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CHINA-NIGERIA RELATIONS: AN OPPORTUNITY OR OPPORTUNISM?

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LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS AND ACRONYMS

AU - African Union

CCECC - China Civil Engineering Construction Corporation

CGC - China Geo- Engineering Company

CNOOC - China National Offshore Oil Corporation

CSCEC - China State Construction Engineering Corporation

FDI - Foreign Direct Investment

FOCAC - Forum On China Africa Cooperation

FTZ - Free Trade Zone

LFTZ - Lekki Free Trade Zone

MOU - Memorandum Of Understanding

NNPC - Nigerian National Petroleum Corporation

OGFTZ - Ogun Guandgong Free Trade Zone

OECD - Organisation of Economic Co-Operations and Development

SOE - State-Owned Enterprise

SEPCO - Electric Power Construction Corporation

SINOPEC - China Petroleum and Chemical Corporation

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ABSTRACT

For decades, China's influence in Africa has been growing to raise a number of questions on what the real intention of the Chinese state is. Although economic growth on the African continent has been sluggish, however, China has witnessed remarkable economic growth and relative social stability. More so, China has taken on global roles as a political and economic power and putting its money where its mouth is. With an economy of over USD 12.0 trillion and a population of 1.39 billion, China has extended its dominance far beyond Asia and leveraging on international institutions and agreements to exert its presence globally.

China's influence has continued to grow in leaps and bound on the African continent and particularly Nigeria. The poorly managed Nigerian economy and outdated infrastructure have culminated into both countries' sustained alliance to drive growth. However, critics of the Chinese so-called 'win-win' foreign policy have continued to point out that the alliance seem to favour one side, with fragmented evidence suggesting that Nigeria's relations with China, rather than create other social-economic and political problems for Nigeria, thereby stalling the growth. Some levels of decadence in some industries have been ascribed to the growing dependence on China by Nigeria. Thus, there is a cerain level of academic legitimacy in asking a question on whether China's relations with Nigeria is about realising a great opportunity or it is simply of opportunistic relations. This discussion is bound by both international trade relations and neo-colonialism frameworks.

Keywords: China, Nigeria-China relations, opportunism, international trade relations, neo-colonialism.

INTRODUCTION

In September 2018, dozens of African heads of state attended the triennial Forum on China-Africa Co-operation (FOCAC), which was held in Beijing. Chinese President Xi Jinping pledged $60 billion for development across Africa at the two-day summit. Amongst other heads of states present at the summit was the Nigerian president, Muhammadu Buhari, who was attending the event partly to seek an additional $6 billion in infrastructure loans from the Chinese government (Lindberg & Lahiri 2018).

China’s influence in Nigeria and Africa at large has witnessed a significant increase in recent years, with China becoming the continent’s most significant economic partner. China’s relations with the continent extends beyond investment in economic investments; the relations have deepened with massive investment in military partnerships, information technology and agricultural developments. However, opinions remain divided on China-Africa relations. On the one hand, the partnership has been criticised by the Western media and policymakers as “debt-trap diplomacy” (Lindberg & Lahiri 2018). On the other hand, the argument from some analysts has accused the Western media of having common misconceptions about the nature of China’s involvement in Africa.

The opinion is divided on China’s presence in Africa, some basing the criticism on the increasing Chinese foot soldiers on the continent, and the supply of arms and ammunition to rogue regimes in Africa. The same military presence has consequently been disregarded as China’s peacekeeping mission, and the accusations unfounded. Analysts argue that only 7% of China’s arms export end up in Africa where the primary arms export is channelled to the Middle East and Asia, and China ranked 10th position on the list of countries shipping arms to Africa (Brauner 2015). Whereas, the USA, Russia and Germany are the largest exporters of arms into Africa between 1998 and 2007.

Notwithstanding, China’s influence in Nigeria is growing due to the weak Nigerian economy and poor infrastructures that drive growth. Fragmented evidence seems to suggest that Nigeria’s relations with China, rather than lead to the growth of the country is, in reality, stalling its growth. Some levels of decadence in some industries have been ascribed to the growing dependence on China by Nigeria. Thus, this thesis focuses on answering the question, is China’s ineractions with Nigeria representing a process of realising a great opportunity, or is it a geo-strategic activity of opportunistic nature? This research uses qualitative analysis data and resources to explore the opportunities and drawbacks of China in the Nigerian economy, how the rapid surge in China's investment is influencing the social and political landscape particularly the Nigerian government's policies, and the continental significance of China's presence in Nigeria. In addition, the thesis further concludes that China's African cooperation is indeed a win-win situation, in which the best negotiator benefits more from the deal.

This paper is aimed at analysing the bilateral trade relationships between China and Nigeria in order to determine the party that is better off within the context of the trade arrangements. Is it Nigeria who stands to gain wholesale upgrade of infrastructures in the deals with China? Is it the Asian su[er-power, which stands to benefit more as a result of maintaining a superior balance of payment in the bilateral deals?

A careful perusal of the stringent details of the bilateral trade agreements will pave the way in understanding whether the whole arrangement is centred on an opportunist or opportunity standpoint for Nigeria. By examining the series of trade agreements between Nigeria and China since 1972 together with other agreements relating to technology, economic and scientific cooperation, as well as the effect of trade and the inflow of Chinese-sponsored foreign direct investment to Nigeria, the study aims to empirically analyse the economic growth of Nigeria by looking at the direct and causal relationship between the trade FDI and economic growth.

The fact that this research work is a discourse that makes it imperative to structure the research question unambiguously. Unlike other research works that may need to answer various questions in order to come to a cogent conclusion, this study's objective is to determine whose agenda is prominent in the relationship between Nigeria and China. Therefore, the singular research question developed for this study is highlighted thus: Who benefits more from the Nigeria-China relations, Nigeria or China?

The methodology that was employed for the research is framing analysis. This is done in a manner where media frames were established in order to understand how various articles and journals highlight the relationship existing between Nigeria and China. In the context of this research, the media frames are either opportunity and opportunistic. Opportunity frames discuss the relationship from the perspective that Nigeria is on the advantage while the opportunistic frame maintains the relationship in more in favour of China that is just exploiting Nigeria's ever-difficult situation to enforce their multi-continental imperial stragegy further.

1. LITERATURE REVIEW AND THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

In the recent decade, China's credit lines offering for infrastructure has been observed by scholars as a recurrent economic statecraft tool used in resource-rich African nations. Beijing has consistently framed these loans as a win-win economic cooperation framework that allows for the provision of essential infrastructure in exchange for access to natural resources that China lacks at home (Alves 2013). Besides those China-associated attempts to secure markets for its construction companies and products, these credit lines have been used to secure long-term supply contracts and often privileged access to resource assets that are vital to sustaining its economic growth. The expected benefits for the African nations come in the form of large-scale infrastructure, in addition to the expected multiplier effects for the national economy. Nigeria-China relations, though a mutual arrangement had been observed as a phenomenon that needs to be examined in the light of its leanings; the question remains if their agreement indicates neo-imperialist relationships or a guardian-dependent arrangement? For this to be possible, it is important to approach the issue by going back to lineate the level of Chinese presence in Nigeria.

