism along with ill-conceived and mismanagement has led to the negative impacts. Financial sustainability, viability and risk assessment is the need of an hour. Instead of resistance and oppositions by the civil societies and political groups, they should seek for transparency and feasibility of BRI

²⁵⁷ Muhammad S. Farooq et al., "Kenya and the 21st Century Maritime Silk Road: Implications for China-Africa Relations," World Scientific Publishing Co Pte Ltd, last modified February 11, 2019, <https://www.worldscientific.com/doi/10.1142/S2377740018500136>.

projects. Sri Lanka and Malaysia, which are presented as victim of dept trap diplomacy, are believed to be victims of their own follies and domestic agendas which is further deteriorated by the Western-dominated financial market.²⁵⁸

Table No.4 Detected Chinese Dept Trap Diplomacy

States	Yes	Partial	No
Kenya			X
Djibouti			X
Sri Lanka			X
Maldives			X
Laos		X	
Malaysia			X

Source: Journal of the Indian Ocean Region

The above data give partial indication of dept trap in Laos, while, there is no indication of dept trap in rest of the states including Kenya. Kenya has borrowed 6.3 billion USD between 2010 and 2015 from China for funding various projects. Among alone 3.6 billion USD was supposed to be used on Mombasa-Nairobi Standard Gauge Railway. Due to which some experts believe indication of dept trap in Kenya. Because, the World Bank believed that for the first five years the project would not be able to bear its expenditure costs. But on another hand, the dilemma of debt-for-equity swap is also not true as Kenyan National Treasury is the borrower rather than Kenya Railway Corporation. Resultantly, the national treasury is responsible for repayments. Though China has postponed the payments of Kenyan dues during COVID-19, additionally, Chinese loans are friendly; still, it can be a bottle neck at times.²⁵⁹

4.2.3 Policy Barriers Create Thick Borders

Because economic and governmental constraints have frequently been identified as a problem in Africa and other developing countries, the BRI's potential benefits are not guaranteed. BRI nations frequently encounter lengthy border lines, difficult customs procedures, and restrictions on foreign direct investment (FDI). Because BRI countries

²⁵⁸ "Debunking the Myth of 'Debt-trap Diplomacy'," Chatham House – International Affairs Think Tank, last modified December 14, 2020, <https://www.chathamhouse.org/2020/08/debunking-myth-debt-trap-diplomacy>.

²⁵⁹ Michal Himmer and Zdeněk Rod, "Chinese debt trap diplomacy: reality or myth?," *Journal of the Indian Ocean Region* 18, no. 3 (2022): xx, doi:10.1080/19480881.2023.2195280.

have more burdensome and restrictive FDI policies than high income Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development (OECD) countries in terms of starting a foreign business, gaining access to industrial land, and arbitrating commercial disputes, collaboration and policy changes are required to support infrastructure initiatives that will improve connectivity.²⁶⁰

For instance, opening a business in Kenya requires a lot of paperwork and formalities (including paying taxes and fees for licenses), takes a long time, and may result in conflicting title deeds. Without accompanying policy changes, the returns on infrastructure investments are likely to be modest, if not negative. According to a World Bank analysis, the BRI could increase trade between participating countries by up to 4.1 per cent; these effects would be doubled if trade reforms kept pace with advancements in transportation infrastructure.²⁶¹

4.2.4 Macro-economic Risks Involved with Major Infrastructural Projects

The completion of the Belt and Road Initiative is thought to be in doubt, as the world has recently emerged from a global recession. There is also economic skepticism because the Chinese-led economic model and China's current political system are incompatible with Western liberal democratic principles when compared to the Anglo-Saxon-EU strategy, which has yielded positive results, according to many analysts. They believe that Chinese-led strategies are unsustainable.²⁶²

The positive and negative effects of a downturn in the economy must be borne by China's Belt and Road partners. Once the BRI initiative is complete, the BRI partners will be inexorably linked to China, and any changes to the Chinese economy will almost surely have an impact on the other nations in the network, both positively and badly. Last but not least, these problems don't just concern China; they also have an impact on many other nations. Therefore, China must successfully manage domestic issues and aid emerging nations in their transition to the fourth industrial revolution if it wants the rest

²⁶⁰ "Three Opportunities and Three Risks of the Belt and Road Initiative," World Bank Blogs, accessed December 4, 2022, <https://blogs.worldbank.org/trade/three-opportunities-and-three-risks-belt-and-road-initiative>.

²⁶¹ Candice S. Newcomb, "The Impact of Chinese Investments on the Kenyan Economy," (master's thesis, Chapman University, Orange CA, 2020).

²⁶² Mister A. Toumert, "The Impact of the Belt and Road Initiative in Boosting Local Business through Asia and Africa Satisfaction: A Study of Kenya-China Business Projects," *Open Journal of Business and Management* 09, no. 04 (2021): xx, doi:10.4236/ojbm.2021.94094.

of the world to embrace its economic leadership and support the Belt and Road plan. With the support of BRI projects, debt levels could rise to reasonable levels. According to the Center for Global Development, several BRI countries' debt-to-GDP ratios would rise as a result of BRI initiatives. The importance of these development endeavors and the risks brought on by rising debt levels must be balanced in countries participating in BRI initiatives.²⁶³

According to the Kenyan fishing community, cheap Chinese fish imports are undercutting and marginalizing local fishermen and their markets. Complaints from Kenya's small traders and importers add to their concerns about what they perceive to be an influx of Chinese formal and informal traders into Nairobi's retail market. They argue that Chinese investment will harm local businesses and result in thousands of jobless Kenyans.²⁶⁴

Africa continues to have a structural 20 billion USD yearly trade deficit with China. Africa continues to buy expensive finished items from China since there is little large-scale manufacturing there, while exporting inexpensive raw materials. African nations rely on Chinese companies and lenders to provide financing for and to construct essential export infrastructure. However, compared to commodities exports, African businesses face enormous entrance obstacles to China's value-added product markets.

The likelihood of exaggerating the benefits of BRI initiatives affects how successfully the project is carried out. The overuse or underuse of infrastructure can result from overestimating the advantages or beneficial consequences of infrastructure expenditures. For example, despite not being in Africa, the Chinese-funded Hambantota Port in Sri Lanka is said to be mostly underutilized and has no container traffic. Because it was unable to repay the loans, Sri Lanka was forced to give China a 99-year lease in exchange for debt relief. Mattala Rajapaksa International Airport in Sri Lanka has been named the "World's Emptiest International Airport." In contrast to the original plan of a million visitors per year, it now only accommodates 10 to 20 visitors per day.²⁶⁵

²⁶³ "Three Opportunities and Three Risks of the Belt and Road Initiative," World Bank Blogs, accessed December 4, 2022, <https://blogs.worldbank.org/trade/three-opportunities-and-three-risks-belt-and-road-initiative>.

²⁶⁴ Candice S. Newcomb, "The Impact of Chinese Investments on the Kenyan Economy," (master's thesis, Chapman University, Orange CA, 2020).

²⁶⁵ Nancy M. Githaiga, Alfred Burimaso, and Salum M. Ahmed, "The Belt and Road Initiative: Opportunities and Risks for Africa's Connectivity | China Quarterly of International Strategic Studies," World Scientific Publishing Co Pte Ltd, last modified August 19, 2019, <https://www.worldscientific.com/doi/10.1142/S237740019500064>.

The discovery on June 25, 2020 that the agreement between the "Kenya Railways Corporation" and the "China Bridges and Railway Corporation" (CBRC) on the construction of the railroad line connecting Mombasa to Nairobi was invalid was a recent setback. Furthermore, because there hasn't been a tendering procedure since 2014, the Law Society of Kenya and other complainants have called the Kenyan government's and CRBC's agreement into question. Other contracts besides the BRI agreement are also uncertain due to a lack of active requests for proposals, such as one in Hungary. Because of major environmental concerns, Kenya's National Environmental Tribunal court revoked the "Amu Power Company" consortium's permit to build a coal-fired power station near Lamu in June 2019.²⁶⁶

The Standard Gauge Railway (SGR), which was inaugurated in 2017, has been dogged by debates regarding price, labor practices, procurement, and corruption. With operating losses of approximately 200 million USD over three years, the 4.7 billion USD project was unable to pay for itself. Although this objective appears far off, SGR freight offers some hope that the SGR can make the transition to economic sustainability.²⁶⁷

4.2.5 Corruption

There are also claims of corruption connected to the BRI. Many Kenyans have begun to doubt the merits of BRI due to opaque contract terms and procedures, unsustainable projects, and insensitivity to local concerns. Due to the majority of BRI-related projects being in the infrastructural and industrial sectors and their restricted access to connectivity initiatives, the local populace only receives a small portion of the advantages. For instance, it's estimated that only 3 per cent of Chinese initiatives in healthcare and education directly help the local populace. Because of this, BRI projects are heavily criticized for having little to no benefit for the local populace.²⁶⁸

Additionally, there were regional demonstrations pertaining to BRI projects. Local protests over a 6-km elevated section of the projected Mombasa-Nairobi Standard Gauge Railway Line that was supposed to run through Nairobi National Park erupted in Kenya's

²⁶⁶ "Obstacles to the BRI in Kenya," OBOReuropa, last modified July 11, 2020, <https://www.oboreuropa.com/en/obstacles-bri-kenya/>.

²⁶⁷ "Shadow of Debt over Mombasa Port," Gateway House, last modified July 1, 2021, <https://www.gatewayhouse.in/mombasa-port/>.

²⁶⁸ "Belt and Road in Kenya: COVID-19 Sparks a Reckoning with Debt and Dissatisfaction," Council on Foreign Relations, last modified March 24, 2021, <https://www.cfr.org/blog/belt-and-road-kenya-covid-19-sparks-reckoning-debt-and-dissatisfaction>.

Voi district in the fall of 2016, and as a result, the Kenyan government halted its development. There were protests against a coal power project in Lamu Island that was planned in 2015 on the basis of economic viability and environmental sustainability, despite the Kenyan government's vocal support. There have also been allegations of Chinese nationals victimizing locals because of their ethnicity. The Standard, one of Kenya's top news sources, claims that Chinese nationals have built a little kingdom where Kenyan workers are subjected to harsh treatment.²⁶⁹

4.2.6 Security Risks

Since its inception, several wars and conflicts—including those that were anti-colonial, international, anti-terrorist, inter-state, and intrastate—have placed a significant strain on Africa's growth. Currently, the security and stability of nations along the MSR are seriously threatened by terrorism, and several African nations—the Democratic Republic of the Congo being a clear example—are suffering unrest as a result of regime changes. Such dispute not only damages the local investment climate, but it also jeopardizes the effectiveness and safety of ongoing projects, diminishing the trust of all stake holders.

Additionally, a U.S. Defence Department think tank asserted in March 2019 that the BRI lacks transparency, allowing China to control Kenya's assets in the event of a default because there is no public monitoring. Concerns about intelligence gathering from commercial operations, undersea cables, and neighboring military facilities, notably a base for AFRICOM aviation operations, are raised by Chinese port expansions in Lamu and Mombasa. The United States would be compelled by China's expanding presence near key data channels and installations to identify vulnerabilities and protect its assets and intelligence.²⁷⁰

In a question about the security challenges for Kenya regarding BRI projects, Dr. Muhammad Tayyab Safdar replied that security is very complex kind of thing. Despite of the security challenges there are opportunities for Kenya. Large infrastructural projects in the developing countries usually are problematic; we have seen it with colonial power as well. When Mombasa railway line was inaugurated amid COVID-19, it created

²⁶⁹ Candice S. Newcomb, "The Impact of Chinese Investments on the Kenyan Economy," (master's thesis, Chapman University, Orange CA, 2020).

