

## CHINA – AFRICA RELATIONS IN THE ERA OF GLOBALISATION

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### **Abstract:**

During the era of globalisation United States of America and the western countries are trying to dominate and control the economy, resources and markets world over. They are not only integrating other countries' economies and markets but also imposing their rules, western institutions and cultures over non-western African and Asian people. China is providing an alternative to African countries against western model of development in the phase of globalisation. On the one side China-Africa relations are beneficial to the Chinese and African interests, these are also helping China to boost its emergence as a global power.

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## **Introduction:**

Historically, China and Africa have long connections having cultural and economic interactions dating back to 202 B.C. and A.D. 220.<sup>1</sup> We find mention of the land of Po-pa-li (Somalia) in the Chinese source Yu-Yang-tsa-tsu written by Tuan Chang-shik, who died in 863. Chinese coins have been found in excavations in Somalia and Tanzania dating back to the Song Dynasty. Ibn Bhatuta, the Moroccan traveler and scholar made long journey to Africa and Asia in the 14<sup>th</sup> century and reached China in April 1345. Bhatuta stayed in China as an envoy of Sultan Muhammad Tughlaq of India. The Chinese explorer and admiral Zheng He reached the eastern coast of Africa in 1415 and sent two giraffes to China. It is also said that a Chinese ship sank near Lamu Island in Kenya and the Chinese survivors married the local women and settled there in 1415. In modern times, after the Second World War China began opposing western capitalist colonialism and control over Africa. Starting its official diplomatic relations first with Egypt in 1956, China became the major strategic partner of African countries helping each other and established diplomatic relations with 48 out of 57 African countries. China's communist regime needed international recognition and political allies after the communist revolution in 1949. It wanted to strengthen international alliances against the western capitalist countries and also against the revisionist communist Soviet Union.<sup>2</sup> Another uniqueness of Chinese relation was that China was identifying itself with African countries problems of development as itself posing as a third world country. China-Africa political relations gave boost to economic relations which developed very fast. In 1950 the volume of trade between China and Africa was just \$ 12 m, which grew to \$ 250 m in 1965.<sup>3</sup> Till late 1970s, China presented itself as a leader of developing nations, rejecting the western hegemony and colonialism. China committed large sum of money and military arms to sympathetic groups' liberation struggles in Africa. China's construction of Tanzania-Zambia Railway was considered as the most important contribution to free land locked Zambia from her dependence on white minority ruled Rhodesia (Zimbabwe) and white ruled (apartheid government) South Africa's trade routes to sea. Lots of educational opportunities were given to the African students in china, at the same time China gave aid to the African institutions as well.

In 1980s the Chinese government adopted large scale economic reforms in China based on economic liberalization and integration with global economy, partnership with United States of

America and other developed economies. In order to build heavy industries to boost export oriented economy, liberalization of agriculture and emphasis on western partnership were major policy changes of China. It sought international recognition from United States and Russia and intensified its relations to enhance its economic development and trade. These changes in Chinese policy led to have far reaching impact on its relations and commitments in Africa as the African countries became less important and their needs less significant. In 1980s China did not support the African states in their struggle against dictatorship. China also did not assist the African states financially at the time of need as it lacked financial resources to do so.<sup>4</sup> With Africa, China reduced its leadership and the big brother approach to a business approach of mutual benefit. The Chinese Premier Zhao Ziyang advised the African countries in December 1982 that there is no leader follower relation now. He further said that the Chinese cooperation with Africa would be based on the four principles of (i) equality and mutual benefits; (ii) stress on practical results; (iii) diversification in form; and (iv) economic development.<sup>5</sup> China's new approach became business and benefit oriented to boost its economic reforms and progress at home. The reforms of 1980s brought economic progress for China but at the same time it generated urgent need for the supply of raw materials and oil energy. It also compelled China to search markets for its large products outside China, especially in Africa.

