China and Africa: Global Encounters in History and the Present

Fall 2023 Peking University

Instructors: Liang Xu (许亮), Ying Cheng (程莹) Course level: Undergraduate/graduate students

Course Credit: 3

Venue: Guoguan Building Room C210

Time: Tuesdays 15:10-18:00

Teaching Assistant: Zehao Tian(田泽浩)

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Course Description

The twenty-first century has witnessed unprecedented growth of economic cooperation between African countries and China. Achille Mbembe, a prominent African political philosopher, once proclaims that Africa-China will become the most important "material relations" in global capitalism. Over the last two decades, China's accelerating influence on the African continent has raised a host of questions. Is Africa China's second continent? How do African states and African people respond to opportunities and challenges posed by China's presence? Is China a development model for Africa? Are Chinese people racist? How much soft power does China have in Africa? How do China and Africa portray each other in arts and literatures?

To address these questions, our course focuses on both the material and nonmaterial dimensions of this fast-developing relationship. On the one hand, we will challenge the often-skewed treatment of China in Africa as a unitary presence by looking closely at three different levels of engagement: the state and the state-owned enterprises, medium and small sized private companies, and the grassroots adventurists and migrants. On the other hand, we will examine China-Africa relations through the lenses of popular media, moving images, contemporary arts, and literary texts. It is our firm belief that the representation and construction of identity and otherness is an essential component of everyday life that fundamentally shapes our experience, perception, and even prejudice in cross-cultural communications and encounters. In this course we will explore:

- The history and the current state of China-Africa relations,
- key myths and rumors about China in Africa,
- preliminary development impacts of China's engagement in Africa,
- the role of migration and migrants in China-Africa encounters,
- and the relevance of media, film, art, and literature in China-Africa relations.

By thinking critically about China-Africa engagement, we hope that our students will become better observers of the globalized world. It is our contention that China-Africa is by no means an Afroasian story only; more profoundly, it is a story of global encounters. Through the use of academic, journalistic, and various visual evidence, we help students to interrogate and gain deeper understanding of key themes such as state and development, race and gender, culture and capitalism, and diaspora and globalization.

Pre-requisites /Target audience: N/A

Assignments and Exams

The class will meet once a week offline (and virtually on the ClassIn platform for our online participants). Student participants are expected to have read the assigned readings before coming to class and engage in class discussions. Students will be asked to write a research proposal on any China-Africa related

topic and present it in class. **Research proposals are due on December 2, 2023**. Detailed instructions will be announced in class. There will be a final written exam on the last day of class (December 26, 2023).

Evaluation Details

Evaluation details are as follows:

λ Class Participation: 30%λ Research proposal: 30%

λ Final exam: 40%

Important Dates:

October 3, 2023: No class meeting due to National Day Holiday

December 2, 2023: Research proposal submission due date

December 12, 2023: Proposal presentation session

December 19, 2023: African meal and/or Afro dance session

Textbooks and Reading Materials

The course does not require any textbooks. All reading materials will be made available in electronic copies.

Week 1 Study China-Africa: Why and How?

September 12, 2023

[Description of the Session] (purpose, requirements, class and presentations scheduling, etc.)

This session gives a snapshot of the current state of China-Africa relations and highlights the importance of studying China-Africa relations. By revisiting some of the major myths and debates over China's presence in Africa, this session attempts to present a more objective and complex story of China-Africa than is often reported in the media.

[Questions]

What are some of the current debates on China-Africa relations?

Why should we study China-Africa relations? And how?

[Readings, Websites or Video Clips]

Required reading:

Deborah Brautigam. 2009. *The Dragon's Gift: The Real Story of China in Africa*. New York: Oxford University Press, pp. 273-306.

Chris Alden and Lu Jiang. 2019. "Brave New World: Debt, Industrialization and Security in China–Africa Relations." *International Affairs* 95 (3), pp. 641-657.

Further reading:

Chris Alden. 2007. China in Africa. London: Zed Books, pp. 8-36.

Binyavanga Wainaina. "How to Write about Africa." https://granta.com/how-to-write-about-africa/

Jamie Monson and Stephanie Rupp. 2013. "Africa and China: New Engagements, New

Research," African Studies Review 56 (1), pp. 21-44.