²⁷⁰ "Shadow of Debt over Mombasa Port," Gateway House, last modified July 1, 2021, <https://www.gatewayhouse.in/mombasa-port/>.

uncertainties. But as far security dimensions are concern, these governments can do little, as they have their own problems in terms of security policies and police system. So it's up to the Kenya government to decide, what they want from their relationship with China. For smooth inflows of the Chinese capitals, Kenyan government needs to deal intelligently with issues like corruption, poverty and violence.²⁷¹

4.2.7 COVID-19 Sparks Debt and Dissatisfaction

Kenya's participation in China's Belt and Road Initiative has come under increased criticism as a result of the country's worsening economic prospects during COVID-19 (BRI). The COVID-19 caused an economic downturn and has quickened Kenya's encounter with the BRI's inherent instability. Kenya's economy grew slowly during the third COVID-19 wave, and the government had to deal with a growing fiscal imbalance. Additionally, the combination of BRI loans and the global economic slump increased Kenya's danger of debt hardship. China has received BRI loans totaling \$9 billion USD.²⁷²

More than 50% of people in the world have demanded an investigation into the virus's development and spread, sharply focusing attention on China. The Belt and Road Initiative is seen as embodying China's desire for a peaceful global expansion (BRI).

Sub-Saharan Africa's government debt increased from 34% in 2013 to 53% in 2017. China is the owner of 72% of Kenya's 50 billion USD in foreign debt. Kenya was anticipated to pay the China Exim Bank alone 60 billion USD over the following three years. Kenya's auditor general conducted research that indicated Mombasa port would be lost if the nation failed to repay loans from the China Exim Bank.

4.2.8 Environmental Degradation

Political risk analysis capabilities may result in a significant increase in the hazards of natural disasters like earthquakes and mudslides. Additionally, BRI projects are highly susceptible to contamination. Backlash about potential environmental harm was brought on by the development of a new deep-water port and a coal-fired power plant that has been put on hold. There is concern over population displacement as well as the projects'

²⁷¹ Muhammad T. Safdar, Zoom Interview, USA August 18, 2022.

²⁷² "Belt and Road in Kenya: COVID-19 Sparks a Reckoning with Debt and Dissatisfaction," Council on Foreign Relations, last modified March 24, 2021, <https://www.cfr.org/blog/belt-and-road-kenya-covid-19-sparks-reckoning-debt-and-dissatisfaction>.

impact on the local fishing grounds. The connection initiatives always change the environment or infringe on preexisting human settlement, partly because they are designed to bridge geographic distances.

In a question about the environmental degradation and challenge of pollution posed by BRI projects in Kenya, Dr. Sylvanus Wekesa replied that the President of Kenya is on fore-front in terms of speaking on climate change. Kenya participated in COP26 and Paris Climate Agreement 2015. Kenya also hosts UN Environmental Program Office. Firstly, there are significant activists criticizing China's BRI projects in Kenya for environmental degradation and pollution. For instance, there had been protests and multiple litigation cases against Lamu coal project for causing environmental hazards. Asian Development Bank pull out of its funding due to international pressure on the use of coal, but China still funded it. In such scenario, Kenya feels at cross-road. Do you take Chinese money and operate such projects or stand on your position of environmental hazards. Secondly, Kenya has been trolled by China in terms of over-fishing and using Kenya as a dumping ground for its low-cost ICT materials. Thirdly, there had been litigation cases against SGR project and public pressure not to pass the railway line in the national resort as it will impact the natural habitat for wild life animals, but it went through. Though Kenya banned the use of single used plastic, which obstructed the prospects of Chinese companies, still, it is believed that issue of environmental degradation and pollution has never been on the table while discussing projects.²⁷³

4.2.9 Unilateral Nature of the Initiative

Although the BRI is a unilateral effort, it appears that China is reaping greater rewards from its investments than the host nations. The BRI projects greatly benefit Chinese businesses by using their excess capacity and by bringing workers and supplies into African nations. Most of the skilled labor used in industrial projects comes from China, with some locals filling low-level positions. There aren't many initiatives assisting locals in expanding their capabilities in healthcare, skill development, or education.

²⁷³ Sylvanus Wekesa, Zoom Interview, London, UK August 8, 2022.

Additionally, it is clear that the BRI is essentially a Chinese initiative that is conducted unilaterally, with very few instances of cooperation with other African nations.²⁷⁴

More stakeholder involvement is required in these initiatives, and it is advised that the funding system be revised to lower borrowing costs. Due to China's increasing need for raw materials, demand for manufactured goods from Africa's destination countries has decreased. Due of the high need for energy and raw materials, the host nation suffers from deindustrialization and competition from China's low-cost manufactured goods.

Conclusion

In wake of establishing of BRI by China, Kenya has offered best of possibilities for economic activities and trade opportunities. Developing country like Kenya is calling on sincere trade partners like China to invest in areas to a more advance stage. Export sector in Kenya is booming rapidly, and BRI offers an opportunity for further expansion of trade. Kenya's membership of BRI also offers China to materialize its dream of BRI in Africa. By overcoming challenges both China and Kenya could be able to utilize the opportunities offer by BRI and there could be win-win situation for both stake holders.

²⁷⁴ Venkateswaran Lokanathan, "China's belt and road initiative: Implications in Africa," ORF, last modified August 2020, <https://www.orfonline.org/research/chinas-belt-and-road-initiative-implications-in-africa/>.

Chapter Five

Implications for China in Kenya under Belt and Road Initiative

The opportunity China has under BRI is discussed in Chapter Two. In this chapter, the only focus would be on implications under Belt and Road Initiative for China in reference to Kenya.

5.1 Implications for China under BRI

Where ever there are opportunities, there lie implications. BRI offers remarkable opportunities to China, but, along with that it is log-jammed with challenges. Following are noted implications that China is confronted with:

5.1.1 Resistance against China's BRI

China's success in terms of BRI is subject to the reactions of other countries. US factor is also important. The US administration has to forecast prudently the policy designs to counter BRI, as US confrontation will harm the interests of US firms in reference to BRI of the opportunities offered. It will also have an impact of US-China relations leading to trade war, having severe repercussions globally. In addition, China's accommodation could further entrench its geo-strategic dominance and jeopardize US interests, as well as, alienate US partners such as Japan and India, as they have already shown concerns to the initiative.²⁷⁵

The absence of projects that directly benefit locals have raised suspicion and fuelled local resentment. In a question about social resistance in Kenya, Ms. Yike Fu replied that international community and some western social media is alleging China using debt diplomacy or debt trap to provide heavy loans to African countries. In return Chinese companies and government might be seeking some preferential policies. Yike Fu along with her fellow Hannah Ryder emphasized in their article, "Africa's too little debt crisis" that China lends differently. China spends and finance institutions tend to employ

²⁷⁵ Mister A. Toumert, "The Impact of the Belt and Road Initiative in Boosting Local Business through Asia and Africa Satisfaction: A Study of Kenya-China Business Projects," *Open Journal of Business and Management* 09, no. 04 (2021): xx, doi:10.4236/ojbm.2021.94094.

different methodology to access loans compare to other multi-lateral banks. So debt diplomacy seems more western back social media propaganda.²⁷⁶

According to a Thai perspective on the BRI, which the US originally viewed as its divine right, "The BRI is China's manifest destiny." The idea of manifest destiny emphasizes expansionist characteristics. Government officials and economic policy makers in Thailand are not very excited about BRI. There are worries about a potential debt trap, and some people claim that they got a bad deal with unfavorable terms. BRI would increase China's footprints over the Eurasian landmass and through the high seas from China to eastern Africa if it were to be implemented as planned. But the grand project is believed to be China's quest for a return to the imperial glory it lost over the past couple of centuries. Consequently, there is a class of think tank who considers BRI as revival of manifest destiny and showing resistance against it.²⁷⁷

5.1.2 Political Risks

Possibly the largest obstacle to the BRI in Africa is political risk. A nation's favorable perception of BRI projects in particular and Chinese investments in general may change fundamentally as a result of social and political turmoil in Africa. For instance, all of East Africa's nations—aside from Tanzania—experience political unrest during election years. Violence before and after elections causes fatalities and serious socioeconomic harm. Many nations in the East African Community (EAC) and the Horn of Africa, including Rwanda, Burundi, Kenya, Eritrea, and Somalia, experience security-related issues and cyclical political instability during election seasons. Once political risks are eliminated, the BRI projects should be protected from any excessive expenditure that would make the projects prohibitively expensive for the recipient countries.²⁷⁸

In a question about the political risk for China in Kenya, Ms. Yike Fu replied that China typically determine loans based on the returns from specific project which is more trans-commercially driven. According to Yike Fu, political risk will be not so important but it definitely is one of the factors that will be considered. China's BRI is more bilaterally

²⁷⁶ Miss Y. Fu, Zoom Interview, China July 22, 2022.

²⁷⁷ "China's Belt and Road Initiative (BRI) And Southeast Asia," LSE Home, last modified October 2018, <https://www.lse.ac.uk/ideas/Assets/Documents/reports/LSE-IDEAS-China-SEA-BRI.pdf>.

²⁷⁸ Nancy M. Githaiga, Alfred Burimaso, and Salum M. Ahmed, "The Belt and Road Initiative: Opportunities and Risks for Africa's Connectivity | China Quarterly of International Strategic Studies," World Scientific Publishing Co Pte Ltd, last modified August 19, 2019, <https://www.worldscientific.com/doi/10.1142/S237740019500064>.

based; usually some of the key opaque infrastructural projects are agreed between the governments. If the Kenya has another election, and when the new president comes up, it depends if the president wants to sign the infrastructure plan and it only risk China's new projects. So political risk is a matter based, and it is not a key determiner for Chinese companies or Chinese financial institution to lend Kenya.²⁷⁹

5.1.3 Security Risks for China

According to President Xi Jinping, the BRI travels through areas that are characterized by conflict, instability, crisis, and struggle, which helps to keep public expectations in check. Even though China has so far avoided significant security problems along the route, a number of recent incidents have brought to light the potential hazards to Belt and Road employees and projects. Chinese analysts believe that these problems will continue when BRI projects enter their development and operation phases. A December 2017 warning from the Chinese embassy that potential upcoming terrorist attacks in Pakistan represent a threat to BRI-related activity.²⁸⁰

In a question regarding security challenges for China in Kenya and Africa, Dr. Muhammad Tayyab Safdar replied that these are ongoing challenges Chinese are facing across many developing countries, again in Pakistan we can see them happening as well. The point is as Chinese are expanding internationally; they are prone to attacks as we have seen it in case with West as well. But Chinese are more open and they do not hide behind the walls. They are more open in mixing with locals and more open to have small or medium size businesses in the developing countries. But as Chinese companies and Chinese nationals are expanding, they are prone to security risks. Chinese soft-targets are attached in Pakistan as well as it might be happening in other parts of the world as well. At the end of the day, Chinese companies want to earn money and accumulate capital. So they are not going to pull back entirely, the reason is Chinese growth-model. Kenya and Africa holds uncharted and untapped market, and Chinese see them as an opportunity. Resultantly, there is no weariness in terms of security in Chinese security establishment

²⁷⁹ Miss Y. Fu, Zoom Interview, China July 22, 2022.

