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African States' desire to emulate the People's Republic of China developmental path

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Research submitted to the faculty of Humanities at the University of the Witwatersrand in partial fulfilment of the requirements for the degree of

Master of Arts in Development Studies

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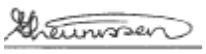
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Topic: **African States' Desire to Emulate the People's Republic of China Developmental Path.**

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DECLARATION

This work has not been previously submitted in whole, or part, for the award of any degree. It is my work. Each significant contribution to, and quotation in, this dissertation from the work, or works, of other people, has been attributed and has been cited and referenced**.**

Signature: E.T. Theunissen  **Date: 20th April 2020**

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ABSTRACT

The aspirations of Ethiopia and Rwanda to emulate certain aspects of the PRC's economic transformation and poverty reduction are explored. The PRC developmental path is attractive to Ethiopia as a possible alternative developmental paradigm to shift from agriculture to industrialization and the Rwandan regime's desire to create jobs in the manufacturing sector with training and employment of Rwandan nationals and the transfer of technology support from the PRC in Rwanda. The research seeks to determine if the PRC development path is advantageous and examine reasons why certain aspects thereof are of interest to the two case studies, in their quest for development. The research is grounded in modernization theory because the course of modernization the PRC embarked on describes specific characteristics of Chinese modernization that relate to socialism and are harmony based and people centred. A qualitative research design was followed to understand the appeal of this development path for the African case studies, while Process Tracing was utilized to comprehend how much the PRC development path is changing growth patterns on the African continent. The PRC development path, although imperfect, its efforts in removing poverty and supporting the poor and marginalized have been more applicable to sub-Saharan Africa. This development path concept has been on the rise and some major themes were introduced and researched in this report.

Key Words: PRC developmental path, Ethiopia, Rwanda, Economic Development and Poverty Reduction

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ABBREVIATIONS

AIIB	Asian Infrastructure Investment Bank
ASEAN	Association of Southeast Asian Nations
ATA	Ethiopian Agricultural Transformation Agency
ATDC	Agricultural Technologies Demonstration Centre
ATEC	Agreement on Trade, Economic and Technical Cooperation
AU	African Union
BRI	Belt and Road Initiative
CEPR	Centre for Economic Policy Research
CCP	Chinese Communist Party
EDPRS II	Economic Development and Poverty Reduction Strategy II
EPRDF	Ethiopian People's Democratic Revolutionary Front
EDRI	Ethiopian Development Research Institute
ERC	Ethiopian Railway Corporation
FDI	Foreign Direct Investment
FG	Flying Geese
FOCAC	Forum for China-Africa Cooperation
GATT	General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade
GDP	Gross Domestic Product
GNU	Government of National Unity
GTP	Growth and Transformation Plan
HDI	Human Development Index
ICT	Information and Communication Technology
IDA	International Development Association
IMF	International Monetary Fund
IP	Industrial Park

LRT	Light-Rail Transit
MDG	Millennium Development Goals
MIIT	Ministry of Industry and Information Technology
MINAFFET	Ministry of Foreign Affairs and Cooperation
MOFCOM	Ministry of Commerce of the People's Republic of China
NIE	Newly Industrializing Economies
OBOR	One Belt One Road
ONLF	Ogaden National Liberation Front
PEDL	Private Enterprise Development in Low-Income Countries
PRC	The People's Republic of China
PRSP	Poverty Reduction Strategy Papers
PT	Process Tracing
RANU	Rwandese Alliance for National Unity
RDB	Rwandan Development Board
RPA	Rwandan Patriotic Army
RPF	Rwanda Patriotic Front
RRA	Rwanda Revenue Authority
SAP	Structural Adjustment Program
SEZ	Special Economic Zones
SGR	Standard Gauge Railway
SME	Socialist Market Economy
SOE	State Owned Enterprise
TNA	Transitional National Assembly
TVE	Township and Village Enterprises
UN	United Nations
UNDP	United Nations Development Programme
UNSC	United Nations Security Council
UNU	United Nations University

US	United States
WB	World Bank
WC	Washington Consensus
WIDER	World Institute for Development Economics Research
WTO	World Trade Organization

CHAPTER ONE

Introduction

This research intends to explore the aspiration of Ethiopia and Rwanda to emulate certain aspects of the PRC's economic transformation and poverty reduction. Emulation is an extensively applied approach in international development practice. It is not the same as an imitation that involves an attempt to reproduce an overseas model as accurate as possible in another location, because emulation allows the option of a degree of selective and creative adaption (Fourie, 2012).

The emulation of the PRC developmental path is attractive to Ethiopia as a possible alternative developmental paradigm to shift from agriculture to industrialization (Gobaw, 2016), whereas the Rwandan regime expresses the desire to create jobs in the manufacturing sector with training and employment of Rwandan nationals and the transfer of technology support in Rwanda from the PRC (United Nations, 2016).

The literature is rife with debates revolving around developmental states. This concept came into sharp focus through the writings of Johnson (1982) an American author and professor at the University of California, and Ho Joon Chang (2010), a South Korean institutional economist who has broadened the concept.

Research Question

What stimulates the Ethiopian and Rwandan elites' desire to emulate the PRC development path of modernization, and if it is indeed seen as a development path for African countries', can the emulation of this development path serve as an example to follow?

Statement of Problem

The report seeks to determine if the PRC development path is advantageous and explore reasons why certain aspects thereof are of interest to the two case studies, Ethiopia, and Rwanda in their quest for development. To answer these questions, the PRC development path must first be explored, and

demonstrate the possibilities of applying it in Africa, showing why it would be advantageous for Africa's development.

Purpose of Research

To emulate a strong government and economic powerhouse is a natural desire for people (Kaplan, 2018). Therefore, it is of interest to find out what the governments in Rwanda and Ethiopia seek to find in this strategy. The Communist Party of China (CCP) government has used existing institutes - authoritarianism, while maintaining the International Monetary Fund (IMF) model of macroeconomic stability, and highlighted it in the PRC development strategy (Friedman, 2009).

Some African governments imagine themselves capable of emulating an authoritarian path towards economic development and poverty reduction. The emulation of certain features of the PRC developmental path and the appeal it has for the Ethiopian and Rwandan governments is important to comprehend the challenges associated with it because the geopolitical conditions are different from that of the PRC due to globalization.

Significance of Research

Africa is faced with obstacles such as hindrances in institutional transfer, insufficient state competences and industrial development for the continent (Mkandawire, 1998; Yami, Vogl, & Hauser, 2009 and Englehart, 2009). Economic devastation and human distress have been experienced by many countries in Africa, therefore, the desire of these two African countries to follow the PRC's development path is of interest.

Industrialization is generally regarded as being key to the development challenge. Historically it has been perceived that high per capita incomes relate to economies that are concentrated on industrial pursuits. There have been logical reasons confirming industrialization as a strategic development objective due to swift technological transfer and productivity growth, as well as crucial "technological and learning" spill-overs in and from the industry, whilst the terms of trade have come to favor manufactures against commodities (Kaplinsky, 2008:7). Having attracted international

investor interest in both countries, the PRC is debatably Africa's most important economic partner (Reynolds, 2018).

Background

Ethiopia

Ethiopia is Africa's second most populated country and was one of the African nations that avoided European colonization, the country suffered military rule and a devastating famine but was ruled by a single dynasty known as the House of Solomon until the 1970s (Felter, 2018). The Derg (Committee), a communist military junta ousted Haile Selassie in 1974, because he failed to address the ongoing famine. In 1989, some opposing factions combined and established the Ethiopian People's Revolutionary Democratic Front (EPRDF) with Meles Asres of the Tigray Peoples Liberation Front as the leader.

In 1991, Meles became prime minister of Ethiopia according to Economist (2009), the building of new roads, clinics and primary schools, as well as a range of agricultural initiatives were ascribed to his administration. The economic transformation in East Asia inspired the Meles regime to adapt features of the PRC development path to the economy in Ethiopia (Asayehgn 2019).

When prime minister Meles passed away in 2012, the Ethiopian government-appointed Hailemariam Dasalegn as prime minister to assure continued political stability (BTI, 2014). In May 2015, the ruling party EPRDF won the general elections but was criticized by the opposition. This led to violent protests and the government declared a state of emergency in October 2016, but as anti-government protests continued at the beginning of 2018, Hailemariam Dasalegn unexpectedly resigned.

Prime Minister Abiy Ahmed, was selected by the leaders of the EPRDF and took over a divided society in 2018. He has undertaken rapid political reforms at home and diplomatic relations abroad as the central themes of his administration. In July 2018, the war between Eritrea and Ethiopia ended with Ethiopia agreeing to evacuate disputed territory. A peace deal that ended a thirty-four-year armed rebellion was signed with the separatist Ogaden National Liberation Front (ONLF) (BBC

News, 2019). The 2019 Nobel Peace Prize was awarded to Abiy Ahmed for resolving the conflict between the two countries.

The Meles Zenawi administration in Ethiopia encouraged closer relations with the PRC and at present, the PRC enjoys a bilateral economic partnership with Ethiopia. Although exports of natural resources are scanty and of strategic interest to the PRC, there are other reasons for its importance which allows the PRC to influence sections of the Ethiopian economy (Shinn, 2014). The Ethiopian vision is to emulate the ideas of the PRC towards a goal for increased growth and rank as a middle-income country (Fourie, 2015). The leaders of both countries have definite visions for the future of their countries and are confident that they are heading for greatness (Cowan, 2018).

Peoples Republic of China

Deng Xiaoping became the pre-eminent leader of the PRC in December 1978. The policy shift made by Deng prepared the PRC for modernization whilst forming close relations with developed countries. In 1992 he stepped down, having lifted more than a hundred million PRC citizens to a better life in a stronger modern country (Kobayashi, Baobo & Sano 1999). Deng believed that it depended on the stability of the political situation for a country to advance towards democracy, consequently, the public demonstrations in 1989 and his efforts to maintain stability escalated into the Tiananmen Square massacre (Vogel, 2011).

Premier Zhu Rongji (1988-2003), succeeded Deng Xiaoping, while the leadership of President Jiang Zemin (1992-2002), advanced the economic development of the PRC and guided the country into the WTO. At the 17th Party Congress, he pledged to support reforms in the PRC as a way to fortify the Socialist Market Economy (SME) which he introduced (Ding, 2009; Tisdell, 2008). Zemin handed his leadership over to Hu Jiantao (2002-2012). President Xi Jinping (2012- present) maintains adaptable and innovative economic policies, his regime utilizes globalization and export orientation to attract foreign investment while keeping sound financial policies. (Xi, 2014). The 17th Party Congress outlined the PRC's remarkable achievements in the reform period. Xi confirmed continuing support for the PRC's reforms as a way of further strengthening the PRC's SME.

Rwanda

Just over two decades ago the thousand hills of Rwanda witnessed extraordinary events. The nation experienced a horrific genocide, was crippled after the slaughter of up to a million people, and its infrastructure and economy destroyed. The small, densely populated landlocked country has very little natural resources (Abbott et al., 2015), but Rwanda has a clear idea how it wants to attain economic development and reduce poverty, and the goal of the ruling elite is to transform Rwanda into a middle human development state (UNHDI, 2019). To accomplish this, the government is pursuing the ambitious social engineering of the rural sector (Straus & Waldorf, 2011).

Based on unity, ambition, and accountability, and with order and stability existing now, this central African country is currently acknowledged for its tidiness, coffee, and remarkable economic growth and is hailed as a model of transformation. Rwanda has President Paul Kagame in power since 2000 and he is recognized for coordinating this success through Vision 2020, a guideline for Rwanda's transformation into a middle-income country (Wiśniewska, 2019).

Themes

Economy

The definition for an economy is the large set of output and intake activities that relate or connect to ascertain the way the limited resources are distributed. The commodities and services produced and consumed are utilized to meet the demands of those occupying and working within the economy/economic system (Kenton, 2019).

From 2005 to 2012 Ethiopia was consciously and voluntarily attempting to emulate phases of the PRC's developmental achievements, even though there are significant dissimilarities between the two nations (Fourie, 2015). These contributions can be seen in various sectors such as the first industrial park, wind power station, highways, light railway, and the first cross-border electric railway.

Rwanda has many challenges due to high population density together with an inadequate resource centre (Thomas, 2008). Therefore, to meet this challenge, the government of Rwanda has adopted and implemented a comprehensive policy framework called Vision 2020, and prepared Poverty Reduction Strategy Papers (PRSP) for development determined to build a knowledge-based system for technology-led economic development. With Rwanda being landlocked and a distance away from harbors, exports and imports the country faces challenges as this entails transportation costs which makes trade difficult as it slows down industrial forms of development (Brady & Spence, 2010).

Rwanda's post-1994 government had the formidable task of rebuilding the country and to reinstate it as a functioning nation, but Rwanda's governments have since changed from state-building reconstruction and providing basic services to furthering growth and transformation (Abbott et al., 2015). Rwanda has been described as the African region's economic miracle because it has become a rapidly developing country on the African mainland. President Paul Kagame has revived the economy, decreased corruption and upheld political stability (Nweze, 2018).

Governance

There are many definitions of governance, and most are centred on authority, decision-making, and meetings. Governance according to a World Bank definition is how power is implemented in the administration of the economic and social resources of a country. Governance is the ability as a government, to implement regulations and provide services. Fukuyama (2013) stated that. Governance is also defined as measures that are intended to provide transparency, rule of law, stability, empowerment, and accountability, etc.(IBE-UNESCO, 2015). In layman's terms, it could be described as the political processes that exist in and between formal institutions.

African leaders are overlooking the possibilities of the continent to grow beyond its national political power, and have not taken advantage of using the mineral wealth, causing African nations to lapse into poverty (Negussie, 2018). Africa's oldest independent country Ethiopia, and second-largest populated country follows a path of the developmental state founded on the PRC system, although there are significant differences between the PRC and Ethiopia (Felter, 2018). The PRC has its

interests in Ethiopia, which the African country understands although the close relations with the PRC will not terminate those Ethiopia has with the West (Shinn, 2014).

Policies on a range of issues such as investment, poverty, health, education, defense, justice, human rights, and democracy have been adopted by the Ethiopian government that is following the constitution and international norms and standards. This forms part of Ethiopian law that is often different in practice when it comes to democracy and human rights. The government is not subject to the rule of law, as well as legal and administrative challenges, and might be regarded as flexible. Economic strategies are implemented and are relatively effective, but the authoritarian government does not implement policies within proper legal frameworks and accountability structures (BTI, 2018). The Ethiopian government had long-term strategic interests for the country, but there was no indication that the government's political, social, economic, military, and environmental policies were supported because it chose loyalty and conformity over competence and expertise.

The post-genocide regime headed by the Rwandan Patriotic Front (RPF) was to adopt democratic governance, a government of national unity was established which included other political parties making Rwanda an autocracy with power resting on Major General Paul Kagame as noted by the scholars Sebarenzi & Twagiramungu (2019). Mbanda noted the influences determining the leadership and ambitions of President Kagame and President Xi, and how similar they are regarding development and vision (Kagire 2019).

Rwanda's strong overall control has been a driving force behind its rapid growth in the World Bank (2018) reports, and this provides a significant comparative advantage in the region. The PRC and Rwanda have signed fifteen deals ranging from trade to infrastructure which also includes loans and grants to fund key road projects and the development of Rwanda's new Bugesera airport, all under the umbrella of the BRI (Zhou, 2018).

In the PRC the change in leadership, system and municipal politics influenced the political and economic accomplishments (Kamrany & Jiang 2015). Xi Jinping Thought's key themes of 'The Chinese Dream' are fundamentally rooted in all aspects of the CCP decision-making essential to socialism with Chinese characteristics.

Human Capital: Education and Health

Access to education and health are components which contribute to human welfare and has been a priority for the government of Ethiopia who has over the past decade invested a substantial share of its resources. The education reform program in Ethiopia, now in its third phase is funded by the International Development Association (IDA) which assisted in the transformation of the education system so it can concentrate on improving student learning (Appleton & Teal, 2002; World Bank, 2019).

Due to Rwanda being landlocked, hilly with thick forests, a scarcity of exportable natural resources, and inadequate skilled or educated workforce, leaves the country dependent on agriculture. After the genocide in 1994 Rwanda has spent more than twenty years rebuilding its physical, economic, and social infrastructure. Rwanda still faces challenges regarding health in the country although a healthcare system has been put in place. It has achieved targets for health as the health service delivery system is designed as the administrative system of Rwanda (Abbott et al., 2017). Policies and activities that were not beneficial to the development of human capital have tainted the history of Rwanda.