The diplomatic relationship between Nigeria and China was kicked off in 1972 with the delegation of a six-man committee led by top government functionaries from Nigeria visiting Beijing to sign an open-ended agreement with the Chinese government on economic, trade and technical alliance (Ogunsanwo 2008, 14). With the signage of the open-ended agreement, China was host to subsequent visits by various highly placed Nigerians including a personal visit by the then Military head of state, General Yakubu Gowon in 1974.

The relationship that was established in 1972 by the two countries has been on a buoyant note since their commencement. The declarative return of Nigeria to democratic rule in 1999 has resulted in every democratic government making visits to China with the exception of the present government whose emissaries have only been to China for an encompassing African summit and not strictly based on Nigeria-China relations. Within this time frame, it should be noted that only one Chinese Head of State has visited Nigeria (Umejei 2014). The seemingly frosty relationship between China and Nigeria was reaffirmed during the 70th General Assembly of the United Nations

(UN) as the event witnessed the two countries pledging to sustain the established bilateral relations and strategic partnership (FOCAC, 2015).

The engagement that China often favours in their relations with African countries follows the doctrine of mutual benefits, shared values and a win-win situation for all parties (Brautigam 2009). As a result of this, China has been observed to have invested heavily in Africa, with the Asian powerhouse perceived as the undisputed largest trading partner of Africa in the world. The fact that China has overtaken the European Union (EU) and the United States of America (USA) concerning investments in Africa shows just how huge China's investment in Africa had grown over the years. Trade between African and China increased from USD 10.6 billion in 2011 to more than USD 200 billion in 2012, indicating that more than 1000% increment within a year (Moyo 2014). By 2015, it had risen to a whopping USD 400 billion (China Daily 2016). Using this as a model for China's investment in Nigeria, the trade relationship between the two countries which generated USD 17.7 billion in 2011 rose to USD 23.5 billion in the first quarter of 2015 (Okafor 2015). Looking at the Chin-linked level of foreign direct investments in Africa, it is easy to identify that Nigeria enjoys the second highest amount of Foreign Direct Investment by China, with South African being the only country where China invests in more than Nigeria (Egbula & Zheng 2011).

It should be noted that the trade structure between Nigeria and China, when examined from the range of exports, reveal that China exports a range of consumer products such as textiles and technological products like machinery and equipment to Nigeria while they import only oil and gas products from Nigeria. As of 2014, more than 50% of Nigeria's export to China comprises of natural resources that are to be used as raw materials while China's export to Nigeria comprises majorly of consumer commodities. Moreover, China's export of textile commodities to Nigeria has grown by more than 200% within the same period. The export of cheap textile materials to Nigeria have resulted in adverse conditions for the local textile manufacturing industry in Nigeria (Eneji 2012). This revelation was made known by the former Central bank of Nigeria Governor as at that time, Sanusi Lamido. He claimed that Nigerians spend enormous resources on importing consumer goods from China which would have been beneficial if such commodity were locally produced (Sanusi 2013).

Going back in time to the 1980s, textile manufacturing companies dotted the landscape of Nigeria, with the industry boasting of more than 150 textiles manufacturing concerns and more than

200,000 employees. However, the importation of cheap textile materials from China has severely decimated this situation; by 2007 only about 26 textile companies were still in operation (Obiorah et al. 2008) while the total number of employed people in the industry is less than 25,000 (Rotberg 2008).

1.1. Components of China's Foreign Direct Investment in Nigeria

The information relating to China's Foreign Direct Investment in Nigeria is rather fragmented, the reason being that Chinese activities in Nigeria are geared towards increasing economic arrangements with social and technological deals also witnessing a significant level of inputs. China in the last fifteen years has set up more than 30 solely owned and joint ventures in Nigeria (Obiora, 2006). Majority of these business concerns are linked to oil and gas, construction and technology, with the services sector too enjoying significant presence. Classification of China's involvement in Nigeria can be further categorised into public and private. Information collected from the Nigeria Investment Promotion Council reveals that private foreign direct investments from China are majorly linked to the agro-allied, manufacturing and communication sectors. Chinese entrepreneurs wholly own some of these private companies while the majority of them are joint ventures and partnerships with Nigerian investors. Notably, some of these Chinese business concerns have benefitted immensely from investment incentives offered by the Nigerian government in order to encourage more foreign direct investment from the Asian Powerhouse.

As of 2010, the official record of foreign direct investment from China into Nigeria stood at USD 35 million (NIPC, 2013). While this seems to be at variance with what is revealed by the media, some explanations were brought up. First, it was revealed that the increase in foreign direct investment from China to Nigeria has only shown significant improvement from 2007 to the present time. It was also believed that the media did not capture some promises of investment and trade partnerships; hence the variance. A vivid example of this was the Kaduna Refinery sales that were agreed as far back as 2006. The deal was supposed to reach about USD 2.3 billion, but the next government that took over power in 2007 made moves to review the deal with the details not made public (Okafor, 2015).

The public investment and economic alliances between China and Nigeria have also continued to gain prominence as the years roll by. The public investments cut across various spheres of the Nigerian economy with the major ones being civil construction, and oil-n-gas. It is quite pertinent at this juncture to differentiate between Chinese investments, loans and contracts.

The Chinese FDI into Nigeria has its own merits as it has led to significant upgrades of domestic capital, transfer of technology, promotion of competition, innovation and acquisition of knowledge and skills. However, this should be compared with the anticompetitive and restrictive business practices, unfavourable balance of payment deficits, and transfer of pollution-encouraged practices. A country like Nigeria that is bent on enjoying the benefits of foreign direct investment should put policies in place that will maximise the benefits accrued to the arrangement while at the same time minimise the negative effects of it.

There should exist a litmus test that would always examine the motive behind the incidences of the foreign direct investments in order to ascertain what the fund and capital providers seek. If the foreign direct investments are channelled towards efficiency-seeking by the host country, then it would have been more advantageous (Okafor, 2015). However, in the event that such investment is made available for resource-seeking of market-seeking, then the host country needs to be very careful. The best way for a country to attract efficiency-seeking foreign direct investment, such a country must be economically stable, predictable and have in place incentives that will support such.

A look at the forms of private foreign direct investments and the concentration on oil and gas and construction points to a resources-seeking and market-seeking foreign direct investment and not efficiency-seeking foreign direct investment. Resource-seeking foreign direct investment cannot be ruled out of the public foreign direct investment from China into Nigeria also. However, some public foreign direct investment is perceived to be efficiency-seeking such as building infrastructure.

It would be better for policies that support joint venture as this is a credible means of achieving optimal benefit in the involvement of Chinese entrepreneurs and their investment drive towards Nigeria. Joint ventures between Nigerian investors and their Chinese counterparts have a higher possibility of having a positive impact on the economy as against wholly-owned Chinese business concerns who are merely seeking for market and resources. The participation and active involvement of Nigeria investors will lead to a more effective transfer of technical and technological capacity.

