

Rising China and Africa

Spring Semester 2018

IAFF 6118.12

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Monday 5:10 p.m. – 7:00 p.m.

Room 416 – Phillips Hall

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Course Description and Objective

This course looks at the totality of the China-Africa relationship historically, currently and into the future. It is based on research beginning in 2007 for a book that I co-authored with Josh Eisenman published in 2012 by the University of Pennsylvania Press and titled *China and Africa: A Century of Engagement*. We are currently working on another book. The course, which covers both North Africa and Sub-Saharan Africa, pays special attention to China's security relationship with Africa.

Required Reading

In addition to the book cited above, which is available in the university bookstore, the readings for each class come from chapters in other books, recent journal articles, reports/studies prepared by governments, think tanks, NGOs, international organizations, scholars and journalistic accounts. All required reading except for the text is available by direct link, on the Gelman Library E-Journal system or on Blackboard.

Basis for Grading

Three-quarters of the grade will be based on two papers mutually agreed upon by the student and professor. Please send by email no later than 29 January a one paragraph (double spaced) proposal that outlines the first paper, which is due 26 February. The one paragraph proposal for the second paper is due by email no later than 5 March and the paper itself is due 23 April. Each paper should be double-spaced, 12-point, **no less than 10 full pages and no more than 12 pages**, including footnotes. 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 system. Do **NOT** include a bibliography as good footnotes make it unnecessary for short papers. Late papers will be penalized. A 10-page paper will be graded the same as a 12-page paper. I am looking for quality, not quantity. Early in the course, I will email to each student my extensive China-Africa bibliography. The entries cover all topics dealing with China-Africa relations and should help you identify sources on whatever topic you wish to write about.

One-quarter of the grade will be based on class participation. This is a seminar; regular attendance and student engagement are essential. Students are expected to attend all classes, arrive on time and have read all required reading. On 29 January, I will ask students to select a subsequent week when each student will make a ten minute oral presentation on the seminar topic for that day. These presentations will constitute part of the grade for class participation. Please do not exceed 10 minutes and do **NOT** summarize the required reading for that day. Pick an issue related to the required reading for that day and expand upon it beyond the required reading. Originality and use of new material will result in a higher grade.

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. Students will also learn how China interacts with African regional and sub-regional organizations and other emerging non-African powers on the continent. Finally, they should have some understanding of the implications of China in Africa for the United States and the West generally.

Compliance with Credit Hour Policy

Over 14 weeks, students will spend 1 hour and 50 minutes (110 minutes) per week in class. Required reading for the seminar meetings, two term papers, and one oral presentation are expected to take up, on average, 6 hours (360 minutes) per week. Over the course of the semester, students will spend 25.66 hours in instructional time and 84 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 papers.

Class Schedule

UNIT 1

22 January: An Overview of the China-Africa Relationship.

The first part of the class will be 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 will provide an overview of the China-Africa relationship.

Required Reading:

Eleanor Albert, “China in Africa,” Council on Foreign Relations (12 July 2017). Direct link: <https://www.cfr.org/background/china-africa>.

Government of China white paper, “China’s Second Africa Policy Paper,” December 2015. Direct link: http://news.xinhuanet.com/english/2015-12/04/c_134886545.htm.

President Xi Jinping, “Text of Speech at 6th FOCAC Summit on 5 December 2015.” Direct link: <http://english.cri.cn/12394/2015/12/05/4083s906994.htm>.

UNIT 2

29 January: The History of the China-Africa Relationship.

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. We will also use this class to determine which of the next twelve sessions you want to select for your oral presentation.

Be prepared to select a unit for your oral presentation (maximum 2 students per unit). Email to me no later than 29 January a one paragraph proposal for your first research paper.

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).

Julia C. Strauss, “The Past in the Present: Historical and Rhetorical Lineages in China’s Relations with Africa,” *The China Quarterly*, no. 199 (September 2009), pp. 777-95. Go to E-Journals (Cambridge Journals).

Zhang Xiang, “From Sino-African Relations Comes a Steady Stream of Enlightening Guidance,” *Contemporary Chinese Thought*, v. 40, no. 1 (Fall 2008), pp. 11-28. Blackboard.

UNIT 3

5 February: The Importance of State-to-State Relations and FOCAC.

China’s strength in its ties with Africa is the fact that 52 of Africa’s 54 countries recognize Beijing (two recognize Taipei) and China has cordial relations with all 52 governments. China emphasizes the state-to-state relationship above all else. It has institutionalized this relationship with the creation of the Forum on China-Africa Cooperation (FOCAC).