### **Phase of Globalisation and Re-engagement with Africa in 1990s:**

In the 1990s, after the end of cold war and resurgence of Chinese economy, China started again to re-focus its activities towards Africa. This new focus on China-Africa relations was mainly economic.<sup>6</sup> China changed earlier policy of ideology dominated relations with the African countries and pursued trade dominated relation with African countries. However, for China the past history of its anti-colonial ideology and solidarity with African countries was an advantage which could have been used to boost its new economic relationship. China's new relationship had to satisfy China's growing needs in industrial and energy sectors. China had become the largest user of aluminium, copper, iron, steel and other metals and minerals. It had become the net importer of oil by 1993. Despite having large deposits of coal, China had to import coal from

the year 2006. As a result China had to move to energy and resource rich countries very fast in 1990s onwards.

The end of cold war brought positive changes in Africa. The proxy wars between the super powers – USA and USSR which were fought on Africa's soil ended. Namibia got liberated (1990) and the apartheid rule ended in South Africa (1994). These positive changes brought much relief to the African countries which could now focus on their economic development. But the end of cold war had also brought much discomfort to many African countries due to the emergence of uni-polar world afterwards, characterized by the US and western dominance. In these circumstances the emergence of China as a global economic power in 1990s was welcomed by the African states. The Chinese model also provided them an alternative model of development i.e., 'development without democracy'. China follows its own example as a model. China has liberalized the economy since 1980s but political power is controlled by only one party, the Communist Party of China and it is achieving a very high rate of growth up to 8 to 10 % annually. Thus China emphasizes that for economic development the democracy is not an essential criteria. This was in contrast to the western model of 'development with democracy' in which democracy was emphasized as an essential requirement for development. In the 1990s, especially after the collapse of USSR in mid 1990s, many African countries have been compelled by the western donors and the financier countries to adopt a series of 'Structural Adjustment', economic recovery and poverty reduction programmes. The western donors, the World Bank and the International Monetary Fund (IMF) had compelled the African countries in early 1990s to adopt economic and political reforms, such as economic liberalization and ending one party rule. African countries were compelled by the western donors to respect human rights and produce environmental audits and impact assessments before getting funds for the new projects.

The Chinese economic model to have economic progress without losing one party rule or changing ruling dictatorial regime, gave much hope to African states, where one party or one leader was ruling for quite long time or which had earlier adopted African Socialism model as an alternative model of development. At home, though China adopted economic liberalization since 1980s but on political front China maintained its independent course and did not succumb to western or American pressure for democratisation. Even in 1989, Chinese firing on its own pro-

democracy protestors at the Tiananmen Square was severely questioned in the western countries but China did not bother to succumb. Internationally the Third World countries and especially the African countries remained silent on the incident. The recovery of Chinese economy by 1990s and China's once again becoming the global economic player without democracy was welcomed by the African countries, especially by those who were suffering or melting under western pressures and donors' conditionalities. When China re-focused on Africa giving priority to African states and official visits were organized, they were widely welcomed by many African states. On the other hand, China also adopted a new approach in Africa, of non-interference in each others' internal affairs and giving primacy to economic cooperation and trade for mutual benefits. The result was that by 1990s China got success in establishing 480 joint ventures in 47 African countries.<sup>7</sup>

### **Strategy of Economic Cooperation:**

In the year 2000, the first large scale conference was held in Beijing (China) in November on China-Africa trade and explore new areas of cooperation. This was called the Forum on China-Africa Cooperation (FOCAC). This was attended by 44 African states with 80 foreign ministers and ministers, 17 international and regional organizations, NGOs and entrepreneurs. Two key documents were issued after the conference – the Beijing Declaration and the Programme for China – Africa Cooperation in Economic and Social Development. The second document stated China's investments in Africa, financial cooperation between China and African Development Bank (ADB), agricultural cooperation, debt relief and cancellation, education and multilateral cooperation and cooperation in natural resource and energy sectors.<sup>8</sup> The second meeting of the Forum on China-Africa Cooperation (FOCAC) was held on African soil in Addis Ababa (Ethiopia) in December 2003. In this FOCAC summit meeting the Chinese Premier Wen Jiabao made the declaration that the Chinese investment and assistance was “without any political conditionalities”, like economic restructuring and liberal democratization. He said that his country was sincere about Africa. In the Addis Ababa meeting China announced a debt relief for the African countries totaling US \$ 1.27 billion. It is important to know that earlier in the year 2000 Beijing FOCAC meeting China had rejected South Africa's request for debt relief. The