Labour was an important factor in the development progress of the PRC. During the 1970s, high levels of human capital existed because of birth control, resulting in women receiving an education which allowed them to earn higher wages. Access to health was high on the government's agenda. In the 1950s a Cooperative Medical system was established involving programs for healthcare in the rural areas with the barefoot doctors (Diop 2015).

Poverty

There are many definitions of poverty. The World Bank describes poverty as the absence of many resources that lead to physical deficiency. The United Nations defines poverty as a deprivation of choices and possibilities and regards it as a violation of human dignity. Not being able to be a part of society means not having food and clothes for a family. The social sciences view poverty as a

social condition where there is a lack of resources needed to survive or to sustain the minimum level of living standards (United Nations, 2018; World Bank, 2020).

In Ethiopia, attempts have been made to outline the triggers, such as manufactured or natural disasters and the consequences it has on the country's development in agriculture. Drought is still common in Ethiopia, and many in Ethiopia are still living in poverty making it one of the world's poorest countries (Borgen Project 2017). Millions of Ethiopians suffered food insecurity due to the famine which impacted on food production, while the farmers were prevented from cultivating the soil, provide irrigation and farm equipment because of the lack of land property rights that stem from an outdated agricultural policy. (BTI, 2018).

The urbanization in the PRC was regarded as an improvement for the country's economy but has become one of the leading causes of poverty in the PRC with severe effects in the rural areas (Di Fabio, 2018). The PRC under Xi Jinping's government supports precision poverty alleviation (The Economist, 2018), and his administration is concentrating on eliminating the last parts of rural poverty by 2020, giving special attention to individual households needing support rather than whole villages. Since 2012 the rural poor, the ill, the handicapped and the destitute are the main recipients of the PRC welfare programs, market mechanisms have also been deployed in the fight against poverty.

There are many causes of poverty in Rwanda, the population increased but the agricultural productivity did not, and there are limitations on agricultural development due to the rough terrain, soil erosion and the lack of modern technology (Cooke, 2011). As mentioned already Rwanda has no ocean port access, the transportation costs limit the farmers' income from agriculture, and the type of human settlements in some parts of the country have changed because many who have repatriated do not possess the land, housing, and assets anymore. In the past few years concerns have been mounting because economic growth has not led to poverty reduction

Conclusion

In this chapter the introduction gave a brief explanation of the importance of this research, provided a background that outlined some historical events leading up to the economic successes in Ethiopia, the PRC, and Rwanda. Some major themes were introduced, and the key issues that will be examined are the emulation of an authoritarian path towards economic development and poverty reduction in Ethiopia and Rwanda. The research objectives are outlined to provide a historical summary of the three countries, Rwanda, Ethiopia, the PRC, and impart insight in the PRC's policy on poverty alleviation.The report provides an overview of the PRC vision, as well as an analysis of the developmental lessons the PRC offers for industrialisation in Ethiopia and the promotion of a manufacturing sector in Rwanda.

Chapter two explores the background on the subject matter, and the literature review in the first part of the chapter is a guide in the following chapters to what has already been written. In the second part of the chapter two, the theoretical framework is integrated drawing from five theories, economic development, globalisation, structural transformation, and the Akamatsu's theory of the flying geese. The Flying Geese describes how or why industries shift from developed countries to developing countries. The inclusion of the flying geese leading the dragon makes for an interesting analogy of the relationship between the PRC and Africa.

Chapter three provides a description of the methodology and data collection and the incorporation of the case studies Rwanda and Ethiopia.

The fourth chapter's discussion centres around the experiences of African countries and the PRC development path, especially focusing on "emulation". Furthermore, it looks at the importance of the PRC's development path.

Chapter five and six provide detailed historical background on Ethiopia and Rwanda and some of the economic challenges. It also provides a look at the concept of "emulation" from a political, economic, governance and desirability point of view, which includes a comprehensive view of Rwanda's agriculture sector, trade and investment, manufacturing infrastructure, communication, and technology.

CHAPTER TWO

Introduction

The already available literature will support the report to understand the attraction the PRC's development path has for Ethiopia and Rwanda and their desire to emulate it. The emulation of the PRC's development path and the development of these two African States require a review of related literature. This chapter unloads strategies, alternative paths of development and theories which might have appealed to these two African states desire for emulation of the PRC's development path as it has been a subject of discussion in Rwanda, especially following the notorious genocide and its aftermath, whilst Ethiopian leaders have always admired and desired to emulate an Asian development path.

Definition of Development

Development is supposed to improve people's lives and concentrate on their well-being, livelihood, capability, equity, and sustainability. It is expected to lead to the elimination of poverty and the repressive state. Economically, development implies that requirements such as work. and the increase of domestic wealth could be realized because development difficulties are inclined to be transferred to economic setbacks (Shareia, 2015, Cassell, 2016).

Weak institutions are still the burdens of Africa because bureaucracy, defense, tax collections, rule of law and the development of state institutions is being avoided (Rodrik, Subramanian, & Trebbi, 2004). Although there are improvements in African living conditions and growth in economies, the continents still fall behind when compared with the other continents.

For the African continent to maintain economic growth and development, the leaders recognized the need for assistance and lessons from those who have achieved development. Due to the neglect of developed countries, the PRC gained popularity in Africa. Market access, physical infrastructure and the examples of successful programs and policies in the PRC that lifted people out of poverty are what appeals to Africans (Monyae, 2019).

Development is also expected to provide for markets as a demonstration of human freedom. Just like other developmental states, Rwanda and Ethiopia's leaders aspire to safeguard state control and independence that were established before domestic and foreign investment became influential (Gagliardone & Golooba-Mutebi, 2016a).

Speculation increased since the early 2000's that the PRC's development trajectory could provide a development path for African countries to follow (Fourie, 2015). Ethiopia illustrates the forces that assist, influence, and specify emulation of the PRC in a country where this development is happening. Certain countries policy makers where provided with a development path by the PRC that seemingly let them direct and manage processes of globalization and liberation which they view as a serious threat and inevitable. For Ethiopia, the gradual and progressive nature of the reform in the PRC made the EPRDF aware of the necessity for Ethiopia to retain a national strategy and that the PRC's development path was not only desirable but also provided the possibility of more self-reliance.

Developmental States in Africa

Africans have been seeking to escape the replications of war and plunder and have reached out to the PRC. The PRC's relations with Africa include the extraction of raw materials, but the experience of transformation in the PRC proves that many positive, as well as negative lessons, can be gained from it (Campbell, 2008). The PRC, when dealing with Africa has presented itself as a large emerging nation collaborating with underdeveloped nations.

Much has been written and associated with the development of post-reform PRC's current international position and the developing world, but the influence and reputation of the PRC as a development path is increasing, and interest shown has major consequences. Ethiopia and Rwanda's desire to emulate the PRC's development path, these two African countries have been viewed as the fastest developing nations, and their leadership has been endorsed for raising people out of extreme poverty and stabilizing their countries after violent civil wars (Matfess 2015).

These two African country's efforts to emulate the PRC's development path emphasize economic development and poverty reduction. Ethiopia demonstrates that the PRC's contribution cannot be denied in infrastructure growth, Information and Communication Technology (ICT) development and hydroelectricity projects. Regarding issues of governance, the PRC's non- interference policy is welcomed by the Ethiopian government (Thakur, 2009).

Rwanda has demonstrated how a local African government can act in achieving the implementation of skills transfer programs to facilitate structural transformation and assist in starting the industrialization of their economies. Rwanda's attention has turned to the creation of a manufacturing base to maintain the country's changing economic needs and is looking to the PRC for technology transfer to facilitate long-term interests such as the country's industrialization goals. In growing the manufacturing sector in Rwanda, a PRC entrepreneur set up a garment factory in response to President Kagames's "Made in Rwanda" development initiative. However, the desire of the Rwandan government to improve local manufacturing caused trade tension with the US under the African Growth and Opportunity Act (AGOA), because the Rwandan government stated that refusing hand-me-downs is necessary for building its national manufacturing sector. The US suspended duty-free benefits for imports of Rwandan clothing into the US on the 30th July 2018 (Eom, 2018).

PRC – Africa Relations

Current PRC-Africa relations were founded and planned in 2000 at the Forum for China-Africa Cooperation (FOCAC) summit which specified conceptual principals to enhance their alliance. A gradual and combined move towards partnership stressed the support for bilateral cooperation. The China-Africa summit meeting of 2006 took place in the PRC and was attended by all forty-eight African countries having diplomatic relations with the PRC. Most of the delegations from Africa were led by presidents or prime ministers who found the opportunities for aid and trade and the PRC development path appealing. The PRC leadership named the conclusion of FOCAC 2006 as the PRC's "Year of Africa" indicating a remarkable achievement for the PRC (Zhang, 2007; Naidu, 2007; Plessis, 2014; King, 2016).

The Belt and Road Project

The African continent has been utilizing current platforms such as FOCAC in shaping the cooperation agenda with the PRC by incorporating their goals and growing needs whilst seizing the opportunity of the PRC's policy shifts, for example, the BRI. With Africa being integrated into global value chains, the continent is important for the BRI project as a destination for the PRC's overseas contracting outward investment because it is eager to relocate its excess industrial capacity, develop global companies and establish worldwide value chains (Alden & Jiang, 2019a).

The PRC's financially ambitious Belt and Road Initiative (BRI) venture will undoubtedly influence the African continent (Alden et al., 2017). There was no mention of the BRI during the FOCAC VI in 2015, but industrialization and Agenda 2063 were referred to on numerous occasions. The BRI poses the possibility of tracking African decision-making power, as well as the opportunity the Africa-China relationship allows for the continent to pursue its development agenda. Therefore, the BRI should be the main feature in the African continent's reasoning about the PRC (Van Staden, 2018).

The BRI presents opportunities for African development which will afford access to new markets and finance for infrastructure. In 2015 FOCAC identified the importance of industrialization for Africa as it will link markets beyond the PRC between Africa, Europe, and South-East Asia. It could channel the PRC's overcapacity in infrastructure development to Africa which needs industrialization. This project promises forms of multilateralism, but national governments are at risk of falling into debt (Staden et al., 2018).

Additional support expressed in a communique was given to the BRI at the May 2017 Belt and Road Forum for International Cooperation Summit. Even though Africa was initially marginalized in the BRI, the engagement with Djibouti and the stationing of the PRC's first overseas military base there has consolidated Africa as part of a key mechanism of the PRC's development and foreign policy which can open up development and financial opportunities for parts of East and North Africa (Van Staden, 2018).

PRC Alternative

Developmental Path

The PRC's development path, although imperfect, their efforts in removing poverty and supporting the poor and marginalized have been more effective for sub-Saharan Africa than what is known to be the US model. The US model as represented by the IMF designed Structural Adjustment Program (SAP) is ideologically driven and considers sub-Saharan Africa or other developing countries as growing civilizations in which Western institutions will develop. The PRC is regarded by many as modest, the US as arrogant; the PRC leads by example, the US by lectures and sanctions, if not missiles. The inability of the US model to deliver the anticipated results as seen from the failures in Haiti, the Philippines and Iraq, makes the PRC's development path more appealing to the poor in the world. Accordingly, the PRC's development path has improved the global political discourse and as a result, increased policy options. (Zhang, 2007).

The economic transformation of the PRC was determined by certain issues that proved successful for the PRC and could be applied to the African development process. The PRC leadership was aware that they had to provide economic growth to ensure stability in the country and the best way to create wealth was through a free market economy. Human capital formation was ascertained as an important element in the remarkable success of the PRC, while major investments in good quality education produced outcomes that made the shift from reliance on a low value, labor-intensive mode of production to the capital and information-based technologies (Shelton & Paruk, 2008).

This allows urban infrastructure to be improved by municipalities through the national land system of government with land finance, and State-Owned Enterprises (SOE) undertake national strategic goals (Yao, 2018). The achievements of the PRC offer valuable lessons for the political transformation of developing countries. Therefore, countries are to explore on their own how the transformation is to occur.

Africa has been the testing ground for political engineering in recent history, which Podelsky (2018) examined to ascertain the circumstances under which autocracy is not unpleasant and promotes

economic development, and whether autocracy is a better path of development than democracy considering the circumstances in some countries. The PRC has established free-market capitalism supported by the authoritarian one-party state with emphasis on political stability and is an example of a state-led development strategy. The success of the PRC government's development reforms lifted millions of people out of poverty and is unmatched for that period.

The symbolic attraction of the PRC

The PRC is being experienced as a growth miracle that has globally changed economic paths (Borghi, 2000). Having separated itself from the 'we-copy-everybody' image the country is now amongst those at the forefront of innovation. It was an impoverished country that suffered oppression by Western imperialism and was hindered by the pursuit of unsuccessful forms of socialism within the PRC. This resonates with African leaders who seek to find a constructive, successful development path from the developing world that does not jeopardize established government interests (Alden, 2005).

The PRC's development path is also known as the Beijing consensus, this developmental path challenged the West in various ways in combating underdevelopment and securing beneficial systems. A realistic approach to transformation that paid attention to the people's urgent demands, was the PRC's main pursuit since 1978. The changes within the PRC underwent constant experimentation on a small scale before being applied. Reforms were gradually implemented in the inadequate institutions to serve modernization. The change in the PRC was led by a sound pro-development state, adept in influencing internal agreement on transformation and ensuring political and economic strength to work at comprehensive internal reforms (Zhang, 2007).

The PRC has maintained a tradition of selective learning which includes aspects from the neoliberal US model stressing market behavior, free enterprise, global development, and worldwide trade. Beijing held on to its strategy of adjusting to overseas concepts by selecting the time, place, and manner, which makes the PRC experience unique. The appropriate arrangement and advancement presented a clear pattern of the PRC's post-1978 change namely; first stage and easy reforms were carried out in rural, coastal and economic areas, whilst urban, inland and political reforms, as well

as difficult ones, were implemented second because the abilities secured in the first stage were advantageous conditions in the following stage (Zhang, 2007).

In 2007 former United Nations (UN) Secretary-General Ban Ki-Moon conveyed "hope that African leaders and African countries will also try to emulate the PRC experience and economic development and policies, bringing about good governance and the importance of partnership with the outside world". Articles in international magazines and hosted online debates on the motion have identified that "The PRC offers a better development path than the West", and that the PRC development path is "the biggest ideological threat the West has felt since the end of the cold war" (Fourie, 2012:13). PRC's flexible comprehension of conditionality when referring to the "no strings attached policy" is often used to illustrate the PRC's approach and is an attractive aspect (Cheru & Obi, 2010:171).

The PRC development path concept has been on the rise, and Ethiopian elites have consciously and voluntarily engaged in efforts to emulate aspects of the PRC's apparent development achievements. The rule of Meles Zenawi in Ethiopia provided an example that challenged many of the assumptions regarding this concept, but eventually demonstrated the continued advantage of the concept as African leaders often expressed their desire to learn and see what they can manifest in their countries from the PRC development path (Fourie, 2015).

Critique of the PRC's Development Path

The PRC's development path has serious limitations, as the PRC is a one-party state and promotes enlightened authoritarianism. There is little evidence to understand how the PRC's development path operates to give insight into the causes and effects relating to the goal of the development path. The PRC is engaged in a historical transformation and is politically burdened to restart an economy affected by debt (Li, 2015).

The biggest challenge for the PRC's development path is likely to come from within the PRC as there is hardly an internal consensus on what the PRC development path entails. It displays the ability of an experimental and bottom-up approach over the broad and top-down approach that creates institutional problems. The West attributes the success of the PRC to its huge population, an

enormous number of low-cost labor supply, appealing domestic market for foreign investment and scope for the introduction of technology, strong government backing and access to the US market. These unique conditions within the PRC contributed to its economic success (Li, 2015).

Few countries have the same conditions as the PRC to emulate the PRC development path, the regime in Beijing has given new hope to authoritarian rulers, so they desire to adapt certain PRC structures of control. As a path for the developing world, the current leadership in Beijing keeps a low profile on the PRC's way of reform. (Nathan, 2015). The PRC development path is regarded as internally flawed, historically and culturally specific, being impractical given the environmental and socio-economic of the reform era and too generic to represent an exclusive yet transferable development path (Fourie, 2015).