Chinese companies in Nigeria have been criticised as not encouraging local capacity as they find it rather difficult to employ indigenous experts. There are also reports of gross abuse of local indigenous workers in various Chinese firms it is believed that the Chinese business concerns in Nigeria do not conform with Nigeria Labour law, neither do they operate on best standards as prescribed by the International Labour Organisation (Umejei 2013). The famed transfer of technology may not be achievable as Chinese firms are reportedly in the habit of bringing in partly finished goods into the country with no need for equipment to do basic manufacturing. This is why it is important for Nigeria to design and implement policies and regulations that would ensure that there is a limit to the number of partly finished goods entering into the country.

1.2. Chinese Pursuit of Dividends in Nigeria

Verifiable information point to a growing trend in the inflow of foreign direct investment from Nigeria into Nigeria. The *Table 1* below reflects the true picture of foreign direct investment inflow into Nigeria from various regions of the world in relations to the inflow from China. The table revealed a significant increase of inflow of foreign direct investment from 1999 when Nigeria returned to democratic rule. The rise of the level of foreign direct investment into Nigeria reveals an aggregate Foreign Direct Investment inflows from about 190 million dollars in 1999 to $4 billion by 2007 (NIPC, 2013).

Table 1: Foreign direct investment in Nigeria between 1999 and 2007 in millions

Region/country	**1999**	**2000**	**2001**	**2002**	**2003**	**2004**	**2005**	**2006**
North America	7.35	9.84	12.10	36.16	40.34	4354.14	5166.32	1601.28
Europe	164.95	136.46	98.86	200.24	293.66	2624.30	3084.68	2441.52
Asia	2.94	5.93	4.45	5.17	1.54	32.12	47.29	39.63

Africa	6.79	9.45	8.24	24.30	91.41	173.62	169.04	56.06
South America	1.15	2.96	0.39	0.05	7.14	60.04	24.56	11.76
Middle/Far East	7.41	2.75	10.92	5.30	6.74	23.27	21.22	13.39
China	0.02	1.08	2.39	0.0	0.05	0.51	1.88	5.50
	190.61	168.47	137.35	271.22	440.88	7268.00	8514.99	4169.14

Source: Nigeria Investment Promotion Council (NIPC)

In relation to other regions, South America has the lowest contribution of foreign direct investment inflow into Nigeria from the time when Nigeria returned to democratic rule. This is followed closely by foreign direct investment inflow from the Asia Pacific region. Initially, foreign direct investment inflow from the middle-east region was higher than that coming from the Asia Pacific region, this position changes in 2007 as the table revealed a significant level of reduction of foreign direct investment from the middle-east region. Suffix to say that from 1999, foreign direct investment inflow from the Asia Pacific was on the increase while that coming from the middle-east keeps fluctuating (Obiora 2006).

The issue is worthy of note here was that the importance of foreign direct investment from China was strategically crucial in the trend observed. And while as of 2007, the foreign direct inflow from China into Nigeria was ranked 5th behind fellow Asia Pacific countries like Japan, India, Singapore and Hong Kong, 2010 foreign direct inflow indices revealed China to be better positioned than all the other listed Asia Pacific countries with respect to foreign direct investment inflow into Nigeria.

1.3. China-Nigeria: Trade Relations

The records of the Nigerian Investment Promotion Council (NIPC) registration documentation reveals that there are more than 200 registered Chinese companies in Nigeria as of 2014 (Umejei, 2015). It should, however, be noted that the majority of these Chinese companies in Nigeria are state-owned enterprises (SOE). Among these are Sinopec (deals in oil and gas), Chinese National Petroleum Company (oil and gas), CCECC (construction), Huawei (Telecoms), ZTE (Telecoms), SEPCO (electricity generation), CNOOC (offshore oil and gas), CGC (construction) and CSCEC (construction and real estate). Further issue of note is that two Chinese firms: ZTE and Huawei dominate the Nigerian telecoms sector (Egbula and Zheng 2011).

Table 2: China-Nigeria Trading relations from 1995 to 2014 (USD'000)

Year	Import from China	Export to China	Deficit
1995	240433.139	55456.98	-184976.159
1996	191221.359	6485.567	-184735.792
1997	573785.298	8720.796	-565064.502
1998	453769.917	22960.01	-430809.907
1999	467635.708	171996.1	-295639.608
2000	499415.032	199986.7	-299428.332
2001	887122.704	170357.9	-716764.804
2002	648133.825	108555.4	-539578.425
2003	1168541.512	87169.93	081371.582
2004	1015787	429142.4	-586644.6
2005	1983346.853	438317.3	-545029.553
2006	3448443.253	248072	-200371.253
2007	4322923.301	531741.8	-791181.501
2008	7712364.024	435150.4	-277213.624
2009	5416484.06	834724.5	-4581759.56
2010	7332308.418	1080426	-251882.418
2011	9358843.444	1706576	-652267.444
2012	10980688.38	1674434	-306254.384

2013	13741606.27	1537958	-2203648.27
2014	18361174.51	2345535	-6015639.51

Source: UNCTAD 2017

1.4. Nigeria's Debts to China

The role being played by China with respect to the reduction of debts of African countries is becoming a major concern for African countries. While placing itself as the best source of loans, China seems to distance itself from the traditional loan providing donors through the establishment of a series of aid packages that African countries often find difficult to resist. The manner of some arrangements between Nigerian and China often makes it difficult to differentiate if such arrangements are aids of loans. China's aid assistance and loan facilitation have been observed as a strategy to get a foothold on the economy of Nigeria; this being its overall strategy.

Chinese funding and loans do not always produce the best results for Nigeria. Despite this fact, China always exhibits increasing willingness to offer more loans to Nigeria because the terms of the loan agreement always favour the Chinese government in the long run. While we can look at all these loan offerings to African countries by China as a form of assistance, this is always problematic for countries like Nigeria where there is high-level corruption in the government corridors. Sometimes, the loans borrowed may end up not being used for the required purpose, and even when it is, there is gross misappropriation and embezzlement by government authorities.

Eisenman and Kurlantzick (2006), argue that the debt relief has not only being used as a strong tool to hold onto Nigeria but has also established a cycle between the two nations. The authors further noted that debt relief had been used as an excellent public relations tool by China because popular support is gathered through this. The media frenzy that follows debt provision and subsequent debt relief often make it seem like the Chinese government is giving out the loans on a platter of gold. China provides loans for African countries, and when such countries find it difficult to pay back the loans, the country transforms such loans into debt relief; in other words transforming loans to grants. This cycle is continued with the objective of keeping Nigeria and other African countries enthralled with them.

Some other scholars have pinpointed methods by which debt accumulation on the part of Nigeria is a dangerous trend for Nigeria. Oyeranti *et al*. (2011), claimed that through incidences of China financing and loan contracts awarded to Chinese firms, the Asian powerhouse benefits from such arrangements while Nigeria as debt takers continue to dip the country into the debt pit. The authors further cautioned the Nigerian government to do investigations concerning the cost-benefit analysis of the Chinese engagements. The debt accumulation in the context of the agreement between Nigeria and China also spill over to the oil sector.

