

A Multidisciplinary  
Examination of  
The Forum on China-  
Africa Cooperation  
(FOCAC)



# A Multidisciplinary Examination of The Forum on China- Africa Cooperation (FOCAC)

Edited by

Fikresus Amahazion, Isaac Bazié  
and Liu Hongwu

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*To the valiant, resilient people of Africa and China,  
whose enduring collaboration and shared aspirations  
continue to inspire us and shape a prosperous future.*



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We are also profoundly grateful to each and every one of the esteemed authors who contributed chapters to this book. Their commitment to excellence, depth of knowledge, and willingness to engage in meaningful collaboration have enriched this volume beyond measure. Their high-quality contributions not only enhance the academic and intellectual merit of this work but also reflect their professionalism, dedication, and passion for their respective fields. Their efforts, perseverance, and generosity in sharing their expertise are deeply appreciated.

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*Fikresus Amahazion  
Isaac Bazié  
Liu Hongwu*

## PREFACE

This year, 2025, marks the twenty–fifth anniversary of the Forum on China–Africa Cooperation (FOCAC). Since its establishment in 2000, FOCAC has developed into one of the most significant platforms for dialogue and cooperation between China and African countries. Over the course of a quarter century, it has witnessed profound changes in international relations, in Africa’s development trajectories, and in China’s evolving role in the world. It has also contributed to shaping new patterns of South–South cooperation and global governance. As such, the present moment is both timely and necessary for reflecting on FOCAC’s past achievements, its challenges, and its future possibilities.

This edited volume brings together an exceptional group of scholars and practitioners from across Africa, China, and other parts of the world. The contributors represent a wide range of disciplinary traditions and employ diverse methods. This multiplicity of voices and approaches ensures that the book does not present a single narrative, but rather offers a rich and nuanced understanding of FOCAC’s significance in different contexts.

Personally, I had the privilege of attending the inaugural Ministerial Conference of FOCAC in Beijing in 2000, marking the beginning of a journey that has allowed me to witness firsthand the historic evolution of both the forum and the broader China–Africa relations it symbolizes. Since that milestone, I have actively participated in subsequent FOCAC conferences and summits, observing and gaining valuable insights to how this partnership has grown and transformed over time. For myself, African studies and China–Africa relations studies have been a lifelong academic pursuit. Over the past decades, I have conducted extensive fieldwork and research across numerous African countries, experiences that have profoundly enriched my understanding of Africa and its dynamic interactions with China. As the founder and director of the Institute of African Studies at Zhejiang Normal University – the first and leading African Studies institution within higher education in China – I have had the unique opportunity to contribute to the growth of African Studies in China as a field of both scholarly and practical importance. These experiences have convinced me that China–Africa relations extend far beyond diplomacy and economics, drawing on deep histories of exchange, shared aspirations, and evolving partnerships. It is especially rewarding to

see many of the contributors to this volume – scholars from Africa, China, and around the world – who have likewise dedicated years of research and reflection to this subject. Their collective efforts not only deepen our understanding of FOCAC but also expand the dialogue on China–Africa relations and the broader framework of South–South Cooperation it embodies, fostering richer, more nuanced perspectives on this vital global partnership.

The volume itself is well-written, replete with relevant detail, comprehensive in scope, and provides a refreshing approach – one that builds on decades of accumulated experience, meticulous study, and careful analysis – to demystify and deepen our understanding of this increasingly prominent global issue. Even though the book addresses a large-scale and multidimensional topic, its clear style and straightforward organization make it both accessible and engaging. This user-friendly quality allows the book to be employed in a variety of ways: as a resource for specialists, a reference for policymakers, or a guide for students and the wider public interested in the future of China–Africa relations.

The editors have taken great care to ensure both coherence and diversity in the organization of this book. The chapters are arranged in a way that highlights historical evolution, thematic debates, and forward-looking perspectives. Together, they offer readers a comprehensive yet critical view of FOCAC at its 25-year milestone.

I wish to express my gratitude to the editors and contributors for their commitment and intellectual generosity. Their collective efforts have made this volume an invaluable resource for scholars, policymakers, and all those interested in the evolving partnership between China and Africa. Looking ahead, I believe that the next 25 years of FOCAC will be no less significant than the past quarter century. As the world continues to move from unipolarity to multipolarity, the Africa–China relationship will assume even greater importance, both for the partners themselves and for the international community at large. The continued study, dialogue, and collaboration reflected in this book will be indispensable for guiding us toward a future of deeper mutual understanding and shared development.

