

China's 'Hard Power' in Africa

The "New Beijing Consensus" and African Security

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INTRODUCTION

SINCE THE FOUNDING OF 'NEW CHINA' in 1949, Sino-Africa steadily growing relations took on a strong ideological thrust. During the ensuing Cold War era, the concept of 'Beijing Consensus' was invoked to describe China's increasing support for Africa's liberation movements and aid to the continent's countries sharing its socialist ideals. China's political role has been eclipsed by its increased involvement in the "New scramble" for Africa's resources and markets in the new millennium.¹ China declared 2006 'Chinese year of Africa.' It started with China issuing China Africa policy paper and ended in China-Africa summit in November. Over 40 African countries gathered in Beijing within the aegis of the China-Africa Cooperation Forum—which marked its 50th anniversary since its establishment in 2000.² Consolidating the forum, China issued the first ever Africa policy paper in January 2006, which now provides a framework on China's engagement with Africa. China has since signed agreements with African countries on trade, investment, natural resources, infrastructure, governance and human resource development. To consolidate Summit agreements in Beijing last year, Chinese president Hu toured Cameroon, Sudan, Namibia, SA, Seychelles, Liberia, Zambia and Mozambique in early 2007.

However, underpinning the 'Beijing Consensus' are strong political imperatives. China has deepened relations with its Cold War allies while extending relations with other resource-

¹ For incisive analysis of the "new scramble for Africa", Margaret Lee, "The 21st Century Scramble for Africa," *Journal of Contemporary African Studies*, 24, 3(September, 2006), pp.304-330.

² Fola Adeola, 'China-Africa Cooperation from an African Perspective' Keynote Address Presented at a Seminar on Supporting Africa's Development: Sharing Experiences to Reduce Poverty, Beijing, China, September 23, 2004, p.1

rich countries like Sudan and Zimbabwe widely described by those allied to the 'Washington Consensus' as 'undemocratic' or pariah. Since 2002, China has provided resources in support of the African Union's efforts to ensure peace and stability on the continent. But China's support for countries involved in conflict or human rights abuses is undermining Africa's efforts to consolidate peace and security. Africa's resources and global voting power are critical to China's effort to consolidate global power.

The concept of 'soft power', in Joseph Nye's sense of use of diplomatic, political and cultural means of engagement, has been used to describe China's involvement in Africa. Despite this, China's role in Africa has a distinct tinge of 'hard power' to it, involving military options. This paper explores the 'hard-power dimension of the Sino-Africa relations. Specifically, it explores the role of China's impact on Africa's new drive for peace and stability through bilateral engagement with African countries and with Africa's emerging peace and security architecture based on the refurbished African union. The paper explores the tension between China's support for countries embroiled in conflict or with bad human rights record, and its support for the initiatives to create a stable continent.

THE BEIJING CONSENSUS: OLD AND NEW

China's involvement in Africa has a long history. China played a pivotal role during liberation struggle in Africa. China continued to support the nationalist movements that were demanding independence and the end of imperialism. It provided military support for Africa on various occasions, as it saw the need for African nationalist movements to disentangle themselves



from the hegemonic West.³ Under Chairman Mao, support was given to countries, organizations and liberation movements stretching from Egypt, to South Africa.⁴ In the 1960's alliance of China and liberations movements was strongly visible. For example, China was closely linked with FNLA of Angola; the PAC of South Africa; COREMO of Mozambique and ZANU of Rhodesia.⁵

China had perceived itself as both the third force and an alternative to the US and Soviet Union during the height of Cold war, when Africa was a battleground in the superpower rivalry.⁶ China fought both superpower domination of Africa and strived for its sphere of influence to the continent. It opposed both US and Russian dominance and pushed independent African countries to be non-aligned. This of course has led to the formation group 77 in 1964. In the 1960's and 1970s, China supported liberation movements in several African countries, gave aid to socialist nations to build stadiums, hospitals, rails roads and other infrastructure and cemented relations through a steady stream of expert engineers, teachers, and doctors.⁷ The involvement of China in Africa was also influenced by the desire to isolate Taiwan as an autonomous state. Aid was used as a tool to support countries

that are not establishing diplomatic relations with Taiwan.

