

Into the Dragon's Claws: China's Soft Power in Africa

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Abstract

In my literature-based research I will use the given data to project potential Chinese movements for the coming years in the African region. As this period represents the transition from socialist to neo-colonial policies and from a developing nation to a superpower; some possible directions for Chinese future policy goals in the region are as follows:

1. **Neocolonial Superpower:** China creates a new colonial system and abuses the nations of Africa into becoming subservient by buying them off with infrastructure and "special aid".
2. **Partner in Arms:** China refrains from abusing Africa and as such they grow together. This followed more closely with their original intents in the 1960s.
3. **Failed Powershift:** China makes a critical mistake in its foreign policy gamble. The result is losing out on Africa due to a combination of low profits, rebellion/displeasure of African states, and aggressive pushes by other powers.

I choose to examine these potential futures by analyzing the factors of politics, culture, and economics, since these are the most crucial parts in the Chinese efforts to secure a foreign policy victory. Chinese politics covers the cultural mindset domestically and abroad through how China is exporting their viewpoints and securing trust. While, economics provides the hardline reasoning for opting to attack via soft power options. I will also gauge the capabilities of the other major powers in the region namely France, Russia, and the United States to understand their responses in these scenarios.

Acronyms for Reference Throughout

AFRICOM: United States Africa Command	CHN: China
CAR: Central African Republic	FRA: France
FOCAC: Forum on China Africa Cooperation	UN: United Nations
ODA: Official Developmental Assistance	US: United States
NGO: Non-governmental Organization	SEZ: Special Economic Zone
WTO: World Trade Organization	AU: African Union
HIPC: Highly Indebted Poor Countries	EU: European Union
CADF: China-Africa Development Fund	USD: United States Dollar
GDP: Gross Domestic Product	WWII: World War Two
PRC: Peoples Republic of China	
OPEC: Organization of the Petroleum Exporting Countries	
BRICS: Brazil, Russia, India, China, South Africa (Economic Agreement)	

"Power does not corrupt. Fear corrupts...Perhaps the fear of a loss of power."

-John Steinbeck (*"The Short Reign of Pippin IV"* 2007, p. 102)

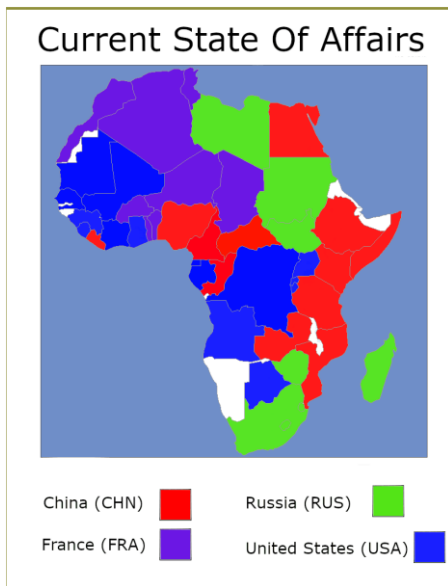
The Methodology Behind the Projections: Factors and Cases

Figure 1 (Pictured Above) My Current State of Affairs Map (2020 Schroeder)

This paper will examine the development of Chinese foreign policy towards Africa as it relates to the future. It will accomplish this by developing a model of predictability based upon three primary factors being the political, economic, and cultural realms. The political realm will entail the details necessary for the examination of the Chinese mindset domestically and abroad. This means that political actions such as diplomatic summits, pertinent speeches, and decrees/laws will be subject for review. The

economic realm will investigate the economic reasoning for being

in Africa; namely, the desperate need of raw goods for their manufacturing economy. Through the use of dependency theory, the idea that resources that flow from the poorer/underdeveloped nations to a richer nation, benefits the richer nation to the detriment of the poorer. (Ref. 1990 Haggard) The last realm, culture, will be used to understand how China is exporting their viewpoints and securing an ideological foothold in Africa through the power of language and values as a weapon in the pursuit of national interests by considering the effects of the mass immigration of Chinese citizens to Africa and the Confucius Institutes.

To further assist in this endeavor four nations have been chosen as representative case studies: Djibouti, Ghana, Tanzania, and the Central African Republic. Djibouti is a small nation bordering Somalia whose main purpose for being included in this paper is to represent a micro chasm of the whole of Africa. It accomplishes this due to its competing influences of the United States, China, France, and Japan who are attempting to control the area due to its geographic importance on the Red Sea. The West African nation of Ghana will serve as a view of the

Western powers i.e. the US's influence in the region and its effects on the local populace.

Comparatively, Tanzania will be representative of China's increasing influence in Africa; while the CAR will function as Russia's influence in less stable states. The goal of this paper is to understand Chinese grand strategy by ascertaining the reasoning behind the Chinese movements in the African continents; thus, assisting in the presentation of theoretical models. These models are a good indication of what could happen in the near future better predicting the course of action for China and the other powers in the region namely the United States, France, and Russia.

