

# China and Africa

Fall Semester 2017

IAFF 3190.16

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Tuesday 3:30 p.m. – 6:00 p.m.

Tompkins Hall, Room 107, 725 23<sup>rd</sup> St.

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Office Hours: Monday 6:15 – 7:00 - Elliott School – Room 303

## 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. It also reviews briefly 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 are available by direct link, in the Gelman Library E-Journal system or on Blackboard.

## Basis for Grading

Eighty percent of the grade is determined by the two research papers (40 percent for each paper). Please email to me by 12 September a one paragraph description of the first paper. I will get back to you by email. The research paper is due in hard copy on 17 October. Think of this as your mid-term grade. Please email to me a one paragraph description of the second research paper on 24 October. The second paper is due in hard copy on 28 November so that I can return it to you on the last day of class on 5 December.

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. Do not include 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 critique of papers done last year. I will also provide examples of several excellent papers from students in previous classes.

I will email to each student my China-Africa bibliography that now exceeds 230 pages. This imposing document contains resource material on every conceivable topic concerning China-Africa relations.

The final 20 percent of the grade is based on class participation and a MIMIMUM five and MAXIMUM ten 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 drawing on 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 5 September, I will ask each student to select a subsequent week when he/she will make an 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.

## **Compliance with Credit Hour Policy**

Over 14 weeks, students will spend 2 hours and 30 minutes (150 minutes) per week in class. Required reading for the classes, two term papers, and one oral presentation are expected to take up, on average, 5 hours (300 minutes) per week. Over the course of the semester, students will spend about 35 hours in instructional time and about 70 hours preparing for class.

## **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 <https://studentconduct.gwu.edu/sites/studentconduct.gwu.edu/files/downloads/160912%20Code%20of%20Academic%20Integrity%20-%20Final.pdf>. 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 29: 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 him or her. In the remaining time, I will 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 Second African Policy Paper,” December 4, 2015. Direct link: [http://news.xinhuanet.com/english/2015-12/04/c\\_134886545.htm](http://news.xinhuanet.com/english/2015-12/04/c_134886545.htm).

### **UNIT 2**

#### **September 5: The History of the China-Africa Relationship.**

Each student should be prepared to select a future unit for his/her five to ten 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 12: The Importance of State-to-State Relations and FOCAC.**

Please provide by e-mail a one paragraph description of your first research paper.

China’s strength in its ties with Africa stems from the fact that 52 countries recognize Beijing; two recognize Taipei. China has cordial relations with all 52 governments that recognize it. 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>.

The Forum on China-Africa Cooperation Johannesburg Action Plan (2016-2018), 10 December 2015. Direct Link: [http://www.fmprc.gov.cn/mfa\\_eng/zxxx\\_662805/t1323159.shtml](http://www.fmprc.gov.cn/mfa_eng/zxxx_662805/t1323159.shtml).

### UNIT 4

#### **September 19: 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 political party leaders in Africa. The leaders of ruling African political parties are also often the guests 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.

Zhong Weiyun, "Inter-party Relations Promote Sino-African Strategic Partnership," *China.org.cn* (25 November 2013). Direct link: <http://www.focac.org/eng/zxxx/t1102167.htm>.

Zeng Aiping, "China-Africa Governance Exchanges and Experiences," 2015. Direct link: [http://www.ciis.org.cn/english/2015-12/03/content\\_8424552.htm](http://www.ciis.org.cn/english/2015-12/03/content_8424552.htm).

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 26: China-Africa Trade Relations.

In 2009, China passed the United States and became the largest bilateral trading partner by dollar value with Africa's 54 countries. China's trade domination has grown in subsequent years. While total African trade was until recently 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 3: 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 at the end of 2014 was \$32 billion, although some Chinese officials and foreign think tanks put the actual figure at twice this amount. It is not clear what China considers as overseas 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 has probably been about equal to FDI from the United States. It is important to remember, 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.

#### **Required Reading:**

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

Deborah Bräutigam, “5 Myths about Chinese Investment in Africa,” *Foreign Policy* (4 December 2015). Direct link: <http://foreignpolicy.com/2015/12/04/5-myths-about-chinese-investment-in-africa/>.

“China's Investments in Africa: What's the Real Story?” *Knowledge Wharton* (19 January 2016). Direct link: <http://knowledge.wharton.upenn.edu/article/chinas-investments-in-africa-whats-the-real-story/>.

## UNIT 7

### October 17: China's Aid to Africa.

A hard copy of your first research paper is due today. Please print on one side only.

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 several 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 the concessionary component of loans. There are also some cash and in-kind grants. China has a good record on debt cancellation. More than 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 (July 2014).  
Direct Link: [http://news.xinhuanet.com/english/china/2014-07/10/c\\_133474011.htm](http://news.xinhuanet.com/english/china/2014-07/10/c_133474011.htm).

Jyhjong Hwang, Deborah Bräutigam, and Janet Eom, “How Chinese Money Is Transforming Africa: It’s Not What You Think,” *SARI China-Africa Research Initiative*, no. 11 (April 2016). Direct link: [http://www.africa-platform.org/sites/default/files/resources/chinaafricaloansbriefingpaper\\_saiscari.pdf](http://www.africa-platform.org/sites/default/files/resources/chinaafricaloansbriefingpaper_saiscari.pdf).