THE NEW CONSENSUS

Why is China's influence in Africa increasing so rapidly? One can answer this question by looking at current national interests. China's national interests lie on expanding current booming economy, which would ultimately help China's global influence in the long term. China's goal now is to ensure that Africa remains a secure source for oil and raw materials, a growing market for Chinese exports and a base of support for China's expanding global interests.⁸ China is being driven to the continent by the need to access natural resources and exporting manufactured goods to the continent. Chinese booming economy requires more energy and raw materials to sustain its rapid industrialisation. Africa therefore, becomes an important continent by virtue of its abundance natural resources such as oil, gas, iron, uranium, gold, diamond, platinum etc. China is on the move to strengthen its relation with the continent for this strategic reason. Furthermore, it appears that in the long-term China wants to undercut the US and European influence especially in Africa. Africa also remains important because the Western influence has been declining seen the end of Cold War.

China's security policy has always been about building safer world. China does acknowledge that the world is still currently facing threats to international peace and security. This is highlighted in the *China's National Defense White Paper* issued in 2006. According to the

³ Judith van de Looy, 'Africa and China: A Strategic Partnership?' *ASC Working Paper 67* (2006), pp. 1-28

⁴ Domingos Jardo Muekalia, 'Africa and China's Strategic Partnership' *African Security Review* 13 (1) (2004), pp.1-11

⁵ Ian Taylor, 'The Ambiguous Commitment: The People's Republic of China and the Anti-Apartheid Struggle in South Africa', *Journal of Contemporary African Studies*, 18,1, (2000), pp.91-106

⁶ Richard J. Payne and Cassandra R. Veney, 'China's Post-Cold War African Policy' *Asian Survey*, vol.38, No.9. (1998), pp. 867-879

⁷ Drew Thompson, 'China's Soft Power in Africa: From the "Beijing Consensus" to Health Diplomacy', *China Brief*, Vol. 5. Issue 21 (2005), pp. 1-9

⁸ David H. Shinn, 'Africa and China's Global Activism' A paper presented at National Defense University Pacific symposium, 'China's Global Activism: Implications for U.S. Security Interests' June 20, 2006



paper, "hegemonism and power politics remain key factors undermining international security."⁹ Furthermore, "Small number of countries...have intensified their military alliances and resorted to force or threats of force in international affairs".¹⁰ What this tells us is that China is not in favor of bipolar world but rather multipolar world.

Now how is China going to respond to these challenges? The current white paper of 2006 emphasized, "To address development and security issues through coordination, cooperation and multilateral mechanism is the preferred approach of the international community."¹¹ China maintains military contacts with other countries on the basis of the principles of peaceful coexistence, and develops cooperative military relations that are non-aligned, non-confrontational and not directed against any third party.¹²

China as a permanent member of United Nations Security Council would use its power to change the current unbalanced international system. China is also in favor of reforming UN Security Council. In the current *China-Africa Strategic Plan 2007-2009* it has been highlighted that, "in reforming the UN Security Council, priority should be given to increasing the representation of developing countries, African countries in particular, and consensus should be

⁹ State Council of Republic of China, 'China's national Defense white paper' December, 2006. <http://www.china.org.cn/english/features/book/194486.htm>

¹⁰ State Council of Republic of China, 'China's national Defense white paper' December, 2006. <http://www.china.org.cn/english/features/book/194486.htm>.

¹¹ State Council of Republic of China, 'China's national Defense white paper' December, 2006. <http://www.china.org.cn/english/features/book/194486.htm>.