A Brief History of Chinese Foreign Policy

Phase	Evolution	Characteristics
Pre-nineteenth century until 1949	In the first quarter of the fifteenth century Chinese labourers and traders came to several regions of Africa. After taking power in 1912, Sun Yat Sen and the Republic of China developed official relations, notably with South Africa.	Chinese labour migration to South Africa and Madagascar.
Mao Zedong (1949-76)	The seizure of power by the Communist Party of China (CPC) in 1949 did not result immediately in any significant outreach to Africa. Mao Zedong was preoccupied with consolidating his rule in the early years of the new regime. With the decolonization of African countries, China began to pursue a more pragmatic policy in Africa and achieved a huge political victory in October 1971—admission to the United Nations.	After the Bandung conference of 1955, the PRC's Five Principles of Peaceful Coexistence were established and remain essential to China's foreign policy until today. They include: mutual respect for sovereignty and territorial integrity, mutual nonaggression, non-interference in each other's internal affairs, equality and mutual benefit, and peaceful coexistence.
Deng Xiaoping (1978-92)	The number of African countries recognizing Beijing's 'One China' policy increased from forty-four in the 1970s to forty-eight in the 1980s; fifty-five African presidents visited China from 1981 to 1989.	But China's economic modernization left the country short of capital and unable to provide Africa with the same level of economic assistance.
Jiang Zemin (1992-2002)	This period witnessed an intensification of China-Africa diplomatic relations and unprecedented high-level Chinese official visits to several African countries. For example, Jiang Zemin made state visits in 1996 to Kenya, Egypt, Ethiopia, Mali, Namibia, and Zimbabwe. For the first time, China deployed personnel to a UN peacekeeping operation in 1989.	The main features of China's involvement with Africa are reflected in five areas: development aid; considerable increase in arms export; increased trade; loans for infrastructure; UN peacekeeping.
Hu Jintao (2002-12)	When Hu Jintao relinquished power in 2012, only four African countries—Eswatini, Burkina Faso, Gambia, and São Tomé and Príncipe—recognized Taiwan. This represented a significant victory for Beijing's 'One China' policy.	The second FOCAC ministerial meeting took place in Addis Ababa in 2003 attended by Premier Wen Jiabao, thirteen African leaders, and more than seventy ministers from Africa and China. In a side session, nearly a hundred Chinese business representatives assembled to meet with their African counterparts.
Xi Jinping (2013-)	Xi Jinping oversaw the 6th FOCAC, China released its second Africa policy paper. It emphasized the following themes (China, 2015): <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Enhancing political mutual trust. • Deepening cooperation in international affairs. • Deepening economic and trade cooperation. • Deepening and expanding cultural and people-to-people exchanges. • Promoting peace and security in Africa. The key initiative for achieving this new order is Xi Jinping's Belt and Road Initiative (BRI). China agrees to new projects; they routinely become part of BRI.	During the 6th FOCAC, China announced a US\$60 billion loan, trade, and aid package to African countries. The package also included debt relief to the least developed African countries. China also announced more scholarships for African students to study in China. By 2015, there were almost fifty thousand African students studying in China.

Figure 2 (Pictured Above) Table on the History of China-Africa Relations (2019 Oqubay)

The table above shows the necessary information to understand the relationship China has with Africa up to the present times in which is our focus. In 2019 China celebrated the 70th anniversary of the founding of the PRC. This culminated with a speech from President Xi

Jinping who said, "Looking at the world at large, we're facing a period of major change never seen in a century. No matter what these changes bring, China will remain resolute and confident in its defense of its national sovereignty and security. And China's sincerity and goodwill to safeguard world peace and promote common development will remain unchanged. We will continue to push ahead with the joint construction of the 一带一路 or Belt and Road Initiative and continue to advocate for the development of a community of shared future for mankind. And we will work tirelessly for a more prosperous and beautiful world." (2019 New Year Speech). China decided to push their Belt and Road Initiative an ambitious project to promote globalization by incorporating global trade via both land and sea methods. This very same project would be spoken on later that year in June while at the World Economic Forum in which President Xi explained that China's Belt and Road Initiative would stick to the idea of an open and pluralistic global economy as China will continue to expand and relax their markets rule to push ahead globalization and the idea of multilateral trade. Moreover, that they would put people first by sharing technologies (such as 5G) and providing aid for the poor to assist those in developing nations. All while maintaining better communications and pursuing a greener tomorrow so that they could build coexistence.¹ This is the subject of this paper's examination into the foreign policy goals of China as they relate to Africa; the idea of China's united world. Does China mean these things? Is there a potential for peaceful coexistence? The answer remains to be seen.

¹ The St. Petersburg Speech for reference: Xi, Jinping. (2019). *Xi's Speech at St. Petersburg International Economic Forum, June 7, 2019*

The General Political Stratagem

The general political objective of China is to acquire more international support for their policy goals. To accomplish this, China's plan is to incentivize and support struggling nations in order to gain favor. In gaining this favor the plan is to institute a form of quid pro quo so that they can maintain control over the relationship.

This quid pro quo could vary well consist of aid in exchange for yes/no votes in the UN or investment in exchange for protection from other foreign powers. It simply is a matter of acquiring favors. That is what the political strategy of China is—the acquiring and use of political favor.

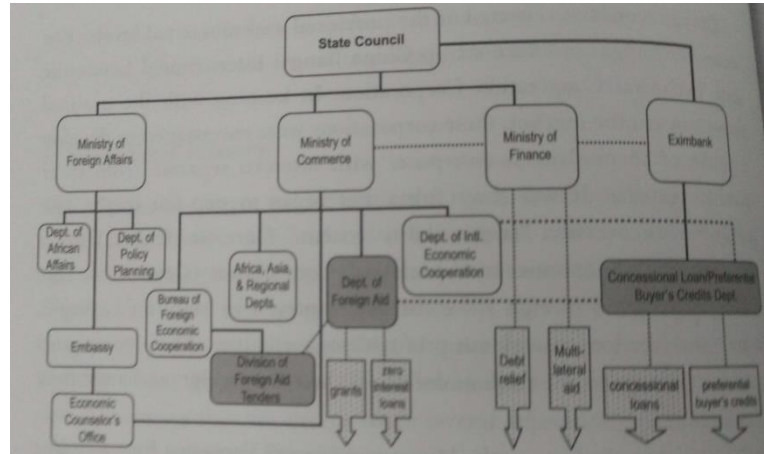


Figure 3 (Pictured Right) Organization Chart for Chinese Governmental Decision Making

The General Economic Stratagem

China's economic objective is simple, attain raw materials to feed its starving industry.² China is an industrious economy that is needing inputs and their input stock needs to come from somewhere. Notably Africa has those inputs in abundance currently and China just needs to find a way to attain them. Their current method of doing this is to execute a three-pronged attack of SEZ's, Loans, and Aid. SEZ's or Special Economic Zones are "liberal investment environments focused on strategic industries to attract foreign companies." (2008 Rotberg) These SEZ's provide benefits for designated essential or preferential industry's including tax breaks and less