²⁸⁰ Mister A. Toumert, "The Impact of the Belt and Road Initiative in Boosting Local Business through Asia and Africa Satisfaction: A Study of Kenya-China Business Projects," *Open Journal of Business and Management* 09, no. 04 (2021): xx, doi:10.4236/ojbm.2021.94094.

as compare to their Western counterpart, who developed their own security agencies and provided them with architecture.²⁸¹

When similar question asked from Ms. Yike Fu, she was of the view that security is one of the important areas for China-Africa cooperation. We can see it from FOCAC document, which indicates security parameters. Similarly, we have seen China has appointed new envoy for the Horn of Africa region. Based on that we can say; security matters for BRI as well as for Chinese projects in Kenya and broadly in Africa. Security risk will impact investors, foreign investors and more specifically the Chinese investors. By Chinese investors, we mean small scale companies who manage this risk themselves. As far as the larger projects and companies are concern, security risk is governed by the governments. Hence, security matters but smaller companies will suffer more than larger companies.²⁸²

In a question about the B3W and its impact on Africa referring to BRI, Dr. Muhammad Tayyab Safdar, replied that over the last two decades China has grown into a place where it knows how to do infrastructure. They understand how to build huge civil structure at amazing speed in power and transport sector. So Chinese firms have comparative advantage compare to the firms from west in terms of speed as well as in terms of scale at which things are done. Therefore, we find Chinese firms are winning contracts funded by Chinese donors. In Pakistan we have example, how they have built Multan-Shorkot Motorway despite the fact that money came from different ends. As far as B3W is concerned, the thought process behind the initiative is infrastructure. But the western countries do not have same sort of pull and comparative and competitive advantage as compare to the Chinese companies. Another challenge for the firms from advanced countries is that they are not interested in small scale projects as well as risky and difficult markets. While, we have seen China engaged in Africa in large infrastructural projects, for example in Kenya, Nigeria, Ghana and Ethiopia despite of the COVID and other issues. Hence, at the moment it does not seem like western firms or policy makers have tools to compete with China in infrastructure.²⁸³

²⁸¹ Muhammad T. Safdar, Zoom Interview, USA August 18, 2022.

²⁸² Miss Y. Fu, Zoom Interview, China July 22, 2022.

²⁸³ Muhammad T. Safdar, Zoom Interview, USA August 18, 2022.

The majority of BRI's investments are now concentrated in Southeast Asia. China has been constructing artificial islands and installing military installations in the South China Sea, causing friction not only among ASEAN nations but also causing concern in US and European policy circles. Due to the fact that one-third of external trade between the US and Europe passes through the Indo-Pacific region, any conflict in Southeast Asia caused by the BRI will disrupt member states' global supply chains. As a result, it might jeopardize China's difficult efforts and those other hopeful member states.²⁸⁴

In a question about the security challenge as well as trade war between US and China, Miss Yike Fu replied that in China there is saying, 'if you want to be rich, use infrastructure'. Africa is looking forward to its development from the development partners like US, EU, India and Japan. BRI is a kind of initiative whose aims and goals is to have regional connectivity as well as to develop infrastructure. If B3W plan of US and EU can finance Africa that would be a wonderful idea. Also trade war between US and China will not negatively affect Africa and Kenya. Though there had been trade war and COVID-19, China remains Africa's biggest trade partner for past 13 years.²⁸⁵

5.1.4 Social Problems

Chinese scholars' claim that among other impending issues, sectarian unrest between and within states, which could destabilize host countries puts employees in danger. A rush of low-cost manufactured items from China is impeding local industries and sowing the seeds of unease. In many African countries, the civic society frequently rejects certain infrastructure projects that are seen to have a negative influence on the area. For instance, in Kenya, the government was mandated to provide millions of dollars in compensation to the communities affected by the SGR line's development. The courts may occasionally need to order a hold on the project until all compensation issues have been settled. Additionally, environmentalists filed a lawsuit against the government over a railway line that passes through Nairobi National Park, arguing that it would make it more difficult for the park's wildlife to survive in its natural habitat. It can take some time to completely comprehend and abide by local regulations because they are frequently highly complex. Unfortunately, Chinese businesses often lack the patience necessary to familiarize

²⁸⁴ "China's Belt and Road Initiative (BRI) And Southeast Asia," LSE Home, last modified October 2018, <https://www.lse.ac.uk/ideas/Assets/Documents/reports/LSE-IDEAS-China-SEA-BRI.pdf>.

²⁸⁵ Miss Y. Fu, Zoom Interview, China July 22, 2022.

themselves with and comprehend this law prior to doing business. In this regard, poor communication is a significant barrier to the MSR's future development.²⁸⁶

In a question about the fear among Kenyans regarding the presence of China, Dr. Sylvanus Wekesa replied that it is more xenophobic kind of fear in Kenya. Despite of cooperation, a huge section of Chinese remains racist. Protests have been seen against the tender being awarded to Chinese companies who brought basic items and Chinese citizen for very basic jobs. Even to conduct businesses, Chinese enterprises compete with local markets. Kenya is a poor country with poor immigration policy; hence, it is giving leverage to China for exporting its citizens. Without any doubt there exists anti-Chinese sentiments, and many attacks on Chinese citizens have been reported leading to arrests and detention of locals. In such scenario, government needs to step in only to allow technical expertise from China. On casual jobs, Kenyans should be given preference and such businesses which alienate locals should not be allowed.²⁸⁷

To find a single point of agreement, the legal framework is also a problem with BRI. As shown in the legal systems of the ASEAN nations, four are founded on common law, three on civil law, and the remaining three are a hybrid of both. The hybrid legal systems are comparable to those in China. As a result, it would be difficult to match the legal systems of African nations because the majority of them were once European colonies. Kenya's legal system is based on British Common Law. Furthermore, it is commonly assumed that the Chinese economy is robust. A mounting debt mountain, that has grown from 140 per cent of GDP, a decade ago to almost three times that amount now. Even if the economy is expanding at a 6.5 per cent annual rate, non-performing loans (NPLs) are still increasing. In addition, household debt in China increased from 30 per cent of GDP in 2012 to close to 50 per cent in 2017, driven by mortgages. China has also received financial stability warnings from the 15 trillion USD banking industry from the IMF. The nation of China is already being prepared by its leaders for extremely difficult times. Therefore, despite all of BRI's positive prospects, it may face financial difficulties.²⁸⁸

²⁸⁶ Candice S. Newcomb, "The Impact of Chinese Investments on the Kenyan Economy," (master's thesis, Chapman University, Orange CA, 2020).

²⁸⁷ Sylvanus Wekesa, Zoom Interview, London, UK August 8, 2022.

²⁸⁸ "China's Belt and Road Initiative (BRI) And Southeast Asia," LSE Home, last modified October 2018, <https://www.lse.ac.uk/ideas/Assets/Documents/reports/LSE-IDEAS-China-SEA-BRI.pdf>.

5.1.5 Africa at the Centre of a Geopolitical Battle

Russia has renewed its interest in Africa by initiating Russia-Africa Summit, whose first summit took place in 2019 and the latest in July, 2023. Africa's role is crucial for Russia in multilateral forums like UN for realizing its interests. Though there had been cordial relations between Kenya and Russia since its independence in December, 1963. Additionally, Russia is also an inclusive member of BRI and BRICS with China. Hence, success of BRI is in favor of the above stakeholders. But it is believed that Africa would be a geopolitical battle ground in the near future which might risk BRI.

All the major world powers like US, EU, China, Russia and the mid-range powers such as Turkey, South Korea, India, Japan and Brazil are flexing its muscles on forums like US-Africa Summit, EU-Africa Summit, FOCAC, Russia-Africa Summit, BRICS, the Tokyo International Conferences on African Development and Istanbul-based Joint Coordination Centre. Resultantly, Africa is turning out to be at the centre of a geopolitical battle ground and any conflagration among these actors' results in harmful affect for the BRI in general and Kenya in particular.

5.1.6 Natural Calamities

The Greater Horn of Africa, where Kenya is located, is extremely susceptible to natural disasters such floods, drought, storms, earthquakes, epidemics, and landslides. Seasonal flooding occurs throughout the nation, particularly along the Tana River and Lake Victoria basin flood plains. Communities in this area are more vulnerable to natural disasters like droughts because the arid and semi-arid terrain are more susceptible to extreme weather conditions. Landslides and mudslides commonly impact the Western Nyanza and north Rift Valley areas of Kenya during the prolonged rainy season from March to May. Climate risks have also resulted in significant losses across the country's different sectors over the years. The main climate hazards which includes droughts and floods which causes economic losses estimated at 3 per cent of the country's GDP.

In a question about the natural calamities and its impact on BRI in Kenya, Dr. Muhammad Tayyab Safdar replied that we have seen with COVID-19, what can go wrong with large infrastructural projects, especially when they are not well thought out. Firstly, technology sustainability is important, if you have large projects which are 2 to 3 billion USD in place. COVID have negatively affected the largest infrastructural project

of railway in terms of passenger as well cargo traffic. Secondly, environmental sustainability is important. Kenyans are very robust in terms of environmental hazards are concern. There had been litigation cases against Lamu coal project. There are multiple stakeholders operating in the developing countries. Resultantly, things don't get done when multiple stake holders are concerned. But Chinese are very good in making things done. Thirdly, when you are operating in the developing countries, market risk, political risk and environmental risk are always there. For such risks Kenyan government cannot plan for. From Chinese perspective, it does not impact upon their decision making as Chinese entrepreneur are constantly searching for new markets. Lastly, natural hazards are among exogenous variables in economics and it's very difficult to plan for it.²⁸⁹

Conclusion

Kenya is the biggest market of East African Region. China in order to tap vast resources in this region has huge stakes. All these investments and interests have considerable returns for China. But wherever there are prospects, challenges and implications are tied to it. There are already resistances to BRI projects. Along with that, Kenya pertain political, social and security risks. But China is believed to tackle challenges judiciously. Last but not least, natural calamities add fuel to the fire. They are among the exogenous variable, which cannot be planned for. Despite of the implications for BRI projects, it has huge prospects for China in providing leverage in terms of economic and geo-strategic spheres.

²⁸⁹ Muhammad T. Safdar, Zoom Interview, USA August 18, 2022.

Chapter Six

Role of Regional and International Organizations in Sustainable Development of Kenya

This chapter has been divided into two major parts. In first part the role of international organization that is United Nations (UN) has been analyzed to see its role on the sustainable development of Kenya. While, in the second part, regional organizations like African Union (AU), The Forum on China-Africa Cooperation (FOCAC), East African Community (EAC) and the Common Market for Eastern and Southern Africa (COMESA) is discussed.