¹² State Council of Republic of China, 'China's national Defense white paper' December, 2006. <http://www.china.org.cn/english/features/book/194486.htm>

reached through full and in-depth consultation."¹³ Many African countries perceive China as their representative in the Security Council, and also as a Third world country that faced problems similar to theirs.¹⁴ According to Payne and Veney, China has advocated many issues preoccupying Africa, which included the establishment of a new international order, access by poor countries to deep ocean resources, removal of trade restrictions imposed by the industrial countries against developing states, and the demands for increased international aid to poor countries.¹⁵

CHINA AND AFRICA'S PEACE AND SECURITY ARCHITECTURE

For china to play a meaningful role in supporting peace and security in the continent, China would have to support African regional structures that are in place. Most of these structures were created to foster common development and providing peace and security in Africa. China is playing a crucial role in African Union. Two visible contributions is through conflict prevention and funding AU peace related activities. Providing institutional support to the African regional structures (AU and NEPAD) is the best way to start to help Africa to stabilise the continent. Capacity is highly needed in those structures more notably in a form of financial and military contributions in rebuilding war torn countries. To back up its pronouncement, China is also providing financial and tangible resources to Africa to support peace and security in the continent. In June 2006, China provided US\$1million for

¹³ Forum on China-Africa Cooperation, 'Beijing Action Plan 2007-2009' November 2006

¹⁴ Richard J. Payne and Cassandra R. Veney, 'China's Post-Cold War African Policy' *Asian Survey*, vol.38, No.9. (1998), pp. 867-879

¹⁵ Richard J. Payne and Cassandra R. Veney, 'China's Post-Cold War African Policy' *Asian Survey*, vol.38, No.9. (1998), pp. 867-879



budgetary support of the African Union's Peace and Security Council. Prior to that, in the past six years, China paid US\$300 000 to the African Union to support peace in Africa. In April 2005 China has donated 400 000 US dollars as a special amount to the African Union in supports of continent's peace efforts.¹⁶ Finally, China has also agreed to build AU convention center in Addis Ababa.

China has made a pronouncement to support NEPAD, which intends to support economic recovery of Africa. However, NEPAD put good governance as a priority. NEPAD is advocating for the principles of transparency and good governance such as respecting human rights, environment, and fighting corruption in the continent. The Chinese multinationals need to be engaged by NEPAD to advance these principles in a way of to adhere to good corporate standards or governance. According to Economy, China and its energy and mining firms should be encouraged to sign on the Extractive Industries Transparency Initiative, which requires companies and host governments to publicly disclose transactions.¹⁷ Moreover, Chinese firms can also prove their commitment to transparency, the environment and safe and equitable working conditions by submitting open bids for projects funded by multilateral institutions.¹⁸

¹⁶ People's Daily Online, 'China Funds Africa Union's Peace Efforts' April, 2005.

Http:

English.peopledaily.com.cn/200504/23/eng

¹⁷ Elizabeth Economy, 'The Perils of Beijing's Africa Strategy' International Herald Tribune, November 1, 2006.

<http://www.iht.com/articles/2006/11/01/opinion/edecon.php>

¹⁸ Elizabeth Economy, 'The Perils of Beijing's Africa Strategy' International Herald Tribune, November 1, 2006.

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REGIONAL ECONOMIC COMMUNITIES

Although China's involvement in West Africa is still minimal, the support of Economic Community of West African States (ECOWAS) is expected to grow especially due to increasing Chinese investment in western African countries such Nigeria, Gabon, Liberia, Code d Ivoire. This would also be strategic in terms of protecting Chinese investment in the region. China would prefer a stable West Africa. In 2004, China donated US\$ 120, 000 worth of electronic items to the ECOWAS to support the sub-regional body's peacekeeping missions.¹⁹ The electronics included computers; fax machines, satellite phones and their accessories. More support could be expected especially stabilizing unstable West African countries such as Cote d Ivoire, Equatorial Guinea, Nigger Delta, Liberia, etc.

Cooperation with SADC is also important. Although SADC region is not really experiencing military conflicts, poverty remain a security issue. There has been a major call by SADC civil society groups that robust imports of Chinese goods have contributed to the rise of poverty in the region. China needs to start addressing the issue before it faces massive protests. On the more positive note, in 2006, China has negotiated with South Africa to cut its exports of clothing and textile to South Africa. Another area of collaboration could be on HIV/Aids. China and SADC are yet to come up with clear strategy for cooperation on addressing the deadly disease. HIV/AIDS is now a security issue.

