

## Opportunities and Challenges: Critical Analysis of China's OBOR in ECOWAS Countries.

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**Abstract:** One Belt One Road, commonly referred to as OBOR came to be in 2013 as a dream of China's CPC vision, and China's Central Government geo-economic integration plan, China's opening-up and development strategy. OBOR is designed to cover different routes from, sea, land, airport, railway networks, almost connecting the entire world from Africa to Europe, Asia to America's and Middle East. Globally OBOR will create a global network of trade and construction of infrastructure exigent for international transit, exchange and connection. In order to breakout barrier between peoples and areas, it will link strategic economic zones, industrial and natural resources zone. In addition, it intendsto facilitate and thrive foreign investments between investor's areas and necessitating areas. It is also a favor to canvass a global friendship and partnership between developed and developing countries in making diplomatic bounds around win-win exchanges through mutual and common benefits. Therein OBOR is China's global economic and politic landscape to hurry and embodied the globalization; thus, OBOR scope will restructure world order and process.

The above has caused a debate, leaving many critics, analyst and some western governments describing it as China's vision of extending her Global influence which Beijing rejects. In this study, the author deeply analyses this project in Africa's ECOWAS countries with focus on China's possible Agenda behind the project, impact of OBOR project to China, to ECOWAS member countries. The study further highlights the likely OBOR project is likely to face in ECOWAS countries during its implementation.

**Key words:** OBOR, ECOWAS, Economic Cooperation, Regional Integration

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### I. BACKGROUND:

From the period between the 2nd century BC, and the 15th century AD, there was a long trade route connecting China and the rest of Asia, Africa and Europe. This trade route, traversed vast grasslands, deserts and oceans, and was named "Silk Road" at first by German geographer Ferdinand von Richthofen, his eponymous book was published in 1983, by the Swedish explorer Sven Hedin<sup>2</sup>. The "Silk Road" was designed as overland trade route that existed before the rise of the modern Western world. With a global form, it covered a global aspect of world life; the ports, trading posts, commodities, ideas, cultures, religions and ethnicities along the way were concerned. Instead of referring to only one route, it became a generic term that people used to describe the several trading routes between Europe and Asia, including the original "Oasis Route" that crossed the desert in the Middle East, plus the "Maritime Route", "Steppe Route" and "Southwest Route"<sup>3</sup>.

At that ancient trade route, "ancient Silk Route", "Land and Maritime Road" allowed exchange of cereals, inventions, skills and techniques, between the ancient Chinese and other areas peoples, and many kinds of precious materials from various areas cover by the route extension. It was a veritable civilizations exchange between ancient China and several areas: "It is fair to say it was because of the "Silk Road" that the Chinese culture was able to absorb foreign cultural elements, thus obtaining its diversity"<sup>4</sup>. The modern western world and civilization, in endorsing itself on China's ancient pattern of international exchange, and trade substituted it and was making the modern western economic and political order model. Since the end of the World war two, the

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<sup>2</sup>Lei Z. 2018. The Political Economy of China's Belt and Road Initiative, translated by Zhang Zhiping vol1. *World Scientific Publishing*. P.1.

<sup>3</sup>Lei Z. 2018. The Political Economy of China's Belt and Road Initiative, translated by Zhang Zhiping vol1. *World Scientific Publishing*. P.2.

<sup>4</sup>Lei Z. 2018. The Political Economy of China's Belt and Road Initiative, translated by Zhang Zhiping vol1. *World Scientific Publishing*. P.13.

reminiscence to reiterate the ancient "Silk Road" as the long-lost geo-economic bond named "New Silk Road", was an attempt enterprise, but these endeavors did not success from its initiators<sup>1</sup>. In this antagonistic logic, the current is initiated by China, soon a decade of continuity. Thus, since September 7, 2013, Chinese President Xi Jinping proposed, during his speech at the Nazarbayev University in Kazakhstan, he proposed that: "In order to make economic ties closer, mutual cooperation and deeper and the space of development broader between Eurasian countries. We can innovate the mode of cooperation and jointly build the "Silk Road Economic Belt" step by step to gradually form overall regional cooperation"<sup>2</sup>(Xi Jinping, "Promote Friendship between Our People and Work Together to Build a Bright Future"<sup>2</sup>).

Then in October 3, 2013, when addressing to Indonesian Parliament, President Xi Jinping reiterated the proposition in these words, "Southeast Asia has since ancient times been an important hub along the ancient maritime Silk Road. China will strengthen maritime cooperation with ASEAN countries to make good use of the China-ASEAN Maritime Cooperation Fund set up by the Chinese government and vigorously develop maritime partnership in a joint effort to build the 21st-Century Maritime Silk Road"<sup>3</sup>. Since those launching official speeches, the proposition and the call are becoming the daily order of world economic and political main issue, as well as the "proposal marked the new Chinese government's official invitation", relative to jointly, build the "Belt and Road". Gradually, the proposal has been extended to include relevant countries in Asia, Europe, Africa and Oceania and is open to all countries. One Belt One Road (OBOR) is henceforth central, the core topic in China, between China and oversea countries. Furthermore, it is the leverage force defining the diplomacy, and determining China's economic and policy relations abroad. OBOR is biasing important current joint projects in ASEAN countries, West Europe-West China, Middle East countries, as in the Suez Economic and Trade Cooperation Zone in Egypt. Thus, "Voluntarily or not, they are feeling the influence of the BRI on their work, study and every aspect of life", as said Zou Lei<sup>4</sup>.

From the ancient pattern, OBOR is a national strategy of economy and politic to make receipt the world. It is henceforth the outstanding world issue, "At the 19<sup>th</sup> National Congress of the Communist Party of China (CPC) held in October 2017, the Belt and Road Initiative was stressed in President Xi Jinping's political report and was also incorporated into the new CPC Constitution". The Belt and Road Forum for International Cooperation held in May 2017 has witnessed that the BRI have gained significance in field of international political and economic relations. Related to this, the Belt and Road Initiative means exactly "the most important initiative for international cooperation and national development strategy proposed by China"<sup>5</sup>. In reference and in distinguished form, the current BRI contains China's vision on regional development and international cooperation. OBOR is designed to build partnerships in economic, politic, cultural and people-to people exchanges, covering Asia, Europe and Africa. Therefore, OBOR is pulling forward simultaneously the border of cooperation and the economic corridor of many regions of China.

However, OBOR is perceived at abroad as China's proposal for international cooperation, its major national development strategy in new era, and to degage a new space for China rising in global world politics and economy. It represents China national strengthen strategy toward the outside world aiming to maximize China's national domestic interests. As domestic interests influence foreign politics goals. In relation to the important manifestation of OBOR, Zou Lei reported the speech of President Xi Jinping that "the BRI is a major strategic measure for expanding the opening-up and top-level design for economic diplomacy. It is a key area for development in the next phase"<sup>6</sup>. Thus, the speech of Prime Vice President Zhang Gaoli was also addressed in the same sense. He proposed that the BRI is a key strategy in China's opening-up (Zhang Gaoli, "To Form a Better Development Philosophy", in The Writing Group eds., *Understanding Recommendations for the 13th Five-Year Plan for Economic and Social Development*, Beijing: People's Publishing House<sup>7</sup>).

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<sup>1</sup>Lei Z. 2018. *The Political Economy of China's Belt and Road Initiative*, translated by Zhang Zhiping vol1. *World Scientific Publishing*. P.14.

<sup>2</sup>*People's Daily*, September 8, 2013, P. 3.

<sup>3</sup>*People's Daily*, September 8, 2013, P.4.

<sup>4</sup>Lei Z. 2018. *The Political Economy of China's Belt and Road Initiative*, translated by Zhang Zhiping vol1. *World Scientific Publishing*. P.15.

<sup>5</sup>Lei Z. 2018. *The Political Economy of China's Belt and Road Initiative*, translated by Zhang Zhiping vol1. *World Scientific Publishing*. P.15.

<sup>6</sup>Lei Z. 2018. *The Political Economy of China's Belt and Road Initiative*, translated by Zhang Zhiping vol1. *World Scientific Publishing*. PP.16-17.

<sup>7</sup>Lei Z. 2018. *The Political Economy of China's Belt and Road Initiative*, translated by Zhang Zhiping vol1. *World Scientific Publishing*. P.19.)

Added to the current Chinese's Chairman and the Prime Vice President's speeches, many other's Chinese' Official are stipulated over the BRI issue, attesting or supporting the vision of the President Xi Jinping. In this way, the National Development and Reform Commission (NDRC) and the Ministry of Commerce (MOFCOM), has attested that: jointly building OBOR is a major initiative proposed by President Xi Jinping. It will help to face to the relevant countries, and the guiding principle in China's opening-up and foreign cooperation in the period to come<sup>1</sup>.

Both, Officials, Central and Local governments, Enterprises, Privates and Individuals searchers and institutes in China are making efforts to better implement and spread the contains of OBOR initiative. It is becoming the core topics in China' daily policy. Therefore, serious mind and amount of finance designed to OBOR fully demonstrate its strategic importance. Like, "The sixth Ministerial Meeting of China-Arab States Cooperation Forum held in June 2014 was the first major diplomatic"; also, the Sino-African Cooperation Forum held in September 2018, has showed to "jointly building the Belt and Road"<sup>2</sup>. Accordingly, current OBOR catches sight to quicken international trade, the exchanges of commodities, currency integration, energy security, and people's relation between China and other countries. It will link world producing, consumer and sellers including China, India, Japan and Singapore, Middle Eastern states, European's, American and African's countries. OBOR in this line could be define as a frame of world economic, finance, trade, and politic proximity pattern engaged by China. It is foresighted, as in reconnecting them and incepting the new geo-economic phenomenon.

In reference to official speeches and designations, OBOR is catching sight as the power shift of China capability (economy, military and politics) and China's ambition (national interests in terms of economy, security, and power) within global society. Therein, the build of OBOR is heightening China's collaboration, and is making more closely some countries with China. Thus, from historical parameters of ancient Silk Road, both land and sea routes, OBOR could be defined as China current international economic cooperation policy, China's partnership and diplomatic model. It is also China's national strategy to get international prestige, and to expand and confine the objective of China is opening-up strategy in geo-economics and geopolitical realms. This constitutes the essence of the "Modern Silk Road". From China and oversea countries relationships, the essence of the new or "Modern Silk Road" is deeply rooted in the macrostructure of contemporary international political economy. Resulting from contemporary international system, the prosperity and development of China and oversea countries international trade is related to the "Modern Silk Road". Therefore, it is based on a pattern that characterizes by "Made in China" goods and Middle Eastern oil<sup>3</sup>. From this assumption, commodities transported from Africa to china are mostly petroleum, raw materials, and other mineral products, animal horns, ivories, etc. Chinese goods bulk commodities including mechanical and electrical products, textile and garment, transportation equipment is transported to Africa. In this context, African continent has exported to China natural resource products while China was exporting manufactured commodities to Africa. The contemporary international political and economic structure of China is deeply embedded in the "Modern Silk Road. China has become more heavily dependent on oil and raw materials than Africans have. The need of Africa in this way will be the implantations of FDI, Infrastructure Buildings, Transfer of Technologies, Industries and skills.

Aftermath the common aims of OBOR essence is the trade route, founded on finance. Hence, it would promote international trade and investment, to coordinate world policy, to enhance finance institutions, connect routes and people. This should contribute to regional and international cooperations, to interconnect world economic and industrial major and strategic areas by facilitating financial integration. The new model begets to link shortly areas, then to lengthen and depth cooperation among countries, to tight relations between people, and to embrace multiple civilization together. OBOR define China's actual economic, politic or diplomatic, and culture aims to cooperate and to deal with global society, as enjoy China economic goals and its domestic or national interest.

### **Aims of OBOR Project**

Zou Lei has reported the witness of Government personalities, Wang Yi, China's Foreign Minister, and Gao Hucheng, China's former Minister of Commerce, related OBOR aims. They witnessed that OBOR aims

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<sup>1</sup> January 11, 2016, [http://www.sdpc.gov.cn/xwzx/xwfb/201601/t20160111\\_771029.html](http://www.sdpc.gov.cn/xwzx/xwfb/201601/t20160111_771029.html), login time: March 15, 2016.

<sup>2</sup> Lei Z. 2018. *The Political Economy of China's Belt and Road Initiative*, translated by Zhang Zhiping vol1. *World Scientific Publishing*. P.18).

<sup>3</sup> Lei Z. 2018. *The Political Economy of China's Belt and Road Initiative*, translated by Zhang Zhiping vol1. *World Scientific Publishing*. P.117.

concern to enshrine economic cooperation and people-to-people exchanges, interconnectivity, trade and investment facilitation, equal consultation and securing gradual progress, win-win cooperation and build a community of shared interest. OBOR aims to concatenate country and area; all could participate and benefit from OBOR shared profits.