6.1 Role of International Organizations in Kenya's Sustainable Development

There is different concept on 'The Theory of Economic Integration' by various authors. Integration generally means bringing together of parts into a whole. Some include 'Social Integration' in the concept, while, other considers it international cooperation. Economic and Social Integration is not possible without international and regional organizations. The tools of organizations include a free trade zone, a customs union, a single market, an economic union, and total economic integration. Total economic integration also calls for the unification of monetary, fiscal, social, and countercyclical policies as well as the creation of a supranational body whose decisions are binding on the member states. Kenya is a member of important international like UN and regional organizations like AU, FOCAC, EAC and COMESA. These organizations have the capacity to play a remarkable role in the sustainable development of Kenya.

6.1.1 United Nations

On December 16, 1963, the same day that Kenya attained independence, the country was admitted to the UN. The United Nations Office at Nairobi (UNON), one of four significant UN office locations in Africa, was founded in 1996. The UN's presence in Kenya was further increased, and it became the headquarters of the UN Environment Programme (UNEP) and the UN Centre for Human Settlements, which is currently known as (UN-HABITAT). Currently, Nairobi is home to 23 UN organizations, each of

which is essential to Kenya's sustainable development and the achievement of its SDGs.²⁹⁰

6.1.1.1 The United Nations Office at Nairobi (UNON)

The United Nations Office in Nairobi, the UN's regional office for Africa, acts as a focal point for communication and representation with other UN agencies in Kenya, as well as with permanent missions, other countries, the host nation, and intergovernmental and non-governmental organizations in Nairobi. The UN Office in Nairobi's UNON coordinates and executes administrative, conference, and public information programmes; it also promotes collaboration between the UN and regional organizations; and it provides security and safety services for UN personnel and facilities. UNON delivers joint and common services to other UN system agencies in Kenya, as well as administrative and other support services to the UN Environment Programme (UNEP) and the UN Human Settlements Programme (UN-HABITAT) for meetings and special events. Additionally, UNON provides business incentives, a language programme, internship chances, and career opportunities.²⁹¹

6.1.1.2 United Nations Environment Programme (UNEP)

In order to set the environmental agenda and create policies for achieving sustainable development goals, the UN established the United Nations Environment Programme (UNEP) in 1972. The three core areas of operation for UNEP are climate action, nature action, chemicals, and pollution. UNEP is assisting Kenya in achieving its chemical and waste management objectives. The UNEP announced a ban on single-use plastics from cafeterias and the substitution of glass for plastic bottles as well as the adoption of sustainable or biodegradable substitutes. Additionally, these initiatives support Kenya's compliance with its duties under the Basel, Stockholm, and Rotterdam Conventions, to which it is a party. Particular focus is given on collaborating with business and the private sector during project implementation to manufacture, use, and dispose of chemicals. UNEP and UN-Habitat are housed in a completely energy- and carbon-neutral facility

²⁹⁰ "The United Nations in Kenya," The United Nations in Kenya | The United Nations in Kenya, accessed December 3, 2022, <https://kenya.un.org/en/about/about-the-un>.

²⁹¹ United Nations Office at Nairobi |, accessed December 3, 2022, <https://www.unon.org/>.

that was unveiled by UN Secretary General Ban Ki-moon in 2011 and is seen as a precursor to the green revolution.²⁹²

6.1.1.3 UN-HABITAT

UN-HABITAT continues to prioritize assisting human settlements and sustainable urbanization, according to Kenya's Vision 2030, Mid-Term Plans. A key tool for resource mobilization with a focus on the implementation of projects and programmes at the national and county levels is the "Habitat Country Programme Document" for Kenya (2018-2021). These frameworks include the "Big Four Agenda" of President Kenyatta for transformation, which places a focus on the availability of affordable housing, the Kenyan "New Urban Agenda" implementing plan (2016–2036), and the "Habitat Country Programme Document" for Kenya. In 20 counties around Kenya, UN-HABITAT has been working on 30 projects since 2013. 11 of them are still being worked on, and 19 have already been completed.²⁹³

6.1.1.4 Food and Agriculture Organization

In Kenya, an FAO representative office was founded in 1977. In collaboration with the Kenyan government, FAO seeks to build a country that is food secure, free of hunger and malnutrition, and where agriculture and food production enhance everyone's quality of life, especially the poorest, in a manner that is environmentally, socially, and economically sustainable. According to government policy, FAO in Kenya focuses on five priority areas, including: policy and institutional reforms, productivity and competitiveness, sustainable natural resource and environmental management, food security and nutrition initiatives, and information knowledge management and coordination system.²⁹⁴

²⁹² "Kenya," UNEP - UN Environment Programme, last modified August 16, 2021, <https://www.unep.org/explore-topics/disasters-conflicts/where-we-work/kenya>.

²⁹³ "Urbanization in Kenya: Building Inclusive & Sustainable Cities," UN-Habitat - A Better Urban Future | UN-Habitat, accessed December 3, 2022, <https://unhabitat.org/kenya>.

²⁹⁴ "FAO in Kenya," FAO, n.d. <https://www.fao.org/kenya/fao-in-kenya/es/#:~:text=FAO's%20mission%20is%20to%20work,socially%20and%20environmentally%20sustainable%20manner>.

6.1.1.5 United Nations Development Programme (UNDP)

In Kenya, there are 47.2 million inhabitants, and 26.4 per cent of them reside in urban areas. The Human Development Index (HDI) is 0.55 per cent, and the median age is 19. UNDP has unveiled a five-year programmatic strategy defining its development support to Kenya, with a focus on three pillars: governance, peace, and security; inclusive growth and structural transformation; and environmental sustainability, climate change, and resilience. In order to aid in the medical response to and management of the COVID-19 pandemic, the United Nations Development Program (UNDP) and Ministry of Health are currently testing smart anti-epidemic robotic technologies in Kenya.²⁹⁵

Frontline healthcare workers continue to be extremely exposed as the world deals with COVID-19's effects because of exposure to the virus's spread. By reducing direct human contact with patients, the implementation of the intelligent anti-epidemic robotic solutions, financed by the Government of Japan, will be crucial in ensuring the safety of frontline healthcare staff. The robots will produce real-time statistical reports, increase public knowledge of COVID-19 preventive actions, and support preventive measures even further. The COVID-19 pandemic has hastened the loss of livelihoods and raised the unemployment rate among young Kenyans. Prior to the COVID-19 epidemic, young individuals between the ages of 20 and 24 suffered greater negative effects on the job market than other age cohorts. In December 2019 the youth unemployment was 14.2 per cent, which was double the general population's jobless rate of 4.9 per cent.²⁹⁶

The population has been impacted by COVID-19 restrictions, with young people taking the biggest hit. These restrictions include company closures, social withdrawal, and stay-at-home rules. The "Financial Access and Social Inclusion" campaign's launch serves to allay the affected people's complaints. The bigger, all-encompassing, multi-sectoral response of UNDP to COVID-19 aims to promote ecosystem linkages so that youth-led MSMEs may utilize the capacities and resources that are already available. In light of this, the UNDP in Kenya has partnered with the Youth Enterprise Development Fund (YEDF)

²⁹⁵ "Kenya | United Nations Development Programme," UNDP, accessed December 4, 2022, <https://www.undp.org/kenya>.

²⁹⁶ "Kenya | United Nations Development Programme," UNDP, accessed December 4, 2022, <https://www.undp.org/kenya>.

to increase access to financial services and promote financial literacy in an effort to help 1,000 unemployed young people achieve economic independence. The campaign is being funded by the Government of Japan.²⁹⁷

In terms of health, communicable diseases continue to account for the largest share of the disease burden in Kenya, with the main causes being TB, malaria, and HIV/AIDS. Even though there has been a dramatic drop in morbidity from 14 per cent to 8 percent, malaria has remained a critical health issue. Kenya has improved its TB control efforts, although the 2016 TB prevalence study found that up to 40 per cent of cases are still missing. HIV continues to be the primary source of illness burden, accounting for 24 per cent of all disease burdens, despite significant success in the fight against HIV/AIDS. In 2015, the HIV prevalence was 5.9 per cent. The number of infant and under-5 fatalities per 1,000 live births has dropped from 52 to 39. Over time, Kenya's vaccination rate has decreased; as of 2016/2017, just 78 per cent of infants under one year old were fully immunized, down from 89 per cent in 2013/2014. Universal Health Coverage (UHC) is one of the four major agenda items that the Kenyan government has designated for the years 2018 to 2022. This includes raising the percentage of people with health insurance from 36 per cent in 2017 to 100 per cent in 2022.²⁹⁸

6.1.1.6 World Health Organization (WHO)

In Kenya, the UN is well-represented. As part of the UNDAF, Kenya is one of the UN Delivering-As-One Pilot nations (2014-2018). The strategic priorities and primary emphasis areas outlined in the third generation of CCS for the years 2014–2019 serve as a roadmap for WHO support. In order to reach areas with limited access to healthcare and combat disinformation with the truth about the safety and effectiveness of vaccines, WHO and its partners are stepping up their efforts to ensure that everyone has access to the COVID-19 vaccine.²⁹⁹

²⁹⁷ "Kenya | United Nations Development Programme," UNDP, accessed December 4, 2022, <https://www.undp.org/kenya>.

²⁹⁸ "Kenya Country Overview | World Health Organization," World Health Organization (WHO), accessed December 4, 2022, <https://www.who.int/countries/ken/>.

²⁹⁹ "Kenya Country Overview | World Health Organization," World Health Organization (WHO), accessed December 4, 2022, <https://www.who.int/countries/ken/>.

6.1.1.7 UN Women

UN Women was established by the UN for gender inequality and empowerment of women. The ultimate goal of UN Women was addressing women issues and needs at international and national level. UN Women is also helping out in meeting ‘UN Sustainable Development Goals’ of gender inequality and women empowerment which is tantamount for a progressive society. The Big 4 Agenda of President Uhuru Kenyatta, the Third Medium-Term Plan of Vision 2030, and the United Nations Development Assistance Framework 2018–2022, which are all national priorities of Kenya, are all fully supported and aligned with the UN Women Kenya programme. The areas which is prioritized by UN Women Kenya includes women in leadership and democratic governance, economic development of women, ending violence against women and agenda for peace and security of women.³⁰⁰

6.1.1.8 United Nations Children’s Fund (UNICEF)

In Kenya, UNICEF works to advance and defend women's and children's rights. UNICEF is one of the country's longest-running foreign organizations, having been in operation for 50 years as of 1971. In Kenya, UNICEF introduces and scales up high impact interventions, such as immunization, to lower maternal, neonatal, and child mortality. Through communication for development, UNICEF attempts to enhance timely treatment of diseases including malaria, pneumonia, and diarrhea using community-based techniques. This is done by assisting mothers and caregivers in seeing and understanding the importance of maternity, newborn, and child health services. Additionally, UNICEF is expanding access to high-quality healthcare for expectant mothers and newborns. The two most common infections that cause death in children under five are pneumonia and diarrhea.³⁰¹

To protect children, the Kenyan government has drafted, enacted, and approved laws. However, thousands of people are still exposed to risky behaviors, abuse, and neglect by their parents. According to the Ministry of Labour and Social Protection's "2019 Violence against Children Survey," about one in two young adults in Kenya experienced violence

³⁰⁰ "UN Women Strategic Plan 2022-2025," UN Women – Headquarters, accessed December 4, 2022, https://www.unwomen.org/en/un-women-strategic-plan-2022-2025?gclid=CjwKCAiAhKycBhAQEiwAgf19ekxLcdiuUfozP806zP7LsjCbSn0IBdOn57b3EZOVZZyt1V-8Ql2hAxoCuBAQAvD_BwE.