debt relief decision by China gave much relief to African countries and at the same time it raised the status of China vis-à-vis western powers, to depend upon. Later on, China has been providing huge loans to African countries on very low interest rates and in some cases on a zero interest rate. Infact, the very strategic purpose of establishing FOCAC was to jointly promote mutual development and at the same time meet the challenges of globalization dominated by the western countries led by United States of America and European Union.

### **Why Africans are attracted to China? :**

After the emergence of China as a major global economic power by the end of 1990s, a major debate in Africa has started about choosing development model. It is whether to continue with western model of globalization and liberalization promoting jobless growth on stringent conditionalities leading to disillusionment of masses, or to choose Chinese model of state led public – private partnership. Nobel Prize winner Economist Joseph Stiglitz<sup>9</sup> says that the miracle of China lies in good governance, public – private sector partnership and a genuine home-driven policy agenda as opposed to branded neo-liberal IMF / World Bank policies contained in the notorious Washington Consensus. The success of China in promoting state led gradual reforms with public-private partnership and social protection for larger mass of people and large job creation makes it more popular and a model of inclusive development. It is opposed to “Shock Therapy” reforms of Nigeria where few winners leaving masses as losers as compared by ‘Daily Trust’ newspaper.<sup>10</sup> Many African rulers who failed to establish liberal democracy are favouring the Chinese reform model (China Paradigm) to justify the adoption of state led economic policies infused with repressive political measures. For example, Nigerian Senate President Ken Nnamani as well as the Nigerian government highly praised the Chinese model during the Chinese President Hu Jintao’s visit in April 2006, saying “China has become ... a good model for Nigeria in its quest for an authentic and stable development ideology.”<sup>11</sup> Nigeria was already using repressive measures against the militant group in Niger Delta who had issued threats against the Chinese interests and nationals. This group was demanding emancipation of oil and gas rich Niger Delta. Previously these militants had bombed two cities and kidnapped western oil workers. However, it was the Chinese policy of non-interference in African internal affairs,

which suited more to African leaders. The Sudanese government was comfortable with the Chinese cooperation in oil and economic sector as China was not helping Darfur rebels. The African rulers Yoweri Museveni in Uganda, Idriss Deby in Chad, Meles Zenawi in Ethiopia and Lansana Conte in Guinea were already resisting democratization process. In Zimbabwe, China was comfortable with President Robert Mugabe who was facing western criticism and boycott for repression against the white minority and redistribution of their land to Africans. In many African countries Presidents or rulers were continuing for decades like life-rulers. On the other hand, many of the rulers had acquired powers by illegal means or military coup. For such rulers, Chinese model appeared as the best option in which they were not going to lose their own position by democratization for economic development.

### **China – Africa Trade:**

China's fast re-emerging relations with the African countries has boosted China-Africa trade. The total volume of trade between China and Africa was just \$ 12.14 million in 1950 and it became \$ 1 billion in 1992. Later on, within seven years by 1999 the China-Africa yearly trade volume reached to US \$ 6.5 billion.<sup>12</sup> In the year 2000 there was a very high jump in trade which reached to \$ 10.56 billion. This was an increase by more than \$ 4 billion in one year. In 2002 there was trade jump of 1.58 billion. In 2003 the trade jump was of more than 6 billion in one year as the total trade reached to 18.5 billion. The rapid increase in China-Africa two way trade was so fast that it reached to \$ 39.7 billion in 2005 and again in one year it became \$ 55 billion in 2006. With this increase in trade China became second largest trading partner of Africa after the United States. The US-Africa trade volume was \$ 91 billion in 2006 and China-Africa trade had reached to \$ 55 billion. About 800 Chinese companies, mostly private owned were engaged in doing business in Africa in 2007 and their number rose to 2000 in just two years by 2009.<sup>13</sup> Their main investment was in energy, especially oil infrastructure, banking and manufacturing sectors. In trade and commerce China has superseded the former major colonial powers like Britain and France in many African countries. One of the major factors to boost China-Africa trade has been the unconditional and low credit rates (1.5% up to 20 years) offered by China, while the western loans are conditional and restricted. As per China Daily (2007) report, for