*Professor Liu Hongwu  
Founder and Director General  
Institute of African Studies, Zhejiang Normal University*

## LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

3D	Three Dimensional
AD	Anno Domini
ADR	Addis Ababa-Djibouti Railway
AEO	Authorized Economic Operator
AfCFTA	African Continental Free Trade Area
AHRDF	African Human Resources Development Fund
AI	Artificial Intelligence
AIDA	Accelerated Industrial Development of Africa
AMV	Africa Mining Vision
AU	African Union
AU-NEPAD	African Union Development Agency - New Partnership for Africa's Development
BBC	British Broadcasting Corporation
BCE	Before the Common Era
BRI	Belt and Road Initiative
BRICS	Brazil, Russia, India, China, and South Africa
CADF	China-Africa Development Fund
CAETE	China-Africa Economic and Trade Expo
CAI	China-Africa Institute
CAU	Chinese Agricultural University
CCs	Confucius Classrooms
CCECC	China Civil Engineering Construction Corporation
CDA	Critical Discourse Analysis
CDB	China Development Bank
CDC	Centres for Disease Control and Prevention
CELAC	Community of Latin American and Caribbean States
CESA	Continental Education Strategy for Africa
CEXIM	Export-Import Bank of China
CGFTA	China-Ghana Free Trade Agreement
CGS	Chinese Government Scholarship
CHEC	China Harbour Engineering Company
CI	Confucius Institute
CIPS	Cross-Border Interbank Payment System

CIUG	Confucius Institute at the University of Ghana
CLEC	Centre for Language Education and Cooperation
COVID-19	Coronavirus Disease
CPC	Communist Party of China
CREC	China Railway Engineering Consulting Group
DRC	Democratic Republic of Congo
DRS	Digital Silk Road
DSSI	Debt Service Suspension Initiative
EU	European Union
FDI	Foreign Direct Investment
FOCAC	Forum on China-Africa Cooperation
GDP	Gross Domestic Product
GWh	Gigawatt-Hour
G7	Group of Seven
G20	Group of Twenty
HDI	Human Development Index
ICT	Information and Communication Technology
JKUAT	Jomo Kenyatta University of Agriculture and Technology
KM	Kilometer
KNUST	Kwame Nkrumah University of Science and Technology
kWh	Kilowatt-Hour
LDC	Least Developed Country
MoU	Memoranda of Understanding
MSMEs	Micro, Small, and Medium Enterprises
MW	Megawatt
NCIP	Northern Corridor Integration Project
NGOs	Non-Governmental Organizations
NGSA	Nigerian Geological Survey Agency
OECD-DAC	Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development – Development Assistance Committee
PAPSS	Pan-African Payment and Settlement System
PEACE	Pakistan and East Africa Connecting Europe Cable
PGII	Partnership for Global Infrastructure and Investment
PM	Prime Minister
PPD	People-to-People Diplomacy
PPE	Personal Protective Equipment
PPEs	People-to-People Exchanges
PRC	People’s Republic of China
RECs	Regional Economic Communities

RMB	Renminbi
SAJOREC	Sino-Africa Joint Research Centre
SDGs	Sustainable Development Goals
SEZ	Special Economic Zone
SGR	Standard Gauge Railway
SME	Small and Medium-Sized Enterprise
SOE	State-Owned Enterprise
SPS	Sanitary and Phytosanitary
STEM	Science, Technology, Engineering, and Mathematics
TAZARA	Tanzania-Zambia Railway
TCM	Traditional Chinese Medicine
TEU	Twenty-Foot Equivalent Unit
TUTCM	Tianjin University of Traditional Chinese Medicine
TVET	Technical and Vocational Education and Training
TWh	Terawatt-Hour
UCC	University of Cape Coast
UDS	University of Development Studies
UESTC	University of Electronic Science and Technology of China
UHAS	University of Health and Allied Sciences
UN	United Nations
UNGA	United Nations General Assembly
US	United States
WWII	World War Two
ZTE	Zhong Xing Telecommunication Equipment Company Limited

# CHAPTER ONE

## INTRODUCTION

### FIKRESUS AMAHAZION

The People's Republic of China (PRC, henceforth referred to as China) and Africa share a rich and longstanding history of exchange that spans centuries, encompassing ancient dynasties, trade networks, cultural interactions, and diplomatic ties (Fuwei 1990; Jinyuan 1984; Li 2005; Peterson 1994). In more recent decades, this relationship has gradually evolved into what some have described as “arguably the most momentous development on the continent since the end of the Cold War” (Taylor 2009: 1).

