

China and Africa

Fall Semester 2013

IAFF 3190.16

CRN 56853

Tuesday 3:30 p.m. – 6:00 p.m.

Room 310 – 1957 E St., N.W.

Ambassador David H. Shinn

Email: dhshinn@earthlink.net

Office Hours: Tuesday 3:00-3:30 and 6:00-6:30 - Room 604C, Elliott School

Course Description and Objective

This undergraduate class operates as a seminar and looks at the totality of the China-Africa relationship both historically and on the basis of its current relations. It covers topical issues such as trade, aid, investment, security, political relations and soft power and reviews China's relations with each of the 54 nations in North and Sub-Saharan Africa. The primary text is *China and Africa: A Century of Engagement* by David Shinn and Joshua Eisenman supplemented by a number of readings. I will assume that students have read the required material before each class so that they can discuss it seminar style in class. The grade is based on two 8 to 10 page research papers, one oral presentation, class discussion and attendance.

Required Reading

The required text book cited above is available in the GW bookstore. The other readings will be available by direct link, in the Gelman Library E-Journal system or on Blackboard.

Basis for Grading

Two-thirds of the grade is determined by the two short research papers (one-third for each paper). Please provide on 10 September a one paragraph description of the first paper, which is due on 8 October. Think of this as your mid-term grade. Submit a one paragraph description of the second research paper on 15 October. The second paper is due on 19 November so that I can return it to you on the last day of class on 26 November.

Both research papers should be a minimum of 8 full pages and a maximum of 10 pages, including footnotes. Follow carefully the *Chicago Manual of Style* for footnotes. There is no need for a bibliography. Late papers will be penalized. In addition to a paper that is strong on substance, I put a premium on clear and concise drafting and accurate footnotes that follow the *Chicago Manual of Style*. I will send you by email early in the course my summary critiques of papers done in the past for other courses I have taught so that you will have a better idea of issues that concern me.

I will email to each student my China-Africa bibliography that now exceeds 140 pages. This imposing document contains resource material on every conceivable topic concerning China-Africa relations. If the one paragraph description of your proposed research paper raises any concerns, I will get back to you no later than 17 September.

The final third of the grade is based on class participation and a five to ten (maximum) minute oral presentation. In the case of the oral presentation, please **do not** summarize the required reading for the day. Pick a theme from the required reading for that session and expand on it, drawing on your own thoughts and other material beyond the required reading.

This is a seminar; student discussion is essential. Students are expected to attend all classes, arrive on time and have read all required reading. On 3 September, I will ask each student to select a subsequent week when he/she will make a five minute oral presentation on the seminar topic for the day. These presentations will constitute part of the grade for class participation.

Learning Outcomes

At the end of the course, students should have a solid understanding of the development and current state of China-Africa relations, where China excels and where it faces major challenges. They should be aware of the key substantive issues in the China-Africa relationship and the nature of its ties with each African country. Students should also appreciate what is expected for a graduate level research paper and acceptable footnotes.

Academic Integrity

Students are expected to comply with the strict standards of the George Washington University Code of Academic Integrity which can be found at www.gwu/~ntegrity/code.html. All members of the GWU academic community are expected to demonstrate honesty in all of their work, including the preparation of research papers.

Class Schedule

UNIT 1

August 27: An Overview of the China-Africa Relationship.

The first part of the class is devoted to a review of the syllabus, administrative issues and asking each student to say a few words about himself/herself. In the remaining time, I discuss the themes in the introductory chapter of Shinn/Eisenman and provide an overview of the China-Africa relationship.

Required Reading:

Shinn/Eisenman – Chapter 1 – Introduction.

Government of China white paper, “China’s African Policy,” January 2006. Direct link: www.focac.org/eng/zt/zgdfzccwj/t230479.htm.

UNIT 2

September 3: The History of the China-Africa Relationship.

Each student should be prepared to select a future unit for his/her five minute oral presentation.

Most of this session will consist of a lecture on the development of the China-Africa relationship since 1949, although I will encourage students to ask questions and contribute their own views.

Required Reading:

Shinn/Eisenman – Chapter 2 – A Historical Overview of China-Africa Relations.