OBOR aims cover the world, or is concretizing the globalization from China's model, as any country is not stigmatically excluded from it. Therefore, some of OBOR's aims are to bind the former bilateral and multilateral cooperations. It intends to foster and tighten the existing regional cooperation platforms, then to bring concatenation and coordination to countries. In this convenience, the idiosyncrasies of OBOR's aims are economic cooperation, diplomatic relations enforcement, expectation of mutual benefits and opportunities, through "friendship, sincerity, inclusiveness". It formulated also alongside the principles of collective consultation, joint building and win-win. Globally, this aims to promote policy coordination, infrastructure connectivity, unimpeded trade, financial integration and people-to-people bonds. Moreover, it has to foster major cooperation projects and to strengthen cooperation mechanisms; as also to enforce maritime connections, enhance marine economy and industry cooperation. In this way, three phases related to the implementation of BRI in spanning 35 years has been mapped by Chongyang Institute for Financial Studies at Renmin University of China. The first phase is from when the report came out to 2016, this first one was oriented to domestic and international mobilization. The second phase, from 2016 to 2021, will emphasize on strategic planning. In addition, the third phase, from 2021 to 2049 aims strategic implementation. Otherwise, Professor Zheng Yongnian from National University of Singapore, made differentiation in comparing OBOR to USA's "Marshall Plan" thrown after World War II to reconstruct Europe. He has proved the geopolitical purpose of China's OBOR implementation scope<sup>1</sup>. In the same vein, Zhan Hao remark was that, "the two new Silk Roads have the following strategic functions: solidifying strategic and economic security, expanding space for international cooperation, promoting development of central and west China, countering international terrorism and accelerating industrial upgrading". We have noted that, China's reason for incepting OBOR fit with realism theory statement of "state act in their national interest" frame according to international structures.

This gave us some indication that OBOR is evidently China's global economic and politic scopes grasped together to address China's contemporary internal and external economic and politic goals. It helps us also to propose that Chinese have some powerful vision in International Political field, as well as reshaping global world order.

#### **Understanding China's OBOR Agenda**

OBOR represent a "top-level design of the economic cooperation" to connect all the participating countries with China, and then to cluster them around a sole spirit of new era to be concretize as global world economic and politic model. This aspiration would gain a unique historical significance from China's new rising superpower. China Central government is showing OBOR as global economic and political project, which encompasses simultaneously Chinese domestic and international perspectives. Through this frame of China's OBOR agenda; we explained four elements, which have stipulated this topic:

**The Revival of China's National Strength:** This point fit with China's multidimensional resurgence as strong State within the international geopolitical field, related to economy, politics and diplomacy, and military power, and culture. Like the promoting State, success of OBOR directly or indirectly, hinge upon to China's harshness power. It is important to note that China's share of the world's total economy at 11.5% in 2012, with national fiscal revenue soared to 11,730 billion yuan in 2012; China's foreign exchange reserves reached to \$3,820 billion in 2013, ranking first in the world, from 1978 to 2012<sup>2</sup>. Admitting that, from 1949 to nowadays, China's government is doing affords to achieve an unprecedented progress level, as indispensable to make peace and stability and meeting domestic issues in all aspects. Hence, the revival of the Modern Silk Road, both land and maritime, ultimately hinge on whether China might bring domestic support. From the overall revival of comprehensive national strength, China catch sight to gain more its global strength through OBOR accomplishment. Hence, OBOR agenda draws from the revival frame allow China to actualize its regional and geopolitical policies headed to ensure China is internal and external security goals.

**The Improvement of the Eurasian Geopolitical Environment:** OBOR global agenda is determined by its dependence on geopolitics context. OBOR evolution toward success and its objective achievement depend shortly to "the specific geopolitical conditions". The western developed countries dominance in world affects both China's maritime and land routes, as also this manages a context for external forces competition. OBOR

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<sup>1</sup>Lei Z. 2018. *The Political Economy of China's Belt and Road Initiative*, translated by Zhang Zhiping vol1. *World Scientific Publishing*. PP.26-27.

<sup>2</sup>Lei Z. 2018. *The Political Economy of China's Belt and Road Initiative*, translated by Zhang Zhiping vol1. *World Scientific Publishing*. P.134.

aspires to rise China's maritime and land routes power, as this related to the importance of geopolitical security in the new OBOR implementation, which "must be based on the right political and security conditions"<sup>1</sup>. OBOR implementation conditions China to renew diplomatic relations, military and economic cooperation, and to strength its relationship policy to foster the OBOR geopolitical background execution. An example is related to the normalization of Sino-Soviet relations, which helped China to strike a balance between its national development strategies of Reform. Moreover, favored Opening-up and its autonomous foreign policy of peace<sup>2</sup>.

The renew of relations and cooperation: in many aspects with Eurasian countries are relevant for mutual trust mechanism. As necessary to face to land border issues, territorial disputes, maritime management issues, and military security and strategic zones, these added to State sovereignty and the inherent facts of concurrence for economic resources issues; all of these issues require significant consideration and responses. China's geopolitical situation importance could bias OBOR executive process. Viewing several challenges related to the vehemence of China's and Japan border, and the North Korean nuclear weapon dilemma. China is building its new geo-economics potentials, these are rooted through political foundation for international cooperation and cross-border infrastructure realization, which are susceptible to tight China's global economic grow. The external political backdrop management for the national strategy of large-scale development joined to the improvement of the geopolitical environment are inducted in OBOR aspiration. China's OBOR agenda in current context have to spread step-by-step. China's geo-political and geo-economic space, which was locked away in isolationism momentum. And, it is meeting currently the economic war with USA Trump's administration. Enhancement of the Eurasian Economic Tie: The relevant prospective in modern OBOR aspiration is economic exchanges. Hence, the crucial fact is "the prosperity of trade led to the flow and integration of population, nationality, religion, ideology and culture"<sup>3</sup>.

Therefore, China and European Union (EU), the world's most developed market on the west end of the Silk Road, are becoming the most important trading partners. The relevant changes are the simultaneous re-establishment of economic ties between China and Europe. So, with the gradually shift of the unequal political and economic relations dominated by the West, and then, the tightening of economic links between China and other developing countries, such as ECOWAS countries. Indeed, that were biased seriously by (USA, France, UK, Portugal and EU) the western world predominance, and have gradually substituted with a new mode of cooperative relationship, (as FOCAC). With these economic links, both north and south countries of the world economic structure, China is the outstanding trading partner. It is the largest export market and a significant funding source for many countries. From this multilateral trade and economic ties background, OBOR will successfully achieve China's economic agenda objective. This contextual opacity is necessary for the spread and the security of OBOR projects implementation. As OBOR is not a "Tributary Trade" model, but it is a global economic and trade system. Furthermore, economic and trade exchanges are not a privileged or accidental need. Rather it is a national, structural activity closely related to the national economy. OBOR is welcome in a global context when, China's economic ties with countries along the Silk Road have reached an unprecedented level of tightness.

In this way of observation ECOWAS regions implication in OBOR framework will be a protracted process from China long-term global economic and foreign political ambitions.

Innovation in Transportation Technology: The renewal of modern transportation technology related to political and economic has conditioned China's OBOR larger resurgence. Hence, modern marine transport technology, the traditional ocean trade has been improved, which were once constrained by climate, ocean current, logistic supply and communication. It might be added to these the rise of aviation, railways, and other cross-border kinds of transportation. The modern trade and transportation system, which are dominated by shipping, have been effectively reinforced. OBOR implementation implies sea and land routes. In a consideration China is the winning by improving its ocean transportation boasts a cost-saving development. In improving these kinds of transportation, it will be a new opportunity for trade contacts between China and OBOR countries, such as ECOWAS countries. Professor Gao Bai at Duke University fully affirm the strategic significance of high-speed railway technology in the promotion of economic integration in Europe and Asia<sup>4</sup>. China has become the country that enjoys the fastest development in high-speed rail, the longest operating

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<sup>1</sup>Lei Z. 2018. *The Political Economy of China's Belt and Road Initiative*, translated by Zhang Zhiping vol1. *World Scientific Publishing*. P.136.

<sup>2</sup>Niu J. 2008. A Farewell to the Cold War: Historical Implications of the Normalization of Sino-Soviet Relations for China, *Historical Research*, no. 1. P. 129.

<sup>3</sup>Lei Z. 2018. *The Political Economy of China's Belt and Road Initiative*, translated by Zhang Zhiping vol1. *World Scientific Publishing*. P.138.

<sup>4</sup>Lei Z. 2018. *The Political Economy of China's Belt and Road Initiative*, translated by Zhang Zhiping vol1. *World Scientific Publishing*. PP 144-145).

mileage, the highest operational speed, the largest construction scale, and the most comprehensive technology. This is reshaping the economic and personnel exchanges between China and other countries in an unprecedented way. Meanwhile, Chinese enterprises have obtained obvious advantages in the field of technology research and development, design and construction, operation management and equipment manufacture. In this sense, the high-speed rail is represented by "Going Out" of Chinese high-end equipment manufacturing. It has not only become a new business card of China's diplomacy, but also an important symbol of China's "Export Upgrading". In this context, China's capital, technology, equipment, infrastructure construction and labor service are expected to comprehensively promote interconnectivity, a promising development trend between China and its partner's countries<sup>1</sup>.

OBOR will have to spread up China's sea and land routes transportation ability, and to insert China's infrastructure construction ability, the technology innovation and labor services through OBOR cooperation countries. The satisfaction of these points will contribute enough to maximize China's economic and political power. It will allow to outset not only regional hegemon, but also to weight over the global balance of power in many aspects. **OBOR Convertibility and Integration with ECOWAS Policy Scope**

OBOR convertibility refer to transferring and integrate OBOR key programs in ECOWAS region. The convertibility of OBOR with ECOWAS policy scope could not achieved without having some consideration of the cooperation priorities inducted in OBOR initiative. The construction of B&R entails five major parts, namely policy coordination, connectivity of infrastructure and facilities, unimpeded trade, financial integration, and people-to-people bonds. These points fit with ECOWAS main projects and scope of cooperation.

- **Policy Coordination**

"Policy coordination is the premise and guarantee for implementing the Belt and Road Initiative<sup>2</sup>. OBOR is a global economic cooperation project. It is not excluded stigmatically any area and country. OBOR functioning exigent transcontinental actors and institutions, intergovernmental commitment, and a setting up of platform and synergy, as well as the creation of mechanism, all fit to better accomplish OBOR objective. Seemly to process mutual understanding and sharing responsibility could be rise between OBOR participants. These frames will lead cohesive and coordinate policies cluster around OBOR programs execution. In ECOWAS context, the cohesive and coordinate policies mechanisms must imply ECOWAS transnational institution, States or government official's representation, ECOWAS civil society and NGOs. This will engage a multilevel and multiform intercommunication and exchange among ECOWAS areas main concerning actors. This process and mechanism will enhance trust and clarify doubts, eliminating misunderstandings in analogy China's OBOR. Without cohesive and compounding policy interests, the vision of win-win strategies and roadmaps initiated by OBOR would not be achieved. This is compulsory to conform the different stakeholders involving parties cluster around one purpose, and to uniform their functioning rules. In overlooking this assessment in practice, will break down the BRI implementation process.

- **Connectivity of Infrastructure and Facilities**

In constructing infrastructure connectivity, thus is to yield fruits in a short span of time. As said, connectivity in infrastructure shrinks the distance between areas, as it eliminates geographic barriers of trade and transportation routes, facilitates the closer and foster exchange of people, goods, funds and resources. These contribute enough to industrial development and economic growth of people's livelihood, and countries especially developing countries. This shows that infrastructure cooperation in transport, energy and communications are the top priorities to attain connectivity purpose. China is soliciting to intervene heavily in some directions, such as, transport level, China will make breakthroughs in key passageways, junctions and projects, to strengthen construction and cooperation in highways, railways, waterways, ports and aviation. It builds unified coordination mechanism for whole-course transportation, such as to facilitate land, sea and air transport. With regard to energy, China will work in concert with B&R countries to ensure security of cross-border oil and gas pipelines, build cross border power supply networks and power transmission routes, and cooperate in regional power grid upgrading and transformation. This act fairly fits with WAPP, ECOWAS mechanism consecrated to energy provision. With regard to communications, China will advance the construction of cross-border optical cables, transcontinental submarine optical cables and other communications trunk line networks.

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<sup>1</sup>Lei Z. 2018. The Political Economy of China's Belt and Road Initiative, translated by Zhang Zhiping vol1. *World Scientific Publishing*. P 146.

<sup>2</sup>Lei Z. 2018. The Political Economy of China's Belt and Road Initiative, translated by Zhang Zhiping vol1. *World Scientific Publishing*. P179.

Infrastructures building, (especially in transport,energy,communications, hospital and school) is not only urgent in ECOWAS area, but it have inducted and gained priority in ECOWAS economic and social development plans. Connectivity of Infrastructure and Facility network concord with ECOWAS countries programs to connect each member with another and to connect ECOWAS with the rest of African' mainland.