Key objectives of Africa's China policy

The PRC's Ministry of Foreign Affairs clearly stated its policy towards Africa through the release of white papers on the PRC's Africa Policy. Firstly in 2006, and then an updated version in 2015 with the outline of principles that guide policy and the sectors of focus for Beijing. Although not expressed in official statements, African states and the AU have policies in place towards the PRC. The strategic objectives of Africa's PRC policy are manifested and contain the following principles; not publicly pronounced, the main purpose for many African states is to mobilize financial and technical resources from the PRC to advance economic transformation and development which is the main drive for many states in Africa, harness the support of the PRC on numerous security and foreign affairs in the international arena for regional powers, and the African Union (AU) feature as important when considerations to advance the representation of African countries in the United Nations Security Council (UNSC). Several African regimes have sought to attract alternative development partners and practices from Asia to move beyond Foreign Direct Investment (FDI). "Look East" policies have been generated by Ethiopia and Rwanda taking the PRC into account (Alden & Jiang, 2019:4).

There are questions as to whether the PRC, due to the size and diversity of the partnership forged with Ethiopia, embodies a polity development path for Ethiopia. The economic success of the PRC appealed to Ethiopia just like many governments in developing countries (Cabestan, 2012). Addis Ababa perceived the reforms introduced by Beijing as lessons to speed up their development, improve trade relations through the introduction of SEZ's and invite foreign investments. It is the PRC's developmental path that provides a real attraction for the Ethiopian government, but unlike other African countries, Ethiopia welcomed the authoritarian development path of the PRC as Meles Zenawi had great admiration for his country's Asian partner. The EPRDF recognized that adopting neo-liberalism to eradicate poverty in Ethiopia would be impossible, after all the phenomenal economic transformation of the PRC is an alternative (Gebremariam & Bayu, 2017).

Rwanda took longer to be noticed by the Asian giant but is catching up. The PRC has served as an example in development for Rwanda, but there are concerns as the PRC's development path often favors stability and economic growth over personal and social freedoms (Kuo, 2016b). In 1995 an ambassador from Rwanda to the PRC, Silas said that it is not a matter of Rwanda emulating what the PRC did, but Rwanda aims to understand the PRC's ability to overcome its difficult past which included years of civil war, famine, poverty and the devastating Cultural Revolution, and still manage to develop. The recent industrial transformation in the PRC has presented Rwanda with the extent of state-direction required for levels of growth, and it is not certain whether any country will be able to fully emulate this type of transformation (Bishop et al., 2018).

African Theories of Development

The deep-seated bias, and the belief that Africans are incapable of making progress, blamed African leaders and societies for the problems and failures in Africa without looking at the individuality and diversity in the African countries. Yet, historical evidence indicates that there are African countries that have the vision and competence to attain economic growth (Oqubay, 2015).

Real independence is the key to development. Ikechukwu (2016) calls for inward-looking development, and to some extent looks outward, because Africans tend to depend on external allies for development. It is this dependency syndrome that is regarded as the main cause of African underdevelopment. The following theories recorded by Ikechukwu (2016) stem from an ideological

setup by Africans who administered the continent after independence. These were Black African intellectuals who had been in Europe or America and their ideas came to have an explicit character, a philosophic attitude and adopted names

Pan-Africanism

Blaise Dialogue and Du Bois were pioneers of Pan-Africanism even though they were not Africans but of African descent. The first Pan-African congress meeting was held in Paris in 1919 with an invitation extended to all Africans both at home and in the Diaspora, regardless of color, race or sex, to unite and decolonize the African continent and install equality, preserve human rights, peace, justice, and humanity. The supporters of Pan-Africanism believed that there is no real development in a colonized environment, therefore, an empowering environment must be in place which is decolonization. Reforms required to speed up development rely on historical and other circumstances, the PRC created such conditions for the past four decades during the period of 1949-1979 (Popov & Sundaram, 2019), while the liberation movements in Rwanda with a restricted democracy and Ethiopia that has a severely restricted democracy are led by sub nationalists (Salih, 2007).

Consciencism

When Kwame Nkrumah emerged as president of independent Ghana, he expressed his vision for development in the theory of Consciencism and made it his leadership ideology. He strongly believed that for Africa to develop it must be liberated from colonialism. Nkrumah defined the African personality by the collection of humanist values which lead to the traditional African society. African liberation, unity, and development is the main purpose of Nkrumah's vision of Consciencism.

African Socialism

African socialism differs from traditional Marxism and emphasizes the restoration of a specific mentality and method. This kind of socialism is built on communitarianism not collective, democratic not totalitarian, and originates on the primacy of law, not on the dictatorship of a class. Julius Nyerere of Tanzania accepted African Socialism as a theory of development and leadership

ideology, he claimed that socialism the same as democracy is an attitude of the mind and a tendency of considering individual or collective wealth only on how it is used to serve others. Since 1974 Ethiopia is a self-professed socialist state and the election of Abiy Ahmed was to bring real multi-party democracy to Ethiopia (Fowdy, 2020). Rwanda's path to sustainable growth and development can be traced back to Paul Kagame's strong leadership and sense of urgency, while its politics is based on participation and consensus-building (Carbone, 2019).

African Humanism

Kenneth Kaunda of Zambia developed African Humanism which he regarded to an end, and the end is pure socialism. This is an original African concept and not Western because, for Kaunda, man is at the center of everything as this conception of humanism has equality set out in it as he believes all people have a moral right to equal opportunities. The arrival of the PRC in Africa has provided African countries with a new horizon and its economic take-off has brought benefits by providing a new export market for African countries. As a strategic partner with Africa the PRC focuses on political equality, mutual trust, economic cooperation and cultural exchange (Lafargue, 2005; Sautman & Hairong, 2007).

Kagisano

The instruction in the spirit of the four main social virtues of unity, peace, harmony, and a sense of community is the developmental ideology of Seretse Khama of Botswana. Democracy, self-reliance, and development were the concepts included in what Khama viewed had been in the Botswana history for it to be fulfilled. Hard work both physical and mental for the general good on both individual and general positions are the major channels towards achieving this goal which can lead to a better and fruitful life if adopted.

Arab-Islamic Socialism

Mo'Ammar Gadhafi of Libya was a follower of this theory and was influenced by his religion when forming his ideology which culminated in socialism that cannot be labelled as African or Western.

This kind of socialism is different as it afforded private property to individuals on a limited scale, denies the legitimacy of communism and imperialism, but derives the concept from Islam. There is a guarantee of the right to personal property and trust in the union of the working class of society and does not allow exploitation of any class. In the PRC, land reform brought a halt to exploitation and was limited for economic and political reasons which assisted to finance industrialization (Stavis & Lippit, 2020). In 1975 the Derg in Ethiopia proclaimed a land reform with the goal of starting complete transformation in the land tenure system and its social and political structures. To respond to the rising social and economic development challenges in Rwanda the process of land reform became more demanding justifying some overturned laws and adapting the official and recognised (Ottaway, 1977 ; AfDB, 2016).

The belief that African traditional society is socialist and community in nature is incorrect because it is capitalist, but not capitalistic like that of the West with its exploitative nature that breeds conflict. Regardless of the failure of their theories to develop Africa, the seed of economic independence has been sowed in the minds of future African leaders who must not make the same mistakes of past leaders to think that development will come to Africa through involvement with external social developments (Ikechukwu, 2016). According to Ozoigbo, (2011) the Federal Republic of Biafra still serves as a model for those who seek development. The Biafrans were facing a blockade but were able to fabricate equipment and tools to fight the war of survival. Therefore, Africa's relationship with the outside world should be mutual and comparative and not a dependent one.

Theoretical Framework

Economic development

Economic development stems from the twentieth century and poses the question regarding the dynamics influencing progress and growth. Adam Smith claimed that there are natural harmonies in economic life which he defines as the invisible hand stabilizing the market. Smith associated the concept of division of labor as the key element to economic growth because he regarded capital accumulation and the steady growth of the market as the outcome of the division of labor, whilst he

appreciated the function of technological innovation in the process of economic development (Piętak, 2014).

Roy Harrod and Evsey Domar suggested that the growth rate of a country rests on the output of resources and the amount of investment, ascertained through national savings. In the Harrod-Domar model, growth is maintained through growth rate linkages, such as the actual growth rate, guaranteed growth rate, and natural growth rate. This condition is termed as "*golden age*", amassed economic stability guarantees complete utilization of capital and labor (Piętak, 2014,51). The development of the PRC is an outstanding manifestation because the huge national reserves and mass production of supplies were key contributions to the PRC's rapid growth (Raiser, 2019).

Globalization

Globalization is a theory of development, a United States (US) and Europe-centric model of development as noted by Shareia (2015). It is an international system of inclusion with a specific focus on commercial exchanges, whose main idea is the distribution of global entrepreneurship. This theory concentrates on networks and world-wide relations and clarifies inequality through the identification of cultural and economic features on a global scale. The theory proposes a unified world-wide system, global enhancements in communication, built on culture is the incredible advancement in technology that enables interaction worldwide. Globalization implies that the formation of the world-wide system and the functions of nations in the international distribution of trade and labor, are essential to comprehend the social, political, and economic transformations within certain countries. The increased worldwide attention given to trade and politics will certainly lead to the developed and developing countries experiencing an increase in interactions.

Among the societies, organizations, and administrations of several countries regarding the economy, culture, and politics, globalization is regarded as a process of interconnection. Cultural, economic, and political globalization are the three main areas of globalization, especially economic globalization. It is the sharing of local, national, and regional financial systems and economic integration around the globe due to the increased cross-border mobility of trade, technology, services, and goods. International trade and investment can drive the process of globalization (Addis &

Zuping, 2018). Whilst appreciating the concept of globalization there can never be an achievable development for Africa based on a dependent approach, that is why the PRC's development path is so appealing as it fits into the existing concerns regarding globalization by proposing another path where the integration of global concepts are thoroughly tested against the demands of local suitability (Shelton & Paruk, 2008).

Structural Transformation

Industrialization is recognized as a mechanism in the quest to be industrialized and have policymakers in underdeveloped nations focus on rapid modernization. Unfortunately, the import-substitution strategies which were adopted resulted in a well-meant but ill-advised government policy, expensive mistakes, and low or no structural transformation. Structural transformation is a requirement for continued growth and poverty reduction and relocating low-productivity activities maintains productivity gains that represent economic development. Opportunities for economic transformation will be abundant especially for the low-income countries in Africa in an increasingly globalized world to move into rapid industrialization and structural transformation (Lin, 2011).

In 2011 Justin Yifu Lin gave an annual lecture sponsored by the World Institute for Development Economics (WIDER) in co-operation with the Mozambique government in Maputo entitled "*From Flying Geese to Leading Dragons*". The lecture indicated his findings relating to the industrialization of rapidly developing countries and explained some causes of lagging growth in poorer regions. Stating that developing countries can be described as having at least one or all three of the economically favorable conditions such as low wages, cheap raw materials locally available and trading within proximity (Lin, 2011).

The PRC's advancing from low-skilled sectors with some eighty-five million labor-intensive manufacturing jobs, will open a large source of employment opportunities that African countries can draw from. The status of African economies is interesting as they currently form the main development challenge, and many signs of limited structural transformation show that African countries are still exporters of goods. The analysis of McMillan & Rodrik (2011) explains the cause for the persistent gradual progress in African economies since independence, while Asian economies

have successfully transformed their export sectors toward advanced technology and greater value-added commodities. Latecomer countries can follow selected lead countries as the FG has successfully served catching-up countries.

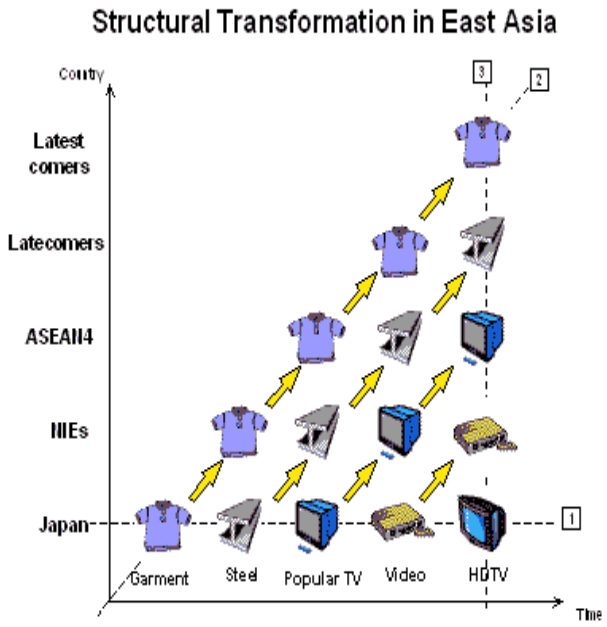
Flying Geese Theory

Flying Geese (FG) theory is Akamatsu's theory that was initially published in a seminal paper and became famous during the 1930s in Japanese articles. The theory was then translated into English and presented after World War II in English articles (Okita, 1985). Akamatsu's FG theory is hardly known in Western countries because it refers to less industrialized nations adopting the industries of more advanced countries and following them down the path of development (Korhonen (1994).

Wild geese flying pattern in economic development, is a term used to describe the progressive development of countries whose curves look like sections of flying wild geese chasing each other which takes on the form of an inverted V-shaped curve. This indicates that the competitiveness improves and then declines over time, in an open economy. This pattern could be observed in Asia over the past decades.

The FG pattern explains the sequence of the catching-up process of industrial development in late-comer countries from the following three aspects: intra-industry dimension, the inter-industry and global distribution of labor dimension. First, it involves the development of products within the unindustrialized country, primarily the goods are imports and the production then shifts and is linked to the imports, in the end, the goods are for export, i.e. import, production, and export. The second dimension includes the sequential onset and expansion of industries, industrial production moves from consumer goods to capital goods. The last dimension requires subsequent moving of industries across countries as factory prices rise, labor-intensive industries in developed countries steadily lose the comparative advantage, and tend to move to low factor cost developing nations that are in the process of catching-up (Okita, 1985; Schröppel & Mariko, 2003; Lin, 2011).

The FG pattern describes the industry shift from developed countries to developing countries that had to catch-up. For example, the relocation of Japan's textile production to the Asian Newly Industrializing Economies (NIE) then onto the Association of Southeast Asian Nations (ASEAN) nations. PRC was leading in some light manufactures namely footwear and toys at the beginning of the 1990s. Japan was developing in technology with advanced gaming devices, although it continued to dominate in toy manufacturing. In the 1990's the PRC was still largely exporting live animals, but in the 2000's it moved up the product ladder and exported sophisticated manufactured plastics, electrical machinery and parts, as well as television receivers, thus, overtaking Japan in world export shares (Kwan, 2002; Lin, 2011).



Source: www.GRIPS.ac.jp

When Akamatsu developed the FG approach, FDI had a minor role in economic development, yet he was aware of the importance of foreign influence for economic development with a focus on foreign technology and knowledge to assist in delivering domestic production, instead of regarding technology as a feature of production in isolation. The original FG theory, a developing country view is far from a neoclassical approach, which is prevailing within global financial institutions such as the IMF and the World Bank (WB) (Schröppel & Mariko, 2003).

The PRC had adopted the FG strategy according to the writings of Oizumi & Fernando Muñoz Pérez (2014) and the research of Brautigam, Xiaoyang, & Xia (2018) states that factories in Ethiopia are now producing products which were previously produced in the PRC. Many investors such as large, export-oriented companies have sought to relocate operations for production from the PRC to Ethiopia with trainers and technical experts as part of international networks and value chains.

The current economic superpower status of the PRC came with increased earnings and production costs, resulting in PRC manufacturers relocating their plants to countries where operations are cheaper. Companies from the PRC are employing locals from Mauritius, Nigeria to Ethiopia, which could see African manufacturing move up the ladder of industrialization, indicating a new phase of structural transformation. The FG model if applied, will be able to explain the arrival of PRC operations in Africa, and if the PRC is the leading goose and the African countries its follower geese (Kagame, 2017).

Sir Arthur Lewis developed a theory of economic growth which dealt with problems of poverty-stricken states with abundant labor-power. He proposed a model that assumes the maintenance of low-level living in the short run, and the reserves thereof increase the accumulation of wealth which will emerge as income growth in the long run. He stressed that growth is driven when labor is relocated from agriculture to the industry. This theory is evident in the PRC experience, because in 1978 when the PRC ushered in reforms most of its labor force was in the rural areas (Piętak, 2014, Raiser, 2019).