Keguro Macharia. "Visiting Africa: A Short Guide for Researchers."

https://thenewinquiry.com/blog/visiting-africa-a-short-guide-for-researchers/

Week 2 Place China-Africa in Context: Does History Matter?

September 19, 2023

[Description of the Session] (purpose, requirements, class and presentations scheduling, etc.)

This session places China-Africa encounter in historical contexts, from the earliest trade routes to Zheng He's famous voyages, from the Bandung moment to the popularity of Maoism on the continent. The goal

is not to push the students to digest historical details but ask them to reflect how the past has been remembered, re-emphasized, and reinvented in the present. For instance, why do Chinese leaders keep referring back to history when they talk about China-Africa relations? What are the political afterlives of the Bandung Moment? Do Africans and Chinese perceive their "shared" past differently?

[Questions]

How do we periodize the history of China-Africa relations?

Whether and how is China's current Africa policy shaped by history?

[Readings, Websites or Video Clips]

Required reading:

Philip Snow. 1988. *The Star Raft: China's Encounter with Africa*. London: Weidenfeld & Nicolson, pp. 69-104, 144-185.

Christopher Lee. 2010. *Making a World after Empire: The Bandung Moment and Its Political Afterlives*. Athens: Ohio University Press, pp. 1-32, 235-265.

Further reading:

Anshan Li. 2012. *A History of Overseas Chinese in Africa to 1911*. New York: Diasporic Africa Press, pp. 17-54. The original Chinese version is provided in PDF as well.

Jamie Monson. 2009. *Africa's Freedom Railway*. Bloomington, Indianapolis: Indiana University Press, read Chapters 3 and 4.

Julia C. Strauss. 2009. "The Past in the Present: Historical and Rhetorical Lineages in China's Relations with Africa." *The China Quarterly* 199, pp. 777–795.

Priyal Lal. 2014. "Maoism in Tanzania: Material Connections and Shared Imaginaries." In Alexander Cook ed., *Mao's Little Red Book: A Global History*. New York, NY: Cambridge University Press.

Week 3 A Silent Invasion? From Coolie Trade to New Waves of Chinese Migration in Africa September 26, 2023

[Description of the Session] (purpose, requirements, class and presentations scheduling, etc.) Migration has become an expansive and important theme in the discussion of China-Africa relations. This session introduces the history and current state of Chinese migration in Africa. It will examine three major waves of Chinese migration to Africa: the coolie trade in the 18th and 19th centuries, the arrival of Chinese industrialists in the 1960s to the 1980s, and the more recent wave of Chinese migration beginning in the 1990s. Are a million Chinese migrants building a new empire in Africa, as one popular book suggests? How do local Africans perceive the presence of Chinese immigrants? What are the main categories of Chinese diasporic spaces in Africa?

[Questions]

What are the three major waves of Chinese migration to Africa?

How do local Africans perceive the presence of Chinese immigrants?

[Readings, Websites or Video Clips]

Required reading:

Yoon Jung Park. 2009. "Chinese Migration in Africa." Occasional Paper No. 24, South African Institute for International Affairs. Johannesburg: SAIIA.

Yoon Jung Park. 2013. "Perceptions of Chinese in Southern Africa: Constructions of the 'Other' and the Role of Memory." *African Studies Review* 56 (1), pp. 131-153.

Further reading:

Melanie Yap and Dianne Leong Man. 1996. *Colour, Confusion and Concessions: The History of the Chinese in South Africa*. Hong Kong: Hong Kong University Press, read Chapter 5.

Steve Hess and Richard Aidoo. 2013. "Charting the Roots of Anti-Chinese Populism in Africa: A Comparison of Zambia and Ghana." *Journal of Asian and African Studies* 49 (2), pp. 129-147.

许亮:《中非民间交往中的华人酋长现象探究》,《西亚非洲》2023年第3期,第51-73页。

Philip Harrison, Khangelani Moyo, and Yan Yang. 2013. "Strategy and Tactics: Chinese Immigrants and Diasporic Spaces in Johannesburg, South Africa." *Journal of Southern African Studies* 38 (4), pp. 899-925.

Week 4: National Day Holiday. No class meeting on October 3, 2023.