George T. Yu, “China’s Failure in Africa,” *Asian Survey*, v. 6, no. 8 (August 1966), pp. 461-68. Go to E-Journals (University of California Press).

UNIT 3

September 10: The Importance of State-to-State Relations and FOCAC.

Please provide a one paragraph description of your first research paper.

China's strength in its ties with Africa stems from the fact that 50 countries recognize Beijing (four recognize Taipei) and China has cordial relations with all 50 governments. China emphasizes the state-to-state relationship above all else. It institutionalized this relationship with the creation of the Forum on China-Africa Cooperation (FOCAC).

Required Reading:

Shinn/Eisenman – Appendix I – Establishment of PRC Relations with African Countries – pp. 377-80.

Li Anshan, Liu Haifang, Pan Huaqiong, Zeng Aiping and He Wenping, “FOCAC Twelve Years Later: Achievements, Challenges and the Way Forward.” Peking University Discussion Paper 74 (2012). Direct link: <http://f.hypotheses.org/wp-content/blogs.dir/698/files/2012/07/FOCAC-10-ans3.pdf>.

Sven Grimm, “The Forum on China-Africa Cooperation (FOCAC) – Political Rationale and Functioning,” Centre for Chinese Studies, Stellenbosch University (May 2012). Direct link: www.ccs.org.za/wp-content/uploads/2012/05/FOCAC_Policy-Briefing_political_final.pdf.

UNIT 4

September 17: Political Relations and the Role of the CPC.

China's political relations with Africa have been based on support for state sovereignty and non-interference in the internal affairs of African countries. China makes frequent use of senior Communist Party of China (CPC) officials in its interaction with both government and party leaders in Africa. The leaders of ruling African political parties are also often the guest of the CPC. This interaction, with a few exceptions, does not extend to African opposition party officials. This unit also covers some of China's sensitive internal issues that have implications for its relations with African countries.

Required Reading:

Shinn/Eisenman – Chapter 3 – Political Relations.

Jonathan Holslag, “China and the Coups: Coping with Political Instability in Africa,” *African Affairs*, v. 110, no. 440 (July 2011), pp. 367-86. Go to E-Journals (Oxford Journals).

UNIT 5

September 24: China-Africa Trade Relations.

In 2009, China passed the United States and became the largest bilateral trading partner with Africa's 54 countries by dollar value. China's trade lead has grown in subsequent years.

While total African trade is roughly in balance with China, many individual African countries have huge trade surpluses or deficits with China. Some of the African countries with large trade deficits are becoming concerned about the trade imbalance. Perhaps more than any other sector, trade defines the importance of the China-Africa relationship.

Required Reading:

Shinn/Eisenman – Chapter 4 – Trade Relations.

Heidi Østbø Haugen, “Chinese Exports to Africa: Competition, Complementarity and Cooperation between Micro-Level Actors,” *Forum for Development Studies*, v. 38, no. 2 (June 2011), pp. 157-76. Direct Link:

[www.sv.uio.no/iss/personer/vit/heidiha/Haugen%202011%20\(Chinese%20exports%20to%20Africa\).pdf](http://www.sv.uio.no/iss/personer/vit/heidiha/Haugen%202011%20(Chinese%20exports%20to%20Africa).pdf).

UNIT 6

October 1: China’s Investment in Africa and Africa’s Investment in China.

No one knows how much money Chinese companies and individuals have invested in Africa. The official figure is about \$20 billion, although some Chinese officials put the actual figure at about \$40 billion. It is not clear what China considers as FDI and it acknowledges that its official figure only captures investment that is reported officially. It misses investment that goes through tax shelters such as Hong Kong, the Cayman Islands and British Virgin Islands. Chinese investment in Africa in recent years may have been higher than that coming from any other single country. It is important to keep in mind however that cumulative FDI from the United States and other major European countries exceeds the cumulative figure for China as these countries have been investing over a longer period. Information on African investment in China is equally sketchy but increasingly important.

Required Reading:

Shinn/Eisenman – Chapter 5 – Investment and Assistance – pp. 128-43.