³⁰¹ "Child Protection," UNICEF, accessed December 3, 2022, <https://www.unicef.org/kenya/child-protection>.

as a child. This survey found that 46 per cent of women between the ages of 18 and 24 and 52 per cent of young men in the same age range reported having been the victims of physical, emotional, or sexual abuse as children. The percentage of girls who are married as children is 23 per cent.³⁰²

For the most vulnerable children and women, UNICEF Kenya sought to improve access to just and effective health services from 2014 to 2018. The foundation for economic, social, and human development is sound nutrition. Nearly half of all child deaths under the age of five are thought to be related to malnutrition, and chronic malnutrition causes stunting, an irreversible condition that has terrible repercussions such as stunted growth of the brain and body and decreased productivity. Malnutrition is treated and prevented by UNICEF. 25 per cent of Kenyan children under the age of five have stunted growth. According to a joint report by the WHO and UNICEF, 42 per cent of Kenyans lack access to clean water, and 70 per cent lack adequate sanitation. The focus of UNICEF's work in the water sector is children's access to clean, safe water. In terms of sanitation, UNICEF strives to promote the use of basic restrooms, and in terms of hygiene, hand washing with soap is recommended in order to prevent infections. Due to poverty, child marriage, and gender-related cultural customs, 1.5 million children in Kenya, between the ages of 6 and 13, are not in school. With a focus on the most disadvantaged, UNICEF Kenya aimed to enhance access to alternative learning programmes and basic education for boys and girls between the ages of 6 and 18.³⁰³

6.2 Role of Regional Organizations in Kenya's Sustainable Development

The international organizations has vital role to play in Africa, the role of regional organizations cannot be rule out. Africa has its history, culture and own problems that can be well understood in the prism of regional organization. The regional organization plays a crucial role in national integration and to deal the world as a unit. It is helpful in boosting peace and security, resultantly; it generates trust among international actors to trust on national and regional actors. Along with super power and other regional and big powers, China has shown keen interest in the regional organizations of Africa. It is utilizing this card of regional organization for peace, solidarity, integrity and connectivity.

³⁰² "Kenya Country Overview | World Health Organization," World Health Organization (WHO), accessed December 4, 2022, <https://www.who.int/countries/ken/>.

³⁰³ "Child Protection," UNICEF, accessed December 3, 2022, <https://www.unicef.org/kenya/child-protection>.

Understanding and resolving the challenges of the East African region had been made possible by the African Union (A.U), the Forum on China-Africa Cooperation (FOCAC), the East African Community (EAC), and the Common Market for Eastern and Southern Africa (COMESA). In terms of Kenya's sustainable development, these platforms are crucial.

6.2.1 African Union (AU)

Nations are now linking themselves together through trade agreements and trade unions in order to safeguard the interests of each associated country due to the rise of the global market and free trade agreements. On May 26, 2001, the Africa Union (AU) was established to safeguard the interests of African countries with regard to infrastructure and economic development. The AU was established by the political and administrative organizations of Africa as a whole to firmly establish the African states as a unified, potent entity. The African Union (AU) is an organization that is now working to bring the African countries together in an effort to strengthen their capacities and advantageous role in the global economy while stressing the challenging political, social, and economic challenges.³⁰⁴

In the AU, Kenya plays a significant and active role. Kenya approved the founding charter of the African Union on March 2, 2001. Many of the AU's treaties, conventions, protocols, and charters have been ratified by Kenya. The AU Agenda 2063 and the Sustainable Development Goals (SDGs) 2030 would be carried out using Kenya's Vision 2030 for Sustainable Development, which it designed. Kenya's long-term strategy and vision is called Ambition 2030, and its implementation is heavily influenced by both the AU and China. The advancement of objectives in the areas of peace and security, trade and investment integration, NEPAD and APRM, and the environment is the cornerstone of the partnership between the AU and Kenya.³⁰⁵

Kenya strongly backs the African Peace and Security Architecture and is a crucial supporter of the African Union's peace efforts (APSA). As part of a military campaign against al-Shabaab, the country maintains troops stationed in Somalia. Kenya has backed

³⁰⁴ AU, accessed December 3, 2022, <https://au.int/>.

³⁰⁵ The Centre for Africa Europe Relations, *Building the African Union: An assessment of past progress and future prospects for the African Union's institutional architecture*, (ECDPM, 2010), <https://ecdpm.org/work/building-the-african-union-an-assessment-of-past-progress-and-future-prospects-for-the-african-unions-institutional-architecture>.

AU efforts to establish peace in Burundi and South Sudan. In addition, Kenya has pledged to donate 100,000 USD to the UN peace fund in support of global peacekeeping efforts coordinated by the UN. Kenya increased its financial support for the AU in 2016 and 2017. Kenya's participation in AU security measures demonstrates its concern for the peace in the region, which would positively impact the country's economic development. The African Union helps to further the peace process in Kenya. The AU helped mediate the instability in Kenya during the 2007 and 2008 elections after President Kenyatta and his running mate, William Ruto, were charged by the ICC.

Kenya participates in the EAC and COMESA as well. Kenya still supports the AU's efforts to increase trade and investment with regional organizations. The African Union's (AU) ambition for regional integration is the cause of Kenya's continued advancement in terms of economic, social, and cultural growth on a continental scale. Kenya accepted the African Peer Review Mechanism (APRM) and the New Partnership for Africa's Development (NEPAD) as its policy frameworks for the continent's development in that year. Agriculture, the environment, infrastructure, health, peace and security, as well as the advancement of APRM, have all benefited from NEPAD. NEPAD continues to support the AU's international initiatives in the fields of commerce, debt reduction, ODA, and south-south cooperation. Kenya is also supporting the AU in a way that will increase its own environmental sustainability. Kenya and the AU work together in the areas of agriculture, coastal and marine resources, climate variability and climate change, including assessment, natural resource conservation, disaster risk reduction, flood and drought monitoring, fisheries, forestry monitoring, land degradation mitigation, livestock management, monitoring of wildfires, and water resource management.

In a question about the role of AU in the sustainable development and meeting UN SDG's, Patrick Anam replied that the AU Agenda 2063 has sustainable goals, which are in tandem with Kenya's Vision 2030. What is needed is the implementation of goals. The AU can help with capacity building and financing through the African Development Bank and entrenching intra-African trade through AfCFTA.³⁰⁶

³⁰⁶ Mr. P. Anam, Phone Interview, Kenya August 9, 2022.

6.2.2 The Forum on China-Africa Cooperation (FOCAC)

There are 53 African nations that have diplomatic ties with China and are part of the FOCAC and the African Union Commission. Members of FOCAC include Kenya and the nations of East Africa. For China and Africa, FOCAC represents prosperity, growth, life, and peace. Equal consultation, improving comprehension, fostering consensus, fostering friendship, and encouraging cooperation are the goals of FOCAC. The FOCAC Consultation Mechanism is built on a shared follow-up mechanism to carry out routine assessments on the application of actions. The Follow-Up Mechanism has three levels of development. Firstly, after every three years there is 'The Ministerial Conference'. Secondly, after every year there is Senior Official Follow-up Meeting. Thirdly, the Secretariat of the Chinese Follow-up Committee has at least two meetings a year with the African Diplomatic Corps in China. China and Africa alternate hosting the Senior Official Meeting and Ministerial Conference. While the eighth Ministerial Conference of FOCAC took place in Senegal in 2021, the First Ministerial Conference of FOCAC was place in Beijing in 2000.³⁰⁷

The FOCAC is devoted to addressing this challenge with its own means and approach when the globe is dealing with chaos like COVID-19. The theme of the most recent FOCAC summit was "Deeper China-Africa Partnership and Promote Sustainable Development to Build a China-Africa Community with a Shared Future in the New Era."In addition to reviewing and evaluating the joint Chinese and African reaction to COVID-19, the conference also set the direction for China-African ties over the following three years. In the post-COVID era, the summit revitalized the Comprehensive Strategic and Cooperative Partnership between China and Africa and achieved significant advances toward advancing world peace, stability, development, and prosperity.

Kenya and China are close friends, business partners, and brothers. President Xi Jinping and Uhuru Kenyatta have provided strategic leadership for the China-Kenya relationship, which has improved significantly recently and is now in excellent condition. Belt and Road partnership is a wonderful example. Examples of projects where the FOCAC has had an impact include the Nairobi JKIA expansion, the Nairobi City Center EHV and 66KV Network Upgrading and Reinforcement, the Nairobi-Mombasa SGR, the Nairobi-

³⁰⁷ "FOCAC Mechanisms," FOCAC.org, accessed December 3, 2022, https://www.focac.org/eng/ltjj_3/ltjz/.

Malaba SGR Phase I, the Nairobi Bypass, the Nairobi Expressway, and the Nairobi Global Trade Center (GTC). It should not come as a surprise that in recent years, infrastructure development has been a primary priority for China-Kenya Belt and Road cooperation, and through coordinated efforts, significant progress has been made in this area. In order to implement Kenya's Big Four Agenda and Vision 2030, the FOCAC will be crucial.³⁰⁸

While discussing the Eighth Ministerial Conference of the FOCAC, Chinese Ambassador to Kenya Dr. Zhou Pingjian emphasised that China has promised to offer 10 billion USD of trade credit to assist African export. This would speed up inspection and quarantine procedures and assist in funding green lines that target agricultural exports from Africa. The Chinese government also promised to create centers for low-carbon development and climate change adaptation in Africa as part of its commitment to ten green development, environmental protection, and climate change initiatives there. As part of its objective to provide 54 African nations with one billion doses of vaccines, China would continue to finance the creation of a collaborative vaccine development strategy. The 600 million doses would be donated, and the other 400 million would be produced jointly. This would be a significant accomplishment that would aid in resolving issues that African nations have been dealing with ever since the pandemic hit the world.³⁰⁹

The discussions at the FOCAC-2021 conference will include more straightforward negotiations regarding security and military cooperation. Given, its expanding interests and the security implications of the Belt and Road, China aims to extend its low-cost, low-risk, and high-yield security policy across Africa. China is consolidating its involvement in peacekeeping, military education and professionalism, military sales, and military exercises while progressively expanding its security footprint and clout. Additionally, an extension to 2024 is probable for the China-Africa Peace and Security Fund, a unique fund established in 2015 to operationalize the African Stand by Force.

³⁰⁸ "Ambassador Zhou Pingjian: FOCAC, Win-win Cooperation Carries On," China Embassy.gov, accessed December 3, 2022, https://ke.china-embassy.gov.cn/dsxx/dszs/202111/t20211126_10453497.htm.

³⁰⁹ "China, Kenya Agree to Step Up Cooperation, Promote Bilateral Ties__Embassy of the People's Republic of China in the Republic of Kenya," China Embassy.org, accessed December 3, 2022, https://ke.china-embassy.gov.cn/eng/zkgx/sbjw/201806/t20180620_9838843.htm.