Week 5 (Discussion) Documentary Screening and Discussion: *Guangzhou Dream Factory* October 10, 2023

[Description of the Session] (purpose, requirements, class and presentations scheduling, etc.) In this session, we will watch *Guangzhou Dream Factory*, a documentary about Africans in Guangzhou. After screening, we will have a follow-up discussion on the current state of African migrants in China as well as their challenges. Students are also encouraged to watch another documentary titled *Eat Bitter* (《吃苦》) for discussion purposes.

Week 6 Chinese State-Owned Enterprises' Evolving Role in Overseas Infrastructure Development

October 17, 2023

Guest Lecture by Wendy Leutert Assistant Professor, Indiana University

Reading suggested by speaker:

Wendy Leutert, Elizabeth Plantan, and Austin Strange. 2023. "Puzzling Partnerships: Overseas Infrastucture Development by Chinese State-Owned Enterprises and Humanitarian Organizations." *Studies in Comparative International Development* 58, pp. 195-223.

Wendy Leutert. 2019. "The Overseas Expansion and Evolution of Chinese State-Owned Enterprises." Link: https://medium.com/fairbank-center/the-overseas-expansion-and-evolution-of-chinese-state-owned-enterprises-3dc04134c5f2.

Yuan Wang. 2022. "Presidential Extraversion: Understanding the Politics of Sino-African Mega-Infrastructure Projects." *World Development* 158. https://doi.org/10.1016/j.worlddev.2022.105976.

Folashade Soule. 2022. "Negotiating local business practices with China in Benin." Carnegie Endowment for International Peace, China Local Global Paper. Link:

https://carnegieendowment.org/2022/04/06/negotiating-local-business-practices-with-china-in-benin-pub-86816.

Week 7: China-Africa Industrial Cooperation: Bulldozer or Locomotive?

October 24, 2023

[Description of the Session] (purpose, requirements, class and presentations scheduling, etc.) This session discusses industrial cooperation, one of the most important trends in China-Africa relations. With the launch of the Belt and Road Initiative and as China is undergoing industrial upgrades domestically, China is expected to export massive industrial and infrastructural investment to Africa. This session will help the students to understand both the opportunities and the hard choices Africa faces in the realm of industrialization.

[Questions]

What does the rise of China do for industrialization in Africa?

Will Africa become the next factory of the world?

[Readings, Websites or Video Clips]

Required reading:

Irene Yuan Sun. 2017. "The World's Next Great Manufacturing Center." *Harvard Business Review*, May-June Issue.

Carlos Oya and Florian Schaefer. 2023. "Do Chinese firms in Africa pay lower wages? A comparative analysis of manufacturing and construction firms in Angola and Ethiopia." *World Development* 168.

Further reading:

林毅夫: 《中国的崛起和非洲的机遇》, 《中国非洲研究评论 2013》, 第 19-33 页。

Liang Xu. 2022. "Engendering China–Africa Encounters: Chinese Family Firms, Black Women Workers and the Gendered Politics of Production in South Africa." *The China Quarterly* 250, pp. 356-375.

Peter Hessler. 2015. "Learning to Speak Lingerie: Chinese Merchants and the Inroads of Globalization." *New Yorker*, August 10-17.

Raphael Kaplinsky. 2008. "What Does the Rise of China Do for Industrialization in Sub-Saharan Africa?" *Review of African Political Economy* 35, pp. 7-22.

Week 8 Developmental Peace? China's Security Engagement in Africa

[Description of the Session] (purpose, requirements, class and presentations scheduling, etc.)

The rise of China as a global power and its deepening engagement in African economies has thrust security to the forefront of its Africa policy. The session focuses on the changing divers and challenges of China's security engagement and examines the roles of different actors (the military and non-state actors) in China's security engagement in Africa. We will interrogate the concept of the "development-security nexus" and analyze whether China has brought new norms into international peace and security practices.

[Questions]

What are the major drivers of China's security engagement in Africa?

What is "development-security nexus"?

[Readings, Websites or Video Clips]

Required reading:

Xue Lei. 2017. "China's Development-Oriented Peacekeeping Strategy in Africa." In Chris Alden et al. eds., *China and Africa: Building Peace and Security Cooperation on the Continent*. Palgrave Macmillan US, pp. 83-99.

Lina Benabdallah and Daniel Large. 2023. "The Key to solving all problems'? Unpacking China's development-as-security approach in Mali." *Third World Quarterly* 44(1), pp. 211-229.