Following World War II, as many African nations intensified their struggle to break free from the shackles of colonialism or white minority rule, China played a significant role in supporting revolutionary movements across the continent. It provided material assistance, ideological backing, and military training to an array of liberation forces in Algeria, Egypt, Mozambique, South Africa, Tanzania, Zaire, and Zimbabwe, among others (Alden and Alves 2008; Amahazion 2025; Hodzi 2018; Shinn 2019; Shinn and Eisenman 2012: 165-166).<sup>1</sup> On top of this, many newborn and fledgling African states were the recipients of various forms of humanitarian assistance and direct state-to-state aid from Beijing (Muekalia 2004; Shinn 2009; Snow 1988). The multifaceted support that China funneled to various African liberation movements was highly useful and impactful toward attaining the goal of freedom and emancipation (Abegunrin and Manyeruke 2019: 91), while Beijing's assistance had a direct and “palpable” impact on improving the lives and livelihoods of people within recipient countries

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<sup>1</sup>Indeed, China's People's Liberation Army trained at least one liberation movement in nearly every African territory that fought for independence, and from the years extending from 1955 to 1979 it trained a total of almost 3,000 African soldiers from at least 13 different countries (Shinn 2019; Shinn and Eisenman 2012: 165-166).

(Monson 2009; Snow 1988: 159).<sup>2</sup>

At the same time, African nations were instrumental in securing diplomatic recognition for China over Taiwan at the United Nations (UN). When UN member states eventually voted to grant China full representation during the 26<sup>th</sup> session of the United Nations General Assembly (UNGA) in October of 1971 (thus winning the PRC complete control of China's seat within the UNGA and the UN Security Council), 26 of the 76 affirming votes came from African nations, with the resolution additionally being cosponsored by a number of African nations (FMPRC 2004; Snow 1988; Sun, Jayaram, and Kassiri 2017; Taylor 1998).<sup>3</sup> In response to this staunch and vital support, Chairman Mao Zedong is said to have remarked that, "We were brought back into the United Nations by our black African friends" (Li 2007: 78). This shared history of solidarity and friendship forged lasting political and diplomatic bonds, further cementing the foundation of China-Africa relations. (*See Table 1.1*)

In the present day, China stands apart as Africa's largest single bilateral trading partner, with its investments in and loans to African countries expanding rapidly. No other single country matches the depth or breadth of China's engagement in Africa across key sectors, including trade, investment, infrastructure financing, and aid (Dollar 2016; Moses et al. 2023; 2024; State Council 2021; Stein and Uddhammar 2021; Sun et al. 2017). Over time, the relationship has expanded far beyond economic cooperation to include a diverse range of key sectors, such as agriculture, culture, digital infrastructure, military and security collaboration, and public health initiatives (Benabdallah 2016; China Foresight 2021; King 2019; State Council 2021; Tugendhat and Voo 2021).

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<sup>2</sup>China's extension of support to newly-independent states and revolutionary movements across the continent was all the more notable for the fact that it was provided despite its own major challenges and significant upheavals, limited resources, and overall status as a relatively isolated, poor agrarian country with the majority of its people living in rural areas (Shi Lin 1989). In fact, according to numerous analysts, measures, and indicators, China was actually poorer than the vast majority, if not all, of the African countries that it was extending support to at the time (Davis and Woetzel 2010; Jacques 2018; Wang 2020; World Bank 2025a; 2025b).

<sup>3</sup>Even while 15 African countries voted in support of Taiwan, ten of them would eventually come to recognize Beijing in the next few years (Shinn 2019: 66-67).

## ***FOCAC: A Cornerstone of China-Africa Relations***

One of the most significant milestones in China-Africa relations in recent decades has been the establishment of the Forum on China-Africa Cooperation (FOCAC) in 2000. Born from joint efforts by China and African nations, FOCAC was China's first major regional-themed forum and ushered in a new phase in China-Africa relations.<sup>4</sup> While Africa has many partnership platforms with various external actors, "FOCAC remains the most strategically intertwined and far-reaching in terms of its depth, scope, and level of cooperation" (Mjenga 2024: 217). It has helped to formalize and institutionalize China-Africa relations (Taylor 2010a) and serves as a comprehensive, multilateral platform for collective consultation, exchange, and policy coordination. Shelton and Paruk (2008: 2) describe FOCAC as "the central pillar in advancing China-Africa relations," while Shelton further argues that it is:

"a form of 'international diplomatic collaboration' through which compatible interests and objectives are investigated, aggregated, and strengthened ...[and]...a quasi-institutionalized collaborative mechanism, designed and intended to advance Sino-African cooperation in a rapidly globalizing world and expanding South-South Cooperation" (2016: 265-266).