Such actions have a direct impact on regional peace and security and a collateral impact on member state sustainable development and Kenya.³¹⁰

6.2.3 East African Community (EAC)

The East African Community (EAC) is a group that promotes cooperation between its member states and maintains a shared market and common services. Similar to the European Union, it is a regional political federation (E.U). Its main office is in Tanzania's Arusha. Its founding members are Kenya, Tanzania, and Uganda. Burundi and Rwanda joined in 2007, and South Sudan did so in 2016. Overseeing civil aviation, coordinating public health policies, promoting Swahili as a regional language, supporting efforts for sustainable development, and leading numerous research institutes are among the key services provided by EAC. In 2005, the Custom Union was established, and its member nations agreed to uphold the common excise and customs rates that make up "The Economic Integration Theory."³¹¹

East Africa's political unification, competitiveness, security, and stability are the goals of the EAC. The partner nations want to establish a political union that would strengthen and advance social, political, economic, and cultural integration. Through better security, higher competitiveness, value addition, trade, and investment, people's quality of life will be improved. The EAC has come to the conclusion that regional peace, stability, and security is necessary for economic integration to be successful. Therefore, it concentrates its efforts on small weapons and light weapon regulation, crisis avoidance, conflict resolution, and the advancement of good governance.³¹²

The EAC Secretariat is well-positioned to bring the partner nations together in carrying out cooperative initiatives to promote peace and security and to offer support for doing so. Following the signing of the EAC Protocol for Peace and Security in February 2013, the program is successfully being carried out in the member countries in close conjunction with another priority effort, "Promotion of the EAC Integration Process." In five partner nations, including Kenya, the use of light weapons is restricted and military

³¹⁰ "The Forum on China-Africa Cooperation at 21: Where to Next?," Africa Center for Strategic Studies, last modified September 17, 2021, <https://africacenter.org/spotlight/focac-forum-china-africa-cooperation-21-where-to-next/>.

³¹¹ "Overview of EAC," East African Community, accessed December 3, 2022, <https://www.eac.int/overview-of-eac>.

³¹² Giz, "Promotion of Peace and Security in the East African Community (EAC)," Startseite, last modified November 21, 2022, <https://www.giz.de/en/worldwide/15668.html>.

and police firearms are identified and registered. These programmes are beneficial for sustainable development.³¹³

The EAC had already been employed by various parties as a mechanism for investment and trade. When the United States and the East African Community (EAC) signed the United States-EAC TIFA on July 16, 2008 in Washington, DC, trade ministers and other senior officials from the five EAC member countries of Kenya, Burundi, Rwanda, Tanzania, and Uganda were present. The TIFA aims to strengthen commercial and financial connections between the US and Kenya and the EAC. Additionally, the accord has enhanced US FDI in the EAC. The US imported 572 million USD from Kenya in 2017, a rise, and the trade deficit also dropped. China and the region of East Africa have a long history of connection. The Asian behemoth accredited its envoy to the EAC in November 2017 in an effort to hasten the development of a cooperative relationship between the two sides. Kenya and the EAC have benefited from China's sustainable development efforts. Its contribution is split between the financial and construction sectors in the transportation, ICT, and energy industries. The inauguration of what is now known as the Belt and Road Initiative, however, gave China's involvement in the region's infrastructure development even more of a boost (BRI).³¹⁴

The EAC partner countries have been able to build a number of sizable mega-infrastructure projects in the transportation sector thanks to Chinese investments and know-how. The 472-kilometer SGR in Kenya that connects Nairobi to Mombasa port was funded by China. Due to the project, travel times have decreased and by 2025, 40 per cent more freight will be carried. Kenya intends to build the Lamu Special Economic Zone with the China Merchant Port Group Company Limited as a regional centre of ports of world standards (CMPort). The EAC Protocol on Information and Communication Technology has pushed EAC to become the regional innovation hub of Africa (ICT). Given Beijing's role as a pioneer in the 5G revolution, Kenya is one of the EAC members that has profited from China's vital position in this new digital era. In 2009, Tanzania also signed a deal with China for the nation's 10,674-kilometer national fiber optic backbone, estimated to be worth 170 million USD. The East African fiber ring, which connects to

³¹³ "Overview of EAC," East African Community, accessed December 3, 2022, <https://www.eac.int/overview-of-eac>.

³¹⁴ Giz, "Promotion of Peace and Security in the East African Community (EAC)," Startseite, last modified November 21, 2022, <https://www.giz.de/en/worldwide/15668.html>.

the SEACOM, TEAMS, and EASSy undersea cables and extends from Kenya via Uganda, Rwanda, and Burundi to Dar-es-Salam, was significantly underdeveloped prior to the first phase's completion. In order to enhance its energy sector, the EAC has established policy measures.³¹⁵

6.2.4 The Common Market for Eastern and Southern Africa (COMESA)

A Preferential Trade Area (PTA) has existed since 1981; COMESA took over the PTA in December 1994. COMESA is made up of free, autonomous, and sovereign states that are dedicated to cooperating in the development of their natural and human resources for the benefit of their citizens. Their goal spans more areas, but peace and security are among the more crucial ones.³¹⁶

Because of its economic history and tradition, COMESA's main objective is to establish a significant economic and commercial institution that will be able to meet some of the issues that individual governments face. Therefore, "economic prosperity through regional integration" might be used to summarize COMESA's current strategy. With 21 Member States, a population of over 583 million, an 805 USD billion GDP, and a 324 USD billion global commerce in products, COMESA is a significant hub for both domestic and international trade. Geographically, COMESA makes up over two thirds of the African continent with a territory of 12 million square miles (sq km).

A narrower, more unified, and competitive market, increased industrial productivity and competitiveness, increased agricultural production and food security, a more rational exploitation of natural resources, more unified monetary, banking, and financial policies, and more dependable transportation and communications infrastructure are just a few of the numerous advantages COMESA offers its members and partners. COMESA's top priorities are a free trade zone, a customs union, and trade promotion.³¹⁷

³¹⁵ Samu Ngwenya and Abdou R. Lema, "SIPR Lema and Ngwenya," FSI - Freeman Spogli Institute for International Studies, accessed December 3, 2022, <https://fsi.stanford.edu/sipr/content/sipr-lema-and-ngwenya>.

³¹⁶ What is COMESA – Common Market for Eastern and Southern Africa (COMESA)," Common Market for Eastern and Southern Africa (COMESA), accessed December 3, 2022, <https://www.comesa.int/what-is-comesa/>.

³¹⁷ What is COMESA – Common Market for Eastern and Southern Africa (COMESA)," Common Market for Eastern and Southern Africa (COMESA), accessed December 3, 2022, <https://www.comesa.int/what-is-comesa/>.

Surprisingly, there is broad agreement that some sort of regionalism is desirable. Academics, NGOs, national governments, and multilateral organizations from both within and outside the region are united in their calls for regional integration. Kenya is a member state and a leader in the COMESA and EAC, and it has placed a strong emphasis on the lowering of tariffs, which have currently been lowered to 80 per cent for the majority of commodities from the COMESA region and 90 per cent from the EAC region. Kenya's membership in COMESA has a lot of advantages in the political, social, and economic spheres. Kenya's percentage of all exports to African nations and the European Union in 2000 was 46 per cent and 30 per cent, respectively. Exports to COMESA nations amounted for 42 per cent and 30 per cent of all exports from the African continent, respectively. Exports to COMESA nations made about 42 per cent of the entire value of exports from the African continent in 2000. The COMESA area continues to be Kenya's top export market, according to the most recent statistics. From 530.7 million USD in 2004 to 868.3 million USD in 2005, its shipments to the region increased by 63.65 per cent, or 36.6 per cent of total exports.³¹⁸

Kenya took a number of actions in recognition of the value of regional trade, including the abolition of import and export licensing, manufacturing under bond (MUB), duty remission programmes, export compensation programmes, pursuit of a flexible and realistic exchange rate, export processing zone (EPZ), rationalization of the tariff structure, removal of price controls, and tax incentives for both domestic and foreign investors. Organizations like the Export Promotion Council (EPC) and the Kenya External Trade Authority (KETA) were established to promote exports. Through regional integration, all of these programmes provide chances for Kenyan business owners.³¹⁹

In a question about COMESA role in the sustainable development of Kenya, Patrick Anam replied that COMESA offers market opportunities for Kenyan products and services and thereby creating employment opportunities which go into SDGs.³²⁰

³¹⁸ "East African Community," United States Trade Representative, accessed December 11, 2022, <https://ustr.gov/countries-regions/africa/regional-economic-communities-rec/east-african-community>.

³¹⁹ *2017 Chinese Enterprises in Kenya Social Responsibility Report*, (Kenya China Economic and Trade Association, 2017),

<https://www.tralac.org/images/News/Reports/2017%20Chinese%20Enterprises%20in%20Kenya%20Social%20Responsibility%20Report%20KCETA.pdf>.

³²⁰ Mr. P. Anam, Phone Interview, Kenya August 9, 2022.

Conclusion

Economic integration is not possible without international and regional organizations. Kenya is a member state of UN which is an important international organization. Kenya is also a member of regional organizations like AU, FOCAC, EAC and COMESA. These entire international and regional organizations play role in its own domain and helps Kenya in the sustainable development as well as regional integration.

Conclusion, Findings and Recommendations

In wake of China's announcement of Belt and Road Initiative, China-East African relation and Sino-Kenyan relation are recalibrating and reshaping. BRI is having significant impact on socio-political and socio-economic dimensions as well as infrastructure and security domains of East Africa and Kenya. It is helping China to have political legitimacy as well as deliver its economic and infrastructural over capacity across the East African region. The research is based on primary and secondary data from relevant sources.

Five interviews along with a seminar on East African region give base in terms of primary data to research. Three interviewees are from Kenya who provided first hand information regarding the impact of BRI projects in Kenya as well as opportunities and challenges it pertains. To accommodate Chinese version, one of the interviewee is from China, who explained the efficacy of BRI projects in Kenya as well as East Africa. One of the interviewee was US based, Pakistani origin having interest in China's Belt and Road Initiative who gave the detailed over view how Chinese put up and deliver large scale infrastructural projects. The secondary sources immensely added to the literature of the research and findings.

The Theory of Economic Integration which is based on regional integration through socio-economic means is found relevant to address the research questions. China through its BRI strives to integrate its market and economy with Kenya, East Africa and other major continents. All these development have impact on the socio-economic and infrastructural development of East Africa and particularly Kenya. Conclusively, the theory is right in observation and defines every single facet of research.

In addition, as there is limited work on Africa in Pakistan therefore, further research avenues are opened for those who want to conduct research on Africa from International Relations, Peace and Conflict Studies, Business and Management and Economics. Research avenues are opened and many research gaps are available. Consequently, interdisciplinary and intra-disciplinary research is possible and these models can be studied in above mentioned disciplines.

Lastly, it is concluded that Belt and Road Initiative have significant impact in reviving East African economy. Kenya through various projects is able to cater its infrastructural

needs. Being member of regional and international organizations, it's helping Kenya in meeting its sustainable development goals and 'Vision 2030'.