² See Chapter 10 Resource Strategy in a Changing World: Economy, E., & Levi, M. A. (2015). *By All Means Necessary: How Chinas Resource Quest is Changing the World*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

competition.³ By getting African nations to do this China can plant mini monopolies all over the continent and chip away at local GDP's by undercutting local sellers. The Loans are predatory starting out with little to know interest only to be increased exponentially up some years down

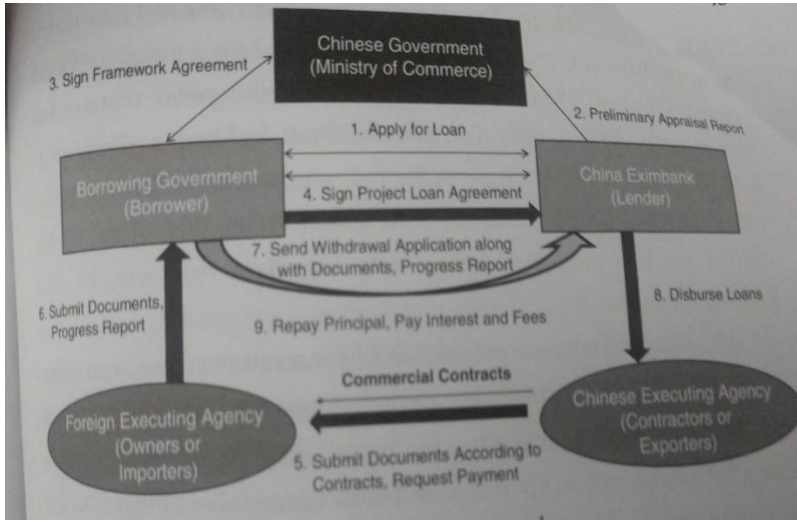


Figure 4 (Pictured Left) The Chinese Loan Cycle (2009 Brautigam)

the line. They work like so the Chinese government gives the go ahead to money to a lender to examine a nations legitimacy the lender then transports it through several middle men (continuously editing the deal in their favor along the way) until it reaches the

borrowing government who can choose to sign or withdrawal. Lastly, there is aid which is divided into two different section regular aid like CADF or “special aid”.⁴ Regular aid is nothing special it is food, supplies, needed infrastructure, etc. “special aid” is where things start to get interesting. “Special aid” has included the likes of Olympic size swimming pools, personal residences, and other vanity projects. This aid is essentially a form of bribery under the guise of gifts to keep corrupt officials happy so that they can continue to do their work.

The General Culture Stratagem

The Chinese export more than just goods, transversely, culture is also exported. Through tools like the Confucius Institutes and mass immigration, China is effectively altering the

³ For more information on SEZ's: Alden, C. (2007). *China in Africa (African arguments)*. London; New York: Zed Books.

⁴ More on “special aid”: Brautigam, D. (2009). *The Dragon's Gift: The Real Story of China in Africa*. Oxford [England]; New York: Oxford University Press.

population and the views of African nations. Confucius Institutes are schools on Chinese culture that include lessons on language, calligraphy, dance, and even Eastern medicine.⁵ This is a brilliant way to educate young people on your nation's culture and identity and a more effective way to slowly acquire trust and investment. The US has recently concluded that there are potential predatory practices with these organizations and there are Africans who believe that this expression of soft power is too much.⁶ In addition, China has been sending over numerous people to run its businesses and to occupy these nations.⁷ This sheer body count allows for the change of culture as well as these nations become less homogenous there is the argument that the original population loses its power.⁸ Both of which could be utilized to normalize the Chinese presence in the region allowing for an ease into globalization or domination.

Research on Trial: The Scenario Hypothesis

This paper has three main questions: Who are the major powers in the African region? What is the Chinese Grand Strategy for the African Region and its potential outcomes? Coupled with, what are the potential actions of these major powers in each scenario? In examining the region and selecting which powers I consider as *major* in the region I looked to see who the most invested nations in Africa are currently. The four that arose to the top of this process were China,

⁵ For more programs: Programs. (n.d.). Retrieved from <https://www.ciuscenter.org/about-confucius-institutes/programs/>

⁶ For more on the US Findings: Senate inquiry finds problems with China-funded Confucius Institute at U.S. campuses. (2019, February 27). Retrieved from <https://www.latimes.com/business/la-na-pol-senate-china-confucius-institute-campus-20190227-story.html>

⁷ For more on the Anti-Institute Argument: Van den Heever, C. (2018). *Inside Africa's Confucius Institutes*. Afro - American Red Star, pp. S9-S10.

⁸This is a good resource on the topic of mass immigration: French, H. W. (2015). *Chinas Second Continent How a Million Migrants are Building a New Empire in Africa*. New York: Vintage Books.

the United States, Russia, and France. China's has been present in Africa since the 1960's with one of the largest works projects the Tan-Zam Railroad providing a strong relationship between African nations and China. China was thusly chosen based on this history and the current movements they are making towards the region through efforts like the Belt and Road Initiative which includes plans to connect East Africa to West Africa (Ghana to Tanzania) via the proposed Trans-African Railroad. Their work in the building of their largest oversea military bases in Djibouti in 2018 suggesting a stronger presence of Chinese power in the region in the future. The United States was chosen based on the creation and use of AFRICOM which has been active since 2006 who work to better secure the region through strategic deterrence and military operations. It also bolsters strong relationships with various West African nations working to provide options for students to learn about them with programs like Fulbright. Russia was chosen due to its various dealings in the region most notably the UN sanctioned peace deal with the CAR. Such an action allowing them to sell weapons to the region in the midst of a civil war. Its presence in groups like OPEC and BRICS also help it to maintain a state of influence in the region. The final chosen power was France who has a monopoly on many African nations as the French back the CFA franc; which is two currencies of six West African nations and eight Central African Nations including Niger and the CAR.⁹ It also processes soft power in the region via its language which is spoken in 29 francophone nations including Djibouti and the CAR.