trade enhancement China invested \$50 billion in 48 countries of Africa and it aimed to raise its trade to \$100 billion by 2010. These Chinese policies further boosted the trade and the trade reached to a major height of \$ 115 billion in 2010.<sup>14</sup>The China-Africa trade in some major years in the era of globalisation, has been summed up in the following table.

**Table: China-Africa Trade, 1992-2010 (in US \$)**

year	1992	1999	2000	2001	2002	2003	2005	2006	2010
Trade	1	6.5	10.56	10.76	12.34	18.5	39.7	55	115
Volume	Billion	Billion	Billion	Billion	Billion	Billion	Billion	Billion	Billion

(Source: Based on informations from: *China Statistical Yearbook 2005*, National Bureau Statistics of China; “Africa-China Trade”, *Financial Times*, various issues; and Meredith Lepore, *Business Insider*<sup>15</sup>.)

China’s imports from Africa consist of petroleum crude oil, mineral resources, timbers and food items. The African imports from China consist of machinery, industrial products, electrical items, home use goods, textiles, vehicles, aircrafts, weapons and military items. Today 86% of South Africa’s clothing imports come from China. China has set up textile industries in 1999 in Lesotho and Swaziland to get duty free access to American market due to AGOA agreement.<sup>16</sup>This enables China to avoid US and EU quota on the Chinese textile. In agriculture sector 20% of China’s cotton requirements are being supplied from Burkina Faso, Mali and Benin. China imports cocoa from Cote d’Ivoire and coffee from Kenya. Namibia supplies fish products to China. South Africa and Namibia are also emerging as nuclear material supplier to China. China is already cooperating in nuclear power energy generation in South Africa. The timber is another important commodity which China is importing heavily from Congo, Cameroon, Equatorial Guinea, Liberia, Gabon and Nigeria. China is being blamed that it is importing timber from Africa by destroying African forests and preserving its own forests after



heavy floods in 1998 in Yangtze River, whose main reason was deforestation and which had resulted in 2500 deaths. The cutting of trees in the African countries is causing deforestation and damaging ecology and environment.

### **China's Oil Imports from Africa and dependency:**

China's economy is growing at a very fast rate of 8 – 10% annually in recent years of post-Maoist period. This high economic growth has posed a huge demand for oil import from outside. Earlier China was a net exporter of energy items but from 1993 onwards it became an energy importer. In case of petroleum crude oil, China had become the largest importer of oil only next to the United States of America since 2004 and in Africa it became the biggest competitor of US for oil. Not only this, even China has been becoming extremely dependent on African countries for its oil import. Africa has 8% oil reserves of the world and contributes to 11% oil production of the world. China takes more than one-fourth of its oil imports from Africa. In the year 2005 China imported nearly 701,000 barrel per day (bpd) oil from Africa which was approximately 30 percent of its total oil imports. The government of China has anticipated increase in this import to further 25 percent in the next ten years.<sup>17</sup> On the other hand, China has been carefully adopting the policies and mechanisms to ensure that its oil objective is met, as reported by Asia News Agency.<sup>18</sup> China is also in continuous search for new countries and resources (like the US) for oil energy security to fulfill its requirements. China is providing huge economic and military help to the African countries to ensure its oil supply. At the same time it has intensified strategic partnership with African countries and politico – diplomatic efforts to get its oil objectives fulfilled.<sup>19</sup> At present, China is importing oil from Chad, Gabon, Nigeria, Sudan Equatorial Guinea, Angola and Algeria. Its need for oil is so desperate that it is even importing oil from Chad which is having diplomatic relations with Taiwan. China has not recognized Taiwan as a country and considers it as its part but for oil China has compromised with its principle of not maintaining relations with the countries friendly with Taiwan. In case of Chad, China does not mind its relations with Taiwan, so that United States should not subsidize it (China) from Chad oil. The US is already having a bigger say in Chad due to its military support to Chad Government against its enemy Libya till 2011 recently. The long standing border dispute with Libya was