Findings

The overall findings of the research are:

- BRI projects have significant impact on the revival of East African economy, infrastructural, social, political, and economic and security developments are evident. In addition, as Kenya is a member of regional and international organization, it is helping Kenya in sustainable development goals and meeting 'Vision 2030.'

The findings of chapters, based on organization of study are:

- Chapter One, give detail historical overview of Chinese presence in East Africa which is a basis for future interaction between China and East Africa. By the end of Cold War and apartheid movement in South Africa resulted in Kenya's isolation. Therefore, disappointed by the US, Britain and EU, Kenya diverted its attention towards far-East. This gap of isolation which was created by the West was filled by China.
- Chapter Two, provides subtle picture about dynamics of China-East African countries' relations before and after BRI. There had been cordial relations between China and East African since independence of many countries in 1960's which is further augmented with advent of BRI. China values its East African region and ranked five countries with comprehensive cooperative strategic partnership, simultaneously, East Africa supports China's claims in South China Sea. Construction of undersea fiber optic by Huawei Marine Networks in the region will be instrumental in changing the entire dimension of ICT technologies. China is helpful in Africa's Green Energy Transition which will provide clean and cheap energy. For China, its engagement with East Africa is important as 40 per cent of its oil passes through Indian Ocean region. Hence, to secure trade and navigation routes are of utmost importance.
- Chapter Three, ponder on historical background of Sino-Kenyan relations and factors for integration of China's BRI in Kenya. The connectivity network of ports, rail and roads is instrumental in the development of East African economy. The Kenya's port of Mombasa and Lamu through road and SGR will connect neighboring Burundi, DR Congo, Ethiopia, Rwanda, South Sudan and Uganda. Estimated exports increase after completion of these networks is 192 million USD and it serves in regional integration.

China has benefitted from SEZ since 1980's, now it's the time for Africa to follow suit. In post-COVID-19 era, everything is getting digitalized; the Konza Smart City would be instrumental in public service delivery, additionally, BRI is meeting Kenya's sustainable development goals.

- Chapter Four finds out opportunities and challenges Kenya is facing regarding BRI. Among opportunities, job creation is important one. According to World Bank report China hires more locals than any other foreign country. Alone SGR creates 60 jobs per kilometer which is quite handy when Kenya has 40 per cent unemployment rate. China's role in the stability of Africa region cannot be sidelined. It is keenly involved in peace-keeping mission in the region. When Africa is suffering from infrastructure deficit, BRI serves as boon. China and Kenya supports each other's maritime claims. Additionally, BRI has been able to double exports of its members in global supply chain. One of the risky finding in terms of challenges is that, any ripple in the Chinese economy would bounce back in the BRI member countries. The weak immigration policy of Kenya has stabbed the retail market, as there is influx of formal and informal Chinese traders. There had been protests recorded in Kenya against BRI projects due to environmental and economic viability grounds.

- Chapter Five identifies implications for China regarding BRI in Kenya. Resistance against BRI, political, social, and security risks along with natural calamities and debt trap diplomacy are among stark implications. Accommodation of China in East Africa jeopardizes interests of US and its allies, which, may result in further escalation of trade war. According to Chinese analysts, debt trap diplomacy is Western propaganda, simultaneously, if the West wants to spend in Africa through B3W, it's a wonderful idea. As BRI is bilateral project, post-election scenario only risk new BRI projects, not the previous ones. In terms of security, large companies security is governed by the governments, there is only an issue for small scale companies who manage security themselves. From social perspective, China only faces xenophobic kind of fear in Kenya which can be alleviated through cultural exchange programs. Natural hazards are exogenous variables in economics, which is hard to overcome and that does not impact policy making of China. Despite of COVID-19, China is Africa's biggest trading partner.

- Chapter Six spots the role of regional and international organizations in sustainable development of Kenya and meetings its 'Vision 2030'. Kenya is home to UNEP, hence, it play remarkable role in drawing awareness campaign regarding global

warming. UN agencies were instrumental during COVID-19. Anti-epidemic robotic solution in Kenya reduced the risk of COVID-19 spread. In-addition, Universal Health Coverage of Kenya coincides with the Health Silk Road of BRI, which draw its attention towards health services in member countries. UNICEF role in education is evident when Kenya's 1.5 million children are out of school. Kenya is a key member of AU and FOCAC, through which many benefits in the field of agriculture, environment, infrastructure, health, peace and security are drawn. There had been negotiations on security and military cooperation in the FOCAC's 2021 summit, which addresses Kenya's security concerns. Beijing is pioneer of 5G revolution, as China's peace cable is passing through Kenya; it is instrumental in the development of digital infrastructure. Last but not least, Kenya is a regional power hub, resultantly; cross-border electrification will earn Kenya foreign reserves through the regional organizations.

Recommendations

- BRI seems to be a promising initiative and it is a hope for African and Kenyans to improve infrastructural, economic, and developmental and living standards. Nevertheless, there is need to remove the concern of opaqueness in BRI projects. There is need of transparency in the BRI driven projects, so that in future there should be limited public opposition as well as courts litigations.
- Social challenge is haunting China as well as Kenya. If this challenge is not overcome, it lack-luster the positive outcomes of BRI. Kenyan and Chinese governments need to look this issue seriously. Locals should be preferred where ever possible for the employment opportunities. Capacity building of local industries is in the best interest of China in order to address the local's grievances. Cultural-exchange programs have been initiated, which, needs to be entrenched to enhance people-to-people contacts and remove hate and racist sentiments among Kenyans.
- Political stability is very important, as William Ruto is considered Kenya's next president. The upcoming government has to make sure not to derail BRI related projects. Political stability is in the best interest of both the actors.
- FOCAC document includes security parameters, indicating security is an important factor while initiating projects. Hence, Kenya needs to do all out efforts to improve environment for investment. Both Kenya and China are collaborating in security dimensions by joint training exercises, peace keeping missions and sharing military

technologies and surveillance system. Such cooperation needs to be strengthened in order to smoothly pursue BRI projects.

- From Pakistan's point of view, as Pakistan is connected with BRI through CPEC, it will give Pakistan connectivity with East African markets as well as rest of the world. Pakistan could have an access to BRI projects in East Africa. It is all about expansion of businesses and strategic planning.

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ANNEXURE 1

Interview Questions for Dr. Muhammad Tayyab Safdar, Post Doctoral Researcher 'Assessment of China's Belt & Road Initiative' (University of Virginia).

1) Is B3W initiative started by G7 members is a competitor for BRI? How do you see the impact of this initiative on Africa vis-a-viz BRI?

ANS: Over the last two decades China has grown into a place where it knows how to do infrastructure. They understand how to build huge civil structure at amazing speed in power and transport sector. So Chinese firms have comparative advantage compare to the firms from west in terms of speed as well as in terms of scale at which things are done. Therefore, we find Chinese firms are winning contracts funded by Chinese donors. In Pakistan we have example, how they have built Multan-Shorkot Motorway despite the fact that money came from different ends. As far as B3W is concerned, the thought process behind the initiative is infrastructure. But the western countries do not have same sort of pull and comparative and competitive advantage as compare to the Chinese companies. Another challenge for the firms from advanced countries is that they are not interested in small scale projects as well as risky and difficult markets. While, we have seen China engaged in Africa in large infrastructural projects, for example in Kenya, Nigeria, Ghana and Ethiopia despite of the COVID and other issues. Hence, at the moment it does not seem like western firms or policy makers have tools to compete with China in infrastructure.

2) Kenya is a gateway between East and West Africa. Does this quality give China leverage at any emergency situation for accessing Atlantic Ocean?

ANS: Chinese do not see themselves as an expansionist powers. They do have pretention to be a great power and they are an emerging power. Though the railway line that cress-crosses Africa is a dual use infrastructure, but it's doubtful that China will use it as a strategic spring board against US in the near future. It involves some sort of paranoia. If the US would have used such incentives, no one would have asked such questions

3) The security situation in Africa is also not completely viable. There had been terrorist attacks across the continent. How do you see this security challenge for Kenya?

ANS: Security is very complex kind of thing. Despite of the security challenges there are opportunities for Kenya. Large infrastructural projects in the developing countries usually are problematic; we have seen it with colonial power as well. When Mombasa railway line was inaugurated amid COVID-19, it created uncertainties. But as far security dimensions are concern, these governments can do little, as they have their own problems in terms of security policies and police system. So it's up to the Kenya government to

decide, what they want from their relationship with China. For smooth inflows of the Chinese capitals, Kenyan government needs to deal intelligently with issues like corruption, poverty and violence.

Security challenges are ongoing challenges Chinese are facing across many developing countries, again in Pakistan we can see them happening as well. The point is as Chinese are expanding internationally; they are prone to attacks as we have seen it in case with West as well. But Chinese are more open and they do not hide behind the walls. They are more open in mixing with locals and more open to have small or medium size businesses in the developing countries. But as Chinese companies and Chinese nationals are expanding, they are prone to security risks. Chinese soft-targets are attached in Pakistan as well as it might be happening in other parts of the world as well. At the end of the day, Chinese companies want to earn money and accumulate capital. So they are not going to pull back entirely, the reason is Chinese growth-model. Kenya and Africa holds uncharted and untapped market, and Chinese see them as an opportunity. Resultantly, there is no weariness in terms of security in Chinese security establishment as compare to their Western counterpart, who developed their own security agencies and provided them with architecture.

4) Kenya is vulnerable to natural hazards like floods, drought, storm, earthquake, epidemic and landslides. How these natural calamities are going to impact BRI?

ANS: We have seen with COVID-19, what can go wrong with large infrastructural projects, especially when they are not well thought out. Firstly, technology sustainability is important, if you have large projects which are 2 to 3 billion USD in place. COVID have negatively affected the largest infrastructural project of railway in terms of passenger as well cargo traffic. Secondly, environmental sustainability is important. Kenyans are very robust in terms of environmental hazards are concern. There had been litigation cases against Lamu coal project. There are multiple stakeholders operating in the developing countries. Resultantly, things don't get done when multiple stake holders are concerned. But Chinese are very good in making things done. Thirdly, when you are operating in the developing countries, market risk, political risk and environmental risk are always there. For such risks Kenyan government cannot plan for. From Chinese perspective, it does not impact upon their decision making as Chinese entrepreneur are constantly searching for new markets. Lastly, natural hazards are among exogenous variables in economics and it's very difficult to plan for it.

ANNEXURE 2

Interview Questions for Dr. Cliff Mboya, ‘Researcher and Consultant on Africa-China relations’.

1) Strategic location of Kenya in East Africa holds importance. How this quality is being utilized by China for the exploration and transportation of natural resources?

ANS: Kenya is strategically located on the East African coast. The Indian Ocean Region (IOR) has become very strategic geographical area and sea route for China’s economic and political ambition. The Indian Ocean Region is a key trade route. As China is expanding its influence not only in this region but on global level, securing these maritime trade routes is a part of its geo-political calculation. To secure these maritime routes is also a part of BRI and this is basically for China’s access capacity in terms of production of goods and material that it wants to take to the rest of the world. Indian Ocean Region is important for China’s economy as well as its geopolitical interest, for achieving that objective China has already built international military base in Djibouti. China has invested in the Indian Ocean Region in ports and railways. Port of Lamu is built and the old port of Mombasa has been expanded to link hinterland and bring coal and other resources to the ports and bring out excess capacity from China to find markets in the African hinterland. Chinese have expanded port of Djibouti, and linked it to the port of Ethiopia with railway. Special Economic Zones are made in Mombasa, Djibouti and Egypt to promote trade and economic activities in the Indian Ocean Region and East African coast. The main idea of China is to construct regional connectivity to expand China’s trade and economic influence in the region. So the Indian Ocean Region including Kenya holds strategic importance in exploration and transportation of raw material as well as regional connectivity and security means.