¹⁹ People's daily Online, 'China donates electronic items to west African community' September. 16, 2006.

http://english.peopledaily.com.cn/200409/16/eng20040916_157163.html.



Collaboration in this area is still developing. The current China's Africa policy paper does highlight the collaboration between legislative bodies. In the China-Africa Forum Action Plan 2006-2009 highlighted that exchange in legislative bodies is important, "to promote mutual respect, deepen understanding and enhance cooperation, the two sides will strengthen friendly contacts in various forms between the National People's Congress of China and parliaments of African countries as well as the Pan-African Parliament."²⁰ The fact that they way governance is conducted between the two is different would pose a challenge. Africa is moving into more democratic way and China is still lagging with democratic reforms.

IMPACT ON AFRICAN CONFLICTS

In its new Africa policy issued in January 2006, China is committed towards peaceful and stable Africa. The current commitments are the follow up to an agreement reached in Addis Ababa in 2003. The action plan of Forum of China-Africa Cooperation 2004-2006 adopted in Addis Ababa also highlighted that China would play a pivotal role in ending conflicts in Africa. The two sides vigorously pushed the international community to focus its attention on regional conflicts in Africa and take effective steps to help defuse these conflicts. The two sides will work to safeguard the fundamental interests of Africa in the UN Security Council. China will enhance cooperation with Africa in the prevention, management and resolution of regional conflicts.²¹ Moreover, China will continue its active participation in the peacekeeping operations and de-mining process in Africa and provide, within the limits of its

²⁰ Forum on China-Africa Cooperation, 'Beijing Action Plan 2007-2009' November 2006

²¹ Forum on China-Africa Cooperation, 'Beijing Action Plan 2007-2009' November 2006

capabilities, financial and material assistance as well as relevant training to the Peace and Security Council of the African Union.²²

In a way of supporting peace and security, China has been most active in peacekeeping operations in Africa. Since 1990, China has participated in a total of 12 UN peacekeeping operations in Africa, involving more than 3,000 Chinese peacekeepers.²³ At the present moment, a total of 1,273 Chinese peacekeepers are now working for seven UN missions in Africa.²⁴ Apart from traditional security issues (such as peacekeeping) as, China is also committed to address non-traditional security issues such as "terrorism, small arms trafficking, drug trafficking, illegal migration, transactional economic crimes, infectious diseases and natural disasters have become new variables affecting international and regional security, posing new challenges to the international and regional peace and stability."²⁵ China supports Africa's efforts to prevent and combat terrorism, including its adoption of a counter-terrorism convention and the establishment of a centre of studies and research on terrorism in Algiers.²⁶

One of the areas, which will require special attention as a non-military security threat in Africa, is fighting deadly diseases such as Malaria and HIV/AIDS. Currently 70 percent, or 26.6

²² Forum on China-Africa Cooperation, 'Addis Ababa Action Plan 2004-2006' December 2003

²³ China Economic Net, 'China vows active involvement in UN peacekeeping Africa' October 31, 2006. <http://en.ce.cn/national/government/200610/19>.

²⁴ China Economic Net, 'China vows active involvement in UN peacekeeping Africa' October 31, 2006. <http://en.ce.cn/national/government/200610/19>.

²⁵ Forum on China-Africa Cooperation, 'Addis Ababa Action Plan 2004-2006' December 2003

²⁶ Forum on China-Africa Cooperation, 'Addis Ababa Action Plan 2004-2006' December 2003



million of the world's HIV- infected live in sub-Saharan Africa.²⁷ Malaria is also killing millions of African annually. In the 2007-2009-action plan adopted in the third China-Africa Cooperation Forum, the issues around public health were highly noted. The two sides resolved to increase exchanges and cooperation in the prevention and treatment of HIV/AIDS, malaria, tuberculosis, Ebola, Chikungunya, avian influenza and other communicable diseases and in the fields of quarantine and public health emergency response mechanism.²⁸ In the next three years china would build 30 hospitals and send medical doctors in Africa.