Walt Rostow, like Sir Lewis, regarded economic development to be reliant on capital accumulation (Rostow, 1956 & 1959). Five development stages were identified by Rostow, but he saw the main problem poor countries face is to reach the third stage, the most important phase known as the "*take-off*". The stage where a short period of intensive growth begins when new industries advanced and workforce and institutions apply modern industrial techniques (Rostow, 1956:25). He claims that poor countries experience difficulties due to the vicious circle which is already breaking it by accumulating capital. Where countries failed to take the options of increasing domestic accumulation, external support was required. Rostow mentioned that economic transformation from agricultural to industrial would enable economic growth to flow over the whole country (Jacobs, 2019).

Economic growth is not a goal that is pursued to the exclusion of others but together with wealth accumulation are very important ways that assist in achieving full human prosperity (Cassell, 2016). Sir Lewis and Rostow's models on economic growth expect steady long-term growth even if it is

fleetingly unstable. These concepts fit well with the PRC because the rapid development experiences in the coastal cities of the PRC initiated creativity and entrepreneurship. Domestic transformation within the PRC was accelerated by competition in the global market while the provinces and the rise of national companies added pressure in the PRC. Competition drove innovation but was substituted by state-controlled innovation initiatives. The success of the PRC delivers ample proof supporting traditional development theories, although policy and specific institutional innovations in the PRC are also significant (Raiser, 2019).

Modernization Theory

During the initial years of the Cold War, with regard to decolonization in Africa and Asia the modernization theory arose. The theory stems from attempts to understand a way in which newly independent nations and developing countries could achieve political and economic development like that of the US and northern Europe (Inglehart, 2001). The main ideas of modernization theory are tradition and modernity and it focuses on the process of transformation within countries from traditional to modern forms by examining the path taken and the features manifested during the process. Modernization is expressed in terms of the objectives towards which it is developing as it is not just a process of change (Tipps, 1973).

It explains that economic development, cultural and political change are in accord and to a degree in certain patterns. When a society embarks on industrialization, changes are unavoidable, for example urbanization and bureaucratization and in time changing gender roles are not dictates of the past but there exists the likelihood that they will happen (Inglehart, 2001). Modernization theory is a theory that recognises the underdeveloped countries as traditional civilizations and describes the process of modernization that a nation experiences when it transfers from a traditional to a modern society through innovation and technology (Mukarutesi, 2011).

Modernization

> "Development Theory by itself has little value unless it is applied unless it translates into results, and unless it improves people's lives" (Lewis T. Preston, Former President, World Bank, Quoted in Todaro 2000, p. 77*)*

Mechanisms of modernization, political modernization, and political development are the concepts that social scientists have not been able to separate. Their studies highlight the mediums of change, for instance, political parties, ideologies, and enigmatic leaders, but the issue of what changes during the process of modernization and political development is not clear (Huntington, 1971).

Viewed in a broader framework, modernization is a process that cannot be reversed, while temporary setbacks, due to natural or civil mishaps are to be expected, modernization matters to the direction of change in the world when observed from a wider perspective. Modernization is not a simple shift from tradition to modernity, but a never-ending sequence from the earliest times to the indefinite future. Modernization is universal and is not westernization, it can occur in any cultural environment and being present in Africa does not indicate intentional replication of experience somewhere else (Klinghoffer, 1973, Fangjun, 2009).

Phases of modernization: the traditional society was renowned for a limited selection of products. Preconditions for take-off involve the advancement of contemporary science and principles, and later to territories which lead to improved trade relations. Take-off is regarded as the emergence and utilization of advanced industrial systems in new industries. Road to maturity includes the worldwide technological drive. When more security, welfare, and recreation is recognized and required by the population for its toiling forces, as well as the provision for private consumption and increased global power for the country, then the age of mass consumption occurs. The concept of development could be disputed as being no longer appropriate as it has changed due to the dynamics of global competition (Shareia, 2015).

Modernization has spread world-wide, it has not only lead to multiple processes but, also, challenged Western hegemony as well as examined the universal application of Western models. The course of modernization which the PRC embarked on describes specific characteristics of Chinese modernization that relate to socialism and are harmony based and people-centered (Wang, 2009).

The type of modernization practiced by the PRC is not only interested in economic development but is intended to achieve a better society and improve the lives of the people in the PRC. Modernization is very important to the PRC and has retained its attraction in the PRC despite its decline in the West where it originated.

Usually, modernization is referred to as the process that involves the transformation of an underdeveloped society into an industrialized society and this shift was experienced by the rapid sociocultural change in the PRC. Modernization raises expectations because of its experience and completion in the West, and that the same trajectory will follow in parts of the world (Sun & Ryder, 2016). Modernization in the West depended on capital formation and colonial expansion whilst the currently developing countries are mostly influenced by globalization which is very different from how the West was industrialized.

The theoretical framework in this chapter was particularly concerned with the process of societal emulation and the evolution of development concepts in the post-colonial era, especially modernization theory and how the PRC utilized the theory during its economic rise. The following chapter explains the methodology and the research process and describes how data was collected for the research as well as the design utilized in the studies. The research design paid attention to the study of the experiences and an account of the research methodology as well as the data gathering procedure then followed.

CHAPTER THREE

Introduction

In seeking to address the research topic, a qualitative research design was followed to understand the appeal the PRC development path has for Ethiopian and Rwandan elites. This chapter explained the methodological choices. It began by presenting the inquiry and detailed its development. The sections that followed described how the cases and data sources were selected, collected and the findings explored

Research Design

As the research was grounded in modernization theory, a deductive method was deemed appropriate. To answer the research question case studies namely Ethiopia and Rwanda were examined because the incorporation of practical examples favored accuracy over opportunity and added credibility.

The qualitative methodological approach is also known to incorporate a range of different methods and has examined phenomena in actual situations, although fieldwork was not employed for this research. Awareness of the processes has been provided through literature and furnished comprehensive details of perspectives and accounts with explanations of the important decision phases made by the governmental structures of Ethiopia and Rwanda during their emulation of the PRC development path, and economic transformation as to how and why it appealed to them for the advancement of their countries (Spencer, Ritchie and Dillon 2003).

By using the theoretical framework deductively, the deductive reasoning method intended to confirm the theory examination and analysis to the question of economic transformation for the developing countries in Africa. A case-specific expectation of the reactions to emulate the PRC's developmental path by the African states was empirically examined by scholars in their works mentioned in this research through the method of data analysis as it can observe interactions. A few crucial points regarding the appeal to emulate and the implementation efforts of the PRC development path answered the method applied to utilize qualitative data sources (King et al. 1994).

Variables

The PRC's economic development path i.e. agriculture, infrastructure, and manufacturing, constituted the *independent variable* as it appealed to many African countries as the way out of poverty and the anticipated economic development on the continent. The PRC development path influences the *intervening variable*, especially the decision-making and emulation process which include actors from the African continent with their interests, perceptions, and governments. The *dependent variable* industrialization regards economic growth and poverty alleviation as a process which either partially or completely leads to African development states on the continent.

Process Tracing

Process Tracing (PT) is a term that covers a variety of approaches and is described through the selection of various facets of this composite method. PT is sometimes defined as the study of how decision-making ties initial conditions to an outcome. It is clear that PT is involved in processes, mechanisms, and information (Bennett & George, 1997; Waldner, 2012).

PT supported the report because it is an in-depth within-case study method used in the social sciences for tracing causal mechanisms and how they play out within an actual case (Beach, 2018). It is a methodology used to "trace" the causal links from a known "event" (a historical crisis, a trade agreement, etc.), to better understand the causal factors (Barnett & Munslow, 2014: 9).

PT was used to create a stronger causal process since it is a method understood as a process to identify and explore the intervening causal process, which is the causal chain and causal mechanism between the independent and dependent variables. Applying PT on intervening variables is a valuable tool of causal inference, whilst the recognition of mechanisms is adding profound explanatory knowledge. Through process tracing an understanding of a series of decision-making and emulating procedures were clarified and a more complex understanding of the desire to emulate the PRC development path was realized (Waldner 2012).

Explaining-outcome, PT was used to trace the desires of Ethiopia and Rwanda to emulate the PRC development path to stimulate economic growth and eradicate poverty in their countries. Observations were allowed within the case study about the appeal of the PRC's development path for African countries through PT, this was an important factor due to the reality that many instances could have led to economic development and poverty reduction (Van Evera 1997).

PT complements the study of variables, it is most valuable in creating causal chains that recognize the causal mechanisms that translate states of affairs (which as facts, lack intention and the capacity for action) into happenings caused by the activities of actors (Waldner, 2012). PT interweaves factors, events, and mechanisms which might be individual cases of decision-making in all forms. PT claims to connect events and variables by identifying the basic mechanisms causing them. However, process tracing is also fraught with pitfalls and has limits.

PT might appear like a straightforward method and create the perception that the causal processes and mechanisms can be easily traced by carefully sifting through evidence that gives transparent clarification of underlying processes and mechanisms. However, according to the Merriam-Webster (2020) dictionary, trace as a verb has many meanings; such as – to go back over the evidence step by step – or to copy (drawing) by following the lines or letters as seen through a transparent overlaid sheet.

Case Study

A case study is one of the most used methods in qualitative research, a unique form of social inquiry that is utilized to understand complex social phenomena and to retain the holistic and meaningful characteristics of real-life events, such as organizational processes (Yin, 2003). Case selection had been guided by Van Evera (1997) therefore, research on occurrences that could be generalized with qualification has been intensified. The case study research on the appeal of the PRC's development path and its effect on the decision-making and emulation thereof, as well as economic development and poverty reduction, proved to be a useful approach for this topic as it is complex and multifaceted. Regardless of the limitations to the generalizing of the results this type of study was ideal to look at the sequence of events and the reactions of the African countries, Ethiopia and Rwanda which

resulted in specific outcomes rather than paying attention only to the outcome. Hence, this method was especially important when processes and mechanisms were assessed together with process tracing.

Since case studies were the focus, causality was ascertained through process-tracing. This method was utilized to examine if the theory justified and explained the effects. The decision-making and response in Ethiopia and Rwanda were investigated through this method as it allowed for a detailed description of the decision-making and emulation processes. This included an exploration of the appeal the PRC's development path has on African states, which was particularly relevant as new information came to light especially the Belt and Road Initiative is very attractive for Ethiopia and Rwanda.

The decisions and resolutions to emulate the PRC's development path concerning decision-making and emulation on the process of economic development and poverty reduction were tracked. It extracted all the observable implications of the theory and not only those regarding the dependent variable. It also accounted for outcomes by identifying and exploring the mechanisms that generated them, detailed the attempt to locate and trace the processes that generated the outcome of interest as stated by Bennett & George (1997).

Data

The collection of data occurred with content analysis while case study analysis was employed. The results obtained from the data collection are discussed in the next chapter because this research focused on the knowledge which answered the research questions and operational definitions of variables measured and a specific theoretical perspective was used to consider the influence of the PRC's development path. The concept of constant comparison as utilized in grounded theory was used to guide the research (Silverman, 2000).

This was a desktop research conducted in a qualitative paradigm, primarily using existing data as the proposed methodology was suitable for achieving the stated objective. Desk research refers to the collection of secondary data without fieldwork but consists of published reports and statistics. Processes and activities are enhanced in qualitative research because it concentrates importance and

understanding instead of quantification (Denzin & Lincoln, 1998). The research did not involve interacting with others on an academic level, but to comprehend the underlying reasons, opinions, and motivations, a selection of related literature was required. The sources for the report were predominantly secondary. To offer an understanding of the dependant variable, industrialization it was necessary to examine data gathered related to the policies and strategies of the PRC and Africa with a focus on Ethiopia and Rwanda.

Data sources

The data used was mostly non-numerical, sourced from different public databases such as China Africa Research Initiative (CARI) because they carry out in-country fieldwork and the research topics focus on Africa-China issues with high policy relevance (CARI, 2019a), Research papers from the Centre for Chinese Studies (CCS) at the Stellenbosch University served as a point of reference for the study of China and East Asia on the African continent (Stellenbosch University, 2019). The South African Institute for International Affairs (SAIIA) an independent public policy think tank (SAIIA, 2019). The China Africa Project (CAP), an independent multimedia organization dedicated to exploring all aspects of the PRC's engagement with Africa (CAP, 2019). Centre for China Africa Studies (CACS) a joint initiative by the University of Johannesburg and Nanjing Tech University in China. CACS' research stems from a broad focus that spans the entirety of Africa-China relations and maintains an international network of scholars and experts in five countries including four of the BRICS countries. Publications and policy briefs, the electronic repository and archive of The World Bank website and the CIA factsheet website, as well as verified speeches and interviews given by the Ethiopian officials, the Rwandan leader and the Chinese head of state regarding the features of the PRC's development path that is attractive to leaders and the people of Africa. Books from credible authors covered the historical and theoretical aspects of the research.

This research also drew information from a wide variety of literature and news media to increase the understanding of attraction the PRC's development path and training program has for Ethiopia and Rwanda (Eom, 2018). Media publications, printed magazines, and newspaper articles from the biggest English-language newspaper in Rwanda, *The New Times* which is very close to the RPF and

is regarded as a reliable source to keep track of current events in Rwanda were utilized. The methodology was advantageous for tracking developments that have happened over time.

Data collection techniques

A population for sampling and fieldwork, permission, and approval for interviews, focus groups or observation from the PRC would have resulted in methodological shortcomings. Therefore, additional data collection techniques were not utilized as the PRC does not openly publish all their information which could have slowed down the completion of the report. Collecting information from the African countries was not hindered by technical barriers on computerized retrieval systems and data for various elements of the research were accessible. Having explored the literature it concluded that the research design described in this chapter was appropriate to satisfy the inquiry on the Ethiopian and Rwandan cases. Conclusions gathered will be presented in the following chapters.

CHAPTER FOUR

Introduction

This unique PRC regime strategy consists of two pillars and is centred on political meritocracy at the top which is described as a political system, where the selection of political leaders is granted because of abilities and not money or social position (Cambridge English Dictionary, 2020). Democracy at the bottom indicates the self-governance in villages with competitive elections in the selection of governing committee members and experimentation in the middle.

Portraying itself as a Third World country, the PRC presents itself as poor, an emerging nation, free from power alliance such as the US or the socialist bloc previously linked to the Soviet Union. The PRC claims to be pursuing a non-aligned foreign policy of harmony, meaning that the PRC is not aligned with any other major power but seeks peace with development as its focus (Nathan, 2009). The PRC states that foreign policy decisions stem from the Five Principals of Peaceful Coexistence. The Five Principals' main idea is sovereignty, meaning that one state has no right to get involved in the domestic issues of another state. Indications from the PRC are that hegemony was not its goal, and the economic development and military power of the country will not turn it into a regional aggressor. PRC officials use the term hegemony when referring to the US enforcing its preference on countries (Nathan, 2009).

Currently, the people of the PRC are attempting to realize the Two Centenary Goals with the people from the PRC living abroad playing a vital role in this process. The Chinese Dream is the country's dream which includes the nation and all PRC individuals to have a clear sense of patriotism, economic power, abundant intellectual resources, and widespread business networks. (Xi, 2014b). The PRC is determined to strengthen the commitment of the Sino-African relationship in Africa but in its role as uniting the African continent through their building the African Union (AU) headquarters in the capital of Ethiopia without compensation (Addis & Zuping, 2018).

THE PEOPLES REPUBLIC of CHINA



Source: www.bbc.co.uk

Remain true to our original aspiration and keep our mission firmly in mind, hold high the banner of socialism with Chinese characteristics, secure a decisive victory in building a moderately prosperous society in all respects, strive for the great success of socialism with Chinese characteristics for a new era, and work tirelessly to realize the Chinese Dream of national rejuvenation (Jinping, 2017:1).

In December 1978, the reformist leaders in the PRC were aware of the changes in the world from the earlier days of partial success. The PRC's military was vulnerable, the economy was weak and the society in the PRC was lagging technologically. The PRC leaders were conscious that their country shares the longest border in the world with the second military superpower on the planet, which is outwardly economically successful, technologically advanced and a political authoritarian state (Garnaut, 2018). The PRC regime decided to transfer attention from political change to economic growth. Decisions taken at the third plenary meeting of the eleventh Central Committee of the CCP in 1978 started the economic transformation, a switch from central planning to market exchange, and simultaneously opening to international trade and investment (Fang, et al., 2018).

Political Redesign

The PRC has a rich history, with the CCP being led by Mao Zedong the first generation of collective central leadership. The second generation had Deng Xiaoping at the helm, the third with Jiang Zemin at the center. The CCP Central Committee with Hu Jintao as general secretary made notable achievements because the people of the PRC made efforts and overcame the difficulties and obstacles on their way forward (Xi, 2014).