2) The construction of Konza City laden with ICT technology is indeed a good idea. What future prospects do you envision for Kenya or viability of this project?

ANS: Konza City project is a well intended project. With COVID-19, everything is getting digital; therefore, we need to put development in that direction. Cloud Data Centre has the capacity of government’s service delivery at the door steps. Despite of the pros and cons of surveillance, it is beneficial in terms of security and safety perspective. It is an ongoing project, though behind schedule the plan is interesting for public service delivery and provides good business environment. It offers a lot of opportunities for ICT sector in terms of investment and offers massive jobs for ICT talent in Kenya. According to estimates it generates 17000 jobs once the plan is completed. It also provides smart traffic solution which can solve Nairobi’s traffic problem. The critics view that project is in rural centre is not right, rather, we cannot put such projects in the middle of Nairobi. Through expressway the city is accessible within 30 minutes drive. So in terms of Konza City project, Kenya is in the right direction and the project promises a lot of opportunities in terms of investment and development.

3) Kenya is supporting China's claims in South-China Sea. How do you see both China and Kenya to support each other on international and regional issues?

ANS: Most of the African countries including Kenya remain neutral on controversial issues. Neutrality is the key policy position of African countries and AU when it comes to big power competition. As China adopts the stance that west should not interfere and adopt aggressive stance on the issue of South-China Sea, Kenya supports this stance, but that does not mean it supports China's maritime claims in South-China Sea. Kenya calls for the peaceful resolution of China's maritime claims through dialogue and consultation.

4) Kenya is facing challenges in terms of food security. To meet the second SDG of UN, what incentives China can provide under BRI?

ANS: It is very possible to link the BRI with SDG's because it is all development driven initiative. BRI is promising initiative towards the attainment of Kenya's food security and social development. If we look at the diplomatic engagement between Kenya and China, we can see a lot of initiatives of BRI are promising to deliver Kenya's SDG's. Kenya has initiative of the Vision 2030 development and blueprint for Big Four Agenda that includes manufacturing, universal health care, affordable housing and food security, so all these are pursued through BRI framework. Initially BRI focused on infrastructure projects but second BRI Forum focused on the active engagement on SDG's through industrialization, health, education, energy and environmental position. Some initiatives are going on in agriculture sector but the coordination in agriculture sector is still poor. China is sending agriculture experts to different African countries. They are focusing on Chinese rice varieties which are drought resistant. It is good initiative to tackle food security but this initiative can be expanded to other sectors.

ANNEXURE 3

Interview Questions for Dr. Sylvanus Wekesa, Phd from King's College London in Leadership with reference to Security and Development with focus on East African Community.

1) How BRI can help Kenya in Job creation?

ANS: The BRI spread through multiple sectors in which infrastructure and development is the biggest sector. According to government data, the SGR has generated at least 30,000 jobs. But on one hand the SGR has generated jobs, on another hand it leads to unemployment for the truck drivers and logistic companies due to absurd government policies. For instance, to make SGR profitable, government wants logistic companies to transport goods via SGR from the port of Mombasa. There are inland depots being formed for container handling in Nairobi and Navasha, to transport goods to the neighboring Uganda, South Sudan and the Democratic Republic of Congo. Resultantly, container handling at the port of Mombasa is reduced which has struck the port of Mombasa with reduction in revenue. Despite of the jobs creation by the SGR there is a counter effect. Nevertheless, the road and infrastructure construction generated secondary and services jobs to absorb youth bulge, but still that is not enough to alter the rate of unemployment.

2) China and Kenya had long engagement in terms of security. China's role in peace and security in Africa is crucial. Under the auspices of BRI, what opportunities lie in term of security cooperation for Kenya?

ANS: China's relation with Africa dates back to 1970's. There had been security cooperation with Tanzania and Zambia long ago. Initiation of BRI coincided with Kenya's transition, when President Moi Kibaki came to the office in 2002. There comes radical shift in the foreign policy of Kenya during the tenure of President Moi Kibaki. He steered the country to look towards the Far East which means China. All of a sudden, Chinese manufactured military products were highly visible. China revamped Kenya's military arsenal and joint training began. China has supported CCTV surveillance system in the capital city of Nairobi and radios for communication facility in the security sector. China also has exchanged arms personnel career as well as anti-tank missiles. Kenya is involved in the peace-keeping mission around the region which further gives leverage to China. China's engagement with African Union on continental level cemented its position as a player in the security dynamics. But Kenya's military policy is multifaceted. It does not put all eggs in one basket. It has long standing security agreement with UK as well as with US regarding 'War on Terror'. But currently, for Africa continent United States and UK both will not put their boots on ground in terms of security. Hence, if China can cover

that security gap by deploying troops for peace keeping mission, it is a good omen. But China's efficacy in terms of security dynamics still needs to be seen.

3) Kenya supports China's maritime claims in South-China Sea. How do you see both actors to support each other on regional and international issues in the post-BRI world?

ANS: Kenya supports China's maritime claims in South-China Sea. When Kenya has permanent seat in UN Security Council, its voting pattern has been very consistent in supporting China. Similarly, when International Court of Justice gave ruling in favor of Somalia in its maritime dispute with Kenya, Kenya blatantly refused to recognize the ruling with the backing of China. So it's a classic example of "You scratch my back, I will scratch your back". In the post-BRI world, China adopts the 'Carrot and Stick' policy. China lends money for infrastructure for its support on multilateral forum. Kenya supports China on the issue of Taiwan and Uighur Muslims, but it sometimes put Kenya in an awkward position as you need to be cautious while talking on controversial issues. Nevertheless, Kenya needs China's support for its maritime claims with Somalia, similarly, Kenya has to support China on international forums.

4) How do you see environmental degradation and challenge of pollution posed by BRI projects to Kenya?

ANS: The President of Kenya is on fore-front in terms of speaking on climate change. Kenya participated in COP26 and Paris Climate Agreement 2015. Kenya also hosts UN Environmental Program Office. Firstly, there are significant activists criticizing China's BRI projects in Kenya for environmental degradation and pollution. For instance, there had been protests and multiple litigation cases against Lamu coal project for causing environmental hazards. Asian Development Bank pull out of its funding due to international pressure on the use of coal, but China still funded it. In such scenario, Kenya feels at cross-road. Do you take Chinese money and operate such projects or stand on your position of environmental hazards. Secondly, Kenya has been trolled by China in terms of over-fishing and using Kenya as a dumping ground for its low-cost ICT materials. Thirdly, there had been litigation cases against SGR project and public pressure not to pass the railway line in the national resort as it will impact the natural habitat for wild life animals, but it went through. Though Kenya banned the use of single used plastic, which obstructed the prospects of Chinese companies, still, it is believed that issue of environmental degradation and pollution has never been on the table while discussing projects.

5) Is there any threat feeling among Kenyan regarding presence of China?

ANS: It is more xenophobic kind of fear in Kenya. Despite of cooperation, a huge section of Chinese remains racist. Protests have been seen against the tender being awarded to Chinese companies who brought basic items and Chinese citizen for very basic jobs. Even to conduct businesses, Chinese enterprises compete with local markets. Kenya is a poor country with poor immigration policy; hence, it is giving leverage to China for exporting its citizens. Without any doubt there exists anti-Chinese sentiments, and many attacks on

Chinese citizens have been reported leading to arrests and detention of locals. In such scenario, government needs to step in only to allow technical expertise from China. On casual jobs, Kenyans should be given preference and such businesses which alienate locals should not be allowed.

ANNEXURE 4

Interview Questions for Ms. Yike Fu, working as Climate Program Manager and Policy Analyst (Development Reimagined).

1) Which overwhelming economic dynamics are spotted between China and East African relations before BRI?

ANS: Historical factors matters. BRI is kind of broader definition from previously old Silk Road and Maritime Silk Road. Location is important for China to go in Africa and invest there. China-Africa relation broadly started since 1950's, which was further augmented after the FOCAC summits. China is interested in trade and economy, which can be seen from the fact that China's FDI in 2013 was more than US or any other counterpart.

2) BRI is facing resistance across the world. How do you see this challenge for China in Kenya amid US-China trade war and when its allies like India and Japan are also alienated by the initiative?

ANS: International community and some western social media is alleging China using debt diplomacy or debt trap to provide heavy loans to African countries. In return Chinese companies and government might be seeking some preferential policies. Me along with my fellow Hannah Ryder emphasized in our article, "Africa's too little debt crisis" that China lends differently. China spends and finance institutions tend to employ different methodology to access loans compare to other multi-lateral banks. So debt diplomacy seems more western back social media propaganda.

3) Post-election violence and cyclical political instability in Africa and Kenya might be a challenge to BRI. How do you see political risk to BRI in Kenya?

ANS: Political risk will be not so important but it definitely is one of the factors that will be considered. China's BRI is more bilaterally based; usually some of the key opaque infrastructural projects is agreed between the governments. If the Kenya has another election, and when the new president comes up, it depends if the president wants to sign the infrastructure plan and it only risk China's new projects. So political risk is a matter based, and it is not a key determiner for Chinese companies or Chinese financial institution to lend Kenya.

4) President Xi Jinping acknowledged in 2017 that BRI runs through areas marked by conflict, turbulence and crisis. How do you see security risk for BRI in Kenya?

ANS: In China there is saying, 'if you want to be rich, use infrastructure'. Africa is looking forward to its development from the development partners like US, EU, India and Japan. BRI is a kind of initiative whose aims and goals is to have regional connectivity as well as to develop infrastructure. If B3W plan of US and EU can finance Africa that would be a wonderful idea. Also trade war between US and China will not negatively affect Africa and Kenya. Though there had been trade war and COVID-19, China remains Africa's biggest trade partner for past 13 years.

ANNEXURE 5

Interview questions for: Patrick Anam, Trade Policy Analyst (Development Reimagined).

1) How do you see social dynamics of China's relations with East African countries before BRI?

ANS: China's relationship with EAC, are based on trade, infrastructure financing and people-to-people relationship. Most of the projects are not within BRI but are most important for regional integration.

2) How in your opinion AU can help Kenya in the sustainable development and meeting its UN Sustainable Development Goal?

ANS: the AU Agenda 2063 has sustainable goals, which are in tandem with Kenya's Vision 2030. What is needed is the implementation of goals. The AU can help with capacity building and financing through the African Development Bank and entrenching intra-African trade through AfCFTA.

3) COMESA offer its members benefits like harmonized market, industrial productivity, agriculture production, food security, rational exploitation of natural resources, transport, communications, infrastructure, free trade area and custom union. How it provides benefit to the sustainable development of Kenya?

ANS: COMESA offers market opportunities for Kenyan products and services and thereby creating employment opportunities which go into SDGs.