Required Reading:

Shinn/Eisenman – Appendix 1 – Establishment of PRC Relations with African Countries, pp. 377-80.

W.A.C. Adie, “Chou En-lai on Safari,” *The China Quarterly*, no. 18 (April-June 1964), pp. 174-94. Go to E-Journals (JSTOR).

Ni Yanshou, “Strategic Partners,” *Beijing Review*, v. 49, no. 27 (6 July 2006), pp. 10-13. Blackboard.

Serge Michel and Michel Beuret, Chapter 1, “Rolling Out the Red Carpet for the African Continent,” in *China Safari: On the Trail of Beijing’s Expansion in Africa*. New York: Nation Books, 2009, pp. 11-28. Blackboard.

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>. (Open in browser.)

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.

UNIT 4

12 February: 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.

Zhong Weiyun, "Inter-party Relations Promote Sino-African Strategic Partnership," *china.org.cn* (28 August 2012). Direct link: http://www.china.org.cn/opinion/2012-08/28/content_26353120.htm.

Yun Sun, "Political Party Training: China's Ideological Push in Africa?" Brookings (5 July 2016). Direct link: <https://www.brookings.edu/blog/africa-in-focus/2016/07/05/political-party-training-chinas-ideological-push-in-africa/>.

Justus Wang, "Jubilee Looks to the Communist Party for Lessons," *Daily Nation* (18 September 2016). Direct link: <http://www.nation.co.ke/news/politics/Jubilee-looks-to-the-Communist-Party-for-lessons/1064-3385490-yy2x8x/index.html>.

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

David Shinn, "China and the Conflict in Darfur," *The Brown Journal of World Affairs*, v. 16, issue 1 (Fall/Winter 2009), pp. 85-100. Go to E-Journals.

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

26 February: China-Africa Trade Relations.

In 2009, China passed the United States and became the largest trading partner with Africa's 54 countries by dollar value. China's trade lead has grown in subsequent years. Africa's trade with China was roughly in balance until 2014, although many individual African

countries had huge trade surpluses or deficits with China. Some of the African countries with large trade deficits are becoming concerned about the trade imbalance. Since 2014, because of the economic slowdown in China and the sharp drop in global commodity prices, Africa now has a huge trade deficit with China. Perhaps more than any other sector, trade defines the importance of the China-Africa relationship.

The first paper is due today.

Required Reading:

Shinn/Eisenman – Chapter 4 – Trade Relations – pp. 99-121.

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). (Open in browser.)

Wenjie Chen and Roger Nord, “A Rebalancing Act for China and Africa: The Effects of China’s Rebalancing on Sub-Saharan Africa’s Trade and Growth,” IMF (2017), pp. 1-2, 6, 9-20. Direct link: <http://www.imf.org/en/Publications/Departmental-Papers-Policy-Papers/Issues/2017/04/07/A-Rebalancing-Act-for-China-and-Africa-The-Effects-of-Chinas-Rebalancing-on-Sub-Saharan-44711>. (Free access to PDF copy of report.)

“China-Africa: Will the Marriage of Convenience Last?” Coface Economic Publications (November 2017). Direct link: <http://www.coface.com/News-Publications/Publications/China-Africa-Will-the-marriage-of-convenience-last>.

Lucas Atkins, et al., “Challenges of and Opportunities from the Commodity Price Slump,” China Africa Research Initiative (2017), pp. 2-3. Direct link: <https://static1.squarespace.com/static/5652847de4b033f56d2bdc29/t/59f85883ec212d5a70e9624c/1509447812591/bulletin+v5.pdf>. (Open in browser.)

Getahun Zewde, “Post 2006 Ethio-China Trade Relations: Challenges and Prospects,” *Asian Research Journal of Arts and Social Sciences* (2017). Direct link: http://www.journalrepository.org/media/journals/ARJASS_45/2017/May/Zewde322017ARJASS33141.pdf. (Open in browser.)

UNIT 6

5 March: 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. China’s most recent official cumulative FDI total for Africa is \$32 billion, although other tracking organizations put the figure as high as \$83 billion. It is not clear what China

considers as FDI and it acknowledges that its figure only captures investment that is reported officially. It misses investment that goes through tax shelters such as Hong Kong and the Cayman Islands. Chinese investment flows to Africa in recent years seem to be about the same as those from the United States. 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.

The one paragraph for the second paper is due today by email.