The Chinese Grand Strategy appears to be to cement itself as a world power by developing political, economic, and cultural relations with the world. To do this in Africa their main objectives are to acquire natural resources to support their economy, secure/build new trade

⁹ For further information on the CFA Franc: CFA franc. (2020, April 11). Retrieved from https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/CFA_franc

routes (Belt and Road Initiative), and place businesses and bases in key areas so that they have a physical presence in the region. The other major players reactions to these objectives are subject to variation so to better understand how this strategy would work in practice I choose four nations to be representative micro-chasms of Africa. Djibouti to represent the opportunity of Africa specifically in trade, Ghana to represent the opportunity of Africa in aid, Tanzania to represent the opportunity of Africa in corruption, and the CAR to represent the opportunity of Africa in war. These nations were further chosen to be representative of Africa as each player has a stake in each nation China to Tanzania, the US to Ghana, Russia to the CAR, and France to Djibouti. Therefore, giving the best possible viewpoint on each potential move in the nation of Africa in the coming decades.

Examining Djibouti

Djibouti is a small stable country bordered by Somalia and Ethiopia with a current rising GDP annual growth rate of 7%.¹⁰ The reason that Djibouti is doing so well is due to its geography (not due to natural resources but to location) which has allowed it to flourish. This action sparked the idea for the policy makers of the nation to want to transform their nation into the next Dubai. Due to this plan they are becoming risk takers in the geopolitical game. This act allows foreign powers to build on their land as their eastern coastline provides a convenient connection to the Mediterranean and Arab trading world with nearly “25% of the worlds exports pass[ing] through its waters, including 4.8 million barrels of crude oil and refined petroleum products on a daily base.” (Goeconomics of Djibouti Port, 3:06-3:18) Thus making the nation of

¹⁰ For more information on GDP: Djibouti GDP1985-2019 Data: 2020-2022 Forecast: Historical: Chart: News. (n.d.). Retrieved from <https://tradingeconomics.com/djibouti/gdp>

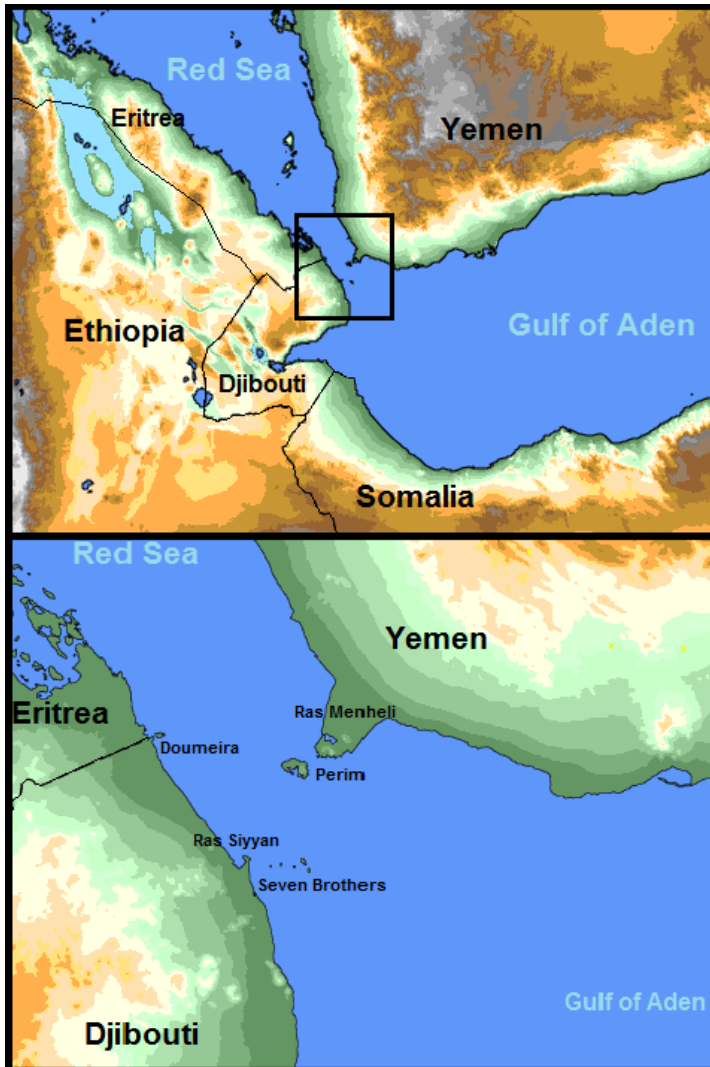


Figure 5 (Pictured Above) Map of Djibouti and Surrounding Nations (Bab-el-Mandeb, 2020)

strategic importance to the powers who are vying for control of Africa. Djibouti is educated on this and is playing a dangerous game by accepting military bases from numerous powers (US, CHI, FRA) within its borders. Djibouti is able to secure this due to the knowledge that it holds a monopoly on the Bab-El-Mandeb Strait a 20-mile span of water required for trade that is otherwise surrounded by weak/failing states; which is further trimmed to about 12.5 miles when within Djibouti's territorial waters.¹¹ This trade route is so crucial for international affairs as controlling or influencing it would mean theoretically controlling 25% of the world's exports. This is big news and the reason why the superpowers of the region are

trying to impose their influence. This also gives the nation of Djibouti a chance to become an economic powerhouse by generating wealth (upwards of 300 million USD annually) by leasing land for bases. It should be noted this nation also functions as Ethiopia's port which allows the

¹¹ For further info on the Bab-El-Mandeb Strait The Editors of Encyclopaedia Britannica. (2006, December 28). Bab el-Mandeb Strait. Retrieved from <https://www.britannica.com/place/Bab-El-Mandeb-Strait>

large nation to push goods through via railways. Essentially the policy makers of this nation are sacrificing their political freedoms and land for economic freedom and international power. This cause/effect relationship making Djibouti a force to be reckoned with or a tool to be utilized depending on how relations pan out.