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<sup>4</sup>Other prominent regional-themed fora featuring Chinese membership include the Boao Forum for Asia, the China-Arab States Cooperation Forum, the Forum of China and Community of Latin American and Caribbean States, and the Conference on Dialogue of Asian Civilizations (State Council 2019). The Boao Forum for Asia, founded in 2021 and initiated by a group of Asian countries and Australia, is a platform for dialogue on global socioeconomic issues for leaders from government, business, and academia in Asia and other continents. Established in 2004 during a visit by Chinese President Hu Jintao to the Arab League headquarters in Egypt, the China-Arab States Cooperation Forum is the primary multilateral coordination mechanism between China and the Arab League. The Forum of China and Community of Latin American and Caribbean States, which aims at promoting the development of a comprehensive cooperative partnership between China, was established in 2014, while the Conference on Dialogue of Asian Civilizations aims to reinforce regional cooperation and provide a platform for learning, exchanges, and intercultural dialogue for Asian and other cultures. Alongside these there is also the Macau-based Economic Forum for Co-operation between China and the Community of Portuguese speaking Countries. Last, it is also worth noting that a number of other nations have similarly organized large, high-level conferences or summits aimed at strengthening cooperation and expanding ties with the African continent, including the United States, European Union, France Italy, India, Japan, Russia, South Korea, Saudi Arabia, and Turkey.

The roots of FOCAC can be traced back to the late 1990s, a period when many African countries were still seeking to establish greater coordination in their bilateral relationships with China. Unlike traditional donor-recipient models in international relations, where one party typically holds an overwhelmingly dominant role and exercises high levels of control (Bovens 2007; Brown 2007; Easterly 2006; Hudson and Leftwich 2014; Lancaster 2007; Moyo 2009; Riddell 2007), and contrary to popular perceptions that it was unilaterally imposed by China, FOCAC's origins reflect joint interests and mutual engagement. African nations actively proposed the idea to the Chinese government, seeking to consolidate engagement at the multilateral level. As Shelton and Paruk (2008: 17) explain:

“a number of African countries proposed the idea of FOCAC to the Chinese authorities with a view to consolidating and advancing Sino-African interaction at the multilateral level. A wide and positive response from China’s resulting proposal to convene a forum, lead [sic] to the establishment of the Forum on China-Africa Cooperation at the ministerial conference in Beijing during 2000.”

The proposal for FOCAC was not only a strategic initiative from African nations but also resonated with China’s broader foreign policy and economic goals. In particular, FOCAC aligned with China’s “Going Out” strategy (*zou chuqu* or 走出去), which was initiated in 1999,<sup>5</sup> while also responding to African leaders' calls for coordinated engagement, strengthened cooperation, and alternative development partnerships beyond traditional Western aid structures (Geeraerts 2011). This convergence of Chinese and African interests underscores how FOCAC emerged as a mutually beneficial framework rather than a unilateral imposition.

Aiping and Zhan also elaborate on the motivations of both China and African nations in creating the initiative, highlighting that:

“On one hand, China, at the turn of the century, felt the need to setup an institutional platform for consultation and cooperation with African countries to promote in-depth development of China-Africa relations. On the African countries’ side, after years of cooperation with other foreign countries, they had not felt sufficient sincerity from Europe, the United States and Japan. Judging from past cooperation with China and the Chinese development experience, many African countries had been

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<sup>5</sup>Under this approach, the Chinese government encouraged domestic enterprises and investors to invest and operate abroad, aiming to boost global competitiveness, improve resource allocation, and strengthen economic interests (Hong and Sun 2006; Li and Cheong 2019).

looking forward to joint development with China and hoped to improve the existing cooperation mechanisms” (2018: 90).