Despite the cancellation of the oil-for-infrastructure deal, the Chinese companies continue to grow extensively in Nigeria and benefitting the most from contracts (Mthembu-Slater 2009). The increasing capability to win a contract is an impetus for more Chinese companies to set up in Nigeria. While the initial arrangement of oil-for –infrastructure made it easier for Nigeria to fund its debt, the subsequent oil-for-cash deal resulted in debt accumulation with repayment becoming more problematic by the day. As Taylor (2006) noted, the oil-for-cash policy poses a problem because of such cash to disappear in the midst of corrupt practices among Nigerian leadership.

Reisen and Ndoye (2008) also noted that the fact that China has a significant impact on the debt ratio through export and growth stimulation accords it the capacity to create a negative effect on the reduction on diversification of products since it is the norm for countries to prioritise the export of demanding products (that is oil). For countries like Nigeria, exporting energy commodities majorly will make the country increase its export while also making them depend on natural resources.

1.5. Theoretical Framework

This study employed the use of realism theory and framing theory as the guarding theories for the study.

1.5.1. Realism Theory

The realism theory has been in existence from the days of Nicolo Machiavelli but was refined into modern context by various Neoclassical theorists like Keneth Waltz (1990) and William Reno (1999). Realism theory is hinged on analysing the role of the state, national interest and military power in the context of world politics. The relationship that seems to exist between Nigeria and China can best be described according to Reno (1999) as “Warlord Politic”.

The rationale behind warlord politics is that the state is established, but the establishment is hinged on rulers forming personal relationships with each other rather than allowing matters of state to dictate the relationships. Realism theory is used to evaluate situations where one country embarks on getting aids from a more developed country in order to develop itself. However, in reality, this permutation never comes to succeed as the relationship often makes the country looking for aids continue to remain subservient to the more developed country.

Zakaria (2008) believe that most times, the aids that are given to the less-developed country ends up being misappropriated or even used for personal benefits. The whole system of aid is set up in a way that it benefits those in power personally and not the country as a whole. This is because the leadership of the less developed country establish a patronage network within and outside the country for their selfish interest and not the interest of the state. The involvement of the State in such a scheme is just to pay eye service and make citizens believe they aid is meant for development (Reno, 1999). This situation is true of many African countries in their relations with other developed countries. While countries like Nigeria often portray images that tend to reflect the disappearance of warlord politics by designing policy programs that display a functional and working government, the reality of it all is that the Nigerian government is still at a level of weak management.

The central focal point of realism theory is on the acquisition, maintenance and exercise of power by the various states in an agreement. This power is divided into hard power (military might) and soft power (economic might). The realism theory further asserts that the idea of interrelations between state is based on self-interest as the nations are more interested in what matters to them. Neoclassical realism also incorporates the concept of foreign policy since states are continually involved in conflicts of interest and power distribution. This theory is ideal in the context of Nigeria-China relations.

1.5.2. Realism Theory as it Relates to Neo-colonialism

In the context of realism theory, neo-colonialism is perceived as a process wherein developed economies continue to get involved with relatively poorer economies in a way that will be detrimental to the growth of such a poor economy. Many developing nations have often seen their growth stunted by their involvement and relationship with much-developed nations. This is because such developed nations only get involved with the developing nation with regards to what the former will benefit and not for the growth of the latter. Many African nations fall into this category of developing nations who establish relations with seeming more powerful and developed nations. Gladwin (1980) discussed ways through which unfair economic deals take place between nations the example used by this author include the use of foreign aid and multinational corporations by a developed nation to disguise its intentions towards the weaker or undeveloped nation. In order to perpetuate the hidden intentions, developed nations apply certain conditions that must be adhered to by the developing nations as a prerequisite for the granting of aids. These conditions leave room for the developed nation to exploit and manipulate the developing or undeveloped nation to its own gain. This situation reveals the detrimental effects of neo-colonialism on underdeveloped and developing nations and their ability to grow and subsequently be industrialised. This is why most developing nations remain in that status without any possibility of moving up.

1.5.3. Framing theory

The relationship between countries as it relates to trade and other bilateral indices has been a subject of debate when discussing growth and development. The reason for this is that the major impetus for any bilateral arrangement is to foster inter-relationships, but in between this, the tendency for countries to prioritise benefits in the bilateral arrangements becomes sacrosanct. Every nation needs to grow, and it is based on this premise that bilateral arrangements are made.

It has been noted that theoretical growth literature has raised the level of attention given to the relationship between bilateral arrangements and potential for growth. The theoretical framework of this study hinges on the framing theory which Tankard (2001) describes as the central organising idea for news content that avails a particular context while also suggesting what the issue is through emphasis, exclusion, selection and elaboration. This, in essence, means that framing is a concept that reflects the capacity of a particular text to define a situation, examine the issues and also determine the terms of an engagement. The major advantage of framing is the capability to get beneath the general surface of news coverage and examine the hidden motives and catalysts that relate to particular issues.

There is the existence of what is called the dominant frame; a connotation that points to a series of social meanings that define the relationships existing within a particular context. In an exploratory study on media framing of China by some media outlets in East Africa, Wekesa (2013) summarised that China's image in the region is sandwiched between the interplay of positive and negative media frames. In relation to China and Nigerian relations, there is need to examine in detail the hidden and unspoken arrangements that are laced in between the media propagated bilateral relations which are seen as basically a strengthening of ties.

1.6. Research Methodology

This study makes use of a qualitative approach. The methodology adopted for this study follows the analysis of articles and journals as well as news features and opinions from two popular media agencies; both local and global media. This approach is chosen for the study as the relations between the two nations have profiled for decades with opinion divided. This divided opinion provides a rich insight into the pros and cons of the relations. These sources are framed in such a way that it magnifies the unobservable contents of the bilateral agreement between China and Nigeria.

In this study, previous studies that relate to China and Nigeria relations with respect to investments, debts relief, infrastructure finance, trade and oil & gas deals were made use of. In an effort to come up with better framing analysis, the study built upon its argument by analysing texts from various Nigerian development plans and programs in order to ascertain if the country's relations with China keys into the plans and programs. This was done by gathering information from published journals, newspaper articles, and other important documents that relate to the subject matter. The texts use opened up various understandings of the Nigerian-China relations' with each source approaching the relations in diverse manners

There are two approaches to embarking on a framing analysis: the inductive and deductive methods. The inductive approach comprises of analysing media content with an open view in order to identify the possible frames and is best suited for a small sample (De Vreese 2005). In the deductive approach, framing is done by operationalising the frames before analysing the texts. This is done in order to verify the degree to which the frames occur in the news contents. A deductive approach to framing is best suited for large samples.

This study made use of the inductive approach by identifying frames within a small sample of news articles from Punch and Vanguard newspapers. As claimed by Martthes (2009), the unit of analysis is individual editorials, feature articles and opinions. This is because frame analysis favours the whole content of an article as the major discourse unit. In addition to applying framing analysis on the selected editorial articles from the specified newspapers, questionnaires will be sent to the members of the Everything Journalism, a LinkedIn group of made up of journalists, public relation executives, publishers and other professional media practitioners in Nigeria.

2. FRAMING CHINA-NIGERIA RELATIONS

This section is dedicated to analysing the data collected from the two popular newspapers in Nigeria; The Punch and Vanguard as well as some other articles and journals that relate to the subject matter. The analysis is carried on bearing in mind the establishment of two different frames which are reflected in the Nigeria-China relations; opportunity or opportunist? This chapter is in two sections. The two sections examines the China and Nigerian relations from two lenses, the Opportunistic frame and the Opportunity frame.