Examining Ghana



Ghana is a West African nation about the size of Oregon that borders Togo and Cote d'Ivoire with the Gulf of Guinea.¹² It is known for overwhelming natural resources, sandy beaches, and for being one of Africa's strongest civil

Figure 6 (Pictured Above) Chinese and Ghanaian Construction Workers (Olander 2016)

societies. It is widely considered by the West as a model for democracy in Africa, and as such, is considered an ally in the region.

Although there have been rumblings in the nation as piracy has been on the rise in the nation's territorial waters; conversely human trafficking in the nation has also increased. Ghana is being neglected by the powers that once called it friend. The US argues that they have had good relations since their independence have been focusing on other matters. France who has "70 French companies established in the country in a large range of sectors, 60 of them being

¹² More information Ghana found here: The World Factbook: Ghana. (2018, February 1). Retrieved from <https://www.cia.gov/library/publications/the-world-factbook/geos/gh.html>

established as subsidiaries, and 15 being established as their own” (2018 Economic relations between France and Ghana) is also being neglectful.¹³ This is creating a rift between Ghana and the West as they seek to become more independent looking towards other nations to partner with to further develop their nation and their economy. Aware of this China is investing in the nation with Beijing's “win-win” rhetorical promises.¹⁴ This is allowing for the tides to shift and the power structures in the region to be disrupted. Demonstratively emphasizing the power of opportunity that is present for nations like this and the opportunistic powers that take advantage of this.

Examining Tanzania

Tanzania is an East African nation that borders Uganda, Mozambique, Kenya, and the Indian Ocean. Tanzania is known for its abundance of natural resources mainly for use in agriculture and mineral mining as the nation is rich in gold and other precious metals.¹⁵ Unfortunately, the nation is not as well equipped as Ghana to deal with crisis's as it is still recovering from poor circumstances. Tanzania has a rapidly drained supply of food due to an influx of refugees into the nation from surrounding nations. Their recovery continues to be slow and tumultuous as the corruption in the government of the nation is rampant; serving to only

¹³ For further information on US Relations with Ghana: U.S. Relations With Ghana - United States Department of State. (2019,6 March). Retrieved from <https://www.state.gov/u-s-relations-with-ghana/>

¹⁴ See Chapter 8 for more info on Ghana and Chinas relations: French, H. W. (2015). Chinas Second Continent How a Million Migrants are Building a New Empire in Africa. New York: Vintage Books.

¹⁵ For further information on Tanzania's natural resources: Natural resources use in Tanzania. (2020, April 15). Retrieved from https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Natural_resources_use_in_Tanzania

keep the people ignorant to the ways of the world and the world away from it.¹⁶ Yet, the nation does need to function or more aptly the pocketbooks of corrupt officials need to be filled to keep things in order. Collectively, other nations fail to consider this and as such are not winning the favor of the nation. China however does recognize this epitome accomplishing its goals by

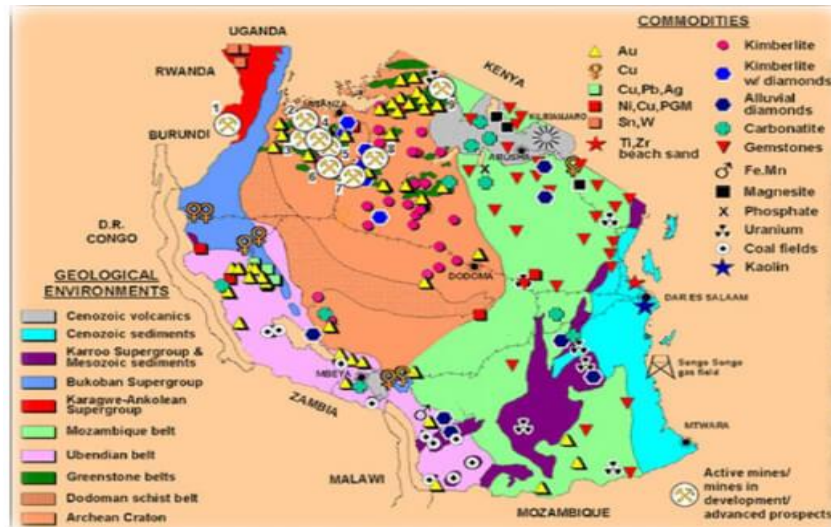


Figure 7 (Pictured Right) Tanzanian Resource Map (Fancher 2017)

playing to the interests and desires of the nation. This quid pro quo allows for more liberal use of “special aid” which then allows China to weasel its way into acquiring the natural resources it so desperately needs.¹⁷ This presents a paradigm in which one’s loyalty can be bought at the national level. Creating a system in which checks, and balances consist of the checks and balances in one’s back pocket providing profit for the greedy and the ample all at once.

Examining the Central African Republic CAR

The Central African Republic or CAR is a landlocked nation located in the center of the African continent bordering Chad, Sudan, and the Republic of the Congo. It is known as one of the worlds least developed economies with nearly 60% of the nation’s GDP being agriculturally based with timber has accounting for about 16% of export earnings with diamond mining being

¹⁶For further information on Tanzania’s recovery: Chiteji, F. M., & Mascarenhas, A. C. (2019, October 4). The United Republic: Challenges into the 21st century. Retrieved from <https://www.britannica.com/place/Tanzania/Challenges-into-the-21st-century>

¹⁷ Example of Chinese Quid Pro Quo: *China, Tanzania vow to implement outcome of Focac Beijing summit*. (2018). Retrieved from https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=fDmB_ELgKtI