Since 1978 the PRC has pursued a pragmatic path for modernization giving attention to the demanding needs of the nation, as people mattered. Deng Xiaoping, the architect of reforms in the PRC claimed that the PRC could not obtain the truth from dogmas but should seek truth from facts and that local conditions and the delivery of tangible benefits should be considered (Zhang, 2007).

SEZs were established by the central government in 1979, indicating the beginning of the PRC's opening to the world. "Crossing the river by feeling the stones at each step" was how Deng viewed economic reforms and implemented partial reforms on an experimental basis in a few regions that were only expanded when they proved successful. Reforms developed gradually to avoid resistance to reform, and to make sure that the experimental reform suited the culture of the PRC (Garnaut, 2018:33).

The PRC is still building a mighty asymmetrical superpower that the world has not experienced till now. Due to its development trajectory being unique and attractive the PRC hardly relies on traditional instruments of power projection but leads by example and its magnitude (Ramo, 2005). A list of principles that constitute the Beijing Consensus provides lessons for nations who are exploring certain elements of the PRC's development path that might assist them with decision making on which features of the development path they find to be desirable for manifestation in their countries.

Gradual and Pragmatic Reform

Gradual reform implementation provided room for the PRC's institutions to emerge, using land policies. The urban area land was state-owned while collectives owned land in rural areas. This sped up the country's development which sparked an increase in productivity in agriculture making rapid industrialization possible.

The phases of reforms are distinguished as market- seeking reforms (1978-1993); market-building reforms (1993-2003); lastly market-enhancing reforms (2003 onwards). Reflecting on reforms of the PRC is important for the world, because of the economic success in the PRC many countries consider

the PRC's development path an example to emulate, a path to move out of poverty within a generation (Hofman, 2018).



Source: Fang, et al., 2018 pg. 62

When the people of the PRC switched to a market economy price restructure became necessary, and this was achieved over a decade (1984-1994) due to the gradual approach adopted by the PRC. Next came the SOE reform which led to huge unemployment of workers, this again took a decade to transform the SOE's from government-owned enterprises to the market. It gave rise to the private sector to develop into economic support equal to the SOE's, enhancing the PRC's economic strength. The establishment of four SEZ's which started in 1980 stimulated rapid growth and the PRCs opening to the international economy. In the 1990's economic reforms advanced resulting in the PRC building a solid foundation for the increased growth decade after the country joined the WTO. All industry-related ministries were consolidated into the Ministry of Commerce (MOFCOM) and the Ministry of Industry and Information Technology (MIIT) in 1999. The PRC had embarked on a development path to build a widespread industrial center and amass technological capability at the cost of a generation to join global economic trade and release its potential. (Fang, et al., 2018).

The conclusion of the market-building phase saw the private property rights being included in the constitution in 2004, the state withdrew and left room for the market causing an upsurge of private investment, increasing its share in the economy. Reforms began to focus on enhancing the market

and gradually expanded the social safety net. Post-Deng governance was reducing the role of state-owned enterprises and advanced deeper into the global trading economy by engaging in the promotion of industrialization and seeking to catch up with the developed countries. (Nathan, 2017).

President Xi Jinping's ambitious plan known as One Belt One Road (OBOR) or the BRI, was reaffirmed at the 19th Party Congress of the CCP as being at the heart of his foreign policy. An integrated infrastructure and development project that will result in the Silk Road Economic Belt linking the PRC with Europe through Central Asia and the 21st Century Maritime Silk Road, a naval route connecting the PRC with Europe passing through two African countries, Kenya and Egypt (Dollar, 2019).

The PRC is prosperous, strong and it would not exist without the CCP. The removal of corruption within the government and the military is the top priority as demanded by the President of the PRC – "power must be 'caged' by the system"(Xi, 2014:425). The focus of Xi Jinping is on how the eastern Fujian areas could open and develop, alleviate poverty, and become prosperous in encouraging economic growth through the industry, agriculture, handicrafts, transportation, and commerce. As the leader of the people in the PRC, he prioritizes the cultivation of cultural and scientific development in the country, while strengthening national defense and improving the living standards of the people (Xi, 2014).

Economic Modification

The basic principle of the PRC strategy is self-reliance. Presenting economic transformation as the main goal of the government ensures the participation and consensus of the people in domestic projects. This principle is deep-seated within the PRC's control of its development path, whilst taking in knowledge from foreign actors. With the right expertise, domestic corporations and an efficient state system, the PRC views globalization as advantageous because trade builds up its companies, the people in the PRC benefit from it and it increases the country's global status (Kaplan, 2014).

Lessons from the West contributed to the improved productivity and economic development in the PRC, affording it a sound economic policy (Ross, 2012). The PRC is not deterred from their trading prospects by ideological, cultural or political differences, their main objective have always been export, investment, and technology (Flew 2016).

The PRC has achieved significant development success since the reform and opening in 1978 in becoming the world's second large economy, but with some challenges. It falls behind in labor productivity and human capital. Over the last decade, the reduction of these imbalances involved modification in the structure of their economy, moving from low-end manufacturing to higher-end manufacturing and services, and from investment to consumption. Besides, acceptable levels of economic growth, if maintained has important overflows for global economic growth (Worldbank, 2019).

The PRC is regarded as one of the most decentralized administrations in the world where municipalities support free enterprise, advance policy innovations, and compete to produce economic outcomes. The slack restrictions on capitalism in an economy like the PRC with its basic growth factors, such as abundant cheap labor and coastal cities ready to export has contributed to its economic development (Ang, 2016). In 1984 for experimentation, SEZs were established in large cities in coastal areas, and 1988 in Hainan. The 1990s saw many others along the Yangtze River and interior border involved. National stages of opening to global trade were offered to international bodies together with the PRC's request in 1986 to return to the General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade (GATT) (Fang, et al., 2018).

The SEZ's in the PRC autonomous government played a unique part in the opening to foreign investment in the long term. Decentralization, a positive part of the PRC due to the strong central government has guided and regulated local investment through numerous directives and transfer payment measures. The CCP remained sovereign in the 1990s as an autonomous government, although the population began to polarize and the pro-growth policies of an autonomous government seemed to be one-sided (Yao, 2018). The PRC has invested heavily in infrastructure and the transportation system is key in integrating the country and somewhat reducing inequalities emerging as a result of reform. Inequality has also been reduced due to investments in residential infrastructure

that led to families benefiting from the exchange of economic gains into infrastructure spending (Kaplan, 2018).

Agriculture

Millions of farmers were employed in the PRC's vital industry, the agricultural sector. Their main products put PRC in first place in global farm output. Due to examples initiated by farmers, some regional commune leaders discovered that their output quotas could be fulfilled by internally reorganizing the commune which led to the reforms in agriculture under the commune system in 1978 and 1979 (CAITE Global, 2016).

An approaching food crisis led to the PRC's reform drive which began with the farmers and rural areas. The removal of collective farming, and allowing small-scale farming, provided the basis for change in the economy. By combining an incentive to the effort yield and harvest increased. Leaders in the PRC concentrated on state policies that ensured farmers had supplies, information, and rewards required for production expansion, and did not just release agricultural markets. Prices, the delivery system, and the allocation of fertilizer remained firmly under state control. When the agricultural sector improved only then did officials in the PRC usher in widespread market liberalization reforms. The rural industry, land, labor, loans, including the technical assistance provided by the municipal supporters, township and village enterprises (TVE) benefitted tremendously from these reforms (Kaplan, 2018).

Manufacturing-Led Development

The PRC has most of its successful manufacturing companies based in underdeveloped, agricultural areas which contributed to the PRC's exportability, generated millions of jobs and gained from economic growth. Many developing countries underinvest in rural agriculture and infrastructure and are neglecting their rural areas (Kaplan, 2018). The breeding farm of the New Hope Group that is raising quail and chickens, as well as the PRC's automobile exporter Chery, are based in agricultural areas.

The West and Japan took many centuries to develop while the PRC did it in three decades. From 1978 to 1988, rural enterprises were collectively owned by farmers emerging from the country's rural areas and small towns. During the first decade of economic growth, they operated as a vehicle for domestic economic growth. The first industrial revolution was introduced from 1988 to 1998 with the mass production of labor-intensive light consumer commodities across all areas in the PRC with reliance on imported equipment. Making the PRC a global manufacturer of furniture and toys for export. Due to the rapid and growing domestic market for transitional merchandise, equipment, and transportation, this period experienced many public roads being constructed, including express highways and there are high-speed trains in most provinces (Wen, 2016).

In the future, whether the PRC takes the lead depends on the industrialization of the country. It was estimated that by 2020 the manufacturing competitiveness of the PRC will be on the same level as that of the US, Germany, and Japan in the middle stage of industrialization. The complete industrialization of the PRC by 2030, will be parallel with the three mentioned countries in the 1990s. The PRC will have reached the annual growth rate of the three mentioned countries in their post-industrial phase by 2050 and it is only then that the PRC can identify itself as a relatively developed country as illustrated in the three-step plan of the PRC leadership in the 1980s. The weakening of the PRC's comparative advantage in labor cost, the Third Industrial Revolution enabled the US and advanced economies to restore manufacturing and retract the production facilities that have moved offshore. This is a challenge that the PRC had to take seriously and stand up (Zhaokui, 2015).

Social Adaptation

A decisive aspect of the PRC's economic success is the culture of savings and education. High savings rates and a high level of education contribute to the rapid economic growth in the PRC. Major investments have been made in knowledge and infrastructure as the PRC culture includes elements that value both (Fang, et al., 2018)

The PRC made major investments in education and innovation which generated an educated labor force and highly trained experts who drove the economy forward. The country regulated its knowledge base in practices beyond basic education such as establishing advanced research centres

from agriculture to computers, distributing data regarding the latest technologies and production strategies. Emphasis was placed on learning policymaking thereby utilizing research and feedback mechanisms for enhancing and renewing concepts to increase their effectiveness, when successful they were implemented. The authoritarian nature of the state at times restrain the country (Kaplan, 2014).

Conclusion

The PRC is currently proud and secure in the East. It is a new historical period and the country strives to develop and become a modern socialist state with a Chinese Dream that promises to make it prosperous and strong, culturally advanced and harmonious, and revitalize the nation offering a better life for the people. The objectives are to double the income of urban and rural residents and bring about a moderately prosperous society by 2020 (Xi, 2014).

CHAPTER FIVE

Introduction

Speculations have been made that the PRC's development trajectory could be a path for developing countries to follow, especially those in Africa. The presence of the PRC in Africa is not new, but the extent and the range of their being on the continent is new (Gershenkron, 1964). Emulation is regarded as being influential in increasing modernization approaches, due to latecomer countries' preference for developing modernized countries with the ability to challenge industrialized countries. Pertinent questions have been raised around the experiences of African countries and the PRC's development path, especially the desirability of such emulation. The importance of the PRC's development path has been agreed on, but opinions differ on the suitability, influence, and existence of it for Africa.

Many African leaders across Africa admire and desire to emulate the PRC's development path, the attractiveness of emulation is questioned and aimed at determining the general attitude towards the PRC. Several authoritarian African governments who are desperate to strengthen their failing economies but still want to maintain political power prefer the PRC's development path. Capitalism with authoritarianism combined are the two main features of the PRC's development path, whereas development paths in the West advocate progressive liberalization in both the economic and political fields. With the PRC, developing countries in Africa can participate in the economic growth it proposes, and reject democratization which they were previously expected to follow (Fourie, 2012).

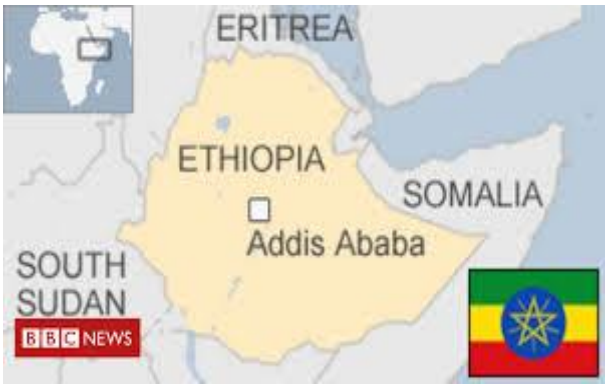
The following chapters discuss the historical and present-day experiences of Ethiopia and Rwanda relating to their desire to learn from the experiences of the PRC in modernization, but also being cautious of the consequences of foreign interference and not losing sight of each country's uniqueness. It considers the attitudes of Ethiopia and Rwanda towards emulating the PRC's development path and Ethiopia will be the first of the case studies to share what the PRC's development path is like when it lands in a foreign locality.

Approaches towards emulation

The PRC's development path contains transferable lessons and holds great relevance for Africa, with a formula to succeed in economic growth and development. Some emulators regard cultural transformation as very important for development because they have a desire and an interest in certain values and social practices from the PRC, while they modernize their cultures to drive economic growth. The PRC's success in growing export trade and stimulating investment, funding education as well as implementing a rigid birth control policy had a major impact on the PRC's economic growth and improved living standards (Shelton & Paruk, 2008). The PRC's development path might partially be responsible for the return of modernization theory to Africa.

As developing countries seek to break free from the restraints of the economic theory of the 1990's known as the Washington Consensus, the PRC's economic model gain recognition as an alternative approach to economic development in many developing countries. Many countries are looking to the PRC for inspiration and desire to emulate because the PRC's development model is regarded as an innovation-based development, putting sustainability and equality first and self-determination in international affairs. The PRC's economic system is influenced by trade and the state. Its approach reforms realistically with state involvement in domestic economic issues and cautious financial liberalization, economic growth for social harmony is considered before political liberalization. Beijing holds a flexible outlook where human rights are concerned whilst maintaining a communistic approach to social issues. The PRC affords countries the freedom to select their development policies, political stability, self-determination, and industrial upgrading. This is a different structure to liberal individuality in the West, as well as a foreign policy that is founded on independence and mutual respect (Ramo, 2005; Peerenboom, 2007 & Li et al., 2009).

ETHIOPIA



"The issue of adopting and implementing the East Asian developmental model in Ethiopia today maybe not only a possible alternative developmental paradigm that will offer us a much-needed uplift in the direction of fast economic and social development but will also provide us a golden opportunity of fulfilling the age-old dream of our forebears." Former Ethiopian Ambassador to South Africa (*Tesfaye, 2007:6).*

Source: www.bbc.com

The status of Ethiopia as a poor and very aid-dependent country in Africa has given it a significant place in the study of development. Ethiopia exemplifies the drought, hunger, and severe poverty present in many countries in Africa. Ethiopia bears notable similarities with the PRC, both are ancient civilizations striving to enter the modern world, they have been regional powers for era's, and is recognized as the few countries that have never been fully colonized, but were ruled by absolute monarchs throughout their histories. Both countries depended on the bureaucratic government to manage their territory and citizens and lastly, these countries were very poor until the recent increase of economic growth (Kaplan, 2018).

The challenging dynamics of emulation and self-sufficiency, as well as pressures involving modernization and independence, have captured Ethiopia since its existence. Ethiopia has a strong and enduring appreciation for independence as its history of resistance to colonialism demonstrated. Ethiopia is the only country in the continent with a recorded history from the pre-Christian era and is amongst the oldest remaining entities in the world (Fourie, 2012). The unique calendar, alphabet and time system are part of Ethiopia's cultural legacy. For Ethiopia, emulation and embarking on modernization dominated over isolation to find some path on which their efforts were centred.

Clapham (2006, 138) concluded that:

> "Ethiopia's development trajectory can correspondingly be a series of attempts by 'modernizing' Ethiopians to identify the mechanisms of developmental success of countries perceived as having some similarity to their own. The idea was to draw from these countries' experiences to recreate Ethiopia in the resulting image of modernity".

Emulation Desirability

The desire to emulate the PRC's development path, Ethiopia is not alone, Rwanda is also desperately seeking to emulate the economic transformation of the PRC. Ethiopian leaders have actively sought emulation of the PRC's development path and the country has aligned itself with that development path more than any other African country. This included visits of leading decision-makers from Ethiopia to the PRC on study trips and national planning groups issuing impressive documents created on the PRC's experience. Not only top leaders of the two countries exchanged visits, but commercial, cultural, medical, and military delegations were also included. The Ethiopian leaders have previously shared ideological goals with the PRC, and those methods of gaining power afforded them an institutional foundation that is lacking in many developing countries (Cabestan, 2012; Kaplan, 2018).