Required Reading:

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

“China-Africa Economic and Trade Cooperation” white paper dated August 2013. Direct link: http://english.gov.cn/archive/white_paper/2014/08/23/content_281474982986536.htm.

Wenjie Chen and Roger Nord, “A Rebalancing Act for China and Africa,” IMF (2017), pp. 2-5 & 7. Direct link: <http://www.imf.org/en/Publications/Departmental-Papers-Policy-Papers/Issues/2017/04/07/A-Rebalancing-Act-for-China-and-Africa-The-Effects-of-Chinas-Rebalancing-on-Sub-Saharan-44711>. (Free access to PDF copy of report.)

Lucas Atkins, et al., “Challenges of and Opportunities from the Commodity Price Slump,” China Africa Research Initiative (2017), pp. 4-5. Direct link: <https://static1.squarespace.com/static/5652847de4b033f56d2bdc29/t/59f85883ec212d5a70e9624c/1509447812591/bulletin+v5.pdf>. (Open in browser.)

Wang Duanyong, “China’s Overseas Foreign Direct Investment Risk: 2008-2009,” SAIIA Occasional Paper no. 73 (January 2011). Direct link: www.saiia.org.za/images/stories/pubs/occasional_papers/saia_sop_73_duanyong_20110125.pdf. (Open in browser.)

Xiaofang Shen, “Private Chinese Investment in Africa: Myths and Realities,” World Bank Policy Research Working Paper 6311 (January 2013). Direct link: <https://openknowledge.worldbank.org/bitstream/handle/10986/12174/wps6311.pdf?sequence=1>. (Open in browser.)

Lauren Johnston, “Boom to Cusp: Prospecting the ‘New Normal’ in China and Africa,” in *China’s Domestic Transformation in a Global Context*. Canberra: 2015. Direct link: <http://press.anu.edu.au/wp-content/uploads/2015/07/ch16.pdf>. (Go to chapter 16.)

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/>.

UNIT 7

19 March: China's Aid to Africa.

Although reliable Chinese aid statistics for each African country are not available (China treats bilateral aid figures 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 the concessionary component of some loans. There are also interest-free loans, cash and in-kind grants. China has a good record on debt cancellation. More than half of China's global development assistance 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.

Lauren Johnston and Marina Rudyak, “China's Innovative and Pragmatic Foreign Aid: Shaped by and Now Shaping Globalisation,” in *China's New Sources of Economic Growth* (2017), pp. 431-451. Direct link:

https://www.researchgate.net/publication/318571464_China's_'Innovative_and_Pragmatic'_Foreign_Aid_Shaped_by_and_now_Shaping_Globalisation.

Government of China white paper, “China's Foreign Aid,” State Council (July 2014). Direct link:

http://english.gov.cn/archive/white_paper/2014/08/23/content_281474982986592.htm.

Lucas Atkins, et al., “Challenges of and Opportunities from the Commodity Price Slump,” China Africa Research Initiative (2017), pp. 6-9. Direct link: <https://static1.squarespace.com/static/5652847de4b033f56d2bdc29/t/59f85883ec212d5a70e9624c/1509447812591/bulletin+v5.pdf>. (Open in browser.)

Marcus Power, Giles Mohan and May Tan-Mullins, “Evolving Aid Diplomacy in Africa,” in *China's Resource Diplomacy in Africa: Powering Development?* by Power, Mohan and Tan-Mullins. Houndmills: Palgrave Macmillan, 2012, pp. 127-59. Blackboard.

Deborah Bräutigam, “Aid ‘with Chinese Characteristics’: Chinese Foreign Aid and Development Finance Meet the OECD-DAC Aid Regime,” *Journal of International Development*, v. 23 (2011), pp. 752-64. Go to E-Journals (Ebsco Host).

Yun Sun, “The Domestic Controversy over China's Foreign Aid and the Implications for Africa,” *Africa in Focus*, Brookings (8 October 2015). Direct link: www.brookings.edu/blogs/africa-in-focus/posts/2015/10/08-domestic-controversy-china-foreign-aid-africa-sun.

Axel Dreher, et al. “Apples and Dragon Fruits: The Determinants of Aid and Other Forms of State Financing from China to Africa,” University of Heidelberg discussion paper series no. 620 (October 2016). Direct link: <http://www.uni-heidelberg.de/md/awi/forschung/dp620.pdf>. (Open in browser.)

Lila Buckley, et al., “Chinese Agriculture in Africa: Perspectives of Chinese Agronomists on Agricultural Aid,” International Institute for Environment and Development (January 2017). Direct link: <http://pubs.iied.org/pdfs/17603IIED.pdf>. (Open in browser.)