Figure 8 (Pictured Left) Central African Republic Militants (Verini 2014)

nearly 54%.¹⁸ Being an unstable weak state where skirmishes and war are abundant to influence this type of nation will require some hardline thinking or some underhanded dealing. France attempted to acquire this influence in the mid 2010’s when in “in early December 2013 [France sent troops] to restore

order in the landlocked, mineral-rich African country after clashes between Christian and Muslim groups ripped apart its capital, leaving dozens of people dead”. (2014 Landauro, I.) Russia however has secured a foothold when in 2018 the UN dictated that they were allowed to start selling weapons in the region.¹⁹ Thus creating a dysfunctional state that is a literal and geopolitical battleground where the new player has the option to change the rules. China needs raw goods and the CAR needs manufactured goods; this is the match that China hopes for in

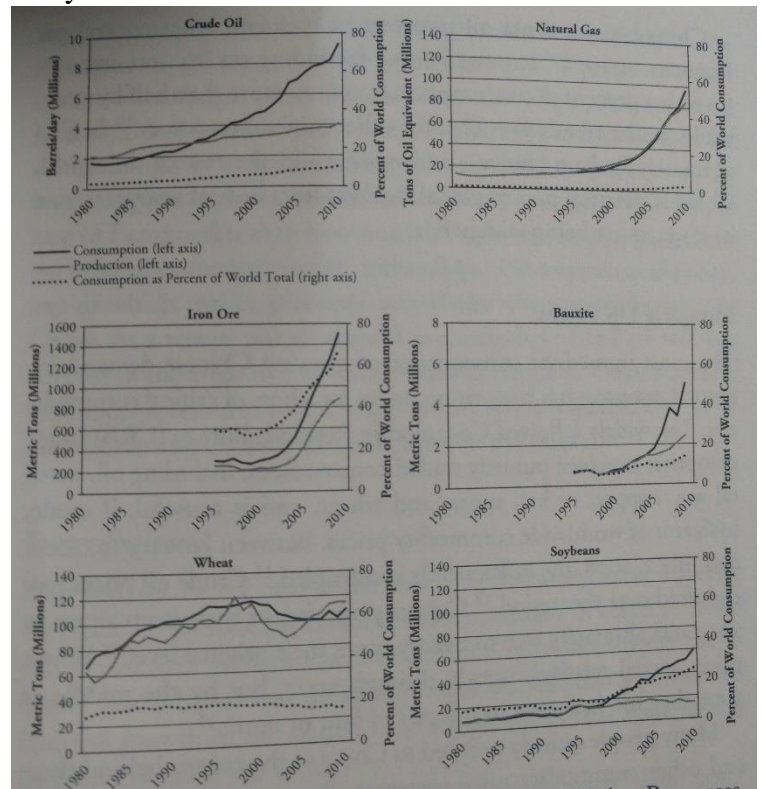


Figure 9 (Pictured Above) Chinese Consumption and Production of Resources (Economy 2015)

¹⁸For further information on the CAR’s Economy: Economy of the Central African Republic. (2020, March 14). Retrieved from https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Economy_of_the_Central_African_Republic

¹⁹ For further information on Russia’s weapon sales: Kelemen, M. (2018, April 7). Russia's Inroads In Africa. Retrieved from <https://www.npr.org/2018/04/07/600482806/russias-inroads-in-africa>

developing a foothold in a nation. The numbers are telling, as “[i]n 2002, trade volume between both nations accounted for US\$ 1.944 million with US\$ 0.687 stemming from China's export and US\$ 1.257 million from the China's import.” (2017 Essays UK) This shows that there is a market and with China's investment strategy they appear like a savior to these types of nations while the ways of the West seem more like the destroyers. Weak states like the CAR exist all throughout Africa and they need aid to survive. However, with the new aid options present with China they are no longer regulated to just the US or France. The demand has not changed the supply has.

Setting the Stage

The stage is set, and the major players are ready to take their places. Progressively this paper has examined the Grad Strategy of China in Africa and the nations it effects. Cautiously taking heed to examine four representative cases; Djibouti, Ghana, Tanzania, and the CAR to better explain the predictions contained within to avoid conjecture. Consider these cases as each scenario is presented; look for how their archetype shines through, and how it has helped me to draw my predictions.

Scenario 1: Neocolonial Superpower

China is currently on a resource quest. They need raw goods for their manufacturing. Africa has said goods and under this projection China would acquire these goods in a manner like the colonialists of old. China would accomplish this by setting up SEZ's in which their people that they are shipping over could work and live. This would allow for a cultural shift as Africans in the affected regions would need to work under the Chinese or not at all as the ratio between the native population and Chinese decreases. The affected nations lose all agency. In this

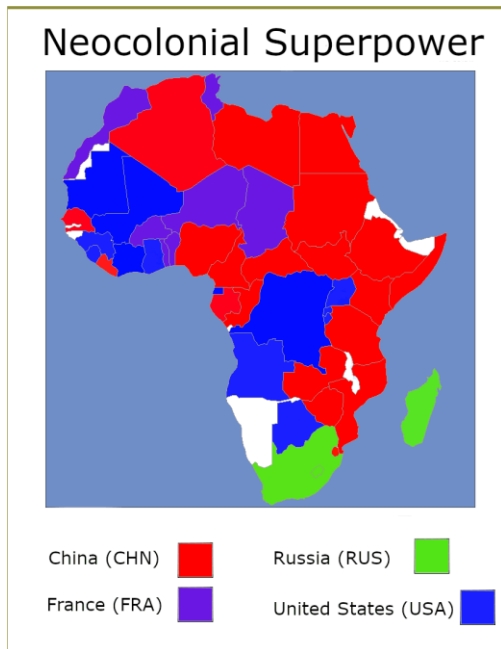


Figure 10 (Pictured Left) Neocolonial Superpower Map (Schroeder 2020)

scenario China has acted like a loan shark locking in HIPC's into so that in exchange for "special aid" (Ref. 2013 Mohan) on top of ODA these nations are required to bend to its will. Thus, creating a dependency on China through a circle of debt. This is a primary example of dependency theory in action. Politically this will allow China to secure a stronger presence in international affairs by securing African nations votes in the UN and the AU is aligned with its interests. This is possible as in

"2005 when there was a debate about enlarging the United Nations Security Council, China encouraged

African countries to demand their own seat with a veto which effectively killed off Japan's bid for a permanent Security Council seat. Equally, Beijing has been willing to allow the Organization of Islamic States to take the lead in weakening the new Human Rights Council."