Deborah Bräutigam and Tang Xiaoyang, “Economic Statecraft in China’s New Overseas Special Economic Zones,” IFPRI Discussion Paper no. 01168 (March 2012). Direct Link:

www.ifpri.org/sites/default/files/publications/ifpridp01168.pdf.

UNIT 7

October 8: China’s Aid to Africa.

The first research paper is due today.

Although reliable Chinese aid statistics for each African country are not available (China treats aid as a state secret), China is becoming an increasingly important aid donor. In the past couple of years, its annual OECD-equivalent aid to Africa has probably been about \$2.5 billion. This compares to \$8 billion from the United States. Most of the aid is in the form of concessionary loans. There are also some cash and in-kind grants. China has a good record on debt cancellation. Almost half of China's global aid goes to Africa. China emphasizes that its aid, unlike that from the West, has no political conditionality.

Required Reading:

Shinn/Eisenman – Chapter 5 – Investment and Assistance – pp. 143-61.

Government of China white paper, “China’s Foreign Aid,” State Council (April 2011).
Direct Link: http://news.xinhuanet.com/english2010/china/2011-04/21/c_13839683.htm.

Deborah Bräutigam, “Rogue Donor? Myths and Realities,” in *The Dragon’s Gift: The Real Story of China in Africa*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2009, pp. 273-306. Blackboard.

UNIT 8

October 15: Media, Educational and Cultural Links.

Please provide a one paragraph description of your second research paper.

This is perhaps the softest of China’s soft power effort in Africa. China has emphasized all three areas since the beginning of its interaction with Africa in the late 1950s. The media engagement has evolved from an early ham-handed approach by Xinhua to a much more sophisticated operation that has become the largest news service in Africa. It has been joined by increasingly strong programming from China Radio International and China Central Television. China offers about 5,000 fully paid scholarships annually, although the program remains hindered by the language issue. It also pays considerable attention to cultural exchanges but has been unable to compete with Western music and films, European football and even Indian films. Confucius Institutes are among the most recent additions to China’s soft power in Africa.

Required Reading:

Shinn/Eisenman – Chapter 7 – Media, Education, and Cultural Relations and Ties with Chinese Communities in Africa.

Xin Xin, “Xinhua News Agency in Africa,” *Journal of African Media Studies*, v. 1, no. 3 (2009), pp. 363-77. Go to E-Journals.

Kenneth King, “China’s Soft Power in Africa: Past, Present and Future,” in *China’s Aid and Soft Power in Africa: The Case of Education and Training*. Suffolk: James Currey, 2013, pp. 172-207. Blackboard.

UNIT 9

October 22: Military and Security Ties and Peacekeeping Missions.

Africa is a low security priority for China compared to countries on its periphery and Western powers. Nevertheless, Africa has grown in importance because of China's reliance on African oil and minerals. China is a major arms supplier to Africa and has at least a minimal security relationship with all 50 countries that recognize Beijing. Between one and two million persons of Chinese origin live in Africa; they are experiencing increasing security threats. China is a significant provider of non-combat troops to UN peacekeeping operations in Africa. Finally, China wants to insure the safe passage through the Western Indian Ocean of its flagged vessels and those that are conveying Chinese imports and exports.

Required Reading:

Shinn/Eisenman – Chapter 6 – Military and Security Ties and Peacekeeping Missions.

Andrew Hull and David Markov, "Chinese Arms Sales to Africa," *IDA Research Notes* (Summer 2012), pp. 25-31. Direct Link:
www.ida.org/upload/research%20notes/researchnotessummer2012.pdf.

Daniel J. Kostecka, "Places and Bases: The Chinese Navy's Emerging Support Network in the Indian Ocean," *Naval War College Review*, v. 64, no. 1 (Winter 2011), pp. 59-78. Go to E-Journals.

UNIT 10

October 29: China's Relations with North Africa and the Sahel.

This begins the country-by-country look at China's relations with individual African countries. This unit covers the five countries in North Africa and five in the Sahel zone of Africa. I have singled out Egypt and Chad for additional attention.

Required Reading:

Shinn-Eisenman – Chapter 8 – China's Relations with North Africa and the Sahel.