Since the resumption of China-Liberia relations in 2003, China has played a vital role in the post-conflict reconstruction of Liberia. In past, the relations between the two deteriorated due to Liberia's recognition of Taiwan as an independent state, therefore not adhering to "One China Policy". The 2004 Act of the National Legislature of Liberia re-established relations with China and effectively ended any relations at diplomatic level with the renegade province of Taiwan.²⁹ Since then, more than Chinese officers participated in the UN peacekeeping operations in Liberia, including engineers, doctors and transportation

staff.³⁰ Furthermore, in the recent African tour this by Chinese president Hu Chintao announced that more than \$35 million would be committed to aid recovery of Liberia after its ruinous civil war.

China is the strong ally of Sudan. China has the most significant energy interests in Sudan, and its oil companies have been operating in the country since the departure of western oil majors in the mid-1990s.³¹ It has been widely documented that China has to reconcile its economic interests and the Darfur Crisis. China has sold gunship and transport helicopter, and military trucks to Sudan, which has been used in attacks on civilians, most recently in Darfur.³² China has thus far abstained to vote for UN Security Council sanctions on Sudan. China has used its veto-wielding status at the Security Council to prevent harsh measures against Sudan over Darfur Conflict. China's position in Sudan has always been that deploying a United Nations peacekeeping operation in Darfur would require the agreement and cooperation of the Sudanese Government. This is normally a basic requirement for all UN peacekeeping operations. According to China's officials, "China's primary stances are that all issues should be solved through peaceful means and that China does not support forcing countries to accept any conditions."³³

²⁷ *People Daily Online*, 'China, Africa vow closer cooperation in fighting HIV/ AIDS: action plan' November 06, 2006 http://english.people.com.cn/200611/06/eng20061106_318575.html

²⁸ China Embassy, 'Forum on China-Africa Cooperation Beijing Action Plan (2007-2009), November 17, 2006

<http://www.chinaembassy.org.zw/eng/xwdf/t280603.htm>.

²⁹ AllAfrica, 'Liberia: PRC Promises More Support as Sino-Liberian Relations Gain Momentum' October 24, 2006. <http://allafrica.com/stories/200610240633.html>

³⁰ Gov.cn, 'Liberia thanks China for its contribution to UN peacekeeping' September 27, 2006

http://www.gov.cn/misc/2006-09/27/content_400649.htm

³¹ Wenran Jiang, "Hu's SAFARI: China's Emerging Strategic Partnerships in Africa' *China Brief* Vol.VII, Issue 4, February 21, 2007, pp.6

³² Mark Curtus and Clare Hickson, 'Arming and Alarming? Arms exports, peace and Security.'

The New Sinosphere: China in Africa (2006) pp.38

³³ Sudan tribute, 'China, Sudan coordinate positions on UN takeover in Darfur-envoy' October 26,



On the more positive note, according to IRIN news website, on 15 June 2006 Chinese government has granted the African peacekeeping mission in Sudan's Darfur region a total of US\$3.5 million in budgetary support and humanitarian emergency aid.³⁴ In that total amount \$2.5m will be allocated for humanitarian emergency (focusing on refugee issues) and \$1m will be for budgetary support of the African Union's Peace and Security Council. In so doing, China is positioning itself to be a force for good in Sudan where its role has been criticised. In the present visit in February by Chinese President Hu Jintao, China has pressurized the Khartoum government to end the Darfur conflict. China is even promising to make funding available to UN-AU hybrid peacekeeping force in Sudan.

China involvement in Somalia is modest. There are no strategic Chinese interests in that country. However, Chinese President Hu Jintao said China would support Somalia interim government's efforts to seek peace and reconstruction, urging the UN Security Council to grant it more support and assistance.³⁵ However, the Chinese government has not yet indicated whether it would support the proposed AU peacekeeping force in Somalia. It appears that only the US has more interest in Somalia because of its war against terrorism. China seems not to be interested in such issues.