(Leonard 2009, *Unrestricted Warfare*) It is this encouragement approach that has allowed them to gain influence on the world stage. As in "1995 the USA won 50.6 percent of the votes in the United Nations general assembly; [but] by 2006, the figure had fallen to just 23.6 percent. On human rights, the results are even more dramatic: China's win-rate ha[d] rocketed from 43 percent to 82 percent, while the USA's has tumbled from 57 per cent to 22 percent." (Leonard 2009, *Unrestricted Warfare*) This is real and if necessary, coercion will be used in this process.

Economically this will solve the issues that are present for the nation as they would have a monopoly on the African nation's raw materials selling manufactured goods to the African peoples at an unprecedented rate in the meantime; undercutting local business and forcing people

to buy Chinese goods. This forced sale comes from the result of the removal of the Multi-Fiber Agreement of 2005 which lifted the “long-standing U.S. quota limiting the import of Chinese textiles and apparel”. (Rotberg 2008, pg.70) This resulted in job loss and the closure of factories in nations like Zimbabwe, South Africa, and Ghana. Allowing China to project a culture of superiority where the native Africans remain subservient and revert to an existence akin to indentured servitude.²⁰

The American Response

In this scenario the US will be working overtime trying to recuperate any loss of support in the region. The neglectful nature of AFRICOM would appear as too little too late given the US in this timeline inadequately funded AFRICOM and with the State Departments attention turned elsewhere they begin to fall behind. Their most likely course of action (dependent on presidential leadership) would be to one of three things: 1. A Trade War/Cold War, 2. Increased Aid/Political Intrigue or 3. Real War. The first option would be taken on the idea that China would suffer without its biggest trading partner. Although accurate the relationship that they would build with Africa in this scenario demonstrates a poor market for goods, while attaining the necessary imports to sustain themselves.²¹ Additionally, if this happened Russia would ally with China to preserve a semblance of power generating a new Cold War; a cold war that the US would likely lose given these circumstances. The second option discussed above would be the most likely course of action as the US would attempt to out aid the Chinese in a bid to win

²⁰ See this documentary for more information on Chinese Anti-Black Prejudice: Choy, C., & Film News Now Foundation production company, copyright owner. (2016). Reorienting Africa: The Chinese in Ghana (Filmmakers library online).

²¹ See Chapter 4 *Africa and China: Engaging Postcolonial Interdependencies*: Rotberg, R. (2008). China into Africa: Trade, Aid, and Influence. Washington, D.C.: Brookings Institution Press.

support. Naturally, African nations would reconsider their position and join Uncle Sam while solidifying others for the Dragon. The above option two presents African nations as the victors; in that they get the aid they need albeit at the price of being pieces in a grand game of RISK. The third option would be to claim that this *Chinese Expansion* is undemocratic and that as such we need to put boots on the ground to secure freedom and prosperity for the African nations under China's influence. Summative, this is the most dangerous course of action as it could very easily spiral into another 20-year conflict like our entries in the Middle East as the US attempts to hold its grip in Africa.

The Russian Response

Russia who is already working with China under the Belt and Road Initiative would have to fold power to it knowing that they are on a decline they opt to join the "winning team". This would allow them to formulate a plan of action over time on how to reassert their dominance. In this scenario the Kremlin needs to play their cards close to their chest as China would have a predatory relationship with Russia. If one could: imagine the relationship between Stalin and Hitler at the beginning at WWII. Their agreement was a Non-Aggression Pact that was violated after an attempt to be controlling on Hitler's part. President Xi, who appears to be more tactful than Hitler, would more likely slowly attempt to cut off power from Russia syphoning resources and markets until Russia's influence is exhausted. Russia would react to this by acting similar to the US's Option 2. They would out aid the Chinese but in a stealthier manner supporting this endeavor by employing distressed rebels to act key facilities in Chinese influenced territory in a bid to claim it as their own. A prime example of this happening currently would be the annexation of Crimea in which Russians disguised as unmarked milita members claimed the province for Russia. Since laying claim to this province "Putin [has] signed a treaty with

representatives from Crimea on March 18, 2014, to make it part of Russia after [their] military intervention and controversial referendum.” (Aljazeera 2019) Despite the decrying international community and sanctions on the nation Crimea has not been returned suggesting that Russia is perfectly capable of acquiring territory in this manner. Particularly into nations like the CAR where the national sovereignty is weak. Thus, Option 2 is not a matter of how but a matter of when.

The French Response

France will lose some of its stake in Africa retaining only the most culturally and economically influenced parts of West Africa. These parts will also be the nations that are backed by their currency the CFA Franc as it is extremely hard for these nations to leave given the powers of inflation France has on this. France's greatest strengths in Africa are their economy and their language without these they lose. Prospectively China would attempt to dethrone them by instilling their own systems and applying items like Confucius Institutes and Concessional Loans to their maximum effectiveness. In order to maintain French dominance in the region France would need to join an alliance forming either a counter Belt and Road Initiative with US/EU Support. Reactively this would provide it enough manpower to preserve itself as a soft power superpower making it a leader in a potential East VS West struggle for Africa. Permissively, holding onto nations like Togo and Senegal, while pursuing larger investments. Djibouti being their top target in this scenario as it is the most level playing field of the proposed cases minimizing risk and reinforcing the idea that any nation can grab this opportunity.