Further reading:

Lina Benabdallah and Daniel Large. 2019. "China and African Security." In Chris Alden and Daniel Large eds., *New Directions in Africa-China Studies*. Routledge, pp. 312-326.

Chris Alden and Daniel Large. 2015. "On Becoming a Norms Maker: Chinese Foreign Policy, Norms Evolution and the Challenges of Security in Africa." *The China Quarterly* 221, pp. 123-142.

Illaria Carrozza, "Chinese Diplomacy in Africa: Constructing the Security-Development Nexus," link: https://www.e-ir.info/2019/04/07/chinese-diplomacy-in-africa-constructing-the-security-development-nexus/

Duchatel's Ecfrreport, "Into Africa: China's global security shift,"

link https://www.ecfr.eu/publications/summary/into africa chinas global security shift

Week 9 "How Much Soft Power Does China Have in Africa?" Media, Confucius Institutes, and Training/Scholarship Programs

October 31, 2023

[Description of the Session] (purpose, requirements, class and presentations scheduling, etc.)

As China expands its economic cooperation with Africa, China also begins to promote its "soft power" on the continent through media engagement, forums, and the state-sponsored programs such as Confucius Institutes and trainings. During this session, we will examine the multiple mechanisms that China uses to promote its image and influence in Africa. We will zoom in with a case study of Chinese Confucius Institute in Ethiopia and examine China's fusion of practical or tangible benefits with language and

cultural promotion invokes support from key participants, including university administrators, students, and Chinese teachers.

[Questions]

What is Confucius Institute? How should we evaluate its success and challenges?

How shall we evaluate and compare China's "soft power" with other powers' "soft power" in Africa? [Readings, Websites or Video Clips]

Required reading:

King, Kenneth. *China's Aid and Soft Power in Africa: The Case of Education and Training*. Boydell & Brewer, 2013, read Chapters 1 and 2, pp. 1-67.

Maria Repnikova. 2022. "Rethinking China's Soft Power: 'Pragmatic Enticement' of Confucius Institutes in Ethiopia." *The China Quarterly* 250, pp. 440-463.

Further reading:

Jennifer Hubbert. 2019. *China in the World: An Anthropology of Confucius Institutes, Soft Power, and Globalization*. Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press, Chapter 3 "Coolness and Magic Bullets," pp. 45-73.

Seyram Avle. 2022. "Hardware and Data in the Platform Era: Chinese Smartphones in Africa." *Media, Culture & Society* 44 (8), pp. 1473-1489.

Herman Wasserman and Dani Madrid-Morales. 2018. "How Influential Are Chinese Media in Africa? An Audience Analysis in Kenya and South Africa." *International Journal of Communication* 12, pp. 2212–2231.

Anita Wheeler. 2014. "Cultural Diplomacy, Language Planning, and the Case of the University of Nairobi Confucius Institute." *Journal of Asian and African Studies* 49 (1), pp. 49-63. Or Don Starr. 2009. "Chinese Language Education in Europe: The Confucius Institutes." *European Journal of Education* 44 (1), pp. 65-82.

Week 10: Are Chinese People Racist? Rethinking Race, Gender, and Culture

November 14, 2023

[Description of the Session] (purpose, requirements, class and presentations scheduling, etc.) We will have our guest speaker Professor Yan Hairong to lead this session. In this session, we invite the students to participate in the discussion of the question – "Are Chinese People Racist?" We ask the students to reflect on the history of race within the China-Africa context and beyond. We will also comment on recent examples/incidents of racial discrimination in contemporary China. Ultimately, we will encourage students to ask: what should be done to address the issue of racism in China?

[Questions]

What is the history of race discourse in China?

What should be done to address the issue of racism in China?

[Readings, Websites or Video Clips]

Required reading:

Frank Dikötter. 1994. "Racial Identities in China: Context and Meaning." *The China Quarterly* 138, pp. 404-412.

Xiaoyang Tang and Janet Eom. 2019. "Time Perception and Industrialization: Divergence and Convergence of Work Ethics in Chinese Enterprises in Africa." *China Quarterly* 238, pp. 461–481.

Further reading:

Chuck O'Connell, "The Political Economy of Racism: A Look at Three Hundred Years of American History" (unpublished manuscript). Or Charles Mills. 1997. *The Racial Contract*, Cornell University Press, 1997. Read the Introduction. Students are encouraged to compare these two readings with Dikotter.