The first section deals with the Opportunistic Frame which will be analysed using the trade imbalance exploitations by China in Nigeria-China relations, decolonisation and offering of substandard products. The other frame (Opportunity Frame) will reflect the opportunity frame will be analysed under themes such as investment, aids, partnership developments and China's model as an economic success.

Opportunistic Frame

This frame suggests that the Nigeria-China relations serve to the advantage of China more as the country stands to benefit more from the arrangement while not overtly reflecting such in the various bilateral agreements with Nigeria.

Opportunity Frame

This frame supports the perspective that Nigeria tends to gain more from the relations with China. This is based on the fact that the kinds of assistance that the Chinese often lay on the table when negotiating bilateral trade agreements with Nigeria often serve to give the impression that Nigeria is in a better-off position.

2.1. Decluttering the Trade Imbalance

Trade relations between the two countries has been on an increase since the first bilateral agreement was signed in 1972 (Ogunsanwo 2008, 16). This bilateral agreement opened up the channel for Nigeria to request an unlimited number of projects from the Chinese government over the years. This necessitated series of exports and imports between the two countries. By 1974, Ogunsanwo (2008) noted that after just three years, Nigeria's import from China totalled USD 70 million and USD 140 million in 1975 and 1976 respectively. During this period, the totality of Nigeria's export for the two years was USD 12 million.

Fast forward to 1995, Mthembu-Salter (2009), claimed that Chinese imports into Nigeria were USD 210 million while exports from Nigeria stood at a paltry USD 14 million. The disparity, coupled with the percentage increases in the respective export and imports of the two countries between 1975 and 1995 was hugely in favour of China. The percentage increase of Chinese exports to Nigeria grew by 200% while Nigeria's export to China grew by just 6.5% in the 20 years study. This huge disparity served as a major concern for the Nigerian government. Plans were put in place to increase the value of exports to China so that the huge disparities can be reduced. This came with a momentary positive as the value of Nigeria exports to China increased to USD 293 million in 2001.

Despite this, the Chinese government was still having favourable terms of trade as Chinese exports too were growing rapidly which showed an improvement of 73% in 2000 in relation to the 1995 export value. This adverse trade imbalance continued to worsen year by year; by 2008, the total worth of bilateral trade between Nigeria and China was USD 7.3 billion and Chinese exports in the trade deals controlling 93% of the total bilateral trade deals. See the table below:

Table 3: Nigeria-China bilateral trade from 2001 to 2008 ($ millions)

Year	**Nigeria's export to China**	**China's export to Nigeria**	**Bilateral Trade Value**	**China's total export (%)**
2001	227.4	927.2	1144.6	80.1
2002	121.3	1047.1	1168.4	89.6
2003	71.7	1787.5	1859.2	96.1
2004	462.6	1719.3	2181.9	78
2005	527.1	2305.3	2832.4	81.4

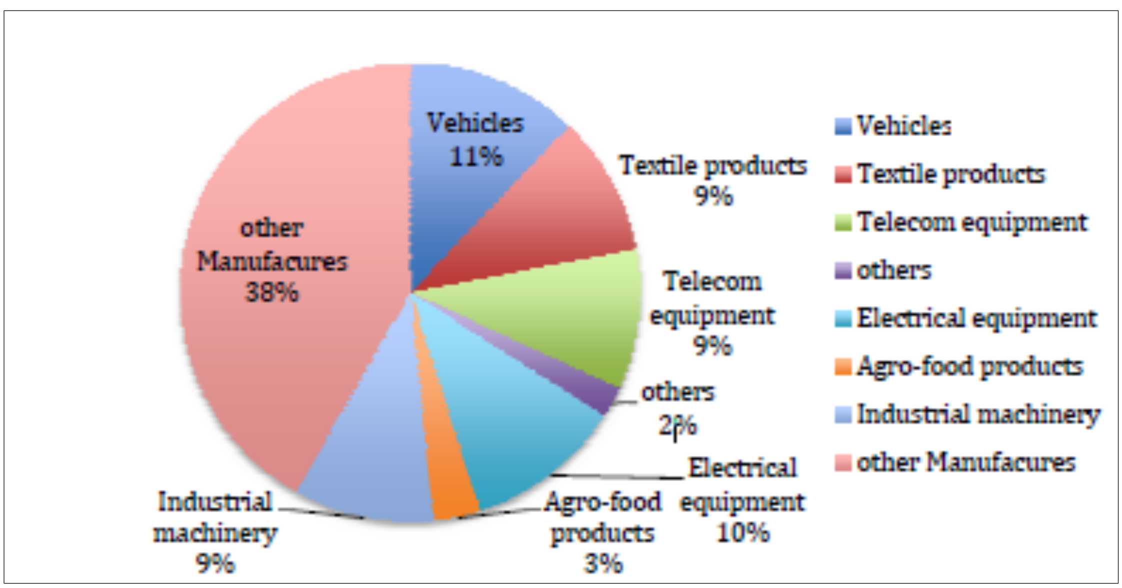
2006	277.8	2855.7	3133.5	91.1
2007	537.5	3800.2	4337.7	87.6
509.9	509.0	6758.1	7268	93

Source: Mthembu-Salter (2009)

It should be noted that the trade volume between Nigeria and China account for 17% of the total trade China engaged in with the whole Sub-Saharan Africa, with Nigeria being the second largest trading partner of China (Obiora et al. 2009, 12). A significant amount of Chinese exports were in form machinery, transport equipment, apparels, electronics, footwear's and textiles' indicating a wide variety of goods been exported from China to Nigeria. On the other hand, 87% of Nigeria's export to China in the same period was crude oil (Mthembu-Salter 2009, 9).

The huge trade imbalance was believed to have created severe economic problems for Nigeria as Trade Unions in Nigeria pointed accusing hands at Chinese imports as the reason for the loss of jobs in the manufacturing industry with the textile sector mostly affected. These same complaints have been made in the past against China in Ethiopia and Nigeria. The Table also shows that China seems to maintain a trade policy that places a priority on trade with Nigeria due to the benefits Chinese companies are enjoying by transacting with the most populous African nation.