UNIT 8

26 March: Media, Educational and Cultural Links.

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.

Yu-Shan Wu, “The Rise of China’s State-led Media Dynasty in Africa.” SAIIA Occasional Paper no. 117 (June 2012). Direct link: www.saiia.org.za/images/stories/pubs/occasional_papers_above_100/saia_sop_%20117_wu_20120618.pdf. (Open in browser.)

Iginio Gagliardone, “China as a Persuader: CCTV Africa’s First Steps in the African Mediasphere,” *Ecquid Novi: African Journalism Studies*, v. 34, no. 3 (2013), pp. 25-40. Blackboard.

“Cultural Exchanges: A Crucial Bond of Friendship,” *Beijing Review* (December 2015). Direct link: http://www.bjreview.com/Special_Reports/2015/The_Second_Summit_of_FOCAC/Ministers_Say/201511/t20151126_800043387.html.

Liu Jian, “Creative Exchange,” *Chinafrica* (8 May 2016). Direct link:
http://www.chinafrica.cn/Current_Cover_Story/201604/t20160425_800055251.html.

Tene Rodrigue Taling and Yao Jiaojiao, “Kungfu Movies as Driver of China-Africa Cultural Exchanges: Case Study of Cameroon,” *International Journal of African and Asian Studies* (2017), pp. 45-54. Direct link:
<http://iiste.org/Journals/index.php/JAAS/article/view/37845/38928>.

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

2 April: Military/Security Relations and China’s Involvement in UN Peacekeeping Operations in Africa.

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 52 countries that recognize Beijing. The estimated one to two million Chinese nationals living in Africa have also experienced increasing security threats. Finally, China is a significant provider of troops to UN peacekeeping operations in Africa.

Required Reading:

Shinn/Eisenman – Chapter 6 – Military and Security Ties and Peacekeeping Missions – pp. 162-87.

Xiaohong Xu, “China’s Engagement in African Security Affairs in the Post-Cold War Era,” *International Relations and Diplomacy* (2017), pp. 412-425. Direct link:
<https://www.davidpublisher.org/Public/uploads/Contribute/59a38bf079db5.pdf>. (Open in browser.)

Andrew Hull and David Markov, “Chinese Arms Sales to Africa,” *IDA Research Notes* (Summer 2012), pp. 25-31. Blackboard.

Tim Helper, “Bristling with Hardware, China Airshow Targets Arms Exports,” *Reuters* (4 November 2016). See at <https://www.reuters.com/article/us-airshow-china-arms-exports/bristling-with-hardware-china-airshow-targets-arms-exports-idUSKBN12Z1KB?il=0>.

Chin-Hao Huang, “From Strategic Adjustment to Normative Learning? Understanding China’s Peacekeeping Efforts in Africa,” *Journal of International Peacekeeping*, v. 17 (2013), pp. 248-271. Direct link: http://dornsife.usc.edu/assets/sites/451/docs/JOUP_017_03-04_Huang.pdf. (Open in browser.)

Mathieu Duchâtel, Richard Gowan, and Manuel Lafont Rapnouil, “Into Africa: China’s Global Security Shift,” European Council on Foreign Relations (June 2016). Direct link: http://www.ecfr.eu/page/-/Into_Africa_China%E2%80%99s_global_security_shift_PDF_1135.pdf. (Open in browser.)

David Shinn, “Africa: China’s Laboratory for Third World Security Cooperation,” *China Brief*, 16 (11) (6 July 2016). Direct link: <https://jamestown.org/program/africa-chinas-laboratory-for-third-world-security-cooperation/>.

UNIT 10

9 April: China’s Naval Expansion into the Western Indian Ocean.

All of the oil and minerals exported from Africa to China pass through the Western Indian Ocean. Safe transport of these products in addition to other imports and China’s exports to Africa constitute a growing security concern. Chinese vessels and crews have been subject to attack and capture by Somali pirates in the Gulf of Aden and Indian Ocean. As China expands its nuclear submarine fleet and builds its carrier capacity, it clearly has in mind a naval role that goes well beyond the South China Sea. This includes the Western Indian Ocean and the east coast of Africa. Eventually, China can be expected to extend its naval interest to Africa’s entire coast line.

Required Reading:

Shinn/Eisenman – Chapter 6 – Military and Security Ties and Peacekeeping Missions – pp. 187-93.