Michael J. Sullivan. 1994. "The 1988-89 Nanjing Anti-African Protests: Racial Nationalism or National Racism?" *The China Quarterly* 138, pp. 438-457.

Pal Nyiri. 2006. "The Yellow Man's Burden: Chinese Migration on A Civilizing Mission." *The China Journal* 56, pp. 83-106.

Joseph Goldstein. 2018. "Kenyans Say Chinese Investment Brings Racism and Discrimination." *New York Times*, October 15. Link: https://www.nytimes.com/2018/10/15/world/africa/kenya-chinaracism.html.

Week 11 China-Africa Cooperation in Agriculture: Demonstration of New Development? November 21, 2023

[Description of the Session] (purpose, requirements, class and presentations scheduling, etc.)

Over the last 20 years, there has been repeated discussion on China's "land grab" in Africa. This session interrogates such allegations by using evidence-based research and analyzes the success and challenges in China-Africa agricultural cooperation. It also examines the history of China's agricultural assistance to Africa in the 1970s. The ultimate question, of course, is how Africa can embark on a sustainable path for

agricultural development.

[Questions]

What can we learn from the history of China-Africa Agricultural Cooperation?

What should be the solution to African agricultural development?

[Readings, Websites or Video Clips]

Required reading:

Deborah Brautigam. 2015. Will Africa Feed China? New York: Oxford University Press, pp. 151-164.

Lu Jiang. 2019. Beyond Official Development Assistance: Chinese Development Cooperation and African Agriculture. Palgrave Macmillan, read Chapter 2, pp. 65-103.

Further reading:

Yan Hairong and Barry Sautman. 2010. "Chinese Farms in Zambia: From Socialist to 'Agro-imperialist' Engagement?" *Journal of African and Asian Studies* 9 (3), pp. 307-333.

蒋华杰:《农技援非(1971-1983):中国援非模式与成效的个案研究》,《外交评论》2013年第 1期。

Paul Collier and Stefan Dercon. 2014. "African Agriculture in 50 Years: Smallholders in a Rapidly Changing World." *World Development* 63, pp. 92-101.

Catherine Boone. 2014. *Property and Political Order in Africa: Land Rights and the Structure of Politics*. Cambridge University Press, read Chapters 1, 2, and 10.

Week 12 Imagining the Other: Tracing Africa-China in Literary Movements and Moving Images November 28, 2023

[Description of the Session] (purpose, requirements, class and presentations scheduling, etc.) In this session, we will trace the historical (and contemporary) interactions between Africa and China from the movements of literary texts and cultural products. We try to understand how people in Africa/China represent or understand each other's histories and societies during and after the Bundung Conference and Cold War. We will examine how these literary texts and popular moving images might provide a more nuanced understanding of China-Africa beyond the top-down approach often privileged in most international relation studies, and point toward the earlier histories of interactions, as well as the contested nature of engagements and perceptions.

[Questions]

What are the neglected histories of literary and artistic interactions between Africa and China during the Cold War?

How are people imagining the world and "the other" in these literary representations and moving images? [Readings, Websites or Video Clips]

Required reading:

Yvonne Adhiambo Owuor. 2019. The Dragonfly Sea, (excerpt).

- Peter J. Kalliney. 2022. *The Aesthetic Cold War: Decolonization and Global Literature*. Princeton: Princeton University Press, read the Introduction.
- Cobus van Staden. 2017. "Watching Hong Kong Martial Arts Film under Apartheid." *Journal of African Cultural Studies* 29 (11), pp. 46-62.

Further reading:

- Cheng, Ying. 2019. "History, Imperial Eyes and the 'Mutual Gaze': Narratives of African-Chinese Encounters in Recent Literary Works." In *Routledge Handbook of African Literature* edited by Moradewun Adejunmobi and Carli Coetzee, London: Routledge, pp. 92-109.
- Political Department of the Navy of the Chinese People's Liberation Army. 1966. War Drums on the Equator: A Play of Seven Scenes, (excerpt).
- 袁明清、张丽方,《冷战时期的亚非文学运动,与非洲文学的中译史》,澎湃思想市场,2020年8月。https://www.thepaper.cn/newsDetail_forward_8788202
- Sun, Jodie Yuzhou. 2020. "Viriato da Cruz and His Chinese Exile: A Biographical Approach." *Journal of Southern African Studies* 46(5): 845-861.
- Karen Thornber. 2016. "Breaking Discipline, Integrating Literature: Africa-China Relationships Reconsidered." *Comparative Literature Studies* 53 (4), pp. 694-721.