In this context, FOCAC serves as a prominent example of South-South cooperation, which emphasizes partnerships between developing nations based on equality, mutual respect, and shared development. Whereas traditional North-South relations are characterized by asymmetry and hierarchy, FOCAC fosters a more balanced, “win-win” framework, where China and the African continent engage as equal partners. This collaborative approach enables both sides to share knowledge, resources, and expertise to address common challenges and pursue common goals. FOCAC thus represents a shift towards a more equitable and cooperative model of development, where both sides benefit from strengthened ties and the pooling of resources (Ferguson 2013; Lee 2017; Shelton 2016).

Today, FOCAC comprises 55 members, including China, the 53 African countries that have established formal diplomatic relations with China, and the African Union Commission.<sup>6</sup> Over the years, FOCAC – held every three years with alternating host sites between China and African nations<sup>7</sup> – has focused on a range of areas of cooperation, including agriculture, investment and enterprise cooperation, infrastructure, trade, public health, and poverty reduction. It has steadily become an important mechanism for dialogue between China and Africa, fostering stronger trade, investment, and overall relations across both government and private sectors. Furthermore, in contrast to summits that function primarily as diplomatic events or public relations exercises, FOCAC is outcome-oriented and operates as an evolving institutional mechanism for structured and sustained engagement. The commitments made during each summit, which tend to be substantial, are translated into action plans, outlining tangible policy initiatives and financing arrangements that shape China-Africa relations in substantive ways. (*See Tables 1.2 – 1.3*)

### *A Reflection on 25 Years of FOCAC*

As FOCAC marks its 25th anniversary, this edited volume provides a timely and in-depth reflection on its evolution, impact, and future trajectory. While there is an extensive body of literature on China-Africa relations more broadly, dedicated scholarly analysis of FOCAC as an institution remains

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<sup>6</sup>Eswatini (Swaziland) continues to be the only country in Africa that has not established formal diplomatic relations with China.

<sup>7</sup>Up to a year prior to FOCAC meetings, senior African and Chinese officials convene in order to prepare for the gathering.

relatively sparse. This book addresses that gap by offering a comprehensive and multidimensional examination, drawing on insights from experienced scholars, practitioners, and experts from China, Africa, and beyond. By bringing together diverse voices, it greatly enriches our understanding of the complexities, nuances, and dimensions of this partnership.

A distinguishing feature of this book is its inclusion of both Chinese and African viewpoints, alongside others, ensuring a balanced and informed analysis. Too often, discussions about the China-Africa relationship are led and dominated by external observers, particularly from the West, or shaped by narrow, one-sided narratives (Alden 2007; Carmody 2011; Friedrich 2018; Harris 2013; Nolutshungu 2014; Small 2017; Zhang 2019). These accounts have been overly simplistic and highly problematic, frequently mischaracterizing China's involvement in Africa as neocolonial, predatory, and exploitative, failing to acknowledge the considerable complexities of the China-Africa relationship, and neglecting the potential for mutual benefits or the agency of African actors (Amahazion 2025; Bräutigam 2019a; 2019b; Bräutigam and Rithmire 2021; Himmer and Rod 2022; Vinicius de Freitas 2023). Through centering the experiences and insights of those from China and Africa – those directly engaged in many of the dynamics under study – this volume allows for a more nuanced, grounded appraisal of the realities on the ground and helps to dissect and dispel prevalent myths and common assumptions. This multi-voice approach also underscores the importance of mutual respect, cooperation, and genuine dialogue between China and African nations, offering a fresh perspective on how this partnership has developed and where it might be heading in the years ahead.

Moreover, the interdisciplinary nature of this volume, featuring high-quality contributions from a range of disciplines, ensures a robust analysis of FOCAC's evolution and impact. In addition to diverse disciplines, the book employs a multi-methodological approach, integrating various methods, theories, and analytical techniques. This rich diversity enables a multifaceted analysis of FOCAC, critically assessing its successes in fostering economic growth, trade, infrastructure development, and diplomatic ties, as well as addressing key issues or challenges.

Finally, by reflecting on the historic trajectory of FOCAC, this book offers valuable lessons and crucial insights for policymakers, scholars, and anyone engaged in the study or practice of China-Africa relations. As the international system continues to evolve and the global order shifts from unipolarity toward a more multipolar landscape, understanding the long-term impacts of China-Africa cooperation is essential for shaping future engagement strategies, both for China and for African nations. This volume

thus serves as an indispensable resource, not only for understanding the past and present dynamics of China-Africa relations but also for exploring their future potential and the broader implications for the Global South.

In conclusion, this book makes a balanced, evidence-based, and insightful contribution to the ongoing discourse surrounding FOAC and China-Africa relations. It serves both as a critical reflection on past achievements and shortcomings and as a forward-looking exploration of opportunities in the next chapter of cooperation between China and the African continent.