taken as excuse by the former Libyan ruler President Gaddafi to attack Chad several times during his rule. From Chad to Cameroon a new pipeline had been constructed in 2003 which would directly transport oil to the major sea ports of Cameroon. As per an estimate, in the year 2010 China might have surpassed the US by becoming the world's largest energy consumer, according to China Business News (CBN) report. The General Administration of Customs of China gave the data that in 2010 China imported 239 million tons of oil.<sup>20</sup> Out of this more than 33% oil came from Sub-Saharan African countries.

China has been importing huge oil from Sudan which accounted for 64% of Sudan's total oil exports in 2004. In case of Angola, 25% of its oil is imported by China. Since the first half of 2010, Angola has become the largest oil exporter to China, as China imported 21.7 million metric tons of crude oil from this country.<sup>21</sup> As a result 70% of construction projects of Angola are assigned to the Chinese companies which drastically reduced chances and opportunities for local companies. This has also reduced job opportunities for local people as the Chinese companies bring large number of Chinese workers. China had even provided monetary help in Angolan ruling party election propaganda in 2006 elections. According to the Global Witness (2005) part of the problems in Angola lies in the country's unwillingness to be more transparent about its oil income. Angolan government prefers to sign commercial loans backed by oil than the cheaper loans from the World Bank and IMF which impose conditionality of transparency and democratic reforms.<sup>22</sup> It is due to the Chinese loan that Angolan dictators are able to undermine international pressure for democratization and reforms.

### **China's Aggressive Investment Policy in Africa:**

The government of China has adopted an aggressive investment policy in Africa. It has been investing in the oil fields of Gabon since 2004. African oil exporting countries, such as Nigeria, Sudan, Algeria and Libya have accounted for 54% of total Chinese investments in Africa. China's investment in Africa has grown spectacularly since the early 1990s. The Flows of Chinese direct investment in Africa in 2003 reached \$ 107 million, more than 100 times the annual level in 1991.<sup>23</sup> As per the National Bureau of Statistics of China report, China's FDI in Africa reached to \$317 million in 2004 and \$392 million 2005. In 2007 China invested \$4.5

billion in infrastructure in Africa, Which was more than the G-8 countries combined investment, mostly the investment had been by private Chinese companies.<sup>24</sup> At the end of year 2008, Premier Wen Jiabao had announced that the total Foreign Direct Investment (FDI) stock of China in Africa was at \$7.8 billion.<sup>25</sup> These figures show a huge and continuously growing Chinese investment in Africa. On the other hand, some people estimate very high figures of Chinese direct investment in Africa touching more than \$30.8 billion by 2010. In case it is true, then China surpasses the United States of America in investment in Africa. China has set up a \$ 5 billion China – Africa Development Fund to encourage Chinese companies to invest in Africa.<sup>26</sup>

Due to the Chinese government's encouragement 2000 Chinese companies had been operating in Africa by 2009, out of which 400 companies were operating in oil rich Nigeria alone. The Chinese private companies are mostly involved in manufacturing and business in contrast to the state owned enterprises which mainly extract natural resources. In Nigeria, China controls 45% of all offshore oil reserves.<sup>27</sup> The state run China National Overseas Oil Corporation (CNOOC) had purchased the Nigerian offshore oil stakes in 2005. The Nigeria-China two-way trade reached to \$ 42 billion in 2005 and in 2011 it became worth of \$10 billion.<sup>28</sup> Chinese offer of investment even allured Chad to switch over to China, sidelining Taiwan in 2006.<sup>29</sup> Since November 2000, China has hosted Forum on China-Africa Cooperation (FOCAC). It is an official forum between the People's Republic of China and the States in Africa. There have been four FOCAC Summits held so far i.e.,- in Beijing (China) in 2000, in Addis Ababa (Ethiopia) in December 2003, in Beijing in November 2006 and in Sharm el-Sheikh (Egypt) in 2009. The fifth Summit of FOCAC will be held in Beijing in 2012. While in the second FOCAC Summit (2003, Addis Ababa) China had provided debt relief of \$ 1.27 billion to African countries, in the third FOCAC Summit (2006, Beijing) Chinese President Hu Jintao rolled out \$ 5 billion worth of concessional loans to Africa. Out of which \$ 3 billion was in preferential loans and \$ 2 billion in export credits over the next three years. At the same time the Chinese President announced that China would double its foreign aid.<sup>30</sup>