Week 13 "The Agency of Arts": Interrogating "Chinafrica" ("中非") in Contemporary African Arts

December 5, 2023

[Description of the Session] (purpose, requirements, class and presentations scheduling, etc.)
Unlike many other existing dialogues that focus on the economic and political impact of the China-Africa relationship, the artistic practices discussed in this session deal with the sociological and cultural consequences of increased connections and exchanges between China and Africa. We will examine how visual and performance artists respond to or comment on China's presence in Africa and suggest a possibility of understanding artistic practices as an alternative way of knowledge production and intervention in the context of Africa-China interactions.

[Questions]

How China-Africa is represented in African visual and performance arts?

How can we undertand the agency of arts in Africa-China relations?

[Readings, Websites or Video Clips]

Required reading:

- Ruth Simbao. 2018. "When 'African Art' Meets 'China-Africa': Space-Time Imaginaries and a Pursuit for New Scripts." Keynote Speech at International Workshop on "Rethinking Third World", Hangzhou, China.
- Olu Oguibe. 2015. "Samuel Fosso: Emperor of Africa" https://aperture.org/blog/samuel-fosso-emperor-africa/
- Cheng Ying. 2018. "The Bag is My Home': Recycling China Bags in Contemporary African Arts," *African Arts* 51(2), pp. 18-31.

Further reading:

Exhibition Catalogue. 2012. "Making Way: Contemporary Art from South Africa & China" Artist Catalogue. Pu Yingwei. 蒲英玮

- William Kentridge. 2015. "Peripheral Thinking." In William Kentridge: Notes towards a Model Opera, edited by Karen Marta, 81-152. Bejing: Ullens Center for Contemporary Art; London: Koenig Books.
- Abdi Latif Dahir. 2018. "A Kenyan painter's art questions China's deepening reach in Africa" https://qz.com/africa/1343155/michael-soi-china-loves-africa-paintings-question-chinas-influence-in-africa/

Week 14 Student Presentations

December 12, 2023

[Description of the Session] (purpose, requirements, class and presentations scheduling, etc.)

During this session, we will arrange student presentations. Students are expected to prepare a short PowerPoint presentation to introduce their research proposals. The presentation should include the following elements: the topic and why it's worth exploring, a brief literature review, methodology and sources, and if possible, a tentative conclusion.

[Questions]

Student presentations (research proposals)

Readings, Websites or Video Clips

N/A

Week 15 An Open Conclusion

December 19, 2023

[Description of the Session] (purpose, requirements, class and presentations scheduling, etc.)

During this last session, we invite the students to join us in reflecting and digesting what has been discussed in the course. In particular, we encourage the students to ponder to what extent the China-Africa story covered in this course gesture toward something broader about the third world, the global south, and the forms of life and systems of meaning that affect everyone on the planet.

We may arrange an African meal and/or Afro dance session for our students today @ [Questions]

Does the course help you change the ways in which you perceive Africa and our world? How? [Readings, Websites or Video Clips]

Required reading:

Ching Kwan Lee. 2017. *The Specter of Global China: Politics, Labor, and Foreign Investment in Africa*. Chicago, IL: University of Chicago Press, pp. 152-166.

Ruth Simbao. 2019. "Pushing against China-Africa slowly, and with small stories." *Something We Africans Got* 7, pp. 228-233.

Further reading:

Curtis Stone. 2018. "The Fundamental Difference Between China's and the West's Policy Toward Africa." *People's Daily* September 4, 2018.

Giles Mohan. 2013. "Beyond the Enclave: Towards a Critical Political Economy of China and Africa," *Development and Change* 44 (6): 1255-72.

Julia C. Strauss. 2013. "China and Africa Rebooted: Globalization(s), Simplification(s), and Cross-cutting Dynamics in 'South–South' Relations." *African Studies Review* 56 (1), pp. 155-170.

Week 16 Final Exam (Written Exam)

December 26, 2023

END OF THE SEMESTER