A scholar conducted and recorded many semi-structured interviews with elites from Ethiopia, consisting of thirty to ninety-minute interviews on the subjects' general view on cross-societal emulation. They were questioned on their country's desire to pursue another country's development path. This was to probe and understand the reasons for the selection of a development path or the lack of it. Non- governmental elites in Ethiopia were also questioned on their perception and detection of emulation by their national government. The focus was on the subjects' view of the PRC potentially acting as an example in the development of their own country, the attraction and the ability to transfer the PRC's development path was explored at length in these interviews (Fourie, 2012).

According to Fourie (2012), many interviewees supported their country's desire to emulate others, they regarded the process as natural and advantageous and claimed that they were partaking in the process of learning from other development paths. Here are two examples of the responses from Ethiopian elites; (a) "Best experiences, best lessons, experience-sharing, benchmarking...are wonderful. Especially for Ethiopia. We are developing, so it's very, very important". (b) "We want to develop, we want to struggle to fight poverty too, so we can learn from countries who attained development in a short period" (Fourie, 2012, 133).

Political Emulation

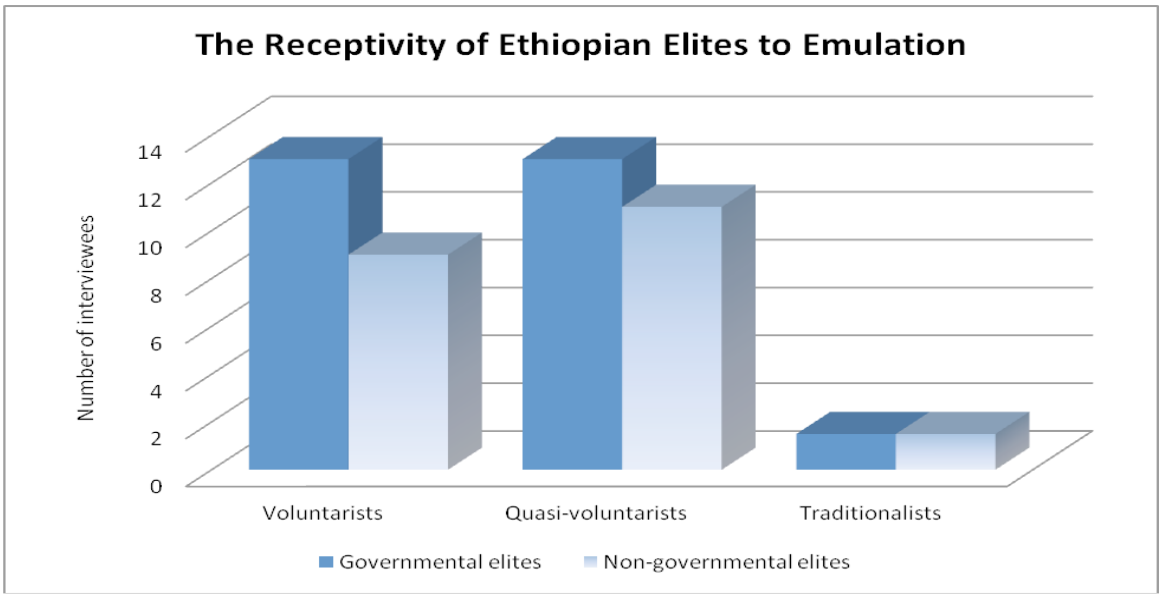
The top-down governance in Ethiopia existed before socialism several centuries ago. The Derg dictatorship in Ethiopia under Mengistu Hailemariam was one of the most rigid communist governments created in Africa. In 1985, he announced that thirty-three million rural Ethiopians would be resettled into collective farms after he denounced the country as backward and ignorant. Social ties were destroyed, and the families in agriculture became reliant on the state. This led to famines killing nearly four-hundred thousand people between 1983 and 1985 (Fourie, 2012).

Since 1995, when Meles Zenawi became Prime Minister, the Ethiopian policies resembled the PRC's (Kaplan, 2018). The PRC's post-reform development trajectory influenced Ethiopia's politicians' development strategies because Zenawi's reign was marked by a strong desire to learn from the PRC's success (Abebe, 2018). Due to the disastrous elections in 2005, Ethiopia under the ruling party, EPRDF implemented an economic reform within an undemocratic political environment that is perceived as an authoritarian growth path and often linked with the PRC (Fourie, 2012).

Theories on emulation find that this process often occurs when there is a crisis in a country and previous policies and ideologies have been discredited. In Ethiopia, the fall of communism, and the devastation that the Derg regime left behind, presented a serious predicament for the EPRDF. As the new government, it was impossible to just carry on with the previous regimes Marxist, isolationist policies, as there was no direction on the way forward. This drove the ruling elites to seek an exemplar, emulation became the last resort for international economic and political order integration for Ethiopia and a way it could oversee the content and pace of the process (Fourie, 2015).

Receptivity to Emulation

Just under half of the respondents in Ethiopia highlighted the experiences and adaption of others for emulation, thereby mentioning their country's unique situation. A senior representative of the Ethiopian Development Research Institute in Addis Ababa was interviewed and made this comment: "When you isolate yourself, you don't know those you've isolated yourself from. But, now that we have opened, we have identified what it is that we lack, and how to defend ourselves, and therefore we're part of the world community once more". Another senior official from the Congress of Ethiopian Trade Unions in Addis Ababa stated: "As far as economics is concerned, the world is currently 'one village' [due to] globalization. Based on this, we are creating a market economy and assimilating with other countries" (Fourie, 2012, 134).



Source: (Fourie, 2012, 135)

Most of the interviewees alleged that the government of Ethiopia was aligning its actions on a specific foreign strategy, whilst some disapproved, others were not contesting emulation as such, but they disagreed with the ERPDF copying haphazardly or in an excessively precise manner. An opposition member said that "Sometimes just copying models can also create problems. What we have been experiencing in the last thirty years...we are taking models, we are copying and seeking lessons, for example, from China. And, unfortunately, we are still in that vicious circle. We are not listening to our culture, to our history, going back to our roots", the process of emulation is unlikely

to be rendered pragmatic, or a calculated process by the interviewees who might not directly participate in the process (Fourie, 2012,137).

The government officials preferred economic emulation to political emulation. After distinguishing between the two, they viewed economic emulation essential for the survival of Ethiopia in the post-Cold War environment. While political emulation proved difficult given the characteristics that set Ethiopia apart from others, for example, its large rural population. Ethiopia is an ancient civilization with an ethnic diversity of eighty plus inhabitants and nationalities. Hardly expressed was the suggestion of Ethiopia creating its path without any policy emulation, but when questioned on whether Ethiopia is to emulate other development trajectories the Chief Commissioner of the Ethiopian Human Rights Commission in Addis Ababa claimed that his country cannot be borrowing everywhere because their background is completely different from any other country (Fourie, 2012, 138).

Emulation of Governance

In many international standards, none of the common-recognized indicators of democracy could classify Ethiopia as a democracy because it declined from "partly free to not free" in 2011 (Fourie, 2012,334). The political similarities between Ethiopia and the PRC could be the reason why the Ethiopian regime chose to follow the East Asian country. This means that the Ethiopian leaders had already decided on imposing constraints on democratic development and human rights to remain in control or maintain growth.

The Beijing Consensus is regarded by many analysts in the West as repressive with regulations for pro-market economic policies, and the PRC development path is viewed as representing strong leadership and a centralized government. Most countries have particular circumstances and require exceptional governance and development path, but if they understand the main features that contributed to the PRC's success it will assist them in developing frameworks for their strategies (Kaplan, 2014). The "no-political strings" approach of the PRC, saw Meles Zenawi take advantage

and attach funding to secure his rule and validate his right to decide Ethiopia's economic and political development trajectory (Hodzi, 2018).

The utterances of Zenawi declaring democracy and human rights not necessary for economic growth, and that Ethiopia can achieve economic development without them was noted by (Tafirenyika, 2015). Ethiopia is a country with a multi-ethnic and multi-religious population, and for it to continue for a length of time, basic human rights, democracy, and freedom of speech will have to be rooted within society to ensure survival.

Whilst the PRC empowered regional governments in the economic sphere, Ethiopia has done less despite the positive results on decentralization in service delivery. This has limited domestic competition, decreased experimentation in policymaking as well as incentives for officials to increase trade and investment. It may also have led to the ongoing ethnic protests in the country since 2016 because as Ethiopia develops, these discrepancies will matter, and the ability to emulate the PRC's success may be limited (Kaplan, 2018).

In a private roundtable discussion hosted by the Africa Centre with Dr. Berhanu Nega, the Ethiopian opposition party leader specified the challenges involved for the next elections. He mentioned the difficulties of resolving the ethnic-based disputes and tribal alliances without constitutional reform and emphasized separation from ethnically-based political parties (Bruton, 2019).

Economic Growth and Investment

The West sees Ethiopia as a drought-stricken country with starving children that need to be saved, but the PRC perceives Ethiopia as a good business opportunity with a fast-growing economy and large consumer base (Bräutigam, 2011). Ethiopia selected to emulate the path of the PRC government as it has levels of state involvement, and found appealing the economic liberation, if it is gradually implemented and managed by the state, it does not indicate the loss of domestic sovereignty (Kaplan, 2018). The PRC and Ethiopia began their economic and technological cooperation in 1971 with the PRC having completed the freeway in the country. Mechanical, electrical, medical, and chemical commodities were mostly imported from the PRC to Ethiopia.

An Agreement on Trade, Economic and Technical Cooperation (ATEC) was signed in 1995 by the PRC and the newly democratically elected government of Ethiopia. In 1998 the Joint Economic Commission was formed to cover the bilateral economic cooperation as transformation in the two countries had been government-controlled (Cabestan, 2012). In 2009 an agreement to eliminate double taxation was signed by the two countries, anticipating an increase in trade and investment (Chinese Foreign Ministry, 2006).

Many sectors of the PRC were considered a priority in the Ethiopian government's national development strategy. Infrastructure projects are exclusively carried out by nationals from the PRC or provincial-level state firms and are financed by banks in the PRC with commercial loans guaranteed by the Ethiopian government, these are not investments, although the Ethiopian Investment Agency regards them as such (Cabestan, 2012). Therefore the contribution from the PRC towards Ethiopia's development is determined by the Ethiopian leaders who actively select the financiers from the PRC and dictate the terms and conditions of their operations. The emphasis is on PRC investments that further the interests of the ruling EPRDF no matter what their economic or developmental benefits, as PRC enterprises are not allowed to venture uninvited into the Ethiopian market (Hodzi, 2018).

Ethiopia is being perceived as a developmental state. Compared to its democratic trajectory, Ethiopia has achieved positive economic development, but the country's economic potential has not been accomplished due to the government's restrictive and repressive nature (BTI, 2018). Nevertheless, a solid foundation has been laid due to the investment in infrastructure for Ethiopia to obtain a steady GDP growth rate and positive economic development (Jian, 2019a).

Being a landlocked country, it did not qualify for the 21st Century Maritime Silk Road. It might become an example of the BRI's impact on local economies as this is not about state sovereignty in isolation but African integration into global systems. Integration into a new system of global trade, easy access to seek markets such as Asia, the Middle East, and Europe is what the BRI assures Ethiopia (Fei, 2017). To benefit from these opportunities, infrastructure ranging from ports and

railways to power and data networks to Special Economic Zones (SEZ) will be required to attract FDI. Ethiopia exemplifies the flexibility of the BRI because it was not mentioned in the original conception of the project.

The Ethiopian state has a vision for development and want it realized by industrialization, therefore the state intervention in the market. (Chang & Hauge, 2019). Ethiopia has been studying the PRC's experiences with industrialization and SEZs over the last two decades. SEZs are often described as Industrial Parks (IP) in Ethiopia. Many comparative case studies on the PRC's experience with SEZs by the Ethiopian Development Research Institute (EDRI) have been successful due to the field visits to the PRC. The PRC examples gleaned by the EDRI team are benchmarked as learning objectives because the PRC's speed of growth is appealing to Ethiopia (Tang, 2019).

Addis – Djibouti Railway

A rail line between Ethiopia and Djibouti was built more than a century ago by the French, this rail line stopped working more than a decade ago as it was no longer up to standard to meet the people's needs. The PRC stepped in with £2.5 billion for building and financing its replacement which supported Ethiopia in their efforts to strive for modernity. Landlocked Ethiopia now has a 470-mile electric railway, the Addis-Djibouti standard gauge railway (SGR), a dependable connection between the two countries in East Africa and was opened to commercial service in January 2018. This is the first fully electrified line in Africa and an important project of the PRC's BRI. The line reduced the travel time from two days by road to twelve hours and is part of the Ethiopian Railway Corporation (ERC) nine-line railway network plan (Chen, 2019). Early in 2015 an urban-rail project the Addis Light-Rail Transit (LRT) was completed, part of the state infrastructure projects Ethiopia hopes will emulate the PRC's industrial rise, it was also funded and built by the PRC and is operated by Shenzen Metro Group (Gray, 2018).

Financial and technical challenges regarding the ERC project have surfaced, such as the reliance on technology and debt-financing from the PRC for infrastructure. Transmission network problems, power outages and technical issues of over-voltage continued to disrupt the line. Social challenges

also appeared when it was decided that no fencing is to be erected along rural tracks due to costs and to avoid the division of rural communities. This led to accidents with livestock and the train, which resulted in disputes regarding compensation, and the railway was targeted that led to the disruption of services as reported by Chen (2019). Economically the commission of the railway by the industrial zones remains low because most of the railway's freight is imports, and there is no mainline connection to the individual industrial zones. The government of Ethiopia is still faced with the challenge of capacity building for the transfer of railway operations.

Manufacturing in Ethiopia

Major investments in infrastructure and the removal of economic growth barriers have been the outcome of the Ethiopian governments manufacturing ambition. Working directly together on projects, the PRC and Ethiopia focused on transportation, improving electricity generation and customs management. Investments in railroads, hydroelectric plants, and industrial parks have been made by companies from the PRC and the PRC started investing in labor-intensive industries such as shoes, T-shirts, and handbags on a small scale (Kaplan, 2018). With funding from the Centre for Economic Policy Research (CEPR), through the Project on Private Enterprise Development in Low-Income Countries (PEDL), PRC investments in manufacturing in Africa were researched in the leather and textile sectors of Ethiopia (CARI, 2019b).

Ethiopia started early in aspiring to make Africa the manufacturing center for the international markets. The goal is for the African continent to seize the opportunity through the Made in Africa initiative for industrialization and craft its success the way the PRC has done. The success of the Huajian Shoe Factory and the inflow of FDI in light manufacturing in Ethiopia proves that it is possible in Africa (UNDP, 2018).

Driven by the U.S. sanctions and the declining US-PRC trade dispute the pace of manufacturing in the PRC moving offshore has increased lately. The rising labor costs and the amplified environmental regulations in the PRC have caused manufacturers to relocate their factories to affordable locations. The human and environmental toll on low-end manufacturing of this kind is

very high and does not fit every culture. For example, a Chinese-owned factory was set up in a little African village, at first, all were excited at the chance of a job and an income. Before long, those expectations turned into disappointment due to the demands of factory work and the typically demanding PRC management style. Creating a solid manufacturing sector is said to be the tried and true pathway to development success (Olander et al., 2019).

Agriculture

Agriculture has functioned well in Ethiopia for many reasons, contribution to the GDP and employment stems from agriculture causing it to be a source of the export products. With Ethiopia's history of food insecurity due to the weather and management challenges, donors, farmers, and the government have made a concerted effort to alter that. Increased productivity and improved market structure and technology are having an impact on the agricultural sector as the country has better seeds, dependable management techniques, extra fertilizer, and access to domestic and international markets (Tafirenyika, 2015).

Supported by the UN, through the United Nations Development Programme (UNDP) the Agricultural Transformation Agency (ATA) was created by Ethiopia to drive the transformation agenda. The PRC partnered the development in infrastructure such as rail, roads, telecom, and power generated projects because it served as a good example for Africa by providing technical expertise and finance that transformed its agricultural population. Africa is not to copy the PRC but must utilize and adapt principles and methodologies applied in the PRC to the conditions on the African continent (Tafirenyika, 2015). The PRC's economic path of success echoes the current Ethiopian economic situation and has been acknowledged as the only economic miracle under the supposed developmental state path.

Poverty Reduction

Looking at the history of poverty reduction in Africa, the EPRDF realized that by adopting neo-liberalism to eradicate poverty from Ethiopia would be impossible, especially when the economic development of the PRC proved that there is another path to development (Gebremariam & Bayu,

2017). In Ethiopia, poverty is mainly a rural experience because there are still millions of Ethiopians living below the national poverty line. Some of the Millennium Development Goals (MDG) have been achieved ahead of the timeline demonstrating how this robust economic and social performance assisted in reducing the level of poverty. Ethiopia's development goals can be seen in heavy investments to reduce poverty and promote social development. The country needs to stay focused on poverty and ensure that the use of resources digital.library.adelaide.edu.au bring about the necessary change (UNDP, 2018).