- **Unimpeded Trade**

Investment and trade cooperation is simultaneously an important phase to build OBOR, and is useful to speed the industrialization of OBOR countries in realizing balanced development for global economy. As indicated, OBOR "economic and trade cooperation" concerns three specific domains: investment and trade facilitation, international capacity and equipment manufacturing cooperation, then resources and energy cooperation.

From Investment and trade facilitation: The investment and trade cannot increase prosperity without compliance. The cross-border barriers imposition, a lack of coordination in customs clearance, logistics, certification and standard, then trade protectionism and national security review. Moreover, a shortfall management related to these issues impacts negatively on investment and trade facilitation. This inquire gather negotiations between China and ECOWAS countries on free trade zones, investment agreements and taxation agreements. In addition, it boosts bilateral and multilateral cooperation in the fields of customs, inspection and guarantee certification and accreditation. Then it will consolidate standard measurement and statistical information and to establish a single-perception. This will favor mutual recognition of Authorized Economic Operators. China and ECOWAS's countries can commit a platform to response this issue, also to improve China and ECOWAS accords of exchange. ECOWAS mechanism related to free zone of trade, people and wealth moving, people installation rights allow to coordinate and integrate OBOR investment and trade mechanism.

From International capacity and equipment manufacturing cooperation: China is one of the largest the global industrial chain, as it possesses all competitive industries and spare production capacity. In contrast, ECOWAS countries are not only undergoing the lack, or being in their bourgeoned level of industrialization, striving modernisation and equipment for their infrastructure construction, but they need China's high-end equipment. View as a pattern of new approach to achieve a triple-win situation in the South-South and the South-North cooperation, China and ECOWAS could upgrade their equipment manufacturing cooperation relatively to key industries, including steel, nonferrous metals. It includes also building materials, railways, electric power, chemical, textile, automobile, communications, construction machinery and aerospace.

From Resources and Energy Cooperation: Meanwhile, China complete industrial capacity dependence to resources and energy, whereas ECOWAS area allays immense resources and energy. However, China and ECOWAS countries have to tight resources and energy cooperation. Indeed, Zou Lei has expressed widely that China's needs resources and energy cooperation in this following term: China will deepen cooperation in the exploration and development of coal, oil, gas, metal, minerals and other conventional energy sources. It will try to advance cooperation in hydropower, nuclear power, wind power, solar power and other renewable sources of energy. Finally, it will strengthen cooperation with key countries in the processing and conversion of energy where they are exploited, so that to create an integrated industrial chain of energy and resource cooperation<sup>1</sup>. In this frame, the resources and energy cooperation between China and ECOWAS countries will be a pattern of complementarity cooperation.

- **Integration of Finance**

Due to financial indispensability in cooperation, especially financial integration associated with financial support are inquire for better response of investment and financing security for implementing OBOR.

Analogous to Asian Infrastructure Investment Bank, BRICS New Development Bank and the Silk Road Fund, China will set up and put into operation new cooperation platforms and conduct negotiation with ECOWAS countries, as to integrate China's funds and financing systems with ECOWAS investment and financial systems. The integration of these systems would encourage and favorite to carry out bilateral and multilateral financial cooperation in the form of syndicated loans and bank credit. It will open and develop the bond market in Africa, and enlarges the cooperation with other international financial institutions acting in West Africa, which are ready to joint construct OBOR. This integration will affect and spread China currency circulation, as China seeks to amplify the scope and scale of bilateral currency swap, settlement and direct trading with B&R countries. That can accelerate the development of Cross-border Inter-bank Payment System and further perfect the global RMB settlement system. This will be accompanied by financial security. Thus, China and ECOWAS countries would endeavor to resolve the offshore of currency stability system and credit

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<sup>1</sup>Lei Z. 2018. The Political Economy of China's Belt and Road Initiative, translated by Zhang Zhiping voll. *World Scientific Publishing*. P. 183.

information system in ECOWAS area, enforce the system of risk response and crisis management. They will face to regional or intercontinental financial risk early warning system. Then they have to establish an exchange of cooperation mechanism to address cross-border risks and crises. That will incept cross-border exchanges and cooperation between credit investigation settlements, institutions and rating institutions.

- **Closer People-to-People Ties**

People-to-people ties provide the public support for implementing OBOR Initiative. The people-to-people and cultural exchanges is important to quicken OBOR going up. To carry out truly, OBOR require communication and promotion from governments to win long-term understanding and support, and with citizens of OBOR participant countries. When overall ordinary people in relevant countries will be mobilized and benefit from OBOR, it will be ease to build extensively and solidly mass foundation. Several actors will act together to bound and bolster people-to-people exchanges.

The people-to-people links will concern cooperation and exchange in culture sector, environmental protection, talent cultivation, entrepreneurship training, vocational skills, social security and public welfare. In the way of universalization of OBOR, and with its comprehensive cooperation frame, China and ECOWAS countries will walk to rush together to bound their people's, such as in making and managing key routes of regional economic corridors, tighten friendship and diplomatic relations. They have to multiply industrial and economic zones in key geographical positions, and develop key sectors and projects, which will employ and imply several labors and skill of China and ECOWAS countries. Thus, this will be the practical process to impact heavily through the cooperation of OBOR implementation framework.

### **Likely OBOR Implementation Impacts.**

The rise and fall of ancient Silk Road reassessment indicate the knock-on effects of geo-economics and politic, the trade and culture values dimensions on the new era OBOR. This explains the contain of China's OBOR global menu bound with diplomacy, cooperation, and multilateralism

### **Global Agenda: Diplomacy, Cooperation, multilateralism**

- **OBOR Diplomacy Path**

China's cooperation mechanism, including new South-South cooperation platform with the characteristics of North-South cooperation, is driving recently the growth of China's diplomacy. China seeks to work and to consolidate with countries and area to promote the strategic integration of China's OBOR trough policy such as "Opening up"<sup>1</sup>. Similar intergovernmental cooperation with ECOWAS countries can be initiated. Therein, the synergizing development strategies that China made with (Saudi Arabia, Egypt and Iran) must be the same strategies to engage with ECOWAS countries. Thus, the synergizing can consider bilateral trilateral cooperation.

However, China's diplomacy strengthening in rushing on top through OBOR construction must not neglect and impede the ambitions of adherent countries. This exigent the efforts to conform and integrate the necessities of all part of the OBOR global projects. It has to prioritize win-win plans, and to take into account the specificities of OBOR countries in specific areas, such as ECOWAS infrastructure construction, connectivity and industrial upgrading. It is in this logic that ECOWAS main preoccupation could take place in OBOR framework, view the possibility to convert OBOR plans in ECOWAS area. It will consist to intensify various bilateral and multilateral cooperation in diverse fields. China has to tight, together with participant countries, good policy coordination with strategic significance, as also to sound political relations, and avoid mistrust and misinformation or misinterpretation.

- **OBOR Cooperation Path**

OBOR cooperation strategies makes together China's "opening door" extent with Market enlargement, and Mutual Benefits Cooperations.

Extent of Open up for Cooperation: OBOR Initiative is broadly "open for cooperation", therefore no country is intentionally precluded. It is a kind of "Open Door" to all countries, international and regional organizations engagement. Zou Lei brought the speech, of the Chairman President Xi Jinping, held in September 2015 in United States, and reiterated in October in United Kingdom, stated that "China-proposed initiatives, such as Belt and Road and Asian Infrastructure Investment Bank, are open, transparent and inclusive,

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<sup>1</sup>Lei Z. 2018. The Political Economy of China's Belt and Road Initiative, translated by Zhang Zhiping vol1. *World Scientific Publishing*. P .254.

so all parties including the United States are welcome to take an active part"<sup>1</sup>. OBOR is not concerning China sole enrichment, without implies support or engagement of other countries.

**Market Operation:** China's Central Government as the promotor is the outstanding actor constructor of the large-scale cooperation project, which is OBOR. This project exigent "a practice abides by international norms, and also reflects the different roles of government and market", as put on by Zou Lei<sup>2</sup>. However, governments do not dispose alone all the needs in information, funds or resources for OBOR implementation. Governments could not be substituted by anyone other actor in accomplishing various cooperative projects of OBOR. To solve these gaps, intergovernmental mechanisms and platforms of OBOR countries accompanied by macro guidance and facilitating services should be initiated. Besides, governments had to set up platforms for cooperation, minimize policy barriers and ensure security for transnational investment and operation via intergovernmental consultation and coordination. This pattern of cooperation is a roughly need in ECOWAS area, as ECOWAS has initiated a space for free –zone exchange or market, and in achieving these purposes, OBOR will be a sustainable development project and connectivity opportunities for whole OBOR countries.

**Mutual Benefits:** To attract more cooperation partners, OBOR is erected to concern sufficiently the interests and comforts of all participants. Related to these considerations, other countries would entirely have to engage to joint OBOR implementation for sharing benefits, and for conjunction of interests related to major projects. Without understanding these implications by each other of both participants, OBOR main goals cannot attain, or it will speedily fail.

- **OBOR Multilateralism Path**

OBOR is a new pattern of multilateralism in global politics field. This OBOR multilateralism pattern will make together abundant natural and human resources, plentiful culture, and multiple geographic zones with similarities and differences trumps, linking China and participant countries. Added to this, it will be economic and politic bounds, such as, bilateral economic and trade ties, trilateral and regional cooperation bounds. In this framework, large market, increases taxes revenue and raise employment rate, alongside enormous cooperation modes of trade, contract project and investment, will emerge to profit all stockholders, enterprises, services, labors and so one. All of these approaches will contribute to improve workers training program and skill, enterprises experiences and tight diplomatic relations. This fit with China's reform, it opening-up and full participation in economic globalization. Therefore, ECOWAS area in going jointly building OBOR, will earn industrial helps, develop its industrial systems, and complete its technology and labor skills. ECOWAS needs of development in infrastructure, transport and logistics will be complete through OBOR multilateralism cooperation. OBOR, in this process, will transform ECOWAS economic characteristics of disintegrated, extraverted, and disoriented, to become truly a sustainable economy developed. Hence, ECOWAS as other participants should seek common ground for regional and international economic integration under OBOR implementation framework. It is in this way, that OBOR will benefit and should be more opportunities for all adherent countries. China's OBOR multilateralism pattern will consist to imbricate south-and North spheres in global structure, as it will speed the deal of current globalization in biasing the existing world order changing.

Hence, OBOR would boost bilateral cooperation in high technology, transportation and infrastructure, and particularly promote the development of ECOWAS region countries. In create key platforms to integrate in ECOWAS, China's OBOR with ECOWAS Projects, will contribute to advance the development, cooperation and prosperity of the whole countries of region and China itself, as to strengthen China ECOWAS relations. This confine with the principle and slogan policy of the OBOR expansion and implementation, OBOR as "the win-win cooperative".

China has already become rising power, but the expansion and the implementation of OBOR plans would rise China's economic, politic, diplomacy, and culture, in global world. Like, Chinese global superpower will be proved in achieving global military, economy and politic (hard and soft powers at the same time). From that perspective, China's OBOR multilateralism cooperation outstanding gains will be catch sight as following points:

- Politic field: China will be the global actor and policy-making; milestone of global diplomacy;
- Economic realm: global leader of financing and investing institutions; international trade major actor;
- Military and security domain: military power in gaining and located in key strategic points (geo-strategy and geo-politic power);
- Culture realm: culture expansion; soft or co-optive power attraction.

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<sup>1</sup>Lei Z. 2018. *The Political Economy of China's Belt and Road Initiative*, translated by Zhang Zhiping vol1. *World Scientific Publishing*. P. 171.

<sup>2</sup>Lei Z. 2018. *The Political Economy of China's Belt and Road Initiative*, translated by Zhang Zhiping vol1. *World Scientific Publishing*. PP. 171-72.

**Specific Agenda: Trade and Investment, Infrastructure, Agriculture and Energy**

• **Trade and Investment**

ECOWAS trade commodities compound natural resource of raw materials, agricultural and food products exchanges. ECOWAS trade pattern is inter-regional and international trade.

The region exported extractive products are strictly petroleum, natural gas, gold and uranium. ECOWAS agricultural exported products entail non-food and food products. It non-food dominate commodities are rubber and cotton. The food commodities are cocoa, fish, edible seeds, rice, coconut, etc.