Andrew Erickson and Austin Strange, “China’s Blue Soft Power: Antipiracy, Engagement, and Image Enhancement,” *Naval War College Review*, v. 68, no 1 (Winter 2015), pp. 71-91. Go to E-Journals.

David Brewster, “India and China at Sea: A Contest of Status and Legitimacy in the Indian Ocean,” *Asia Policy*, 22 (July 2016), FOLLOWING ESSAYS ONLY: Brewster pp. 4-10; You Ji pp. 11-19; and Garver pp. 56-60. Go to E-Journals.

Anthony Kleven, “Is China’s Maritime Silk Road a Military Strategy?” *The Diplomat* (8 December 2015). Direct link: http://thediplomat.com/2015/12/is-chinas-maritime-silk-road-a-military-strategy/?utm_content=buffer8818b&utm_medium=social&utm_source=facebook.com&utm_campaign=buffer.

Erica Downs, Jeffrey Becker and Patrick deGategno, “China’s Military Support Facility in Djibouti: The Economic and Security Dimensions of China’s First Overseas Base,” *CNA*

Analysis and Solutions (July 2017), pp. 19-32. Direct link: https://www.cna.org/CNA_files/PDF/DIM-2017-U-015308-Final2.pdf. (Open in browser.)

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/>.

Cobus van Staden, “One Belt One Road and East Africa: Beyond Chinese Influence,” *China Brief* (10 November 2017). Direct link: <https://jamestown.org/program/one-belt-one-road-east-africa-beyond-chinese-influence/>.

UNIT 11

16 April: China’s Interaction with African Sub-Regional and Regional Organizations.

Little has been written about China’s interaction with African sub-regional and regional organizations such as the African Union, Southern African Development Community, the New Partnership for Africa’s Development (NEPAD) and the Common Market for Eastern and Southern Africa. This is an increasingly important part of China’s engagement with Africa, especially at the economic level, and merits more attention than it has been given. It is also a sector where China has accorded a higher priority than many Western countries.

Required Reading:

Shinn/Eisenman – Chapter 4 – Trade Relations – pp. 121-27.

African Union Commission, “Meeting of the Task Force on Africa’s Strategic Partnership with Emerging Powers: China, India and Brazil,” 11-13 September 2006. Blackboard.

Francis Ikome, “The Role and Place of the African Union in the Emerging China-Africa Partnership,” in *Chinese and African Perspectives on China in Africa* (eds.) Axel Harneit-Sievers, Stephen Marks and Sanusha Naidu. Kampala: Fountain Publishers, 2010, pp. 201-12. Blackboard.

Saferworld, “Regional Organizations and China,” in *China’s Growing Role in African Peace and Security* (January 2011), pp. 56-60. Blackboard.

Daouda Cissé, Ross Anthony, Meryl Burgess, and Harrie Esterhuyse, “African Regional Economic Communities’ Engagement with China,” Centre for Chinese Studies, Stellenbosch University (September 2014). Direct link: http://www0.sun.ac.za/ccs/wp-content/uploads/2014/09/CCS_Policy_Briefing_African_Regional_Economic_Communities'_engagement_with_China1.pdf.

He Wenping, “Engaging with NEPAD: A View from China,” (16 October 2006). Direct link: <http://saiia.org.za/images/upload/HeWenping-Engaging%20with%20NEPAD.pdf>. (Open in browser)

“The African Development Bank on Collaborating with China,” *World Finance* (31 July 2014). Direct link: <https://www.worldfinance.com/inward-investment/the-african-development-bank-on-collaborating-with-china>.

UNIT 12

23 April: Implications of Rising China-Africa Ties for Other Emerging Nations in Africa.

China is not the only country rising in Africa. The purpose here is to underscore that China is not only competing with Western nations but other emerging nations, which compete with each other, with Western powers and with China. All of these new players increase both the opportunities and challenges for African countries and complicate the diplomatic playing field on the continent.

The second paper is due today.

Required Reading:

K. Matthews, “India, China and Africa: A New Vision for Trilateral Cooperation,” *Perspectives on Emerging Powers in Africa*, issue 14 (October 2011). Blackboard.

Amanda Lucey, Mark Schoeman, and Catherine Grant Makokera, “India-Africa Relations: The Role of the Private Sector,” Institute for Security Studies paper 285 (October 2015). Direct link: <https://issafrica.s3.amazonaws.com/site/uploads/Paper285.pdf>. (Open in browser.)