The 2006 FOCAC Summit was very important because in this summit 48 African countries and China demanded restructuring of western led globalisation process and the United Nations. The Declaration of the Beijing Summit said, "Faced with the growing trend of economic

globalization we call for enhancing South-South cooperation and North-South dialogue and call on the World Trade Organisation to resume the Doha Round of negotiations to issue of development. Priority should be given to increasing the representation and full participation of African countries in the UN Security Council and other UN agencies.<sup>31</sup>

Chinese President Hu Jintao visited the eight African countries, - Cameroon, Liberia, Sudan, Zambia, Namibia, South Africa, Mozambique and Seychelles, - in February 2007, mostly oil and uranium rich African countries to give a boost to Chinese energy and investment concerns. In Namibia and South Africa, China is investing in Uranium sector and atomic energy possibilities. In South Africa, China is also heavily investing in oil sector though it does not import oil from it. China has restarted copper fields in Zambia. It has participated in construction of oil pipeline from Chad to Cameroon linking the Cameroon sea ports. In 2007 Chinese companies invested a total of US \$ 1 billion in Africa and two way trade reached to \$73.31 billion, which was a seven times increase in trade since the year 2000 when FOCAC was launched. There was also a rush of Chinese people to Africa for work and travel. In 2007 alone 2,34,000 Chinese people travelled to African countries. As an estimate, there were 7,50,000 Chinese nationals working or living in Africa in 2008.<sup>32</sup> This was also confirmed by **Xinhua**, Chinese official news agency in 2009. Large scale Chinese workers' rush to Africa is, however, a big threat to the job opportunities for the local Africans in oil, mines and mineral sectors. On the other hand, Chinese are becoming a new ethnic group in African countries.

In 2009 FOCAC Summit at Sharm el-Sheikh (Egypt), a \$10 billion low cost loan was announced by China. This was double of the \$ 5 billion loan announced in 2006 in Beijing Summit. China also established \$ 1 billion special loan for small and medium-sized business. Chinese Premier Wen Jiabao announced to write off the debts of some of the poorest African countries. Wen proposed to construct 100 new energy projects in Africa covering solar power, bio-gas and small hydro-power. He decided to lower custom duties on 95 percent of products from African states with which China had diplomatic relations. He also announced that China would undertake 100 joint demonstration projects on scientific and technological research, provide 100 postdoctoral fellowship to Africans for doing scientific research in China and assist them in going back to serve their own country. China also agreed to build 20 centres of agriculture and technology in Africa and sent 50 agriculture technology teams to Africa. China

agreed to train 2000 agriculture technology scientists for Africa to strengthen Africa's ability to ensure food security. It agreed to provide medical equipments and anti-malaria material worth 500 million Yuan to 30 hospitals and 30 malaria prevention centres. China further announced that it will build 50 China-Africa friendship schools and train 1500 school principals and teachers of African countries. It agreed to increase Chinese government scholarship to 5500 for Africans by 2012 and train 20,000 professionals over three years in various fields for Africa.<sup>33</sup>

### **Arms Sale and Military Cooperation:**

Chinese arms sale to Africa and its military cooperation are the other important areas of China – Africa relations. During the cold war period China helped many African countries and liberation movements with arms and other military equipments. It exported arms on ideological lines to fight against the western imperialism and colonialism. Apart from the liberation movements during the cold war period, Chinese arms were heavily exported to its allies Uganda and Ethiopia, as well as the non-aligned Egypt. Between 1955 and 1977, China sold military equipments totaling \$ 142 million to the African countries.<sup>34</sup> In the era of globalization since the end of cold war till now, ideological factor is no more relevant. However, China increased its weapon sells in large quantity to African countries which are for business interest and earning profit. Between 1996 and 2003 Chinese arms sales to Africa was 10% of all arms transfer to African continent. In 1993, when there was war between Ethiopia and Eritrea, China sold arms worth \$ 1 billion to both the countries.