Chris Zambelis, "A New Egypt Looks to China for Balance and Leverage," *China Brief*, v. 12, issue 18 (21 September 2012), pp. 8-11. Direct Link:
www.jamestown.org/uploads/media/cb_09_09.pdf.

Romain Dittgen and Daniel Large, "China's Growing Involvement in Chad: Escaping Enclosure?" South African Institute of International Affairs Occasional Paper no. 116 (May 2012). Direct Link:

www.saiia.org.za/images/stories/pubs/occasional_papers_above_100/saia_sop_116_dittgen_large_20120608.pdf.

UNIT 11

November 5: China's Relations with East Africa, the Horn, and the Indian Ocean Islands.

This unit covers the nine countries in East Africa and the Horn and the four African countries in the western Indian Ocean. It takes a closer look at two of them: Ethiopia and Mauritius.

Required Reading:

Shinn/Eisenman – Chapter 9 – China's Relations with East Africa, the Horn, and the Indian Ocean Islands.

Jean-Pierre Cabestan, "China and Ethiopia: Authoritarian Affinities and Economic Cooperation," *China Perspectives*, no. 4 (2012), pp. 53-62. Go to E-Journals.

Vinaye Ancharaz, "Mauritius: Benefiting from China's Rise," *The China Monitor* (April 2009), pp. 4-9. Direct Link: www.ccs.org.za/wp-content/uploads/2009/04/china-monitor-april-2009.pdf.

UNIT 12

November 12: China's Relations with West and Central Africa.

This unit covers 29 countries in west and central Africa, a region that played a major role in alternating ties between Beijing and Taipei. Today, only two of the 29 countries recognize Taiwan. The unit takes a closer look at Nigeria and Senegal.

Required Reading:

Shinn/Eisenman – Chapter 10 – China's Relations with West and Central Africa.

Olugboyega A. Oyeranti, M. Adetunji Babatunde, E. Olawale Ogunkola and Abiodun S. Bankole, "The Impact of China-Africa Investment Relations: The Case of Nigeria," *AERC Policy Brief*, issue 8 (November 2010). Direct Link: www.aercafrica.org/documents/china-africa-policybriefs/NigeriaPB8.pdf.

Daouda Cisse, "South-South Migration and Trade: Chinese Traders in Senegal," Centre for Chinese Studies, Stellenbosch University (June 2013). Direct Link: www.ccs.org.za/wp-content/uploads/2013/06/CCS_PB_Chinese_in_Senegal_Daouda_2013.pdf.

UNIT 13

November 19: China's Relations with Southern Africa.

The second research paper is due today.

This unit covers ten countries in southern Africa, a region where China's interaction has been especially intense. The unit takes a closer look at Zambia.

Required Reading:

Shinn/Eisenman – Chapter 11 – China's Relations with Southern Africa.

Dominik Kopinski and Andrzej Polus, "Sino-Zambian Relations: 'An All-weather Friendship' Weathering the Storm," *Journal of Contemporary African Studies*, v. 29, no. 2 (April 2011), pp. 181-92. Go to E-Journals.

UNIT 14

November 26: The Future of the China-Africa Relationship, Challenges and Lessons Learned.

China is in Africa to stay. The relationship is important to both sides. But the more engaged China becomes in Africa the more complicated the relationship becomes and the more problems and challenges both parties must confront. There are many more Chinese living in Africa than Americans and, increasingly, they are encountering problems. The impact of China's activities in Africa and its policies on human rights, democratization, the environment, respect for labor laws, and competition with African traders and small industry presents challenges for China. For their part, individual African countries must maximize the benefits they obtain from such a huge player on the international stage.

Required Reading:

Shinn/Eisenman – Chapter 12 – Conclusion: Looking Forward.

Ian Taylor, "From Santa Claus to Serious Business: Where Should FOCAC Go Next?" Centre for Chinese Studies, Stellenbosch University (July 2012), pp. 31-38. Direct Link: www.ccs.org.za/wp-content/uploads/2012/09/China_Monitor_FOCAC_Special_Edition_JULY_2012_FINAL.pdf.