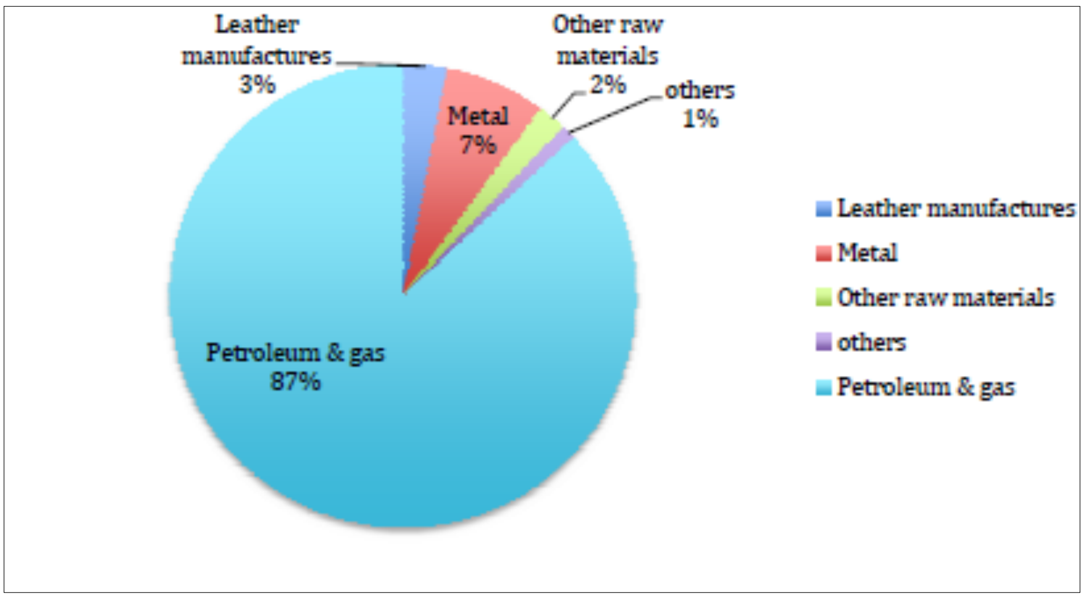
Figure: China's exports to Nigeria by-product, 2010.



Source: UN Comtrade. http://comtrade.un.org

The pie chart above shows that the highest Chinese exports to Nigeria consist of manufactured goods which ordinarily, for a country as populated as Nigeria, should have developed its manufacturing industry to discourage too much dependence on imported goods. The importation of Chinese textiles has had a negative impact on the local market in Nigeria. This is because the imported Chinese textiles are more attractive to the local consumers as a result of the lower prices in relation to locally produced or western-imported textiles. Most Nigerians do not care about the quality of goods they buy, in as much as the prices come cheap.

Figure: China's import from Nigeria by-product, 2010.



Source: UN Comtrade. http://comtrade.un.org

A look at the pie chart above will reveal that a very large per cent of Nigeria's export to China is petroleum and gas resources. On another note, it shows that virtually all what is exported from Nigeria to China is in the form of raw materials which are natural resources and not intellectual resources. In contrast to this, Nigeria imports manufactured goods from China.

2.2. China as the Neo-colonialism Power

Some newspaper articles seek to present China as merely a neo-colonial power whose ambition is to dominate Nigeria's economy for its gain. A look at the news article *'CNPP Faults FG's USD 1.1 billion Chinese loans',* the accusers (Conference for national Political Parties) claimed in the article that China is consciously embarking on an attempt to put Nigeria in subservience economically. As stated in the article, CNPP said that 'Nigeria may be heading towards an unconscious debt trap and Chinese imperialism' support of the standpoint of Sanusi (2013), who asserted that China's engagement with African countries is leaning towards neo-colonialism and is disguised as an economic partnership.

The position of the CNPP on the matter also magnified the excerpts of the then Governor of the Central Bank of Nigeria, Nigeria's apex banking institution. In his words, '*China takes from us raw materials, modifies it and send it back to us as manufactured goods*' the workings of a colonialist (Sanusi 2013, 12). As Taylor (2012) also noted, the massive loans provided by China could encourage serious debt accumulation that would in future impede the economic growth of African countries. Some words that were used to describe China's engagement with Nigeria by the CNPP news article are exploitative, anti-people, anti-growth and anti-democratic. This, in essence, is pointing to a perception that China does not often respect the ethics of democracy and is only interested in supplanting his economic interest above any other interest.

An Opinion article published in the Punch newspaper titled *'Mandarin in Lagos'* saw the writer Adelakun Bimbola asserting that the introduction of Chinese languages in some Nigerian public schools is a reflection of what Julius Nyerere said in relation to China-African relations. According to Nyerere, the relationship is the most unequal of all seemingly equal relationships. The columnist, Adelakun claimed that language is a means of domination that has been used in the past by the western world to hold Africans in bondage. He further asserted that the introduction of Chinese language in Lagos Public schools without any counter-replication of such in Chinese public schools is an indication of the preponderance of power on the part of China.

The columnist also believes that it is imperative to magnify China's motive for lobbying the Lagos State government to introduce the Chinese language to students at their formative years when it is believed that they can build a strong understanding of the language. This is believed to place the kids at the mercy of the native speakers of the language. This fear of possible and future domination by the columnist reverberates what Sanusi (2013) cautioned on concerning China becoming Africa's new colonial master.

In another opinion article with the title ‘China’s scramble for Nigeria’, the columnist Obong Patience made an expose, indicating that China’s approach to its relations with Nigeria is reminiscent of the early missionaries whose missions went beyond just humanitarian efforts. In the article, she posited that it is important for Nigeria to analyse its seeming romance with China in a bid to ensure that the relationship is mutually and equally beneficial. In the case where this is not the case, Nigeria should as a matter of urgency renegotiate a new term of engagement with China, or stay on its own. This point of view is in tandem with Gaye’s (2007) assertion that China should not be perceived as a philanthropist in Africa, rather the Asian powerhouse is on a quest to satisfy its agenda.

In another parallel opinion of the China-Nigerian relations, a distinguished professor cum writer, Sonaiya Oluremi published a scathing attack with his opinion titled ‘*China in Africa, Beware!*’ Sonaiya detailed the book “*La Chinafrique: Pékin à la Conquête du Continent Noir*, a French storybook whose cover depicts an African soldier using his left hand to clutch his gun while using the right hand to hold an umbrella over a Chinese man’s head. Being a Professor of the French language, Sonaiya embarked on a textual analysis of the photograph and subsequently warned about history repeating itself with the manner China is positioning itself with Nigeria and other African countries.

Her conclusion “Africa may be heading towards a new period of enslavement” is an indication of the perpetual fear of the educated that China is just an emerging colonialist in Africa. It reverberates the notions propagated by Sanusi (2013) and Gaye (2007) that China is not different from the earlier European slave masters that once came to conquer Africa. They believe China is positioning as the new colonisers of the African continent.

2.3. China's Thirst for Nigeria's Crude Oil

China's emergence in the scramble for Nigeria's crude oil has been reported to be laced with anomalies and unethical practices. Some quarters often describe the process as very disturbing. Despite following the usual process of lobbying the authorities, there were reports of gross irregularities and the entrance of China into the lobbying group was inconvenient as the Asian powerhouse made used aids as bait and followed it with bribery and backhand dealings. As noted by Ogunsanwo (2008), China believes in using aid packages to gain access to the natural resources of Nigeria and other African countries.

This process often accords China an advantage while also making its entrance easier than for other countries. By promising to grant aids that will subsequently be used for the development of infrastructure, China covertly facilitates its emergence into a country's natural resources. Before beginning the process of lobbying for oil licences in Nigeria, China initially started by positioning itself on advantage with the building of some basic infrastructure in Nigeria so that it can be seen as a friend and trusted nation. Among these was the building of 5000 housing units for athletes for the 8th All-Africa games that took place in Abuja in the year 2000 (Mthembu 2009, 12).