China became a major arms seller to Ethiopia and Eritrea during their 1998-2000 conflict. Therefore, bypassing a UN arms embargo, Beijing sold over \$1

billion in arms to both sides, according to press reports.³⁶ While provision of arms to the two countries poses military threats because the border question is still unresolved. In 2005, Ethiopia and China agreed to forge mutual cooperation in military, exchange of military technologies, and peacekeeping missions.³⁷

At a request of the United Nations, China firstly sent its peacekeeping force into Democratic Republic of Congo in April 2003. It has been reported by Chinese government that during the three years and four months of peacekeeping work, the troop has repaired 3,600 kilometers of roads and 130 bridges, leveled 300,000 square meters of land, taken over and destroyed 80 guns and 5,000 bullets and treated 1,500 kilograms of explosive.³⁸ DRC is also a strategic place for Chinese investment. The vast endowment of natural resources in DR Congo is important to quench Chinese thirst for minerals. The contribution of China towards post-reconstruction of Congo is expected to rise in the next three years.

Maintaining strong relations with African strong governments such as South Africa is also important for China to find long-term solutions to peace and security. China is strengthening relations with South Africa and they have both vested interests on Africa. China regards South Africa as a regional power in Southern Africa and to the rest of the continent. This really means that China

2006. <http://www.sudantribute.com/spip>

³⁴ IRIN news, 'Africa: China gives \$3.5m for AU mission in Darfur', June 2006.

<http://www.irinnews.org/report>

³⁵ Peoples Daily Online, "China supports Somali to seek peace" November 07, 2007. http://english.people.com.cn/200611/07/eng20061107_319170.html.

³⁶ David Shinn and Joshua Eisenman, 'Dealing Priorities for Beijing in the Horn of Africa', *China Brief*, Vol. 5, Issue 21 (2005), pp. 1-9.

³⁷ Joshua Eisenman and Joshua Kurlantzick, 'China's Africa Strategy' *Current History*, (2006) pp.219-224

³⁸ GOV.cn "China plays active role in safeguarding peace, stability in Africa" October 11, 2006.

http://www.gov.cn/misc/2006-10/11/content_410363.htm.



will have to engage South Africa on matters concerning the continent. Pretoria has interests for African recovery, and therefore, this is a suitable time for SA to mobilise resources for the African Union and NEPAD through China. The present China's policy to Africa has highlighted that China will cooperate with regional institutions such as AU and NEPAD to resolve conflicts and other challenges facing the continent. Pretoria will have to persuade China for these commitments to be realised. Since early January 2007, South Africa is serving in UN Security Council, where China is a member of permanent five. South Africa would be there for the next coming two years. Pretoria has an opportunity to work together with China especially on peace and security issues. Pretoria has an opportunity to work together with China on peace and security issues especially stabilising Sudan where China has a strongest influence.

CHINA AND AFRICA'S SECURITY ARCHITECTURE

An air of frustration now envelops most capitals regarding the Sudanese government's reluctance to end the violence in Darfur. However, consensus is building that diplomacy still offers the best chance for a durable solution to the crisis.

On 12 February 2007, UN envoy Jan Eliasson and Salim Ahmed Salim, the AU envoy, arrived in Khartoum to try to revive the May 2006 peace deal signed by the government and some rebel groups. Members of the joined Commission for the DPA include the UN, the AU, the European Union, the United States. Following a meeting of the Commission in North Darfur, a communiqué was signed by representatives of the UN, the AU, the European Union, the United States as members, and Canada, France, the League of Arab States, the Netherlands,

Egypt and the United Kingdom as observers.

still threatens the South African democratic stability. China-South Africa a relation has to find answers on how to contribute to poverty alleviations. South Africa's textile union says about 100 000 jobs have been lost and last year threatened to boycott anyone selling Chinese products.³⁹ As a result of that, China recently agreed to impose voluntary quotas on its exports of textiles to the South African market.