ECOWAS's rate of food export is 10%. Moreover, cocoa figure out 60% of this percentage. In addition, the food relies on rice, wheat. While the exported raw material top is petroleum accounting 61%, the agricultural commodities top is cocoa heightening 44% of 59% from the overall food exported. ECOWAS intro-regional trade is more heterogeneous. ECOWAS intro-regional trade absorb 32% of export total products of the region, 43% of agriculture and 48% of food exports. It is also worth to mention that ECOWAS agricultural and food commodities are diversifying related to the geographical zones. While the coastal western countries (Senegal, Gambia, Guinea Bissau, Cape Verde) export fish, mollusk, coconuts, whereas the land-locked countries (Mali, Burkina-Faso, Niger) export oily seeds, and cotton. Then, the coastal southern countries (Nigeria, Ivory Coast, Ghana, export cocoa and its derived products. Aftermath, it has been remarked that, "ECOWAS countries exports rely on raw materials that are processed elsewhere, and often come back to the region as processed and high value-added products". Among ECOWAS countries, some of them have high rate, such as Nigeria which account 73, 5% of trade. Some other countries have lowest rate, Ghana and Ivory Coast amount to 8%<sup>1</sup>. However, the industrialized countries are ECOWAS trading partners, more specifically China, EU countries, USA, India, and Brasilia. They are the five top trading partners of ECOWAS countries. They import from ECOWAS natural resources and raw material. Then, they export to ECOWAS industrialized or manufactured goods and commodities. Thus, the trade pattern is that raw material go out from ECOWAS and industrial products are coming from industrialized countries. The specific characteristic of this pattern is the colonial heritage influence, as France prevails in ECOWAS francophone countries external trade, Portugal prevails in Lusophone external trade, and UK and USA bias the Anglophone<sup>2</sup>.

The region imported commodities compound industrial crude and refined petroleum, vehicles, ships, trucks, motorcycles, telecommunication equipment's and pharmaceutical products. Its agricultural and food commodities imported are rice, wheat and edible preparation, which account for 42%. ECOWAS 28% of imported product originate from European countries. In this, 23% is non-food agricultural, 22% is food. P.3. Nigeria that is the economic hegemon of the region imports 52% of the total import of ECOWAS, 54% of agricultural, 51% of food<sup>3</sup>. ECOWAS keytrade corridors depart from coastal areas to land-locked countries. The coastal countries hold the seaports considered as the gateways of the region. They are Nigeria with two ports Apapa and Tin Can Island. Then, port of Cotonou (Benin). Then it includes the port of Lomé in Togo, Ghana with the port of Tema, the port of Abidjan, and the port of Dakar in Senegal. The transportation network is going from West African to West-East Trans Sahelian High way between Dakar and Ndjamen (Tchad) and the Tans-Coastal highway linking Dakar to Lagos. These formal transportation networks with 30 important passage points allow to shape the bilateral (inward the region) and international trade links of ECOWAS countries. However, the informal corridors overcome the formal in heightening 171 of passage points<sup>4</sup>.

Moreover, Nigeria heighten 65, 2% of ECOWAS overall GDP. (p.4). ECOWAS overall trade balance from 2010 to 2014 accounted 41, 61 billion USD with low variance rate. Although, related to ECOWAS global exports and imports, compounding agricultural, and foods, the subregion trade balance is positively constant with 0, 27 billion USD due to non-food exports, especially rubber, and cotton. But food trade balance is negative in accounting -3,29 billion USD, notwithstanding ECOWAS had undertook Regional Rice Offensive through its regional agricultural policy (ECOWAP) framework, since the region consume more rice associated with West Africa Common Industry Policy (WACIP) strategy 2015- 2020, which emphasized on its priority

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Torres C. and Seters J. V. July 2006. Overview on trade and barriers to trade in West Africa, Insights in political economics. *European Center of Development and Management ecdpm*, N<sup>o</sup> 195.P.1-2.

<sup>2</sup>Torres C. and Seters J. V. July 2006. Overview on trade and barriers to trade in West Africa, Insights in political economics. *European Center of Development and Management ecdpm*, N<sup>o</sup> 195.P.9.

<sup>3</sup>Torres C. and Seters J. V. July 2006. Overview on trade and barriers to trade in West Africa, Insights in political economics. *European Center of Development and Management ecdpm*, N<sup>o</sup> 195.P3.

<sup>4</sup>Torres C. and Seters J. V. July 2006. Overview on trade and barriers to trade in West Africa, Insights in political economics. *European Center of Development and Management ecdpm*, N<sup>o</sup> 195. P.27.

food , agro-industry sector. The region rice consumption heightens to 5, 7 million tons; it produces a half. ECOWAS depends to 60% imported volume of its overall rice consumption. (p.30). Therefore, the balance is deficit when extracted out Nigerian petroleum of 50% billion USD<sup>1</sup>.

Trade and investment occupy an outstanding role in today inter-states economy and politic relations. The interactions between States, the strategic courses and geostrategic competitions between Strong States inward international politic realm are more biasing by trade and investment interests and cooperations. Relatively to this remark, trade and investment cooperation between China and ECOWAS deserve more attention.

Accordingly, ECOWAS rapid population growth associated with large emerging consumer market provide significant growth opportunities for trade and investment cooperation. This regional potentiality is connected with African Common Market (ACM), within a harmonized system, OBOR need of trade and investment fits into this context. Trade and investment domain will be great advantage when boosting private investment and domestic resource mobilization. However, investment in the ECOWAS region acquire push up action. It will allow some substantial new business opportunities for foreign and local investors.

In relation to AU development Plan adopted in 2013 during the final stages of Millennium Development Goal (MDG) planning at the United Nations Millennium Project, ECOWAS countries work harshly to be ready in responding AU strategies. AU has also suggested to African countries three menu of development program to be rush before 2063. They have to accomplish:

- First, strategies for inclusive growth, job creation, and agricultural production.
- Second, investment in science and technology, research and innovation, gender equality, and youth empowerment.
- Third, provision of basic amenities including health and nutrition education, shelter, water and sanitation.

To respond to these strategies, ECOWAS calls for more investment, and OBOR could respond to this call, as the 'leaving no one behind', has been set for 2030 by the international community. The New Partnership for Africa's Development (NEPAD), as attracting force is directly thrust into AU Agenda 2063. Incepted in 2001, and reference to earlier endeavors, such as the Abuja Treaty and the Lagos Plan of Action, NEPAD bears an approach to MDGs in providing individual needs of ECOWAS countries. NEPAD instructed ECOWAS countries with four outstanding missions as goals:

- Primo, recognizing that peace, security and good governance are the requirements for investment and growth, and the depletion of poverty.
- Second, promoting private sector development, regional and global economic consolidation.
- Third, building an action plans headed towards developing the key sectors of health care, education, infrastructure and agriculture.
- Fourth, stressing the importance of more productive partnerships between West Africa and its bilateral, multilateral, and private sector development partners<sup>2</sup>.

The accomplishment of these above programs in ECOWAS area fits with China's OBOR framework. Furthermore, China was at first officially invited by the chairperson Joaquin Chissano in 2003 to play an essential part in Africa's development process, especially through the Comprehensive African Agriculture Development Program.

Hence, Africa-China trade relations have eclipsed those between Africa and Europe, Africa and the United States in May due to the trade between Beijing and Africa registered at US\$166 billion at 2010. In realm of finance, "between the years 2000 and 2009, China exonerated the poorest African nations. It uses their cumulative debt of US\$3 billion and has since extended low-interest or interest free loans to Africa"<sup>3</sup>.

In realm of investment: There were investments in both 'hard' and 'soft' infrastructures.

Related to security and peace: FOCAC has launched the 'Initiative on China-Africa Cooperative Partnership for Peace and Security' (ICACPPS). China has also ramped up counter-terrorism cooperation with African countries. Finally, according to a United Nations Development Program (UNDP) China has afforded to

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Torres C. and Seters J. V. July 2006. Overview on trade and barriers to trade in West Africa, Insights in political economics. *European Center of Development and Management ecdpm*, No, 195P.10.

<sup>2</sup>Forje E. 2018. Unblocking Africa's Underdevelopment through the One Belt, One Road Initiative, Belt and Road Initiative Alternative Development Path, *Africa Institute of South Africa*. P.13.

<sup>3</sup>Forje E. 2018. Unblocking Africa's Underdevelopment through the One Belt, One Road Initiative, Belt and Road Initiative Alternative Development Path, *Africa Institute of South Africa*. PP. 13-14.

dwindle and prevent epidemic and disease increase in Africa at whole, and precisely Ebola epidemic in West Africa in spending most a count of US\$123 million<sup>1</sup>.

As well as, OBOR would be foresighted to contribute enough to ECOWAS trade and investment volume in term of reference to the benefit already gained from China African's strategic partnership. The significant role, from trade volume addition to investment growth, would be for ordinary people poverty reduction and skills improvement. Those are in turn knock-on effect on social, politic and security issues. Not that the trade and investment balance gains will be equal, but it will be great opportunities for ECOWAS in sort expectedly, any side of the cooperation will not lose.

- **Infrastructure**

Infrastructure building reflected the strand of economic and political development of country. It is thereby the plinth foundation of development. It is in this relation that ECOWAS countries and its regional institution have attached great significance to infrastructure building.

ECOWAS area as other developing countries in anywhere, but especially in Africa, undergoing scarcely the need of hard and soft infrastructures building. Among the difficulties linking to these gaps, we have the investment attraction. The sector undergoing the indifference from foreign investor to inject their capital. In addition, the local investors are weak and lack the financial capital capacity. Other difficulty are the equipment's and technology, the skills and labor service experiences. Some other said the sector of infrastructure suffer because of local governments neglecting and regional policies planning gaps. ECOWAS countries economic and social development depend to sufficient infrastructure, such as industry, telecommunication, transport, schools and universities, good hospitals and medical infrastructure as labs, clean water and sanitation, affordable and clean energy, and transboundary water. As OBOR include investment and infrastructures building, China and ECOWAS transnational institution and specific countries could cooperate to meet this shortfall in the region. « Infrastructure development in all its diverse forms is one of Africa's strongest development challenges. It has been estimated that approximately US\$93 billion per annum is required to close Africa's infrastructure gap by 2025<sup>2</sup>.

ECOWAS objective of monetary union with single currency, its regional and international trade development dealing with enlarge market, ECOWAS world economic integration, its moving toward people integration could not achieved without sufficient infrastructures. China's OBOR infrastructure and investment programs can be convert in ECOWAS area as it fits with ECOWAS region needs.

- **Agriculture and Energy**

Agriculture and energy development spark social development as they meet food shortage, and poverty. Agriculture and its corollary activities such as animal husbandry and fishery development are fundamental to agro-industry development, without which food shortage, social poverty and corollaries social issues could not be faced. In addition, all activity from agro-and other industrial activities could not be better undertaken, accomplished, and sustainably functioned in any sort effort without energy full provision.

As says, ECOWAS region possesses the potential of oil, and gas to cover its energy provision and consummation. But, the lack of pipeline to link and provide the necessitating areas with the sources provision, impact negatively on the capacities of energy consummation, and the activities which deal with energy, such as industry and companies workings. ECOWAS Member State, through energy mechanism, such as WAAP, integrated with OBOR could undertake cross-border oil-and-gas pipelines to alleviate these issues of energy. The strategic pattern that China has taken are "the operation and construction of the Sino-Kazakhstan crude oil pipeline, the Central Asia-China natural gas pipeline, the Sino-Myanmar oil-and-gas pipelines and the Sino-Russia oil-and-gas pipelines"<sup>3</sup>. The realization of such kind of project is significant to easily diversify the energy import sources and channels in ECOWAS area, and to increase exportation quantity between OBOR countries, especially to ensure China's energy security. The accomplishment of cross-border oil-and-gas pipelines will launch appeal to China, and its enterprises to execute the project in providing materials, equipment's, engineers, and financings. Many crude oils and more of natural gas are discovered and are available in many countries of ECOWAS, namely, Ivory-Coast, Nigeria, Niger, Burkina-Faso, Senegal, Guinee-Conakry, Ghana, Gambia, and

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<sup>1</sup>Forje E. 2018. Unblocking Africa's Underdevelopment through the One Belt, One Road Initiative, Belt and Road Initiative Alternative Development Path, *Africa Institute of South Africa*. P.14.

<sup>2</sup>Owusu. S. E. 2018. Attracting investment for infrastructure development in Africa, Belt and Road Initiative Alternative Development Path for Africa, *Africa Institute of South Africa*. P.27.

