Rising China and Africa

Spring Semester 2019
IAFF 6118.12
CRN 44251
Monday 5:10 p.m. – 7:00 p.m.
Room 313 – Elliott School
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Office Hours: Room 303, Elliott School, Monday, 7:00 – 7:30

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 28 January a one paragraph (double
spaced) proposal that briefly outlines the first paper, which is due 25 February. The one paragraph proposal for the second paper is due by email no later than 4 March and the paper itself is due 22 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. Obviously, you are welcome to draw from additional sources.

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 28 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. Power point presentations are recommended.

**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%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


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:


UNIT 2


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 28 January a one paragraph proposal for your first research paper.

Required Reading:

Shinn/Eisenman – Chapter 2 – A Historical Overview of China-Africa Relations.


**UNIT 3**

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

China’s strength in its ties with Africa is the fact that 53 of Africa’s 54 countries recognize Beijing (Eswatini recognizes Taipei) and China has cordial relations with all 53 governments. China emphasizes the state-to-state relationship above all else. It institutionalized this relationship in 2000 with the creation of the Forum on China-Africa Cooperation (FOCAC).

**Required Reading:**


UNIT 4

11 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.


UNIT 5

25 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 increased 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. China-Africa trade peaked in 2014 because of the economic slowdown in China and the sharp drop in global commodity prices, and Africa now has a large 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.


**UNIT 6**

4 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 $40 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 major European countries far 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.


UNIT 7

18 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 annually 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:


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
UNIT 8

25 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 Global Television Network. 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. All of these programs are government-controlled.

**Required Reading:**

Shinn/Eisenman – Chapter 7 – Media, Education, and Cultural Relations and Ties with Chinese Communities in Africa.


**UNIT 9**

1 April: Military Assistance, Exchanges, and Sales.

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 53 countries that recognize Beijing. China has stepped up its military interaction with Africa as demonstrated by increasing arms sales and the importance it attaches to high level exchange visits.

**Required Reading:**


**UNIT 10**
8 April: Support for Peacekeeping Operations, Protecting Chinese Interests, and China’s First Military Base.

China is a significant provider of troops to UN peacekeeping operations in Africa and is committed to increasing this support. As China’s presence and interests have grown in Africa, so too have its security concerns. The estimated one million Chinese nationals living in Africa have experienced increasing security threats ranging from common crime to terrorist attacks. One of the tools China is turning to is the use of private security companies. It has also established its first military base outside China in Djibouti.

Required Reading:


15 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:


UNIT 12

22 April: Implications of Rising China-Africa Ties for Other Rising 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 rising 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.
UNIT 13

29 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. Although dependent on the broader Sino-American relationship, 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, “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.)
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.)


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.


University Policies and Services

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Academic Integrity Code

Academic dishonesty is defined as cheating of any kind, including misrepresenting one's own work, taking credit for the work of others without crediting them and without appropriate authorization, and the fabrication of information. For details and complete code, see: studentconduct.gwu.edu/code-academic-integrity

Accommodations for Students with Disabilities

Any student who may need an accommodation based on the potential impact of a disability should contact the Disability Support Services office at 202-994-8250 in the Rome Hall, Suite 102, to establish eligibility and to coordinate reasonable accommodations. For additional information see: disabilitysupport.gwu.edu/

Religious Observances
In accordance with University policy, students should notify faculty during the first week of the semester of their intention to be absent from class on their day(s) of religious observance. For details and policy, see: https://registrar.gwu.edu/university-policies#holidays

Mental Health Services 202-994-5300

The University's Mental Health Services offers 24/7 assistance and referral to address students' personal, social, career, and study skills problems. Services for students include: crisis and emergency mental health consultations confidential assessment, counseling services (individual and small group), and referrals. For additional information see: counselingcenter.gwu.edu/

Emergency Preparedness and Response Procedures

The University has asked all faculty to inform students of these procedures, prepared by the GW Office of Public Safety and Emergency Management in collaboration with the Office of the Executive Vice President for Academic Affairs.

To Report an Emergency or Suspicious Activity

Call the University Police Department at 202-994-6111 (Foggy Bottom) or 202-242-6111 (Mount Vernon).

Shelter in Place – General Guidance

Although it is unlikely that we will ever need to shelter in place, it is helpful to know what to do just in case. No matter where you are, the basic steps of shelter in place will generally remain the same.

- If you are inside, stay where you are unless the building you are in is affected. If it is affected, you should evacuate. If you are outdoors, proceed into the closest building or follow instructions from emergency personnel on the scene.
- Locate an interior room to shelter inside. If possible, it should be above ground level and have the fewest number of windows. If sheltering in a room with windows, move away from the windows. If there is a large group of people inside a particular building, several rooms maybe necessary.
- Shut and lock all windows (for a tighter seal) and close exterior doors.
- Turn off air conditioners, heaters, and fans. Close vents to ventilation systems as you are able. (University staff will turn off ventilation systems as quickly as possible).
- Make a list of the people with you and ask someone to call the list in to UPD so they know where you are sheltering and who is with you. If only students are present, one of the students should call in the list.
• Await further instructions. If possible, visit GW Campus Advisories for incident updates (http://CampusAdvisories.gwu.edu) or call the GW Information Line 202-994-5050.
• Make yourself comfortable and look after one other. You will get word as soon as it is safe to come out.

Evacuation

An evacuation will be considered if the building we are in is affected or we must move to a location of greater safety. We will always evacuate if the fire alarm sounds. In the event of an evacuation, please gather your personal belongings quickly (purse, keys, GWorld card, etc.) and proceed to the nearest exit. Every classroom has a map at the door designating both the shortest egress and an alternate egress. Anyone who is physically unable to walk down the stairs should wait in the stairwell, behind the closed doors. Firemen will check the stairwells upon entering the building.

Once you have evacuated the building, proceed to our primary rendezvous location: the courtyard area between the GW Hospital and Ross Hall. In the event that this location is unavailable, we will meet on the ground level of the Visitors Parking Garage (I Street entrance, at 22nd Street). From our rendezvous location, we will await instructions to re-enter the School.

Alert DC

Alert DC provides free notification by e-mail or text message during an emergency. Visit GW Campus Advisories for a link and instructions on how to sign up for alerts pertaining to GW. If you receive an Alert DC notification during class, you are encouraged to share the information immediately.

GW Alert

GW Alert provides popup notification to desktop and laptop computers during an emergency. In the event that we receive an alert to the computer in our classroom, we will follow the instructions given. You are also encouraged to download this application to your personal computer. Visit GW Campus Advisories to learn how.

Additional Information
Additional information about emergency preparedness and response at GW or the University’s operating status can be found on GW Campus Advisories (http://CampusAdvisories.gwu.edu) or by calling the GW Information Line at 202-994-5050.