IMPACT ON GOVERNANCE

Since the military and economic sanctions imposed by western powers in Zimbabwe, the country has developed the 'Look East Policy' of which China is the main partner. Since 2000, the political crisis unfolding in Zimbabwe has led to sanctions imposed by the west. Since then, Zimbabwe has developed a "Look East Policy" to survive. China is the most strategic partner in that policy. In 2004, despite the U.S and EU arms embargo against Zimbabwe, China sold Zimbabwe fighter aircraft and military vehicles for \$200 Million.⁴⁰ This has beefed up the military capacity of Mugabe's regime, which has continued to repress opposition parties in Zimbabwe.

China has continued to beef up military capacity of Zimbabwe. According to General Philip Sibanda (Head of Zimbabwe National Army, 'The police and the army have been undergoing training for the past six months in how to

³⁹ Michele Faul, 'Mixed reaction to China's Africa push' February 08, 2007. http://www.mg.co.za/articlepage.aspx?area=/breaking_news_Africa/...

⁴⁰ Peter Brookes and Ji Hye Shin, 'China's Influence in Africa: Implications for the United Nations' February, 2006, <http://www.heritage.org/Research/Asiaandthepacific>



“deal with urban disturbances” after an intelligence report was issued on the potential for massive civil unrest, given the deepening economic crisis in the country.⁴¹ Training had been underway at the King George IV army headquarters and the Chikurubi police-training depot. The government has been facing threat of urban revolts since political and economic crisis started seven years ago.

Zambia is also experience huge influx of Chinese businessmen and investment. While many Zambians welcome the Chinese presence, there has been a backlash fuelled by workplace accidents, poor working conditions and low pay at Chinese-run copper mines.⁴² Hu's stop in Zambia in February 2007 was marked by efforts from both sides to defuse criticisms, with Beijing offering Zambia \$800 million in special loans and canceling \$350 million in debts that Zambia owed to China.⁴³

Angola is emerging from the longest civil war that ended in 2003. Since then China has deepened its relations with Angola. Angola has become the second largest supplier of oil to China. As a result, China has become an important partner for post-conflict reconstruction of Angola. In Angola, Ian Taylor argues, “the great danger is that China's rapidly developing relationship with Angola allows the elites in Luanda to be corrupt and ignore governance norms—all in the name of ‘non-interference’ in domestic affairs, a discourse that China assiduously

promotes.”⁴⁴ China intervention in Angola has made it difficult for International Monetary Fund (IMF) to push Angolan corrupt officials to full transparency especially with managing oil revenues.

CONCLUSION

China's role in Africa continues to deepen in economic and political dimensions. This expansion has introduced new dynamics in the areas peace and security. Although Beijing's support for the African Union has contributed towards Africa's capacity to maintain peace and consolidate democratic governance, its engagement with regimes criticized for their human rights record or countries torn by conflict has tended to stoke the continent's stability. This tension must be resolved if Beijing is to contribute positively to Africa's sustainable development. Africa is critical to China's ambitions for global power, given its voting power in the United Nations—about a third of the UN's 92-member states. But success in drawing Africa on its side in the emerging global power divide has the potential rekindling the Cold War-style ideological conflicts, with the likelihood of undermining the continent's long-term stability. Sino-Africa partnership is deepening, but addressing the risks posed by China's power ambitions is central to ensuring the sustainability and mutual benefit of this partnership.

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⁴² Michele Faul, ‘Mixed reaction to China's Africa push’ February 08, 2007. http://www.mg.co.za/articlepage.aspx?area=/breaking_news_Africa/...

⁴³ Wenran Jiang, ‘Hu's SAFARI: China's Emerging Strategic Partnerships in Africa’ *China Brief* Vol.VII, Issue 4, February 21, 2007, pp.5

⁴⁴ Ian Taylor, ‘China's oil diplomacy in Africa’ *International Affairs* 82: 5 (2006), pp.948



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