CHAPTER SIX

Introduction

Being the ninth smallest country by area in Africa, Rwanda is landlocked by Burundi, Democratic Republic of Congo, Tanzania, and Uganda, and lacks oil and minerals. Given the geographical constraints, the national government turned away from export-oriented manufacturing and focused on transforming Rwanda into a business and technology centre. It aspires to become an international technology hub powered by knowledge-based human capital (Eom, 2018).

The PRC and Rwanda noticeably differ in country size and population as well as the size of the economies, but the two countries are similar in areas of leadership and ambition, set on the visions of the two country's leaders. Recently, the relations between the PRC and Rwanda have grown not only bilaterally but also through the close relations between the RPF and the CCP. (Wiśniewska, 2019). Both countries have been able to establish their path of development while seeking solutions from within to confront their challenges and lift millions of their people out of poverty. Rwanda has overcome past challenges through domestic solutions and an accepted model of democracy, the same as the PRC did years before. Rwanda is often regarded as an example of development success because there has never been a post-conflict country reaching global development targets. In education and health, Rwanda is on course to meet MDG, but the country is faced with a mounting international inquiry for its political challenges.

History of Rwanda

To comprehend the current status of Rwanda, its historical perspective must first be understood. It was a kingdom under the order of one clan for many centuries. Harmony existed amongst the ethnic groups, and Rwandan history can be traced back to the 1884 Berlin Conference (Mincofin, 2019).

Rwanda lost a third of its domestic trade as well as many of its resources in 1899 through Africa's partitioning in 1910 when parts of Rwanda were occupied by neighbouring countries and it became a German colony. Rwanda became a United Nations (UN) Mandate trust territory after the Second

World War, under Belgian administration until 1962 (Rwandamission, 2019). Throughout colonization, under the Belgian administration, the people of Rwanda were divided through the application of Darwinian theories. This development was perceived as the foundation for periodic mass killings. The Tutsis became a target from 1959 resulting in many deaths and millions driven into exile. Discrimination against the Tutsi was institutionalized during the first two Republics of Rwanda subjecting them to massacres even after independence in 1962 which led to the 1994 genocide (Mincofin, 2019)

Kigali ‘s fall to the Rwandan Patriotic Army RPA in July 1994, led to the RPF forming a Government of National Unity (GNU) with Pasteur Bizimungu as President. The Transitional National Assembly (TNA) formed a coalition with other political parties mapping out Rwanda’s future through democratic institutions. In 2000 President Pasteur Bizimungu was voted out by the Parliament, and Major General Paul Kagame was appointed by the RPF as President of the Republic (Rwandamission, 2019).

President Paul Kagame was elected in 2003 with a landslide majority, and during his first years Rwanda experienced unprecedented socio-economic and political progress. President Paul Kagame was re-elected in 2010, his second term was based on development and transformation to improve the lives of those living in Rwanda. Following the constitution amendment in 2017, his mandate has been extended allowing him to serve a third term (Rwandamission, 2019). Kagame’s decision to support a constitutional amendment allowing him to be in office for another term has been perceived as Rwanda becoming an authoritarian state. The last presidential election was held in 2017, the next will be held in 2024. Elections for the Senate were held in 2019, and the next parliamentary election will be held in 2023 for the House of representatives (CIA Factbook, 2019).

RWANDA



Source: www.bbc.co.uk

We need to govern our people properly (to create) a conducive environment for them to play their part. Leaders must allow people to participate. Once there is participation, there is the benefit, there is the feeling that what they have is what they wanted; at least they have hope, they are sure that things are moving in the right direction even if they do not have what they wanted now, they can have it tomorrow from Kagame, 2018 (Turok, 2019: 223,4).

For centuries Rwanda was a nation with a common history, shared standards, and a specific dialect and society with a range further than its boundaries. Rwandan unity was based on kinfolk and shared rituals without prejudice stemming from culture. This harmonious social structure was distorted through the actions of the colonial power supported by religious organizations. It was created on ideas of ethnic dominance that exploited the societal diversities and established discrimination, causing a misleading ethnic division with devastating results (Mincofin, 2019). After the genocide, Rwanda strengthened the government, implemented widespread reforms to attract investment, and presented its national development strategy Vision 2020. Rwanda lacks natural resources but supports the "One China" policy and has is valuable to the PRC as a reliable stakeholder in global level forums. (IDS, 2015).

Governance in Rwanda

Rwanda stands out historically and is perceived as a developmental state because the genocide of 1994 restarted its development path. This disaster led to an authoritarian approach to development being adopted by the Rwandan state with economic and political autocracy. (Gaynor, 2014; Behuria, 2015; Harrison, 2016 & Mann & Berry, 2016). While debates were focused on the link between economic growth and democracy, "Rwanda has thrived despite an authoritarian government that is devoid of respect for human and political rights and opposition" Besides the repressive tendency, the regime in Rwanda was instrumental in the economic rise of the country (Friedman, 2012, 276).

PRC- Rwanda Relations

Since 1971, when The Republic of Rwanda and the PRC formed diplomatic relations, the political cooperation between the two countries as well as the bilateral relations have increased in a healthy, steady manner. Less than a year after the liberation war in 1995, Paul Kagame officially visited the PRC as the Vice President and Minister of Defence, an official visit to the PRC in 2017 was undertaken when he became president of the Republic of Rwanda. Meeting with President Xi Jinping, they reached a consensus of intensifying cooperation in various fields, planning to increase future growth of relations between both countries. In 2018, President Paul Kagame invited President Xi Jinping who happens to be the first PRC President to visit Rwanda. The RPF and the CCP have a shared history as they both have been in liberation wars and therefore share the idea of real independence and the desire for the development of their nations (Rwandamission, 2019).

State-led development and state-backed control is not a new strategy, with Kagame resorting to these measures, a significant increase could be detected within the setting of the PRC-Rwanda relations. In 2018 Xi Jinping supported Kagame's goals of self-reliance through the rejection of foreign aid. President Kagame echoed the advantages of markets vs aids in Kigali in a recorded interview in 2015 at the East African Capital Markets Conference by stating that "The question of preference between markets and aid can only be asked in Africa, not in any other region of this world. Let us not be diplomatic, let us not gloss over issues. Markets are markets. We know what they offer to outweigh what we have in aid by thousands of times. All kinds of wealth lying all over the place in Africa and being recycled to us in forms of aid and the end, we are told you must be humble and quiet and not say anything. Aid is more political than anything else. Markets are less political, they are neutral"(IGIHE Reporter, 2015).

The creation of Rwanda's Vision 2020 has been inspired by the PRC's development path back in the 90's and demonstrates the Rwandan leader's desire to emulate the general characteristics while national-adjusted practical steps are being implemented. The private and public companies from the PRC are eager to participate in Rwandan logistics and service markets, which benefit both countries as the PRC gains experience and recognition in sectors which are not related to extraction while the Rwandan economic base expands (Wiśniewska, 2019).

In his new book *"China and Rwanda: Effective Leadership is Key to Transformational Governance"* Gerald Mbanda mentioned that the PRC and Rwanda have demonstrated that they share a lot in common (Mbanda, 2019). Rwanda rejected liberal democracy by abandoning the term limits for President Paul Kagame, and the PRC trained and mandarin speaking Rwandan army brigade that marched in a military parade to mark the twenty-fifth anniversary of liberation reflects the relationship of the two countries (Zheng, 2019). In another recorded interview, President Kagame stated that Rwanda is charting its path and they do not follow rules but follow choices. He claimed that there is no rule book for Rwanda because if things worked, they celebrate. If they did not, they blame no-one. They revisit their attempt and question their failure. Contrary to the PRC, the reforms in Rwanda are not confined to defend an ideology. President Kagame is often seen as a progressive, commendable person due to his accomplishments in rebuilding the Rwandan society after the genocide and his efforts at African integration (Kigali Today, 2019).

Political Freedom - Human Rights

There has been all-round progress in Rwanda over the past years, which can be attributed to the determination of the national government under steadfast leadership. Human Rights groups and various governments have criticized Rwanda for illegal executions and restrictions on the press. Louise Mushikiwabo who served as the Minister of Foreign Affairs and Cooperation of Rwanda from 2000 to 2018, when challenged by Mehdi Hasan in an interview on a news channel denied the allegations of human rights abuses (Al Jazeera English, 2016).

The determination of the national government with resolute governance and far-sight has resulted in the rapid economic growth of Rwanda, supplemented by social progress and human development. Simultaneously, civil, and political freedoms in Rwanda remain restricted. Basic human rights, which entail freedom of expression and freedom of association have been disposed of by the governing party to maintain political power. Democracy is being compromised in the Rwandan system for the sake of Rwanda's remarkable development, and the utilization of party-owned enterprises to trigger trade interest puts the ruling party at the centre of the economy (Cheeseman, 2018 & Turok, 2019).

Economy of Rwanda

Rwanda has many challenges due to high population density together with an inadequate resource centre. Being landlocked, Rwanda is far from ocean ports, and this involves transportation costs for both exports and imports, these obstacles to trade, hamper industrial forms of development. Therefore, to meet this challenge, the government of Rwanda has adopted and implemented a comprehensive policy framework, Vision 2020 and PRSP for development, determined to build a knowledge-based and technology-led economy (Thomas, 2008).

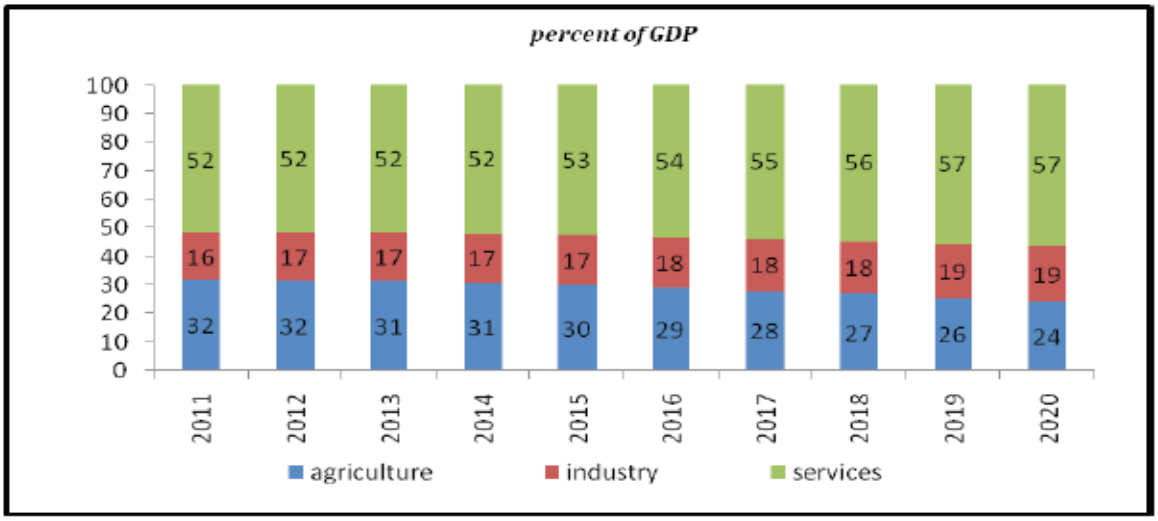
The former Rwandan Minister of Foreign Affairs and Cooperation, Louise Mushikiwabo described the development model for local circumstances and said that Rwanda is not endowed with oil and various natural resources but intends to use technology and innovation to achieve economic goals. Through a comprehensive government policy, Rwanda has become one of the developing countries that experience rapid industrialization (Eom, 2018).

Rwanda accepted central economic planning, the same as the PRC, and have empowered government-owned investment funds to drive the economy. The remarkable success of Rwanda was supported by the investments from the PRC, for example, the Rwandan prime minister's office together with the office of the foreign minister was a gift from the PRC. An industrial hub known as the Prime Economic Zone was partly built by China Star Construction and has lately been regarded as the engine of economic growth complete with mandarin characters on many buildings, PRC lanterns in windows, and a PRC flag (Paduano, 2019).

The PRC and Rwanda have signed fifteen deals ranging from trade to infrastructure which also include loans and grants to fund key road projects and the development of Rwanda's new Bugesera airport, all under the umbrella of the BRI (Zhou, 2018). Rwanda's strong overall control has been a driving force behind its rapid growth reports, and this provides a significant comparative advantage in the region (World Bank, 2018).

For SEZ's to work in Africa, the right policies and support to grow are needed. SEZs are demarcated areas with customized commercial and trade laws that differ from the rest of the country. They are formed to encourage trade, investments, create employment and generally influence investment policies in the country. African governments have agreed to partnership deals with companies in the PRC for the construction and advancement of SEZ's, expecting to achieve the success of the PRC. SEZs in the PRC were able to attract FDI, adapt policies to the changing market while boosting innovation. The country could implement a bottom-up problem-solving approach backed by top-down government support which saw these strategies linked to reliable infrastructure and teams of educated and competent workers (Morangi, 2016).

TRANSFORMATION OF ECONOMIC ACTIVITY 2011- 2020



Source: Ministry of Finance and Economic Planning, 2019, 7.

Francis Gatere, former CEO of the Rwanda Development Board (RDB) said that they wanted to replicate the success of the PRC in SEZs by acquiring business management knowledge and technology because the PRC will be seeking local partners. Rwandan private players travelled to the PRC to build relations, as well as seek job opportunities to be created in Africa by the relocation of light manufacturing industries from the PRC has full government support.

A firm and steady hand that effectively administers state capitalism and is assisted by keen PRC supporters may not be all that advantageous. The WB report in 2019 pointed out and cautioned to the high-growth, the high-debt problem in Rwanda and yet the country continued participating in projects with the PRC. A year after ratifying agreements for the BRI, Rwanda stated that it would be joining the PRC's Asian Infrastructure Investment Bank (AIIB), a WB challenger. Rwanda seems to be unaware of the PRC debt-trap some of the other African countries are faced with, a financial phenomenon that is starting to have geopolitical consequences (Paduano, 2019).

Agriculture sector

Since independence, the economic policies of Rwanda had pursued agriculture as the mechanism for economic growth. Landlocked, hilly with thick forests and the scarcity of natural resources for export, as well as the inadequate skilled and educated workforce Rwanda is left dependant on agriculture. The workforce in the agricultural sector in Rwanda is seventy percent, mechanization and the adaption of modern techniques has not yet taken effect as the youth find the sector inferior and have no ambition of becoming farmers. Rwandans are unable to depend on farming because the increase in coffee and tea production for export is insufficient to develop the economy. The agricultural sector in Rwanda has dynamic prospects and requires support to develop, and the PRC can assist with the appropriate technology. The PRC has introduced and developed rice cultivation through its technical assistance, and additional resources have been pledged by the PRC to improve agricultural security in Rwanda. Agricultural policy in Rwanda will continue promoting productivity and development (Mincofin, 2019). Due to this commitment, in 2009, the PRC began construction work on an Agricultural Technologies Demonstration Centre (ATDC) for Rwanda. An important aid project of the PRC to develop African farming and to give companies from the PRC a footing in new markets (Kuo, 2016a).

Trade and Investment

The renewed interest by both the PRC and Rwanda to work together to enable and recommend companies to invest in Rwanda has driven entrepreneurs from both countries to strengthen understanding, strive for more trade opportunities and fortify development. The only commercial

oriented investment involving the PRC regime was the construction of the only cement plant in Rwanda. The PRC is Rwanda's third-highest trading partner, because of many Rwandan entrepreneurs going to source machinery from the PRC there is the possibility of more bilateral trade development. One must acknowledge the trade imbalance in favor of the PRC reported by the Rwanda Revenue Authority (RRA) customs department due to the increased exports of low-cost consumer goods from the PRC (Byusa, 2010).

Funding for infrastructure expansion is supported by the Rwandan government whilst initiating awareness to motivate citizens to have a hand in the development as domestic investments will increase the country's appeal to investors. Rwanda has made it easy to obtain a business license and the laws provide legal guarantees to foreign investments which gave the country a high ranking in World Bank surveys on ease of doing business compared to other African countries (Morangi, 2016).