China's portrayal as a trusted ally that intends to upgrade Nigeria's infrastructure was used to boost its profile in other areas like vying for oil licences (Vines et al., 2009). Even though Nigeria was experiencing violent hostilities in the Niger Delta region, this did not bother China as they were bent on having access to Nigeria abundant crude oil. The Chinese government, despite building the All-Africa games infrastructure, did not show any inkling of their motives in the first round of oil licencing in 2000 (Vines et al., 2009).

By 2005, when another round of licencing was to be embarked upon, China already positioned itself on a sound footing after having been involved in rebuilding the Kaduna refinery, the Lagos-Kano light rail, and also the hydro-electric power station at Mambilla (Taylor 2007). In spite of all these, China failed to get any of the 44 oil block licences due to its misconception that its friendly gestures were enough to make the Nigerian government allocate oil blocks to it without bidding.

The misconception, coupled with the attempt to pacify China led to another hastily arranged oil licencing bid in 2006 which led to China National Offshore Oil Corporation (CNOOC) being granted four oil block-licences out of the total 12 available for bidding during this round. As Reisen and Ndoye (2008) asserted, the manner of the oil licencing arrangement showed that the government was just out to correct the mistakes of the initial round which culminated in China not given a single oil block licence. A year later, the new regime of UmaruYar'Adua implemented another round of oil license bidding, and China's CNOOC was a beneficiary of four more oil block licences in return for USD2.5 billion in loans (Vines *et al*. 2009, 5).

While the government of Olusegun Obasanjo initiated the oil-for-infrastructure policy in Nigeria, his predecessor cancelled this arrangement, opting for oil-for-cash in the form of loans. This change of policy affected a lot of infrastructural projects that were being executed and managed by the Chinese government such as the rebuilding of the Kaduna refinery, and rehabilitation of the Lagos-Kano railway – seeing that the new government was planning a review of the licences granted between 2005 and 2006. Sensing that the government might likely revoke the licence granted of it by the past administration, the Chinese government suddenly began to display disinterest in continuing the rebuilding of the Kaduna Refinery; their reason being that it was a precondition for granting it oil block licences in the first place (Taylor, 2007).

The major reason for Yar'Adua's change of the oil-for-infrastructure policy was as a result of his lack of conviction on the projected promises by the Chinese companies. The cancellation of the agreement was met with disagreement by some Chinese firms as some of them were alleged to have invested large sums already. However, the introduction of the new oil-for-cash policy was perceived as even more interesting by the Chinese multinational corporations. This policy enabled them to secure more reserves in Nigeria's oil. Petro China signed a deal with the Nigeria National Petroleum Corporation (NNPC) for the daily supply of 30,000 barrels of crude oil to China for a period of five years.

The rush for Nigeria's oil also culminated in China's Sinopec agreeing to pay USD 7.2 billion for Canada's Addax oil licence, thereby making Chinese interests the owner of a substantial percentage of Nigeria's oil reserves. All these schemes are pointers to the level of desperation that China exhibits so as to have control over a large share of Nigeria's oil reserves. As noted by Egbula and Zheng (2011), Sinopec's purchase of Addax Petroleum was its largest overseas oil deal, and the deal gave China access to not only oil reserves in Nigeria but also in Gabon and the Gulf of Guinea.

Table 4: Nigeria total petroleum output exported to China (1995-2014)

Year	**Petroleum**	**Percentage exported to China**
1995	52598.9	94.8
1996	N.A	N.A
1997	N.A	N.A
1998	15465.5	67.4
1999	150026.7	87.2
2000	172379.6	86.2
2001	119082.9	69.9
2002	76193.2	70.2
2003	43654.6	50.1
2004	362233.6	84.4
2005	358104.7	81.7
2006	221426.5	89.3
2007	447364.3	84.1
2008	212321.6	48.8
2009	651514.4	78.1
2010	717027.8	66.4
2011	777025.6	45.5
2012	1086893.1	64.9
2013	953258.3	62.0
2014	1347122.1	57.4

Source: UNCTAD database.

The above table indicates the level of attachment that China places on Nigeria, Petroleum resources. In the years under study, more than half of Nigeria's annual petroleum export goes to China; an indication of China's desperation to be at the forefront of the receiving end of Nigeria's petroleum resources which is reportedly in abundance.

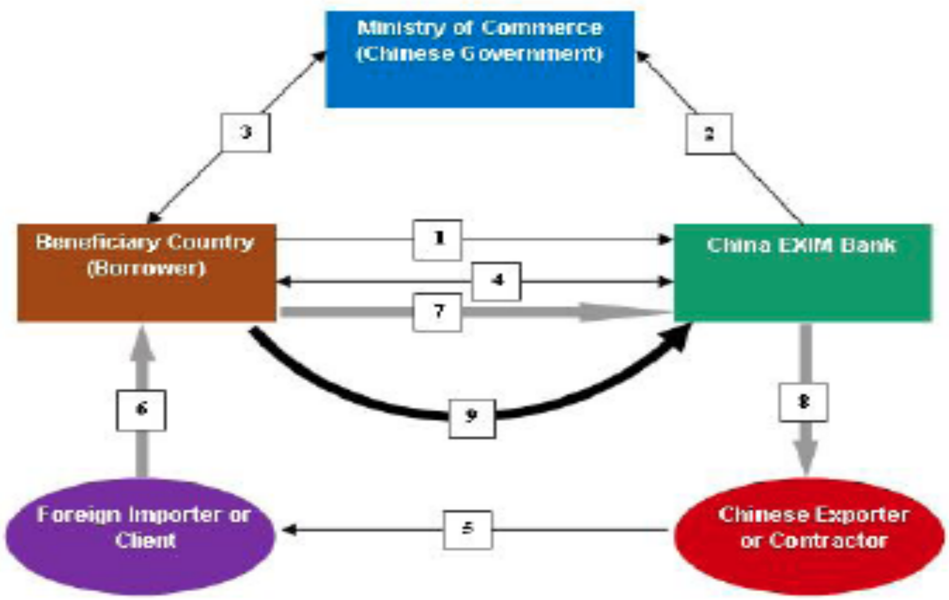
2.4. Loan Aids and Infrastructural Development

China is famous for its capability to give loans and aids to developing nations even when the ability of such country to repay the loan look bleak. Moreover, the fact that China does not lend money based on the financial terms laid down by the Organisation of Economic Cooperation and Development (OECD) also speaks volume about their disposition to lend money to African countries and yet refuse to use export credits or concessional financing. Nigeria happens to be the beneficiary of the most massive inflow of China's financial assistance (Reisen and Ndoye 2008, 09).

China has positioned itself not only as a good trading partner in Africa but also as a worthy lender as most African countries now prefer to borrow loans from China. Nigeria is also among the major beneficiaries of the new lending policy that takes the form of export credit from China. In 2006, the China Exim Bank signed a USD 4.2 billion export buyer credits and immediately went on to disburse USD2.7 billion worth of export credits in which Nigeria was the major client. Between the years of 2004 and 2006, the Chinese government committed USD 8.8 billion related to infrastructure development in Nigeria. Foreign Direct Investment was used as the counterpart for the provision of Chinese loans to Nigeria (Reisen and Ndoye 2008, 9). China makes available two forms of loans: concessional and non-concessional loans. The concessional loans are made available through China's Exim bank in the form of export credits issued to importers of Chinese goods and services with an option to pay the bank overtime (Brautigam 2009, 11).