<sup>3</sup>Lei Z. 2018. *The Political Economy of China's Belt and Road Initiative*, translated by Zhang Zhiping vol1. *World Scientific Publishing*. P.274.

so on. Certain of them have begun exploitation of oil-and-gas, some another not yet. The acquisition of cross-border oil-and-gas pipelines in ECOWAS area through OBOR framework not only benefit these countries, but also will allow China to get involved more in the exploitation of oil and gas in ECOWAS area. Therein, the oil-and-gas from ECOWAS can be transported to China directly, or from the seaports considering as gateways of the regions. ECOWAS area oil and gas in delivering resources to a large market, this project realization will be mutual benefits for multiple parties. It will be one of the largest oil and gas transportation system in the region, satisfying more than 100% of domestic gas consumption, as to export a height rate for China's energy consumption. During the operation period, it will create thousands of jobs along the line, generating billions of dollars for the involved countries. ECOWAS countries can collaborate together with China government and enterprises to carry out ECOWAS-China oil-and-gas pipelines project plan. Even if, the pipeline would not directly link with China, the strategic zone of station and provision would be created to facilitate the transportation to China and other area of OBOR partnership. As ECOWAS is center in the heart of Africa, its pipelines could go out in different directions. They will bring the crude oil and gas pipelines towards, and join the seaport and gateway before exportation or transmission to China. It is certain that, in implementing oil and gas pipeline strategic system, the power pressure will be alleviated in ECOWAS area, as also the economic will be bolstered, then the daily public life positively affected. The pipeline will benefit the newly built power plant and guaranteed stable and reliable power supply for many people, including enterprises, and industrial locating in West-Africa. In ECOWAS area, this kind of project could not be realized without multilateral cooperation, such as with the Regional functional body or other neighbor country will be implicated for go on through of the pipeline. This project after operation can be supply with other projects of building large refineries and liquefied natural gas (LNG) and processing plants, which will be located in ECOWAS area with consensus. Thus, the West-African petroleum and gas industry, production and exportation will be revolutionized. China and West-African countries could make contract on oil transportation through crude oil pipeline. The contract, in coming into effect, would be estimated to be the largest pragmatic cooperation project between China and ECOWAS countries and an important strategic project in global oil and natural gas cooperation in OBOR framework given the influence on international energy structure. At that time, it will be expected to relieve the shortage of natural gas in ECOWAS and China, improve the consumption and trade between the partners, and then promote adjustments in energy structure in OBOR countries.

### **Likely OBOR Contributions and Opportunities to both Partners**

As a major national development strategy and international cooperation proposal in the new era, China's OBOR will bring multifaceted opportunities inward global society. As the cooperation framework gets clear, especially after the publication of Vision and Actions on Jointly Building Silk Road Economic Belt and 21st-Century Maritime Silk Road, OBOR is erected to promote international community and China's development. OBOR seeks to benefit governments, global market and ordinary people.

### **Regional Benefits**

Regional benefits refer to States aggregation in region for politics economics and security interests. This include regional cooperation, and also regional integration. Regional corps of countries seek to share benefits, mutual opportunities, collective security, and connection of infrastructure, cross-border exchanges and integration between peoples. In observing this regional agenda purpose, we find accordance between them and China's OBOR principles, aims. As China's OBOR principles, in clustering around to build infrastructures, to strength international trade, to prosper win-win cooperation, to create mutual benefits, to make connectivity among areas, to link people-to- people, as also to coordinate policy too. These principles objective fit with regional community cooperation and integration, striving economic, politic, security, and cultural development. Thus, for regional cooperation, ECOWAS in Africa, and so on, China's OBOR will be great opportunities, as it will bring mutual benefits.

In the realm of politics, OBOR will allows regional cooperation body to improve and to tight it regional policy. OBOR will endow them with diplomatic force within international field, as they will form alliance, bilateral, trilateral and multilateral cooperation links. Hence, OBOR allows regional grouping to be able to gain geographical and geostrategic strength and position. This is a sort of regional diplomacy interests and power maximizing frame.

About economic realm, China's OBOR will enforce regional internal trade relation; it will enhance regional economic and pull up it in global economy. OBOR will foster regional financing institutions and fund, associated with transnational institutions. China's OBOR will be a factor to grow the regional investments, in attracting foreign direct investments. This will be a factor of industrialization, and transfer of technology and skill. This fact in turn will thrive economic and social resource sustainable development. Accordingly, China's OBOR is regional and collective sustainable factor. What is related to infrastructure building associated with connectivity, China's OBOR will be a striking factor to speed regional infrastructure building, and facilitate

its connectivity? As China's OBOR will be a factor to launch international experiences enterprises and companies, services and labors. The collective action to make great projects of infrastructure building, will in turn enhance employment rate, facilitate and grow transportation, trade and income, so meet social issues. China's OBOR in this frame is regional infrastructure and connectivity projects realization policy. This is a sort of regional economy interests and power maximizing frame.

China's OBOR is great opportunities for regional cooperation, in considering its aims to prosper win-win cooperation, and to create mutual benefits. Thus in thriving economic and social resources development, in being geographical and geostrategic strength with positioning gain for regional politic body, and endow it with diplomatic force within international field, and also in being regional infrastructure and connectivity projects realization policy, China's OBOR is striking win-win cooperation, and creating mutual benefits for regional cooperating and integrating countries. In that, relevant projects to prioritise will be infrastructure construction, such as energy, transport and communications projects that are directly related to ordinary people's daily life and these are manifest to attract States and people's awareness. To say that, industrial cooperation and financial cooperation with overseas or cross-border combination parks, in gathering places and platforms, and these associated with the investment and financing for infrastructure construction, view as crucial issues for consensus, the first choice should be accorded to them.

Then, as factor to tighten trade and economic relations, and diplomatic relations, as realizing connection between areas, OBOR jointly, implementation in region is a great factor to favorite exchanges bounds between peoples. It will accomplish the goal to link people-to- people through trade, arts, tourism, and academic exchanges. Aftermath, China's OBOR is an unprecedented global economic and politic project to strive and benefit regional cooperation and integration related to several aspects, such as a global and regional public good. In this consideration, it is well coming in joint investment fund and to build a China-ECOWAS connectivity platform, related to trade, investment, infrastructure building, and tourism and so on. There is much potential for the alignment of China and ECOWAS's WACIP (West Africa Common Industry Policy) strategy 2015-2020 and industrial capacity besides manufacturing goods transportation. China is proactively at the promotion of the strategy of Made in China 2025, common with Germany Industry, New Industrial France and UK Industry 2050 in that they all lay emphasis on industrial transformation and upgrading. This allow China to act with capacity to accomplish investment better and more in OBOR countries, as ECOWAS area<sup>1</sup>. As the trilateral industrial capacity, cooperation initiated by China is beneficial to the common development of the upstream, midstream and downstream of industrial chains in China, European developed and developing countries. This pattern of jointly building and investing could create to link ECOWAS countries with each another to form economic corridors. It permits in reaching an outstanding consensus between China and its involving companies in Africa with ECOWAS countries and regional Institution to integrate OBOR Initiative with the social development. Then, to insert economic plans and to strengthen the connectivity and cooperation of industrial capacity.

### **States Benefits**

ECOWAS area. ECOWAS development plan and strategy invested in energy, transportation infrastructure, broadband networks construction and educational projects could be integrating with OBOR to reinforce and complete ECOWAS capacities. Hence, it will integrate OBOR Initiative with ECOWAS Investment Plan, to initiate China-ECOWAS

State seeks insurance of economic interests, security guarantee, geopolitical position and making alliances and tie cooperation of trade; as in undertaking diplomatic relations and collective security mechanisms. Related to these goals, States benefits in OBOR implementation framework could be ranked within three aspects: economic, diplomatic, and security. Each participant country in jointly building OBOR will benefit economic interests, related to trade, investment, industrialization, technology, and infrastructure construction that grape OBOR project. Thus, the realization of these purposes, through OBOR, bring to OBOR awareness peoples improvement of their daily life concerning employment and consumption provision, education guarantee. To take into account some academic research strengthening, culture and art associated with tourism expansion and upgradation. The economic interest insurance will affect the State internal policy and social resources development, which will contribute also to insure social security and political stability. Other benefit of States in jointly build OBOR rely to politic dimension, the diplomatic benefits. Within OBOR participant countries, each country earns diplomatic relations, friendships, international prestige, and supports. The last benefit is relying to security. Considering the principles of China's foreign policy related to mutual respect, mutual building of peace, and non-interference in State internal affairs, OBOR could be a factor to construct

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<sup>1</sup> Lei Z. 2018. *The Political Economy of China's Belt and Road Initiative*, translated by Zhang Zhiping vol1. World Scientific Publishing. P.254.

collective security mechanisms and platform for dialogue and manage security issues. It has to create a synergy for peace and to face insecurity challenges. Accordingly, these three dimensions of benefits contribute in turn to insure and respect the fundamental principles of States, such as territorial integrity, States sovereignty, and States independence and their people behaviors. In this logic, OBOR is a complete and a complementary project policy that will tie country to country, link people-to-people with mutual benefits and prospective opportunities for not only States, but also ordinary people will gain from it.

### **Mutual Benefits**

Thus, the mutual benefit of gains is one of the main principle of the implementation of OBOR. The plausibility to attain this purpose depends to work with each other in complementarity perspective. In this sort of deal, all participant countries must work in avoiding mistrust, misunderstanding, and misinterpretation of activities. They have to avoid interest competitions and do not make conflict to gain interests in any kind of means. Thus, they should incept mechanisms, and platforms to determine their common actions, as well as to implement for the "mutual benefits". To complete the policy of this project, China OBOR is aiming common benefits, global and public good, regional benefits, States and ordinary people's benefits. This means that all stakeholders, from governments and private's actors, multinationals, PME, locale industries in areas, both will be benefits from China's OBOR framework implementation. One main and relevant issue is that, how OBOR as global economic and politic framework, simultaneously could be better implemented in satisfying China and partner's countries and also without disturbing the place and role of other developed countries. This indicates that China is visioning of "Peacefully Rising". All of us should care about this issue. The complementary perspective is shaping around some Points: first, capital supply and demand between China and participant countries, through a variety of bilateral and multilateral financial arrangements, this will be carrying out. However, one of the criteria of spread out of the BRI is based on "The sincerity" between China and its cooperative Countries. The weak States in this frame wish, and would like the embedded realisation of the projects announced. Whereas, what guaranteed this sort of ethical and morality principal in States relationship in the field of International Politics? According to J. Nye, International Politics rejects morality. To say that, even if States behaviors resemble to human behaviors, States are distinguished from human as well as in its intergovernmental relationships. The mutual earnings is provable through this assessment, "Therefore, a brand new type of economic collaboration among Asian developing countries, featuring equality, mutual benefit and a win-win partnership can be established. With such prospect in mind, the Belt and Road Initiative is likely to create a new aspect of South-South cooperation. Thus, the Initiative contains strategic potentials of transforming the unequal international political and economic order, which was shaped after the World War II and has been strengthened in the age of globalization"<sup>1</sup>. To avoid the kind of misunderstanding, Zou Lei proposed that the strategic intention by China in incepting the OBOR does not seeks to reverse the United States, in placing Chinese model of COMECON. It does not aim to establish a new international economic system in which China and RMB will substitute the US and USD. This is pointed to warm and to avoid suspicion related to misunderstanding, from some, countries and strong resistance from the United States. His appeal is launched to all countries to collaborate with China in jointly shouldering the responsibility of realizing common development for dozens of B&R countries.

### **OBOR as Sustainable Development in ECOWAS Region.**

As the ancient Silk Road, the modern OBOR makes routes of trade, makes face-to-face civilization and faith, to connect China with OBOR countries. This connection is estimated to be "the most important geo-economic integration, policies combination, and cultural bound in current international system. The prospected and expected opportunities that OBOR will bring for sustainable development in ECOWAS area, like large market, many kinds of exchanges and transfers between ordinary peoples. Some progress in policy coordination, infrastructure connectivity, unimpeded trade, financial integration, and closer people-to-people will be achieved. With the flow of Chinese-made products and ECOWAS countries natural resources potentiality, such as oil, gas, and others raw materials, ECOWAS enlarges market and joins China and ECOWAS countries exchanges. That will be a mean of emerging, rejuvenating the long-lost economic bond between the two areas. Indeed, the rise of "Modern Silk Road" between China and other area of the world is coming from both, macro and micro perspectives, which strike sustainable development. Therein, the macro perspective of the "Modern Silk Road" is a rapid and large scale flow of commodity, funds, and people between China and the participant regions. While the micro perspective is related to trade, culture, and societal life of a unique community, as reflected in individuals' lives and experiences. With the macro and the micro perspectives, we

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<sup>1</sup>Lei Z. 2018. *The Political Economy of China's Belt and Road Initiative*, translated by Zhang Zhiping vol1. World Scientific Publishing. P.168.

could deduce the nature political economic dimension of China foreign policy and also its OBOR purpose to contribute to ECOWAS sustainable economic and social resource development. To realise the purpose of sustainable economic and social resource development in ECOWAS area, OBOR project have to meet and change ECOWAS economic patterns of disoriented, disorganized, extraverted, and disintegrated. The macro and micro perspectives should cluster around, basically to booster industrialization, technology, skill of labors. Then that will connect the region with hard and soft infrastructures. Besides, it will develop intro-regional and international trade, and to foster the political and social stability, to contribute to the institutional arrangements as the leverage forces for regional resource reallocation. Furthermore, to form a market-oriented mechanism for coordinating and balancing interregional interests. Thus, it relists "the future regional development and opening-up pattern as well as the new international political and economic order" in observing the strategic scope of Xi's Administration<sup>1</sup>.