Manufacturing Drive

The government's program for training the nation across various industries played a key role in the planning, implementation, and scaling of PRC manufacturing in the country. The PRC interest in Rwanda in 2013 was concentrated in services, tourism, and ICT. In 2013, manufacturing was only generally mentioned in Vision 2020 discussing the infrastructure development requirements to enable the trading of manufactured commodities. Things started to change since the document EDPRS II (2013-2018) outlines the implementation of Vision 2020 and describes manufacturing in terms published in 2013. A shift towards manufacturing has been indicated in diplomatic statements of 2017 when Rwandan President Paul Kagame met with President Xi Jinping in Beijing, he explained that an important component of the Rwandan economic growth strategy is manufacturing. Rwanda desires to collaborate further on industrial development and encourage companies from the PRC to invest in Rwanda's manufacturing sector (Eom, 2018).

President Xi discussed C & H Garment's role in developing the Rwandan manufacturing sector on his visit to Rwanda in 2018. The garment factory was set up by an entrepreneur from the PRC at the request of President Kagame's "Made in Rwanda" development program. The low levels of corruption, the RDB's streamlined registration processes and personalized attention to foreign

investors is attractive. The Rwandan government's co-funding guarantee for training programs and the conditions of the Memorandum of Understanding (MOU) with C&H, the government wanted to ensure that manufacturing operations were sustainable and permanent for the local workforce and not an experimental project (Eom, 2018:8).

Infrastructure

Rwanda is still a low-income country, and being landlocked imported goods are inclined to be very expensive because the value of goods being transported from the ports increase. The PRC provided important financial aid to build the Kigali-Rusumo road which was completed in 1977 as well as other roads in Kigali City, because the PRC's state capitalism makes provision for longer-term commitment which allows for the building of major infrastructure projects at lower costs (IDS, 2015). The construction of the Amahoro Stadium, completed in 1987, and the current Head Office of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs and Cooperation (MINAFFET), as well as the Conference Hall known as Prime Holdings, were all built by the PRC.

The transformation of Kigali from a conflict-torn city to a high-security model city is important for the image of modernity which the RPF regime attempts to create but raises questions regarding the sustainability of Rwanda's development report (Rayarikar, 2017). Then there is Butare, the second-largest city in Rwanda with one paved road in 2016, a small market and a few shops and agriculture being the main economic activity. It is a world behind Kigali when it comes to be regarded as a modern city. The development and modernity story of the RPF seems to have left out Butare, which means that development in Rwanda is uneven. It is interesting when this uneven development of Butare in Rwanda is compared with urban hierarchy in the PRC which is unequal within cities of each region in the PRC despite the CCP forcing certain cities towards liberalization. With differences between regions, there is not one city developing faster than others within a region. In Rwanda the previous governments before 1994 did not concentrate on equal urban developments throughout Rwanda, this led to the excessive expansion in Kigali (Chen, 1991).

Communication, Science, Technology, and ICT

It has been observed that most of the PRC investments in Rwanda are in transformative sectors, being telecommunications and manufacturing and not in the natural resources sector. The ICT sector has been targeted by Rwanda in anticipation that the PRC can assist it in becoming a regional leader. Leading technology enterprises in the PRC, such as ZTE and Huawei have been approached and are expected to assist Rwanda by providing equipment and transferring skills to upgrade technology, explore opportunities to enhance e-governance programs, establish a new ICT Park in Kigali, help with the reduction of communications costs and expand the subscriber base by providing inexpensive mobile phone handsets (IDS, 2015). Star Africa Media Communication Network Technologies, a PRC registered ICT Company has selected Rwanda because of its strategic geographic location, and has established a pay-TV system that can stream to many African countries. Rwanda intends to develop a competitive advantage in the ICT area with the main areas being communication and outsourcing (Byusa, 2010).

Human Capital

Rwanda's history has been corrupted by policies and actions that were not advantageous to the development of human capital which should make it possible for people to do their jobs and to be innovative (Safari, 2010). Socio-economic development in Rwanda is driven by community participation and a definite approach to urbanization. The recovery of Rwanda was not a simplistic report stating centralized development and top-down regulation, because it is impossible to steer constant and complete development from the core in any country. In many reports of Rwanda's success, the presence of bottom-up processes responding when there are major issues has been overlooked. Yet, stability and understanding between both processes can expand the correctness and sensitivity of domestic policies and practices to people's experiences (Turok, 2019).

Education

In the past Rwanda was portrayed as not having proper investment and focus at all phases of education and training. Rwanda desires to become a sophisticated knowledge-based economy. The PRC offers Rwanda many university scholarships every year, and a Confucius Institute has been established in Kigali to teach the Rwandan community Mandarin and Chinese culture as well as an

Agro-veterinary school in the Western province (Byusa, 2010). The education sector in Rwanda has not met the demands of today's job market, this has increased the youth unemployment rates while many students strive for office jobs that do not exist anymore. This is regarded as outdated thinking, but there has been no change in the mentality.

Concerns are raised as to what degree on-site training programs of the PRC companies can replace technical schools in Rwanda. The export promotion manager at the RDB explained that the curriculum of schools will have to adjust to match the requirements of C&H and the other PRC manufacturing operations. It might be that formal training schools become redundant if local manufacturing companies benefit from recruiting Rwandan managers trained at C&H. Universal Education for All, is an important Millennium Development Goals (MDG) which Rwanda has advanced towards by moving from the nine years basic education program to twelve years. Rwanda lacks professional training, especially in the sciences and communication technology, these challenges will continue to be addressed regarding the quality of education to match the skills required for the labor market. Vocational and technical training in engineering, management, and technology are the major focus points. Education policies, sector development, and labor practices are important for the achievement of Vision 2020 (Eom, 2018).

Health

Rwanda still faces challenges regarding health in the country. For Rwanda to provide an efficient and productive workforce, the improvement in the quality of health is important, because the population is the primary resource and Rwanda depends on it for its future development. Fertility poses a health issue for Rwanda because medical skills and resources can be utilized more effectively if there are fewer births, as the reduction of poverty and dependency on aid necessitates a decrease in population growth (Abbott, Sapsford, & Binagwaho, 2017). Due to the success of the current population policies, Rwanda undertakes to have reduced the fertility rate to three children by 2020, with health policies targeting the poorest in the nation. To improve quality access to healthcare, family planning is essential for regulating population growth (Byusa, 2010). Bear in mind that most Rwandans are Christians and it is challenging to address family planning and contraceptive methods to delay population growth with them. The Kibungo Hospital and its expansion, as well as the new

Kibungo Nurse School, was constructed by the PRC who is providing technical assistance, medical doctors, and anti-malaria drugs to the Ministry of Health in Rwanda as a donation.

Poverty

Poverty is an important issue and the main subject in many developing countries is the elimination of poverty, as it causes conflicts and several kinds of radicalism. A good government is necessary to combat the need of the poor and deliver essential services and security. Therefore, wherever the US is unable to deliver the anticipated results, as the failures in Haiti and Iraq have demonstrated, the PRC's development path will continue to be appealing to the poor countries of the world (Zhang, 2007)**.**

Rwanda has made significant progress but still has many challenges, with fifty percent of its people still living in poverty and the country being heavily aid-dependent. It has met the MDG target for extreme poverty and managed to reduce poverty in general. In mainland Africa, Rwanda is the most densely populated country with no alternative to sustain constant economic growth. It has been estimated that by 2070 the population would have grown to 25 million which will create an overdependence on the government which is the main employer, and the private sector is still not equipped to lead the Rwandan economy, although it is growing (Abbott, Sapsford, & Binagwaho, 2017).

In 2012, the revised version of Rwanda Vision 2020, was presented by Kagame as a strategy to alleviate poverty in Rwanda and shift to a middle-income economy. The plan was viewed as being unrealistic and just a dream, but it is realistic because some countries with similar conditions have achieved success. Kagame referred to the development in Asia to prove the Vision 2020 plan could become a reality. He seeks unity and competitiveness both regionally and internationally for Rwanda. Unfortunately, the country has adopted some of the contested practices observed in the PRC, for instance ignoring human rights, and not eliminating poverty but only the appearance of it instead (Mincofin, 2019).

Conclusion

Rwanda's development trajectory was revived by the genocide and the goal was to unite and stabilize Rwanda. The Weberian bureaucracy in place in Rwanda, with its skilled and motivated public servants, assisted in the execution of the development plan. There is a heavy reliance on the current president Paul Kagame and investors have expressed concern about his retirement. Economic predictions appear to miss the underlying political and economic factors which are gradually changing the Rwandan state to embrace authoritarianism. With continued growth, it poses the question if it will occur under a government that respects and accepts different political opinions or one that holds on to power by oppressing differing political views. It appears that Rwanda is developing towards complete authoritarianism (Rayarikar, 2017).

The PRC and Rwanda have shown that all countries can grow their development path without being diverted by impractical foreign perceptions. The evolving development model of Rwanda is curbed by uncertainties as there seems to be a need for more stability and support between top-down and bottom-up processes. Much more responsibility and structuring between domestic and community planning and administrative systems would have the governance regime functioning more effectively. Compliance and understanding of national policies and practices would improve due to bottom-up demands on performance and lead to lasting and accepted social and economic outcomes (Turok, 2019).

CONCLUSION

The research sought to understand how much the PRC's development path is changing growth patterns on the African continent, especially the development path's appeal and the viewpoints and stimulation of Ethiopian and Rwandan elites' desire to emulate the PRC development path of modernization. The PRC's economic development path i.e. agriculture, infrastructure, and manufacturing, is the desire of many African countries to emulate as they see it as a way out of poverty and the anticipated economic development for the continent. It influences, especially in the decision-making and the emulation process which is attractive to actors from the African continent with their interests, perceptions, and governments. Industrialization is regarded as the path towards economic growth and poverty alleviation, a process which either partially or completely leads to African development states in the continent.

The PRC is in Africa to do business, not to improve African governance but to provide the African countries with the many conditions such as investment, infrastructure, and new markets needed to develop. The PRC is aware that there are problems in some African countries and do not want to mould African countries in its image or get involved in politics (IDS, 2015)**.** Although leadership with structure needs a capable government that willingly respond to national and local situations is essential in developing countries, elections and good governance as described by the West might be needed in countries, but is not required in the PRC. (Abebe, 2018**)**. The PRC's attitude towards governance relates to its understanding of development because it regards transparency, participation and the rule of law as Western norms and undertook to restructure the PRC ushering in a new start indicating their vision of modernization and development (Fowdy, 2020).

Policymakers in the developing countries have access to various market-led paths, and different understandings of developmental state paths in the 21st century. Although uncertainty exists, countries in the African continent follow emulative strategies for distinct reasons such as economic transformation or market-led reforms (Behuria, 2018). Speculations have emerged that the rise of the PRC is providing developing countries with an alternative example because the PRC is not regarded as the revolutionary path but the materialization of an established East Asian Model. Emphasis was placed on achieving the same remarkable economic growth that the PRC had

displayed. The existence of rapid growth was not what impressed countries leaders in Africa but the speed, as Africa cannot waste time but need to develop. The West developed at a different rate to that of the PRC because progress in the West is regarded as the process of catching -up (Lin & Shen, 2018).

For a Made in Africa brand, stakeholders, governments, investors, and civil society need to have a vision, patience, and commitment to open the potential of the continent. If Africa is to withstand the severe international trade environment it will need time, capacity development and resilience as mentioned by Zhang the chairman of Huajian Group, an investor in a shoe factory in Ethiopia (Morangi, 2016). The technological skills required for industrial growth in Africa are inadequate as the technical institutions in Africa are not equipped to train students in these fields, which limits participation of the masses in the development process (Nalianya, 2013). To enhance the welfare of the African nation and build a productive and efficient workforce, amendments in education and health services are necessary.

The degree to which the PRC functions as an example for African elites has several outcomes for the apparent attractiveness of the PRC development path. The Asian states had internal and external support to create governance adapted towards developmental concepts, while the African continent turned out to be the arena where Cold War conflicts were carried out. Investments from the PRC might not keep African countries in a resource extracting colonialism or a flying-geese model of production franchises' because its growing global presence and rapid development poses a challenge for the normal understanding of industrialisation as a basic element of development strategy. There exists the possibility that the PRC hinders export-led growth for Sub Saharan African (SSA) countries through direct (bilateral) and indirect (third country market competition) influences. This impacts negatively on SSA's industrial growth in the current structures as experienced in the exports of apparel to the US under AGOA. Should the WC policies prevail the negative influences will continue and intensify (Kaplinsky, 2008).

A modified and partial version of the PRC development path has been pursued by Ethiopian elites which does not indicate that elites in other countries would follow the same path. The case study Ethiopia shed light on how emulation of the PRC enable, shape and condition development paths

where this process is taking place (Fourie, 2015). The economic path that Ethiopia is following has worked for Ethiopia and the process by which their economic path is of interest to some economic experts and raises the question as to what other African countries can learn from it, but other countries are advised not to follow or emulate the Ethiopian development model as it is designed for the demands and desires of Ethiopia. The success of the PRC and the progress made by Ethiopia demonstrates that every country has its assets and challenges and developing what works is more likely to succeed than attempting to import a development path from abroad, as there is no distinct plan for success (Tafirenyika, 2015).

The PRC has supported the government in Ethiopia in achieving goals no other country in Africa has, thereby increasing its access to power (Gagliardone & Golooba-Mutebi, 2016b). Ethiopia is one of the main partners for the PRC's BRI in Africa and is doing its best as a country to take advantage of the twofold driving force of FOCAC and the BRI (Jian, 2019b). It is also the only economic miracle under the alleged developmental state path after the Cold War ended, therefore, the best developmental path for Ethiopia's future is when economic development and democracy are in accord (Abebe, 2018).

The President of Rwanda, Paul Kagame stated that the transformation of the country into a middle-income nation is their goal. Perceived as Africa's post-conflict success story and an example of economic growth and development, and the State ensured good governance, Behuria (2018) argued that Rwanda is a country that has followed emulative paths for various reasons sometimes in the same sector although different facets of its development plan has been praised by financial institutions and scholars. They are looking forward to seeing all Rwandans in good health, educated and living a better life in a united and competitive country.

For Rwanda to emulate the PRC's success in their political ability to support grassroots entrepreneurial growth based on internal regional competition and knowledge diffusion, pose a challenge for the small, landlocked, and scanty resourced country. This meant that the State also respects independent systems and procedures, commit to the rule of law specifically, protect human rights. The decentralization process affords participation at the grassroots level, while the rebuilding of Rwanda and its people is regarded as the key to encourage a balanced development. (Mincofin, 2019). In the political area President Kagame is criticised for a leadership and political system that

despite electoral procedures only allows political openings that does not challenge his authority (Carbone, 2019).

The advice of Deng Xiaoping to the President of Ghana, Jerry Rawlings in 1985 was not to copy the PRC development path, because the experience on the PRC's part was to formulate policies given their national conditions. Overcoming poverty and sustaining economic growth are important for African countries, therefore their desire to emulate the PRC's development path and the economic success it experienced in developing a viable manufacturing sector. The PRC is prepared to assist and support African countries with SEZ's in anticipation that their success can be reproduced because Africa trails behind on infrastructure development with insufficient transport, roads, water, telecoms and energy (Zoellick, 2010).

The impact of the PRC's development path will be determined by the relationship with African leaders as basic governance is required for African countries to foster good relationships with the PRC (IDS, 2015). All developing countries have the potential to develop provided they understand how to use their comparative advantages in their industrial development to the full, and choose the latecomer advantage in technical modernisation and manufacturing transformation. Policies founded on theories created from experiences of developed countries do not have the same outcome in developing countries, it is therefore necessary to develop concepts and theories centered around, the experiences of developing countries (Justin Yifu Lin & Shen, 2018).

Today, Rwanda is identified as an authoritarian regime (Elusoji 2018). Sustaining economic development and fast-tracking poverty reduction are the major challenges of Ethiopia and require advancement in generating employment and good governance. The Ethiopian government's strategy known as the Growth and Transformation Plan (GTP) is a long-term development plan which has international assistance and cooperation with the implementation. The PRC development path constitutes a real attraction for Ethiopia because of the special partnership between the two countries. The PRC's relationship with African countries is dominated by bilateral ties, however, African governments should recognize that there is no clear distinction between the PRC state and the CCP (Staden, 2018). The key, however, is to adapt that experience to Africa's own needs, circumstances and conditions. Such an attitude might make all the difference in the attraction for African countries

to emulate the PRC's development path. The PRC's influence and the decline in the Western hegemony, as well as the Trump administration's lack of interest in the developing world, does have African countries reaching out to the PRC for ideas.

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