David Lewis, “Special Report: In Africa, Can Brazil Be the Anti-China?” *Reuters*, 23 February 2011. Direct link: <http://www.reuters.com/article/2011/02/23/us-brazil-africa-idUSTRE71M11420110223>.

Ana Cristina Alves, “Brazil in Africa: Achievements and Challenges,” LSE Ideas in London (June 2013). Blackboard.

Gerrit Olivier and Dmitry Suchkov, “Russia is Back in Africa,” *Strategic Review for Southern Africa*, 37 (2) (November 2015), pp. 146-167. Direct link: [http://www.up.ac.za/media/shared/85/Strategic%20Review/Vol%2037%20\(2\)/olivier-suchkov-pp146-167.zp74611.pdf](http://www.up.ac.za/media/shared/85/Strategic%20Review/Vol%2037%20(2)/olivier-suchkov-pp146-167.zp74611.pdf). (Open in browser.)

David Shinn, “Horn of Africa and the Gulf States,” *Discourse* (2017), pp. 25-35. Blackboard.

David Shinn, “Turkey-Africa Relations,” Remarks at the Africa Center for Strategic Studies on 31 October 2016. Direct link: <http://davidshinn.blogspot.com>. (Go to right hand column under Miscellaneous.)

UNIT 13

30 April: Implications of Rising China-Africa Ties for the United States and the West.

The rise of China in Africa presents challenges for the United States and the West but also opens some areas for cooperation. There is obvious competition in trade, investment and the winning of contracts and potential competition for access to strategic resources and sometimes support for political positions in international forums. But there are possibilities for cooperation in peacekeeping, supporting political stability in Africa and enhancing economic development, especially in the areas of health care and agriculture.

Required Reading:

David Shinn, “Economic Diplomacy and Africa’s Foreign Partners: Focus on the United States and China,” Remarks at Fudan University in Shanghai (27 June 2017). Direct link: <http://davidshinn.blogspot.com>. (Go to right hand column under Miscellaneous.)

He Wenping, “‘Trust’ Is the Key Word for China-US Cooperation in Africa,” *China US Focus* (6 August 2012). Direct link: www.chinausfocus.com/foreign-policy/trust-is-the-key-word-for-china-us-cooperation-in-africa/.

Jeffrey Payne, “Can the US and China Cooperate on Counterterrorism?” *The Diplomat* (23 July 2014). Direct link: <http://thediplomat.com/2014/07/can-the-us-and-china-cooperate-on-counterterrorism/>.

Joanne Wagner, “‘Going Out’ Is China’s Skillful Use of Soft Power in Sub-Saharan Africa a Threat to U.S. Interests?” *Joint Force Quarterly*, issue 64, 1st quarter (2012), pp. 99-106. Direct link: <http://ndupress.ndu.edu/portals/68/Documents/jfq/jfq-64.pdf>. (Open in browser.)

David Shinn, “Extended Ground for U.S.-China Competition?” *China Quarterly of International Strategic Studies*, 2 (1) (2016), pp. 35-55. Blackboard.

Anna Katharina Stahl, “Chapter 3: The Bilateral EU-China Dialogue on Africa,” in *EU-China-Africa Trilateral Relations in a Multipolar World: Hic Sunt Dracones*. London: Palgrave Macmillan, 2018, pp. 47-64. Blackboard.

Uwe Wissenbach, “China-Africa Relations and the European Union,” in *China and Africa Development Relations* (ed.) Christopher Dent. London: Routledge, 2011, pp. 21-41. Blackboard.

UNIT 14

1 May: 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 increasing numbers of Chinese living in Africa and they are encountering more 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.

Ana Cristina Alves, "China's 'Win-Win' Cooperation: Unpacking the Impact of Infrastructure-for-Resources Deals in Africa," *South African Journal of International Affairs*, v. 20, no. 2 (2013), pp. 207-226. Blackboard.

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

David Shinn, "Forum on China-Africa Cooperation vs US-Africa Summit," *China US Focus* (10 September 2014). Direct link: www.chinausfocus.com/foreign-policy/forum-on-china-africa-cooperation-vs-us-africa-summit/.

Martyn Davies, Peter Draper, and Hannah Edinger, "Changing China, Changing Africa: Future Contours of an Emerging Relationship," *Asian Economic Policy Review*, vol. 9, issue 2 (2014), pp. 180-199. Go to E-journals.

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 to the Cosmopolitan Club in New York on 8 April 2013. Direct link: <http://davidshinn.blogspot.com>. (Go to the right hand column under China-Africa.)