Taking this further, Kingsley Ighobor published an article in the Punch newspaper titled 'China in the Heart of Africa' where the writer emphasised on China's commitment to Africa in the way of aids and investments. His perspective presented the Chinese as being eager to further improve its image in African through initiatives that are aimed at developing infrastructure in African countries, coupled with the implementation of the African Talents program which was aimed at training 30,000 Africans in various fields of endeavours. The undertone of the whole programs and financial assistance deals indicate the level of propaganda that China puts into its engagement with African countries which is presented as a gesture that will aid both economic and infrastructural development in Nigeria and others Sub-Saharan African countries (Brautigam 2009).

Figure showing the structure of Concessional Loans by China Exim Bank.



Source: Brautigam, 2009.

2.5. Investments and Partnerships in Development

The level of FDI as well as the various partnerships between China and Nigeria in relation to development, raises the perception of China as a trusted partner of Nigeria. In a news article published in Vanguard which was titled 'Jonathan Urges Chinese Firms to Finance Road Projects', the Nigerian president was reportedly appealing to the Chinese government to help solve some road construction challenges by being actively involved in the construction of such rods through the Chinese construction company with the acronym CGOCC.

The Chinese government were involved in a lot of partnership deals all aimed at improving the level of infrastructure across Nigeria. One such project was the building of the Kajola Specialised Industrial Free Trade Zone which was embarked upon in partnership with the Ogun state government in Nigeria. The purpose of this project was to drive up and attract economic activities and industries to the state (Oyeranti *et al*. 2010). The joint venture which was taken up by the Chinese Civil Engineering Construction Company (CCECC) gulped about USD 1 billion.

In 2007, the Ogun state government again persuaded the Chinese government to be involved in the building of another free trade zone to be named the ‘Ogun-Guandong Free Trade Zone (OGFTZ) located in Igbesa, Ogun State. It was a tripartite agreement that involved two Chinese companies, China-Africa Investment Limited and Guandong Xinguang International of Guandong Province and the Ogun State government (Davies 2008). The total cost of the project was estimated to be USD 500 million with the Chinese companies expected to commit to providing more than 60% of the project value. However, the benefit of this project to China is yet to be ascertained.

Another major development partnership that involved the Chinese government was the establishment and building of the Lekki Free Trade Zone (LFTZ) which undertaken through the signing of a Memorandum of Understanding (MOU) between the Lagos State Government and the Chinese Government in 2007 on the construction of a Free Trade Zone in Lagos State (Oyeranti *et al*., 2010). The construction of the Trade zone aimed to develop an offshore economic development area that will attract foreign interests, promote export businesses minimise the incidence of capital flights as well as create job opportunities for the citizens. The Project was broken into different phases, with the initial phase gulping USD 267 million.

The Chinese government on its part committed USD 200 million while the Lagos State Government provided the remaining. Phases 2 and 3 of the project was expected to cost USD 5 billion, focusing on heavy industrial equipment, manufacturing and production engineering. The deal reassured Nigerians that the products that would be produced in this Zone would meet international standards as they intend to make the Zone accessible to international manufacturers (Taylor 2007). As it has been noted, Africa is lagging in the areas of infrastructures and the emergence of a country so magnanimous to put it in its agenda to support the building of infrastructure across Africa is undoubtedly a welcome development.

Also, with Nigeria accommodating close to 200 million citizens, it will always be considered an advantage for any nation that shows the willingness to be financially involved in the building and upgrading of the country's decaying infrastructure. The article, *"Jonathan Urges Chinese firms…'* reinforce the belief that China is perceived as the Messiah that will come to the aid of Africa to tackle the deficits of the continent in relation to other continents. Hence, China is perceived as a development partner in Nigeria and African as a whole (Brautigam 2009, 11).

In summary, therefore, it seems that the fundamental character of trade flows between Nigeria and China, that is, the exporting of raw materials from Nigeria and the importation of mostly finished/manufactured goods and services from China replicates neocolonial economic relations with Western super-powers.

CONCLUSIONS

This research work was aimed at answering the research question ‘Who benefits more from the Nigeria-China relations, Nigeria or China? The evidence contained in the research indicates how complex the situation is and how difficult it is to categorise Nigeria-China relations holistically; whether it reflects opportunity or opportunist. The framing analysis done in the preceding section reveals the double-faced perception that the Nigeria-China relations is presented by various people at different points in time and using different indices to support their claims. However, majority of the argument point to the fact that China’s motive is not entirely different from other world powers who, in the course of relating with Nigeria and other African countries, promote their national interests to the detriment of the African countries; an indication that China is in the relationship for personal interest. This point of view was evident across the research, especially when the fundamental character of trade flows was examined, that is, Africa exporting its raw materials and China exporting its finished/manufactured products – this trade relations setup mirrors the African continent’s economic relations with other super-powers, which exemplify imperial paradigm.

One of the most notable findings to emerge from this study is that while China in 2006 successfully launched an African Policy Document which has subsequently been used to pilot its relations with African countries (FORAC 2006), the African Union is yet to come together to take a unified stand on how the world’s richest continent should engage (with) China. This shows a lackadaisical attitude to affirming a strong relationship with China by the relaxed approach of the African nations in their relations with China. This has further strengthened the Asian powerhouse to inadvertently and coercively continue to exploit the situation and come out tops in the bilateral agreements with various African countries.

This thesis argued that, although there is no doubt that China portends an excellent economic partner through its promotion of investments and loan aids to various African countries, it should be noted that all the investments and loans come at a price, which is to the relative or absolute disadvantage of the host African nations. Consequently, the Nigerian local markets continue to suffer the significant brunt of the problem of an imbalanced scale of import to export, while the citizens also suffer their share through the resultant increase in unemployment and the often unethical labour practices the local Chinese companies subject the Nigerian employees to. A practice the Chinese companies often utilise because of the conviction that the Nigerian government will as usual turn a blind eye on the misdemeanours so far the benefits are coming in.

Additionally, the federal government in Nigeria is yet to come up with policies that will discourage the influx of cheap and substandard products from Chinese manufacturers that has continued to flood the Nigeria market and undermines Nigeria's commercial operations while also culminating in increased unemployment. It is thoughtless to assume that the success of China's economic growth will rub off on Nigeria by merely developing a relationship with China. On the contrary, a win-win relations between the two nations will require a relations that safeguards balance economic and trade relations, particularly a balanced export and import of goods and services between both nations. While China's relation with Nigeria may be easing some economic stress, the relations as it is presently constituted and implemented cannot eradicate poverty nor can it improve Nigeria's economic development unless the Nigerian government establish stringent policies that will balance its trade and economic relations with China. Conclusively, if Nigeria does not want to remain at the receiving end of its relations with China, it is essential for the country leadership to regulate its engagement with the Asian powerhouse by undertaking policies that will ensure the achievement of national development and economic growth.

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