China in Africa:
Exploring the Positive Sides

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I. Changing Attitudes
II. Physical Level
III. Strategic Level
IV. Theoretical Level
V. Future
I. Changing Attitudes

China-Africa relations has become a hot topic since 2005/2006.

Since 2000, there are 3 phases of attitudes changing toward China-Africa relations:

1. 2000-2005: almost nobody cared about this relationship;

2. 2005-2008: violent critiques, very hot [Darfur (2C strategy: China + Celebrity) & Beijing Summit (peak: Beijing Olympic Games)]

3. 2009-now: some more balanced views emerging
I. Changing Attitudes

The mainstream attitudes about China in Africa are still negative.

Six questions most frequently asked:

(1) Is China a newcomer to Africa?

(2) Is China a threat to American interests in Africa?

(3) Is China supporting the Pariah regimes in Africa?

(4) Is China engaging Africa mainly for natural resources?

(5) Does China’s no-strings attached assistance practice hurt America’s efforts in Africa?

(6) Does the African continent now have a very high anti-China mood because of huge number of Chinese immigrants and Chinese workers?
I. Changing Attitudes

An interesting phenomenon

While criticizing China, many experts still acknowledge some contributions China has made in Africa, and even call for cooperation with China in Africa.

We haven’t gone very far to find the justifications for our cooperation. People have no concrete idea about how, when, where, and what to cooperate.
Dr. Jendayi Frazer: We need to acknowledge each other’s Comparative Advantages and Legitimacy.

Brainstorming:

What are the positive sides or constructive roles of China-Africa relations?

Three level of analysis: physical, strategic, and theoretical levels.
II. Physical Level

Most of critics focus on the physical level, for example: trade imbalance, investment for natural resources, aid without strings, corporation social responsibility, and so on.

China has contributed to the stabilizing of crisis or emergency situations, the post-conflict reconstruction, and the sustainable development of Africa.
Chinese Medical Teams to Africa Countries

Historically, 23 provinces for 46 African countries; Currently 22 provinces for 41 African countries.
Africa Peacekeeping Operations China Participating (September 2011)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Mission</th>
<th>Troops</th>
<th>Police</th>
<th>Military Experts on Mission</th>
<th>Total</th>
</tr>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>MINURSO</td>
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<td>10</td>
<td>10</td>
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<td>MONUSCO</td>
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<td>16</td>
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<td>234</td>
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<td>583</td>
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<tr>
<td>UNMISS</td>
<td>367</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>383</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>1472</td>
<td>23</td>
<td>44</td>
<td>1539</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>


China’s role in African sustainable development

China is a valuable trading partner, a source of investment financing, and an important complement to traditional development partners. China is investing massively in infrastructure, which helps alleviate supply bottlenecks and improve competitiveness.

Similarities in trade structure between China and America with Africa

China Export  2009

America

South Africa 35.1%
Nigeria 22.2%
Angola 10.9%
Benin 4.6%
Ghana 3.3%
Kenya 2.4%
Other 21.5%

U.S.-African Trade Profile – 2009

Leading U.S. Export Markets in Sub-Saharan Africa

U.S. share of Sub-Saharan African trade in 2007 and accounted for 68.3 percent.

Source: China's Co-operation and Agreement on Agriculture (COGA), which is a joint initiative to promote agricultural development in the region.
Similarities in trade structure between China and America with Africa

**China Import 2009**

- Angola 34%
- South Africa 20%
- Sudan 11%
- Congo, Rep. 8%
- Equatorial Guinea 4%
- Libya 4%
- Algeria 3%
- Gabon 3%
- Others 13%

**America Import 2009**

- Nigeria 44.2%
- Angola 22.0%
- South Africa 11.6%
- Congo 5.9%
- Equatorial Guinea 3.9%
- Chad 2.6%
- Other 5.9%
Similarities of Investment Structure between China and USA

China 2007

America
III. Strategic Level

By insisting on a non-interference principle, China does contribute to bargaining capability building of African countries.

China has served as a development model for Africa and an alternative source of trade and finance from Africa’s traditional development partners.

III. Strategic Level

Also, the development of China-Africa relations has contributed to the development of broader African external relations.

Second EU-AU Summit

AFRICOM

South Korea-Africa Summit

India-Africa Summit

Turkey-Africa Summit
Share of Africa’s total trade accounted for by selected partners, 1980–2008

Source: Computed using IMF Direction of Trade data.
Key Strategic Interests of Major Emerging Powers in Africa

IV. Theoretical Level

1. Adding Africa element into dominant IR theory.

2. Creating real South-South cooperation theory.

3. Improving development assistance theory.
Non-conditional aid

Deborah Brautigam

No conventions or international agreements provide global rules for how donors should act.


Another two aspects:

1. By not attaching strings, China is actually showing that it does not want to wage a new ideological war with the West;

2. There is no coherent practice of Western aid; Where leverage exists, attach strings; where none exists, then you don’t see conditions.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Africa’s share of aid budget (%)</th>
<th>Form of support</th>
<th>Conditions imposed</th>
<th>Mode of delivery</th>
<th>Debt relief provided</th>
<th>Monitoring mechanism</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Traditional donors</td>
<td>35*</td>
<td>Mostly grants</td>
<td>Policy and non-policy conditions</td>
<td>Increasingly moving away from projects in favour of SWAPs and budget support</td>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>Peer review by other traditional donors as well as the <em>Mutual Review of Development Effectiveness Report published by the OECD Secretariat and UNECA</em></td>
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<tr>
<td>China</td>
<td>30–50</td>
<td>Grants and loans</td>
<td>Non-policy conditions</td>
<td>Project</td>
<td>Yes</td>
<td><em>Forum on China–Africa Cooperation</em></td>
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<tr>
<td>India</td>
<td>1.5–3.6</td>
<td>Grants and loans</td>
<td>Non-policy conditions</td>
<td>Project</td>
<td>Yes</td>
<td><em>India–Africa Forum Summit</em></td>
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<tr>
<td>Brazil</td>
<td>27–30</td>
<td>Co-financing, often through triangular cooperation</td>
<td>Non-policy conditions</td>
<td>Project</td>
<td>Yes</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Republic of Korea</td>
<td>15*</td>
<td>Grants and loans</td>
<td>Non-policy conditions</td>
<td>Project</td>
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<td><em>Republic of Korea–Africa Forum</em></td>
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<td>Arab countries</td>
<td>11*</td>
<td>Grants and loans</td>
<td></td>
<td>Project</td>
<td>Yes</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*Source: UNCTAD.*
V. Future

The negative aspects will not disappear because of my observations about the positives, and in the future we still face some big challenges.

(1) How to manage the diversification of domestic actors and interests in the Africa policy making and implementation;

(2) How to deal with both competition and cooperation with third parties in Africa;

(3) How to address the expectation gaps: African expectations, Western expectations, and China’s available capability;

(4) How to reconcile the conflicts between China’s traditional FP principles and the new development of global values and norms.
Thank you for your time!