China is buying back African mineral resources, crude oil and business stakes for selling its military equipments and weapons. For African countries, making payments by the mineral resources, raw material commodities and oil are better and convenient options which are increasing Chinese arms sales in Africa. On the other hand Chinese weapons and fighter crafts are comparatively very cheap. In 2000, Zimbabwe purchased small arms from China in exchange of eight tons of ivory (elephant teeth). In 2004, again China sold fighter jets and trucks worth US \$ 200 million to Zimbabwe and in exchange it got control in minerals and agriculture sectors of Zimbabwe. Zimbabwe's isolation by western countries made it heavily dependent on Chinese investments and trade under its 'look east' policy. By 2011 Zimbabwe has purchased large

military equipments from China and it has used its copper resources to pay back. China has already been supplying large quantity of light weapons and ammunitions to Zimbabwe and Angola. China sold 155-mm howitzer big guns to Sudan (and also to Algeria and Egypt). Chinese military aircrafts are very popular purchase in Africa like its J-7, K-8 and Y-12 aircrafts. These fighter planes are very cheap and easy to operate. China now tries to sell its more sophisticated FC-1 fighters to African countries. South Africa has been showing keen interest in FC-1. Nigeria has imported J-7 in 2006 and now it wants to import FC-1 fighters. Zimbabwe has already purchased K-8 trainers and J-7 fighters and now in it has negotiated with China for FC-1 fighters. Besides these, Chinese military vehicles are also popularly purchased in Africa. Andrei Change (2009) revealed an interesting fact that Kenya had been negotiating to provide fishing rights for buying Chinese weapons.<sup>35</sup> It is this approach of China to make trade payment easy and convenient which makes it very popular and favorite trade partner in comparison to India in Africa.

The government of China has been criticized for using unethical practices in Africa, like diverting loans meant for infrastructure and reconstruction of countries Angola, Nigeria and Sudan to other purpose, especially for oil and gas exploration. In case of Angola some money has been used for government propaganda in 2006 elections. China has given US \$ 2 billion loan to Angola for infrastructure development like railways, electricity, roads, administrative buildings, etc. China has also been accused that the term of agreement gives advantage to China as 70 % of construction projects are assigned to its companies giving less chances to African companies. China's policies of state to state contact, non-interference and non-involvement in African local affairs or domestic politics, have enabled it to keep away from ideological competition with the western countries involved in Africa. However, China is accused of having major relations mostly with the old partners. As in 2007, Angola, South Africa, Sudan, Egypt and Nigeria accounted for 58% of African trade with China. Still the volume of Africa's total trade with China is very small in comparison to Africa's trade with EU, US, Japan and South Korea. In 2008, China-Africa trade was \$ 107 billion as compared to United States' \$ 334 billion, EU \$ 425 billion, Japan \$ 267 billion, South Korea \$ 186 billion.<sup>36</sup>

The foreign powers, outside companies and multi-nationals often take advantage of local problematic situations to get strong control over the resources and China is no exception to this.