## UNIT 8

### October 24: Media, Educational and Cultural Links.

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

This is 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 31: 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 greater reliance on African oil and minerals. China is a major arms supplier to Africa and has at least a minimal security relationship with all 52 countries that recognize Beijing. Between one and two million persons of Chinese origin live in Africa; they are experiencing increasing security challenges. China is a significant provider of troops to UN peacekeeping operations in Africa. Finally, China wants to insure the safe passage through the Western Indian Ocean of its flag 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: <https://www.ida.org/~media/Corporate/Files/Publications/ResearchNotes/RN2012/2012%20Chinese%20Arms%20Sales%20To%20Africa.pdf>.

David Shinn, "China's Growing Security Relationship with Africa," remarks at Michigan State University (28 January 2016). Direct link: <https://www.scribd.com/doc/297333774/China-s-Growing-Security-Relationship-With-Africa>.

David Shinn, "China's Power Projection in the Western Indian Ocean," *China Brief*, 20 April 2017. Direct Link: <https://jamestown.org/program/chinas-power-projection-western-indian-ocean/>.

## UNIT 10

### November 7: 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.

Mordechai Chaziza, "Comprehensive Strategic Partnership: A New State in China-Egypt Relations," *Middle East Review of International Affairs*, (Winter 2016), pp. 41-50. Direct Link: [http://www.rubincenter.org/wp-content/uploads/2016/12/04\\_Chaziza.pdf](http://www.rubincenter.org/wp-content/uploads/2016/12/04_Chaziza.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](http://www.saiia.org.za/images/stories/pubs/occasional_papers_above_100/saia_sop_116_dittgen_large_20120608.pdf).

## UNIT 11

### **November 14: 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 Madagascar.

#### **Required Reading:**

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

David Shinn, “Ethiopia-China Relations,” paper presented in Moscow during 27-30 May 2014 conference. Go to my blog at <http://davidshinn.blogspot.com> and find paper in right hand column under China-Africa.

Gregory Veeck and Sokhna H.A. Diop, “Chinese Engagement with Africa: The Case of Madagascar,” *Eurasian Geography and Economics*, v. 53, no. 3 (2012), pp. 400-418. Go to E-Journals.

## UNIT 12

### **November 21: 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 one of the 29 countries recognizes Taiwan. The unit takes a closer look at Nigeria, Ghana, and Senegal.

#### **Required Reading:**

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

Ben Lampert and Giles Mohan., “Sino-African Encounters in Ghana and Nigeria: From Conflict to Conviviality and Mutual Benefit,” *Journal of Current Chinese Affairs*, v. 43, no. 1

(2014), pp. 9-39. Direct link: <http://journals.sub.uni-hamburg.de/giga/jcca/article/view/722/720>. Be sure to hit enable editing to bring up article.

Daouda Cisse, “South-South Migration and Trade: Chinese Traders in Senegal,” Centre for Chinese Studies, Stellenbosch University (June 2013). Direct Link: [http://www.ccs.org.za/wp-content/uploads/2013/07/CCS\\_PB\\_Chinese\\_in\\_Senegal\\_Daouda\\_2013.pdf](http://www.ccs.org.za/wp-content/uploads/2013/07/CCS_PB_Chinese_in_Senegal_Daouda_2013.pdf).

## UNIT 13

### **November 28: China’s Relations with Southern Africa.**

A hard copy of your second research paper is due today. Please print on one side only.

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 South Africa and Zambia.

#### **Required Reading:**

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

Ross Anthony, Sven Grimm, and Yejoo Kim, “South Africa’s Relations with China and Taiwan: Economic Realism and the ‘One China’ Doctrine,” Policy Briefing, Center for Chinese Studies, Stellenbosch University (November 2013). Direct Link: [http://www.ccs.org.za/wp-content/uploads/2013/12/CCS-policy-brief\\_One-China\\_RA-SG-YK.pdf](http://www.ccs.org.za/wp-content/uploads/2013/12/CCS-policy-brief_One-China_RA-SG-YK.pdf).

Agnes Ngoma Leslie, “Zambia and China: Workers’ Protest, Civil Society and the Role of Opposition Politics in Elevating State Engagement,” *African Studies Quarterly* (December 2016), PP. 89-106. Direct Link: <http://sites.clas.ufl.edu/africa-asq/files/v16a7.Leslie.AL-HD.pdf>.

## UNIT 14

### **December 5 : 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 China engages 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 present significant 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.

Fei-ling Wang and Esi A. Elliott, “China in Africa: Presence, Perceptions and Prospects,” *Journal of Contemporary China*, v. 23, no. 90 (2014), pp. 1012-1032. Blackboard.

Shannon Tiezzi, “The New China-Africa Relations: 4 Trends to Watch,” *The Diplomat* (6 December 2015). Direct Link: <http://thediplomat.com/2015/12/the-new-china-africa-relations-4-trends-to-watch/>.

David Shinn, “China and Africa: Challenges and Predictions,” Speech at the Cosmopolitan Club in New York on 8 April 2013. Direct link: <https://www.scribd.com/doc/135178744/China-and-Africa-Challenges-and-Predictions-New-York-April-2013>.