- **Stage of Macroscopic Perspective**

ECOWAS market is vast with 400 million of peoples; it consumes fully of "Made in China" products, such as mechanical and electrical products, transportation equipment, steel and building materials, and furniture. In current years, Chinese products have been a feature in department stores across ECOWAS countries. This attests China's ever-increasing commercial presence in ECOWAS area. The attractive reasons are due to the low price, the fine quality, and rich variety of Chinese products available for the middle or lower class in ECOWAS countries. These witness Chinese commodities are soliciting favorable in this area. Even if Chinese products render competitive price and high-end products, ECOWAS region also constitute a great market potential for China international trade. Otherwise, the recent propelling by oil trade, the needs of raw materials of China in international trade field.

The exchanges of "Made in China" commodities meet with ECOWAS countries natural resources, such as Nigeria's oil. The flow of funds and the cross-border capital flow between FOCAC attest the outstanding role of China in ECOWAS international trade, investment, agriculture and energy fields' improvement. This is an illustration of the importance of funds, cross-borders capital flows and finance institutions in the achievement of economic grow. Then it permits the toughening of diplomacy, and the better accomplishment of investment, trade, and infrastructure through China and ECOWAS cooperation. OBOR is catching sight that the connectivity between China and ECOWAS areas are having the highest degree of mobility, in reshaping the regional economy, as in shifting the world's economic center of gravity from the former western developed to China.

- **Stage of Microscopic Perspective**

In OBOR framework, the frequent exchanges between China and others such as ECOWAS areas people will strike international trading and exchange activities. Aftermath, this draw the most vivid and symbolic microscopic images of a rising OBOR. OBOR is not only trade and commodities exchanges, but also culture permeability and assimilation in its social ecosystem. The expansion of intercultural exchanges is creating an unprecedented landscape of social ecosystem. Hence, China and ECOWAS region relation recently, especially in trade field related to OBOR frame, can be summarized as, the growth of trade volume between China and ECOWAS countries. The spreading of ECOWAS region diasporas in China and Chinese diaspora in ECOWAS region are important. The learning lesson from this phenomenon in the OBOR framework render a widely open door between States, regions and civilizations or cultures. Moreover, it is also, a compound of economic, politic and social issues, and a reshape of international trade. These combining interdependences and enforcement of the news trade relations, the diplomatic ties and economic with its corollary, would influence the global world broadly and deeply. Aftermath, a new world order can be seen and drew from this development, as well as a new era of global power transition hinged on the global balance of power. Therefore, OBOR is expecting to reshape the international structure. For that, it is an important strategy to coordinate China's development with OBOR countries. In that perspective, it will not only redress the long-existing regional imbalance in economic development, but also create a new opening-up pattern encompassed sea-land interactions.

ECOWAS countries, due to the notable lack of industrial, transportation and livelihood infrastructures, the pace of industrialization is extremely slow. Difficult for them to aware industries transfer from the western developed countries or emerging market countries. Then economic development mode is shaping a high dependence on the export of energy resources.

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<sup>1</sup> Lei Z. 2018. *The Political Economy of China's Belt and Road Initiative*, translated by Zhang Zhiping vol1. World Scientific Publishing. P.158.

### **China's OBOR Challenges in ECOWAS Area:**

This point does not emphasize on neocolonialism, but it just responds to detractor of China rising and more engagement actions in Africa. Therein, International Politics field have always been a realm of constant tensions, wars, and risks. The challenges move in relation to actors, goals and instruments. OBOR implementation has seen as global economic and politic cooperation in technological leadership era, which also influences military and economic scales, as well as hub of transnational communication, faces to risks and challenges. As well as, certain of these risks and challenges rely on ideological, human with political values and cultural conflicts. This part seeks to make attention on issues that are related to insecurity risks and peace building, the challenges of domination struggle related resources (lands, economics) access in some area, especially ECOWAS.

### **Insecurity and Peace implications in OBOR Implementation**

In prospection, some of insecurity risks that will impede the peaceful implementation of OBOR rely to political turbulences and social unrest in key OBOR countries. From social issues such as ethnic groups, class and tribe conflicts, religious and cultural clash, identity and human value conflict must be taken into account. This category of issue includes government overthrow by military push, and post-electoral conflicts. Those sorts of insecurities are frequently developing countries idiosyncrasies, such as ECOWAS area. Indeed, in the last two decades ECOWAS area has undergone many forms of those political turbulences and social unrest. The Mano-River, that include Liberia, Serra Leone, and Guinea, was badly beaten and troubled with rebellion resurgence during teen years ago (1990-2000). Ivory- Coast was also troubled by rebellion and post electoral conflicts from 2000 to 2010. Guinea Conakry was face, after the president Lassana Conde died, to rebellion eruption in 2007-2008. Currently, Mali is suffering because rebellion, terrorist and jihadist wars from 2012 to now. Mali and all the Sahel countries (Niger, Burkina-Faso) are affected by multi-natural and plural-dimensional ("extremism, terrorism and separatism",) conflicts<sup>1</sup>.

The outcomes related to this insecurity backdrop are the interruption of economic and social development projects, infrastructure building, trade and transportation, investment activities become more downplay. Specifically, in West Africa, many countries have economic corridor with strategic standings, suffer severe domestic political conflicts, political crises emergence of post-electoral and political opponent, social tension among ethnics, religions, terrorism, cross-border criminality. Al Qaida in the Maghreb, MUJAO, Ancardin, Boko Haram, and others has gained the forces most a decay (started in 2004). The rise of terrorism fueled the radical religious forces and Islamization of politics, seriously weakening the central government's control over domestic affairs. Their influence and power are gradually expanding to all area. In addition, it biases all aspects of daily life in West Africa, especially the Sahel part. Currently, the rise and formation of jihadists and terrorists claiming the foundation of Islamist State in the Sahel extend to the Sahara areas, the called GSIM (Groupe de Soutien a l'Islam et aux Musulmans) and GEIS (Groupe d'Etat Islamic au Sahara), branches of Al-Qaida. They are also bullying in the region and preclude all activities from government dealing in the sense of governance and development. Their actions create a shortfall of governance and management related to security and peace of ordinary peoples and their wealth's<sup>2</sup>. In this situation the ordinary ECOWAS citizens, farmers, traders, fishers, animal husbandperson could not work, as their daily life is compromised. This kind of conflicts outbreak could risk OBOR peaceful implementation in some area. Otherwise, the insecurity risks concern also disease an epidemic outbreak, such Ebola-Virus that affected Guinea Conakry and other Mano-River countries in ECOWAS area in 2014. Diseases and epidemic outbreak impacted negatively on ECOWAS economic, trade and social activities, as some of foreign investor, tourist and so forth were discourage and left the area<sup>3</sup>.

However, another outstanding insecurity risk that will threat OBOR in ECOWAS area depends to the geostrategic struggle among world major powers, which include economic, politic, and military strategic realms. In fact, their competitions are bound with international trade and investment gains endorsed to expansion and dominance of vast markets. Indeed, in ECOWAS area, many multinational firms from mineral and oil production, textile, agroindustry, transportation company, infrastructural building enterprises, Banks, business services and transnational labors, are engaged in capital gain maximizing competition. Thus, interest struggle lead to original States implication that intensify the threats. Major countries competition impact negatively on the weak countries economic and social development. In ECOWAS area, that sort of conflicts emerges the creation of civil militias, formation of terrorist groups and attacks, the small caliber and arms proliferation. This

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<sup>1</sup>Zeini. M. Dakar 2017. *Security Challenges and Issues in the Sahelo-Saharan Region, in the Mali Perspective.* Friedrich Ebert Stiftung. Dakar. PP. 11-12.

<sup>2</sup>Annette L. 2011. Who Owns the Sahara? Old conflicts, New Menaces: Mali and the Central Sahara between the Tuareg, Al Qaida and Organized Crime. *Friedrich Ebert Stiftung. Abuja.* P P.9-10.

<sup>3</sup>Chris, M.A. Kwaja. 2015. ECOWAS and Public Health Emergencies: The Case of Ebola, *in West Africa Insight at 40.* P.32.

backdrop increases the transnational criminality, drugs, and stupefying product traffics and organized crime, and also the kidnapping activities. The United States, European Union (EU), Britain, France and other are involved in ECOWAS crises. These countries have formed a platform to struggle against terrorism and too set up the security, this platform or mechanism is called G5 Sahel. Its efficiency is in doubt, due to the lack of sufficient troops, the train, the financing adds also the military logistics and equipment's<sup>1</sup>.

This backdrop shows ECOWAS region in Africa is among the most in terms of political and security risks. Aftermath, that impedes on commercial and cooperation accords between partner's countries. In the frame of OBOR better integration and accomplishment in area, such as ECOWAS, China and host countries have to commit for mutual platform and mechanism with technical logistics of controls and risks surveillance. These platform and mechanism will provide information to both partners and will prevent the nuisances related to cross-border activities. In this turbulent backdrop, the successful implementation of OBOR appeal for joined affords to alleviate this issue, to secure all participant and their interest.

ECOWAS area, especially the Sahel, associated with sectarian strife, ethnic conflict and intervention from major powers, erect an incredibly backdrop to face ECOWAS with all of its partners. Hence, ECOWAS area face long-term, structural hurdles in development as well as political and security risks, cross-border religious groups actively spreading, recruiting members, sectarian confrontation and an increasingly fierce competition for control between major power that have great influence over the region. They have the feature of "weak state vs. strong religion" situation. Therein, OBOR implementation and its entirely successful will be impeded by the risks and insecurity generated from these informal/illegal international actors and the kinds of activity they are causing in ECOWAS area. Aftermath, China and ECOWAS regional Institution with its member States have to face an international issue, which they have to work hand by hand for alleviate it and attain OBOR purposes<sup>2</sup>.

#### **ECOWAS under the Shadow of Globalization**

This part examines the globalization impacts and challenges over ECOWAS working approaches in international society. The globalization impacts and challenges that could threat OBOR better implementation in ECOWAS countries. The global market scheme from western colonizer countries (especially France and EU, and UK) that cover ECOWAS external trade and threat it internal trade. This precludes ECOWAS to retied trade easily trade cooperation with China and others. Western global world policy, economic and financing Institutions hand hold down over ECOWAS countries cooperation frameworks with other countries outward from western countries. The examples are WB and IMF debts, loans and development aids strategies in ECOWAS area. Next to these impacts, we find the global insecurity, organizations chains of terrorist attacks, Islamic and ideological expansion threatening ECOWAS political and economic stability. All of these threats among others are risks for OBOR better implementation in ECOWAS countries. Therefore, the phenomenon of globalization call our attention in this topic.

Globalization is anemerging force shrinkingthe world with thesame adventure. It is a pathway of more reciprocity and interaction between States and areas in global society. Globalization imposes to the entire world to be together in interdependence system, to dialogue and exchange on asingle shared ground. Globalization makes real the international society or international environment. It is manifesting by international trade shared market, diplomatic ties, the geopolitical interests repartition structure, international organization and transnational institutions. Then it takes into account NGO's, interstates actions, humanitarian services, the mases of medias connection and simultaneity (through information and communication revolution)<sup>3</sup>. This globalization pattern has been speeded and come from the worst events (as colonialism alongside imperialism, triangular commerce, world wars) and best phenomenon as China'sformer belt routes. Even if these factors were not called globalization, they haveknock-on effects on the current globalization system. The global world actors are becoming various, the instrument to go outside are changing and goals that seek the actors are restraint<sup>4</sup>.

Today globalization from the former scheme is also distinguished from it. The pass experiences and the prospect of the present consequences make pressures on the States to be ready and to respond to the current globalization exigent. In this logic, in immediate overnight of World War II, and during world division into two

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<sup>1</sup>Zeini. M. Dakar 2017. Security Challenges and Issues in the Sahelo-Saharan Region, *in the Mali Perspective. Friedrich Ebert Stiftung. Dakar. P. 15.*

<sup>2</sup>Annette L. 2011. Who Owns the Sahara? Old conflicts, New Menaces: Mali and the Central Sahara between the Tuareg, Al Qaida and Organized Crime. *Friedrich Ebert Stiftung. Abuja. P12.*

<sup>3</sup>Nye S. J. Jr. 2007. Understanding International conflicts, an Introduction to Theory and History. *Pearson Longman Harvard University. P.47.*

<sup>4</sup>Nye S. J. Jr. 2007. Understanding International conflicts, an Introduction to Theory and History. *Pearson Longman Harvard University. P.45.*

blocs, while the effects of the cold war continued to flow a regional organization from new independent countries<sup>1</sup>.