**Table 1.1: African Countries Voting in Favor of UNGA Resolution 2758, October 1971**

Algeria
Botswana
Burundi
Cameroon
Congo
Egypt
Equatorial Guinea
Ethiopia
Ghana
Guinea
Kenya
Libya
Mali
Mauritania
Morocco
Nigeria
Rwanda
Senegal
Sierra Leone
Somalia
Sudan
Tanzania
Togo
Tunisia
Uganda
Zambia

**Table 1.2: FOCAC Dates and Host Sites, 2000-2024**

<b>Year</b>	<b>Date</b>	<b>Location</b>
2000	10-12 October	Beijing, China
2003	15-16 December	Addis Ababa, Ethiopia
2006	3-5 November	Beijing, China
2009	8-9 November	Sharm el-Sheikh, Egypt
2012	19-20 July	Beijing, China
2015	4-5 December	Johannesburg, South Africa
2018	3-4 September	Beijing, China
2021	29-30 November	Dakar, Senegal – Beijing, China*
2024	4-6 September	Beijing, China

\*As a result of the COVID-19 pandemic, the gathering was held jointly in Dakar and Beijing via video-link.

**Table 1.3: African Countries' Diplomatic Recognition of China and Taiwan**

Country	Taiwan Recognition	China Recognition
Algeria	Never	1962 - present
Angola	Never	1983 - present
Benin	1966 - 1972	1964 - 1966 1972 - present
Botswana	1966 - 1975	1975 - present
Burkina Faso	1961 - 1973 1994 - 2018	1973 - 1994 2018 - present
Burundi	Never	1960 - present
Cabo Verde	Never	1976 - present
Cameroon	1960 - 1971	1971 - present
Central African Republic	1962 - 1964 1968 - 1976 1991 - 1998	1964 - 1968 1976 - 1991 1998 - present
Chad	1962 - 1972 1997 - 2006	1972 - 1997 2006 - present
Comoros	Never	1975 - present
Democratic Republic of Congo	1960 - Feb 1961 Sept 1961 - 1972	Feb 1961 - Sept 1961 1972 - present
Republic of Congo	1960 - 1964	1964 - present
Côte d'Ivoire	1963 - 1983	1983 - present
Djibouti	Never	1979 - present
Egypt	1942 - 1956	1956 - present
Equatorial Guinea	Never	1970 - present
Eritrea	Never	1993 - present
Ethiopia	Never	1970 - present
Gabon	1960 - 1974	1974 - present
Gambia	1968 - 1974 1995 - 2013	1974 - 1995 2013 - present
Ghana	Never	1960 - present
Guinea	Never	1959 - present
Guinea-Bissau	1990 - 1998	1998 - present
Kenya	Never	1963 - present
Lesotho	1966 - 1983 1990 - 1994	1983 - 1990 1994 - present

Liberia	1957 - 1977	1977 - 1989
	1989 - 1993	1993 - 1997
	1997 - 2003	2003 - present
Libya	1959 - 1978	1978 - present
Madagascar	1960 - 1972	1972 - present
Malawi	1966 - 2008	2008 - present
Mali	Never	1960 - present
Mauritania	Never	1965 - present
Mauritius	Never	1972 - present
Morocco	1956 - 1958	1958 - present
Mozambique	Never	1975 - present
Namibia	Never	1990 - present
Niger	1963 - 1974	1974 - 1992
	1992 - 1996	1996 - present
Nigeria	1960 - 1971	1971 - present
Rwanda	Never	1971 - present
São Tomé and Príncipe	1997 - 2016	2016 - present
Senegal	1960 - 1964	1964 - 1969
	1969 - 1973	1973 - 1996
	1996 - 2005	2005 - present
Seychelles	Never	1976 - present
Sierra Leone	1964 - 1971	1971 - present
Somalia	Never	1960 - present
South Africa	1976 - 1998	1998 - present
South Sudan	Never	2011 - present
Sudan	1956 - 1959	1959 - present
Eswatini (Swaziland)	1968 - present	Never
Tanzania	Never	1964 - present
Togo	1960 - 1972	1972 - present
Tunisia	Never	1964 - present
Uganda	Never	1962 - present
Zambia	Never	1964 - present
Zimbabwe	Never	1980 - present

This table is adapted from Kironksa and Thiombiano (2022).

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