In 1998, during the Ethiopian-Eritrean war, China sold weapons to both sides. In Sudan the government had been suppressing civil war in Darfur resulting in large scale killing since 2003. China sold huge arms and helicopters to the Sudanese government which were used in Darfur to terrorise and kill local people resulting in large scale human rights violations. The UN Security Council passed the Resolution 1556 demanding to disarm the Janjaweed militia and bring to justice those leaders who had carried out human rights abuses in Darfur.<sup>37</sup> China as a permanent member of the Security Council absented from voting this Resolution and threatened to use the Veto Power if the Security Council imposed its sanction against Sudan. The government of China assisted Sudanese government financially and militarily though it was aware of suppression and mass killings in Darfur region. Chinese government argued that its military assistance was for the central Sudanese government and not for suppression. By 2005 China started softening its stand and advised Sudanese President Al-Bashir to cooperate with SC and implement the Resolution. Main reason behind the Chinese support to Sudan was its oil interest in the country. China imports 64% of Sudanese oil. Chinese companies are the major share holders in Sudan's oil sector. In Sudan China has also brought more than 10,000 workers who have drastically cut the opportunities of Africans getting jobs in their own country. In 2011, when South Sudan region has become a separate new country, China Changed its policy to cooperate with civil war leaders who are in power of government now. China has been trying to show more African concern in South Sudan in the new scenario. In line of this approach, in 2011 China has started welder training courses to help South Sudanese master knowledge and technique relevant to the petroleum industry in which the newly born nation has large potential.<sup>38</sup> In contrast to the new South Sudan policy, China has been continuing its old policy in regard to Darfur region, where still liberation struggle is continuing, though the situation is better now due to a truce.

China fully backs the Sudanese government without bothering for United States of America and western countries. The Human Rights Watch has also been criticizing China for helping the Sudanese government involved in mass killing in Darfur since 2003.<sup>39</sup> United States of America has called it as genocide in Darfur. Till now by the end of 2011, more than 2,00,000 people have been killed and 2.5 million have been displaced in Darfur ethnic clashes and government repression in collaboration with Janjaweed militia. On 4<sup>th</sup> March 2009, International Criminal

Court (ICC) issued an arrest warrant against Sudanese President Umar al-Bashir for crimes against humanity and war crimes committed in Darfur in past years.<sup>40</sup> China has been playing the role of moderator pursuing Sudanese President al-Bashir to cooperate with the Security Council. It has also appointed a full-time envoy tasked with assisting in resolving the Darfur crisis. China is willing to pursue a peace settlement. On Chinese President Hu Jintao's pressure and persuasion Sudanese President Umar al-Bashir has agreed to cooperate with United Nations and agreed for peace in Darfur and separation of South Sudan in 2011. Despite the arrest warrant by ICC, China invited Sudanese President Umar al-Bashir to Beijing on 6<sup>th</sup> December 2011 and pledged lasting support and friendship with Sudan.<sup>41</sup>

### **Conclusion:**

China's contact with Africa has been very old. During the Cold War period the communist China's policy in Africa was openly anti-capitalist, anti-west and anti-colonial. It also supported several liberation struggles in Africa. In the post-Cold War phase when ideological rivalry and antagonism ended, China changed its earlier policy of ideology dominated relations with the African countries and pursued economic and trade dominated relations. For China the past history of its anti-colonial ideology and solidarity with African countries were added advantage which might have been used or helpful to boost its new economic relationship. However, the success of China lies in its flexible approach, good governance, public – private sector partnership and a genuine Africa driven policy. The new focus in China-Africa relations in the era of globalization has been mainly economic and trade but China has been adjusting it according to African needs and circumstances. China's barter trade of accepting oil, mineral, mining and agricultural products as mode of payments for Chinese goods have been helpful and convenient for African countries to trade with China. African oil, minerals and trade is important for China but China's interest in Africa is more than oil and trade. China relies on African countries' support in a number of international multilateral settings. By an extensive policy and relations in Africa, China wants to establish itself as a world power. This is already reflected when China has adopted altogether a different approach and stand than American and western countries' on African issues. Its open support to the Sudanese President Umar al-Bashir, who



was indicted by the ICC, UN Security Council and United States of America, is the proof that China wants to prove its independent path and leadership in the era of globalization. It has chosen Africa as an area which also serves its material interest along with its aspiration to become a global power. China should try to control the immigration of large numbers of Chinese workers in African countries which is detrimental to the image of China and the interests of Africans. In any case China's huge investments, easy loans on very low interest rates, cheap goods and technology, are developing poor and less developed African countries very fast. China's scientific, technical, educational and professional training to Africans will further boost human resource generation in Africa. In the Chinese friendship and cooperation, African leaders and countries have found an alternative to the stringent and expensive western model of development.

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