Globalization phenomenal is dragging all actors toward capital increase, the conquest and maintaining of domination and hegemony. All seeks to gain more instead to lost, as strong states are worrying to be balancing and replacing, they are doing efforts to lockdown the emergent and middle power states. Thus, the world has become a kind competition and concurrence field between world developed and powerful countries. The interstates' interaction is also compulsory, but the weak countries are seeking refuges. They are evading by world economic market and international politics structure associated with its corollaries. Therefore, ECOWAS was created (in May 28, 1975, by a treaty in Lagos in Nigeria) to be strong within the global world to meet the challenges inherent to globalization. ECOWAS creation aspiration was to foster the economic enhancement and development of ECOWAS member of states. It is interposed between the influences of the international society at one hand and the situations that cause in its breast. ECOWAS community is rough the consequences of globalization and it strives to solve its ailing. ECOWAS, since its start-up at nowadays, is seeking to respond external and internal problems it causes, as such the glimpse expansion of the economic, political, social and cultural facts causes negative consequences over ECOWAS community and brings challenges. Globalization impacts are weighting negatively on ECOWAS political, economic and security tranquility, in observing ECOWAS weakness responsive to the difficulties of community is suffering. The globalization's impacts that impede on ECOWAS tranquility could be catch sight from many realms. ECOWAS community is crasser, destroy, and suffer from complex and multidimensional problems: internally, poverty is permanent; political instability is chronic; insecurity and criminality are creeping; civil wars, terrorism, diseases as Ebola- Virus outbreak in 2014, gnawing populations<sup>2</sup>.

It is also a ravaging conditionality, considering the rate of population, which are losing their life from diseases and epidemic, from terrorist and jihadist attacks. Then external, international organizations policies preclude ECOWAS global growth and security approaches, and its mechanisms success. These are related to international terrorism and jihadism from Islamism, great power competition and confrontations. ECOWAS countries and its regional institution are fragile to fight them, and in supporting the economic, social and insecurity costs<sup>3</sup>.

From global financing system, such as WB and IMF modes and development proposal, still the correlate consequences of the Structural Adjustment Programs are inherently (SAP) continue to impede it. From WTO ruling settlements, not merely ECOWAS representativeness is very weak and insignificant, but also the price of ECOWAS exportation products are fixing by multinational and superpower countries. Then, ECOWAS economy is not getting in global economy, as it is reduced to raw materials exportation, industrial manufacturing good consumer. This means the extravert and disoriented economy of ECOWAS area. Indeed, the traditions and legacy of colonization are transferred in factors of neocolonialism. This has manifested through French hand presence in UEMOA zone currency management of Franc CFA, which impedes over ECOWAS currency effective integration. Then, French army force bases installed in ECOWAS area (Ivory-Coast, Senegal) and more than 5000 troupes moving in Mali and the Sahel since the beginning of Mali's war in 2012. Other reason is the moving of United Nations forces and troupes, involved and moving from Liberia and Serra-Leone (1991-1994), to Ivory-Coast (2000-2010) and actually in Mali (MUNUSMA)<sup>4</sup>. Thus, globalization reduces ECOWAS to a state of guardianship. ECOWAS is under the tutelage, of international society. Organization has the penalty to achieve its goals "to promote economic growth and development in West Africa", "integrate economies and finance" "strike industrialization, develop agriculture and energy", "create favorable context of security and peace" for its Member of States growth. It is also torn by the problems of internal leadership; Nigeria and Ivory-Coast appear as the two-locomotive tracking the regional wagon. National selfishness trumps the willingness to integrate. ECOWAS is undergoing relevant impacts and challenges from the globalization context. This phenomenon weighs heavily on North-South relations, and the economic development of ECOWAS. Globalization has trained international society. International society policy and rights are formed political and economic strategies. Then it programmed values to organize and guide the world according to the interests of the most powerful in the world society. Thus, world institutions with organization services is a

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<sup>1</sup>Nye S. J. Jr. 2007. Understanding International conflicts, an Introduction to Theory and History. *Pearson Longman Harvard University*. P. 46.

<sup>2</sup>Annette L. 2011. Who Owns the Sahara? Old conflicts, New Menaces: Mali and the Central Sahara between the Tuareg, Al Qaida and Organized Crime. *Friedrich Ebert Stiftung, Abuja*. P.12.

<sup>3</sup>Annette L. 2011. Who Owns the Sahara? Old conflicts, New Menaces: Mali and the Central Sahara between the Tuareg, Al Qaida and Organized Crime. *Friedrich Ebert Stiftung, Abuja*. PP.17-18.

<sup>4</sup>Annette L. 2011. Who Owns the Sahara? Old conflicts, New Menaces: Mali and the Central Sahara between the Tuareg, Al Qaida and Organized Crime. *Friedrich Ebert Stiftung, Abuja*. P.19.

political program, an instrument of control and a weapon of struggle in the hands of world powerful States. They impose their political and economic will and order on weaker countries under the veil of international organizations.

From this pathway, globalization appears as shaping ECOWAS subjection into neo-colonialism from its early colonizers. ECOWAS is determined in its approaches by globalization. Globalization hinders its development. Globalization brings together the powerful and the weak in the same competition of the world economy. Globalization is dealing through liberal capitalism searching to maximize economic interests. Its essence is profits. The antagonistic interests between powers and weak being irreconcilable, globalization is therefore a challenge for ECOWAS community in immediate observation, as ECOWAS community deals under world powerful dictation.

Indeed, ECOWAS cannot escape from the rest of the world and assume its destiny. ECOWAS community members have full potential and huge factors of development through integration. It cannot stand on the margins of the international society. ECOWAS is compelled to cooperate and to dialogue with other entities in global field, it could not insulate by itself. The paradox relies of ECOWAS survival is therefore obvious: to participate in international society and to assume its responsibility for its development. It must find a formula to restructure itself; to solve the demands of globalization and become masters of oneself to satisfy the happiness of its people. In addition, even has to find partners and cooperators who will respect its dignity, its sovereignty, its integrity. Above all collaborates who do not impinge on its approach to sustainable economic and social development. Collaborates with whom, in diplomatic solidarity and sincere assistance, it will be able to meet the challenges of industrialization. Finally, it has to collaborate in the context of introduction and development of new technologies to eradicate the causes and factors of poverty and chronic insecurity in its geographical and political sphere.

### **Struggles of Domination Risks for OBOR in ECOWAS area**

Chinese's OBOR calls each country for real engagement related to its objective realization. One issue that has seen as challenge relies on real States with efficient sovereignty, effective statehood that are necessary to engage with China through OBOR cooperation and execution. Related to this issue, the struggle for resources that ECOWAS former colonizer countries engage in this space might be risks for OBOR cooperation projects. The Strong Power competition, their military forces strategies, presence, implication and intervention in internal affairs, their hand power in economic and financing system, constitutes some of challenges for OBOR execution in ECOWAS area. Firstly see as specifically a challenge of economy, it is accompanied by ideological, cultural and medias' influences. This makes important to focus on this challenge in this topic.

In current international politics and economic observer's literature, the pattern of the struggles of resources gain and space's domination in weak States regions by the world Strong power is designed as neo-colonialism. According to Kwame N'Kurumah, in current period neo-colonialism designs a height degree and the most dangerous stage of imperialism<sup>1</sup>. Instead, to use colonialism as the main instrument of imperialism we have today neo-colonialism. Imperialism is the willpower of Strong Power country to impose its volition of economic, politics and ideology interest systems over another weak States. Imperialism is the efforts to dominate other Country, by constraining it to do and to be what you want. Hence, it is the tutelage of one State under its hard and soft power. The dominated State hold down by the dominant Strong power. The aim of dominance target to maximize national interest, to balance power from economic and military strategic powers. Colonialism was a mechanism instrument of imperialism, and in current period, neo-colonialism replaces colonialism to attain the goal of imperialism. Even if colonialism was an entirely domination and subjection of a State, which have lost the criteria's and standard of modern State specially its sovereignty. Neocolonialism in substance is that the subjected State is declared independent, recognized as sovereign within international society. Despite its economic system and thus its policy remain dictate from outside major power<sup>2</sup>.

Neo-colonialism might be manifested by military forces presence, economic or monetary means to control the neo-colonial State government. It outcome that in neo-colonialism system, foreign capitals and investments could not respond to the development issues and the deficits that distinct rich with poor country. Nevertheless, they are using exploitation and oppression of neo-colonial State in imperialist State advantage. Neo-colonial State is not master of its own destiny. Therefore, the goal is the submission of small independent State in neocolonialist regime. The strong neo-colonialist forms a large unity or a major power bloc to make pressure over the subject State, as well as to make impossible for it to fight against the strong neo-colonialist. It would attempt to subdue the small State by limited war too, even if by financing a mercenary force, to secure a decisive result<sup>3</sup>. Neocolonialism is still instituting by major power to break the former colonized State

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<sup>1</sup>Nkrumah K. Neo-Colonialism. Last Stage of Imperialism, in 1965 by Thomas Nelson & Sons, Ltd., London. P.4.

<sup>2</sup>Nkrumah K. Neo-Colonialism. Last Stage of Imperialism, in 1965 by Thomas Nelson & Sons, Ltd., London. P.4.

<sup>3</sup>Nkrumah K. Neo-Colonialism. Last Stage of Imperialism, in 1965 by Thomas Nelson & Sons, Ltd., London. P.5.

union. In addition, it tries to weaken them, and so to make them inefficient to defend themselves. They are intended to force them to be always dependent on imperial power in defense, in security and economically too. In this conditionality, the neocolonialist-subjected States could not support industrialization efforts, because they lack enough financial strength, and they are impeded by controlling mechanisms among those. These conditions apply to industry, commerce, agriculture, shipping and insurance, apart from others, which are political and military<sup>1</sup>.

However, neo-colonialism strategy concerns not only Government Official Agency Mechanism such as ambassador, army forces, financing institution, funds (WB, IMF), but also invisible government mechanism (Arm-CIA) the use of intelligence apparatus, as labor arms, secret service. Otherwise, alongside to governance instruments, it figures out the penetration by economy mechanism, it incorporates aids, loans, military aids, height rate interest, debt increase, and then business corps mechanism. The last mechanism is related to psychological warfare mechanism seeking market place of media, evangelism, cinema, ideology diffusion and so forth.

ECOWAS countries were early-colonized States by West European countries. Therefore, they are concerned by the backdrop in the global political field concerns them in current century. International politics of contemporary period is dominated by the goals and instrument related technology revolution, economic scale, military power and communication power. The issue is that the conquest of economic diplomacy (trade bargain, infrastructure building, and investment), economic cooperation, in one word the interstate relationships are more influenced by these elements. From one hand, to seek those for getting power, in another hand to use them for achieve more and more power. Those developing countries, which have not been industrialized, furthermore to have height technology, are on the bottom of international politics bargaining changing or world transition phase. In this stage, China is at the World transition square. China engagement is rising in Africa, including ECOWAS area. This economic and political involvement face to some criticism from former imperial power of developed countries from West, these critics depict China as neocolonializing African's through economic penetration<sup>2</sup>.

From realism theory of balance of power, one perspective could be skeptic to believe that China would be neocolonialist, because China is already a global world politic maker. Accordingly, the goal of State which is national interest could change with the instrument changing and capacity, although and the ability to convert them in particular context. The changing and conversion of power ability lead to the variation of State foreign policy<sup>3</sup>. Nowadays, China is a great one actor of international society with both ability of hard and soft power. However, China is socialist trading State, it seeks to increase its economic gain and increase its diplomatic relation. It is intending to achieve world prestige, to change peacefully world existing system or to getting strategic position. China is not animated with neocolonialist ambition. Therein, one could be optimistic again to believe that China's engagement does not concern by neocolonialism goals, according to the idiosyncratic principles of China's foreign policy pattern since the founding of the Peoples of Republic of China in October 1949.

### **Detractors' Refutation**

#### ➤ **The responsiveness**

Most of the countries in the world are confusing. They doubt and hold up different opinions over China's international behavior and its consequences. They are wondering themselves if China will be a threat or advantage relatively to their security, development and interests. China as world's super powerful country will continue impartially its focus with South-South cooperation. In mistrusted perspective or information, the threat could be coming from extra-regional powers to cause trouble to China's rise and its cooperation with weak States, which is seeing as a threat, carrying out the so-called "Strategic Rebalancing"<sup>4</sup>. Chinese are doing efforts to convince the world that China's rise do not threaten, instead China would bring huge significant shared opportunities to global society, as it proves also common development and win-win cooperation. China is ready to provide more goods that are public. Objectively, it also helps to create a favorable environment for the development of China and its cooperative partners.

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<sup>1</sup>Nkrumah K. Neo-Colonialism. Last Stage of Imperialism, in 1965 by Thomas Nelson & Sons, Ltd., London. P.15.

<sup>2</sup>Brautigam D. 2009. The Dragon's Gift, The real history of China in Africa, OXFORD University Press, Inc., New York. P.17.

<sup>3</sup>Nye S. J. Jr. 2007. Understanding International conflicts, an Introduction to Theory and History. Pearson Longman Harvard University. P.50.

<sup>4</sup>Lei Z. 2018. *The Political Economy of China's Belt and Road Initiative*, translated by Zhang Zhiping vol1. World Scientific Publishing. P.151.

➤ **Objections to Western critics of Sino-African cooperation:**

Westerners' media, and their financial institutions, and policy makers are harnessing themselves to boycott China African's cooperation. They deny the presence of China, its aid deadlines commercial and financial, investments and actions of its businesses in Africa<sup>1</sup>. Indeed, they said that China is pushing African countries in abyss" in economic and financial crises. For Western criticism, China is merely interested to enshrine in the African riches of natural resources, mineral and energy particularly. For Western policy makers, China would be animated with neo- colonialism aspiration in getting into Africa. China is undertaking an expansionist policy to recolonize Africa. Besides, China's cooperation with African would embody a policy to extend "the Middle Kingdom" on Africa<sup>2</sup>.

China lent to exploit Africa's natural resources, debt Africa so that Africa becomes dependent economically and financially, which will lead necessarily to a political and diplomatic dependence. According to them, concepts of "cooperation", "business", "strategic partnership" with Africa are just a veil, which serves to camouflage China's neo-colonialist spirit aspect. The Western "defense expression" to Africa's is late. It is ambitious and greedy. It aims to defend or protect the interests of the West in Africa. Their critics are hindered biased analysis. These reviews are part of the logic of seduction and diversion of the consciences of the African peoples. These critics create illusions which varnish and flatter appearances. They depart or pretend ignore the substance of the palpable reality. They do move the slot issue development and economic crises of "all kinds" felt by the peoples of Africa centuries from now. The West seeks to confuse Africa and have the hand kept on the African market.

Therefore, the West countries are not better positioned to gauge China's rising involvement in Africa: "China is for nothing in the African debt crises" as aptly stated by Ambassador (Zhai Jun) of China in France in the journal "young Africa". In fact, China did not colonize African countries.

The paradox is that the West criticize China African's cooperation while the relevant actors in the EU countries develop cooperations with China. China's ECOWAS OBOR cooperation will shrink European space from West Africa, weakening its control over West African economy and politics systems. The effect will lead to reorganization and reorientation of West African development model. China's ECOWAS OBOR cooperation will emerge ECOWAS countries fundamental plinth of industrialization and technology. China's economic growth and rising global power protects and enhances African emerging capability. China and ECOWAS's OBOR cooperation is offering an extending China's commercial and economic space, and deepening China's geo-strategic realm although China global society prestige from economic market and diplomacy. It offers to China guarantees against economic and diplomatic isolation and to be proximate to African natural resources. China and ECOWAS's OBOR cooperation will serve to create a multilateral kind of alliances, which force could offset world existing alliances and shape a new global world economic and politics order.

**Perspectives**

This point relies on analyses of above points through three perspectives: the theoretical idea, the international politic historical events, and the security dilemma. We are seeing that China and ECOWAS countries are successful in the accomplishment of OBOR projects. China and ECOWAS cooperation would reach to its goals through ECOWAS federalism pattern. ECOWAS effectiveness and efficiency integration solution and it jointly building of OBOR hinge to its federation policy effectiveness. Concerning to theoretical perspective, we are suggesting that from realism international politic field is characterized as anarchical system, self-help system, power competition, mistrust and suspicion among states, the use of military force. Synthetically, any country in international field could resisted and be respected without hold a kind of power, hard or soft power, depending to economic and military capacity and these conversion in specific circumstances. In this frame, each State seeks to maximize its power ability because the permanent fear that is inherent to international society functioning and interstate interactions. In this logic, any country among ECOWAS area cannot maximize its power and cooperate with China normally. The fragility that featured them and geopolitical clash they are undergoing actually from major and ancient colonizer power. They are vulnerable due to the insecurity growth dealing with terrorist and jihadist activism are precluding them to be powerful. This chronic conditionality and surveillance or control thwart ECOWAS economic growth and its social and cultural resource development. If they could not maximize their power themselves and protect themselves, they could not cooperate and realise OBOR goals with China at best. Because their sovereignty and integrity are tutelages, and this will compromise China cooperation and China enterprise actions in ECOWAS area. We can merely say that

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<sup>1</sup>Brautigam D. 2009. *The Dragon's Gift, The real history of China in Africa*, OXFORD University Press, Inc., New York. P.17.

<sup>2</sup>Brautigam D. 2009. *The Dragon's Gift, The real history of China in Africa*, OXFORD University Press, Inc., New York. P.15.

ECOWAS countries should compulsorily work to federate their countries for maximizing their ability and carry out the integration goals effectively. In this scope, China would sincerely offer its diplomatic solidarity to ECOWAS, and their cooperation.

The second perspective comes from global politics history backdrop. This relies to some States fail. In 1990 years, Somalia was destroyed by western countries alliance. Because Somalia lacked to maximize efficiently its power, and because Somalian ally did not support it to achieve that power, it has failed. Thesame happened to Soviet-union collapse in 1991. When it was obsoleting, Russian allies were not powerful to support it, and then to meet the western camp, as well as USA and many of its west allies were so far more powerful than Russian and its allies mostly from weak and "third-world" countries. Then, Iraq felt in 2003 from lack of powerful ally support. Libya also was destroyed in 2011, because any country in Africa was sufficiently powerful ready to engage with it against French and OTAN forces invasion. We want to say from this perception that the global world feature in convenience with realism theory (diplomatic relations, economic cooperation, and also people-to-people links between countries) could not resisted alongside major powers, if those countries do not support themselves to maximize their capacities within their alliance. Thus, State, which have maximum power, have to help its allies to maximize their ability even if minimally, as to work together in cooperation. In this frame mutual self-help, they can resist from the adverse camp strategies to disrupt them. China have maximum power, but cooperation durability with weak countries, such as ECOWAS area, could not be effective without those countries have hold some ability to protect and control themselves and their cooperative states interest security. In addition, it is important to stabilize their political and social sphere. Although, social issue associated with transnational actor's activities threats, and along to the change of military force using, the transformation of goals and instruments using in global politics field, the weak States fear about security dilemma. We think that, it will be in the context of security insurance that China and ECOWAS jointly building OBOR economic and political projects could be better reached.

The third perspective is about relation with the concept of self-help associated with security dilemma. As we have said above, the challenges and the risks, which will impede OBOR implementation in many areas and countries, especially in ECOWAS areas, could be from insecurity, particularly nonstate and illegal actor's activism, which has affected enough this area. Then, the major of western power completions and clashes, their multinational corporation's illegal activity and links with informal or undesirable agents are impeding this area. To respond and to meet these wrestles, we suggest that China have to use a kind of self-help policy abroad in security realm, as it was in 1950 at 1954. Indeed, when USA was involved in North Korea at that time, China heroically was engaged itself alongside North Korean people to fight USA forces. The defeat of North Korea was not China defeat. But China engagement could be explained as self-help security action. China supported North Korea in helping itself to avoid USA invasion near to China borderline. China's current opposition to USA attack against of North Korea is also related to this security dilemma. Accordingly, this support from China is a nation security interest. Another case is Syrian war from 2010 to now, and Russian help. Russian concrete implication in this terrorist war has demonstrated that, the destruction of Syria was not the defeat of Russia, but the Russian opposition and its support to President Bachard Assad, was also Russian geopolitical strategy of self-help. From these two cases, we could deduce that China's OBOR implementation risks and security challenges call China to deal with OBOR participant countries to enforce their security, to maximize their army forces ability with army surveillance logistics. This help, or support from China will be efficient policy to enforce its diplomatic relations and tight its economic, whether its military cooperations with OBOR countries. These perspectives are erected to contribute to both China and its OBOR adherent countries maximizing power in global politics field. It will allow accomplishing better OBOR framework. We think in ECOWAS area, this goal could not be achieved without having federated their power. Because, this will allow them to coordinate well the regional army forces and security architecture. Then, they will manage ECOWAS economic and trade market, in having one currency using without any former colonizer guarantee and implication. In this federation frame, China engagement in cooperation with ECOWAS will be more integrated and compatible. Aftermath, the global development objective of OBOR will be from those perspective in securing globally China and its cooperated countries. Furthermore, OBOR is becoming China's foreign policy roadmaps of cooperation. Despite the fear remains the outstanding characteristic of international politics realm hinged to the structure conditionality (of security dilemmas, balance of power, and power transition). Indeed, international cooperation calls for a minimum of trust among States as well as in the scope of economic interest's interdependence.

The outcome of this perspective analysis shows the following assumption that OBOR is shaping global corridor channels of global world actors. Therefore, it will emerge from its globalization scheme an interdependence and complementarity channels among the cooperation States. The scheme will result to global world transition. This will approve China's rising power ability muting to global superpower. The global world structure will become bipolar system. Therein, if OBOR diplomatic policies deal well the transition can avoid a global war. Hence, the mutation will result peaceful.

## II. CONCLUSION

Through these different analyzes, we determined that ECOWAS (Economic Community of West Africa States) inception agenda was centered on economic integration as its key objectives for its member states. Indeed, ECOWAS understood the security agenda as inherent to its economic integration and development. Both agenda, regional economy, peace and security pursuits of ECOWAS regional integration process imply ECOWAS member states as main actors and ECOWAS CSOs sub regional civil society actors.

Regarding the proposition in the relation to peace and security, the Protocol for Conflict Prevention, Management, Resolution, Peacekeeping and Security was targeted to set up a structured approach for the regional peace and security. In conclusion, we figured out that, ECOWAS regional peace, security mechanism entails the Commission for Political Affairs Peace, and Security (CPAPS) instructed with wider peace and security goals. While the supplementary protocol on Good Governance and Democracy enshrine to overcome turbulences from domestic politics in the sub-region. Alongside to this, a voluntary moratorium was setting up to respond to the Small Arms and Light Weapons Control (SALWC) issues. This was a strategy undertaken to limit exportation and transfer of arms and ammunition threatening peace and security in ECOWAS area. Additionally, ECOWAS has adopted its comprehensive conflict prevention initiative as instruments of peace and security, legal, and operational scopes headed to anticipate and ongoing conflict situations. Thus, ECOWARN include conflict desk of observation and monitoring their technical assistance from the West Africa Network for Peacebuilding (WANEP).

Moreover, due to lack of logistic and resources to control the cross-border movements, as well as to establish a reliable sub-regional database that could enhance inter-national information. The transition from ECOWAS of States to ECOWAS of people met the misrecognition from ECOWAS ordinary citizen community. The gaps between protocol and mechanism adoption period and their operationalization period is among ECOWAS relevant integration process policy coordination challenges. The lack of logistic, resources, and regional database related to cross-border movement control allows the prosperity of illegal migration channels in the sub-region, which foster also illegal agent's actions. These challenges cause some difficulties over to carry out the free movement protocols entirely. These above relevant issues could be also a relevant challenge for OBOR implementation in ECOWAS subregion. ECOWAS trade, economic integration and custom union's achievement are more challenged. Among these challenges, there are conflicts and insecurity impact heavily the cross-border trade, associated with official and unofficial trade barriers. Then, the lack of countries capability to sufficiently resolve the domestic issues and to achieve the regional mechanism and protocol faster. Many of ordinary citizens of the region lacks sufficing information about the regional customs. The region undergone the gap of efficient monitoring mechanism, and then the weight of overlapping REC's. It seems absent a real political engagement from member states leaders. These deficits and needs exigent reforms and readjustment to lead the regionalization on its objective.

Therefore, ECOWAS need strategic cooperation and partnership turns around to investments to face to those challenges as also to make the hard and soft infrastructure building. OBOR insertion and convertibility would play an outstanding role related to those challenges:

- Economy, such as interest's conflicts, market competitions, currencies concurrences, financial overlapping;
- Politics, such as policy coordination between China and B&R countries; geopolitical issue and territorial disputes; political unrests; major power competitions;
- Social and culture factors, such as multicultural conflictions, religious influences, social unrests;
- Military, such as military geostrategic positioning and implication; undesirable agent's infiltration into the OBOR implementation process (terrorists and jihadists actions).

Like, it is necessary to implement OBOR plans, it is also compulsory to face challenges and risks. The need to resolve the challenges and to avoid the risks impose not only to cooperate in implementing the projects related to finance, investment and trade, to promote industries and infrastructure buildings. Although the better implementation appeal for cooperation in creating platforms, mechanisms and synergies cluster around the security and the risks of insecurity issues in OBOR frame work. The measures that could be flowing from these collective actions to meet the issue will be the best and the solid solution.

Deals with this general context review of the scholarly literature, with large margin, the present study from discontinuity extends and restart up China and ECOWAS area economic and political cooperations, especially in OBOR framework. Aftermath, the outcomes of China and ECOWAS cooperations, both negativity and positivity require a few comprehensive empirical studies that will explore sufficiently China's involvement in Africa, within a political economic scope.

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