Scenario 2: Partners in Arms

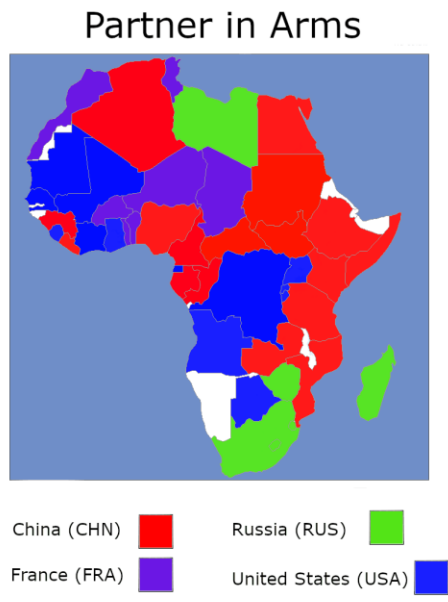


Figure 11 (Pictured Left) Partner in Arms Map (Schroeder 2020)

Scenario 2 is the most beneficial and likely scenario this would follow more along the initial “Grow Together” Ideals of China’s old and promised foreign policies. FOCAC will be key and will function as the main diplomatic event between African nations and China, while providing key communications between the nations of Africa and China.²² CADF will be the main economic one providing infrastructure and development for the nations of Africa. The balance of power will shift more naturally as neglected nations shift their cultural viewpoints and ideals

towards a more Eastern mindset.

Accordingly, African political institutions will retain some agency but will still be considered secondary in any relations with China. SEZ’s will still be set up but not to the extent of Scenario 1.

WTO, UN, and EU influences will be allowed to a certain extent under

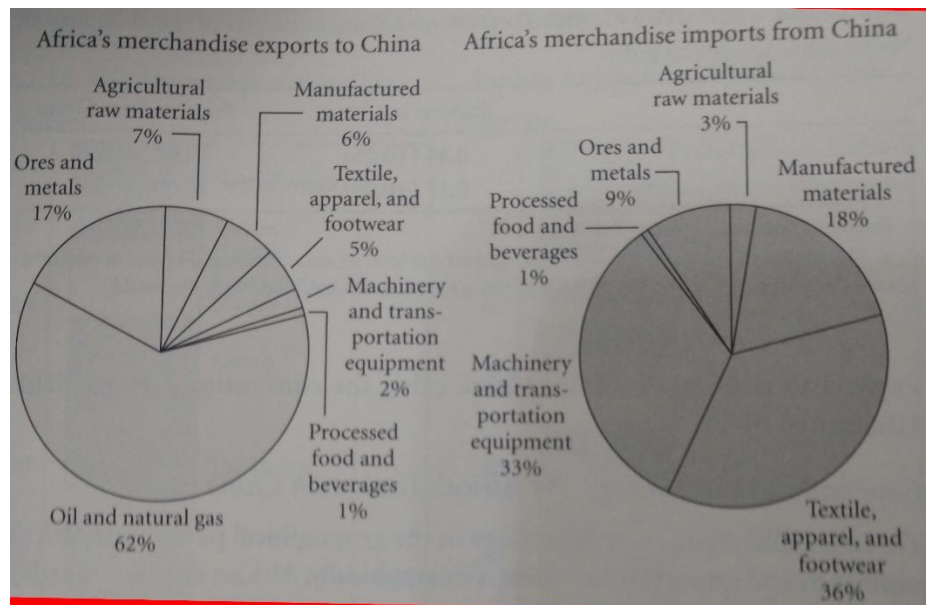


Figure 12 (Pictured Right) Comparing Africa's Exports/Imports to China (Rotberg 2008)

²² For Further Info on FOCAC: April, F., & Li, A. (2013). *Forum on China-Africa Cooperation the Politics of Human Resource Development*. Pretoria, South Africa: Africa Institute of South Africa.

the understanding that these are secondary to China and cultural soft power expression through items like the Confucius Institutes will be embraced. Yet, politically the outcome is the same. This scenario allows China to secure a stronger presence in international affairs by securing African nations votes in the UN and by making sure the AU is aligned with its interests. But as opposed to Scenario 1 this will be done with primary cooptation as opposed to coercion methods. Economically China will still be succeeding in acquiring raw materials to conclude its resource quest though to a lesser extent as it will need to consider the nations that it works with if not as equals than at least as partners. This would create a culture in which the Africans who fall in line with China develop themselves with the Chinese mindset. This eventually causing a rift between nations of competing mindsets creating an eventual Scenario 1 or 3 event for one of the powers present in the region.

The American Response

The US will need to focus on bolstering their presence in the region in order to hold their influence will also take economic stimulation for their favored regions. Forthwith this can be done by maintaining and increasing their physical presence in the region which can be done with strategic placement of naval ships/troops as a show of Strategic Deterrence the hard power option or they can implement a cultural campaign. Chiefly this cultural campaign would be a way of providing the African people the American viewpoint in a non-threatening manner.²³ Notably this act would allow for the development of camaraderie between Americans and Africans which would prove beneficial when they receive offers from other powers for aid/support. One of the most effective tools at the United States disposal for this is the Fulbright

²³ American cultural influence in Africa discussion on Africa News: *American influence on African culture [This Is Culture]*. (2016). Retrieved from <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=MuRL5eeT9qE>

US Scholars Program which exchanges US students with countries all over the world. Of these countries 30 of them are on the African continent including but not limited to Egypt, Niger, and Ghana.²⁴ It is important to realize sending students to this program the US encourages positive relations with their partner nation and a spread of its cultural influence across the globe. Programs like these help to formulate the opinion of the African nations, considering loyalties, to whom to view as an international ally.

The Russian Response

Russia loses some direct power in the region but maintains their presence with trade and weapons shipments to nations like the CAR. As they have received UN approval for this action there is no reason, they cannot do this again with other failing/weak states. This gives them an edge as it allows them to mold the unpredictable nations into customers. Their presence in groups like BRICS and OPEC will also provide them security as China's influence grows. BRICS provides a legitimacy to its members and is on of the first steps towards globalization. This will allow Russia to maintain autonomy as a power and pursue other opportunities. Whilst OPEC allows it to remain prevalent in the world's sphere due to their control on a portion of the world's oil. When given the more balanced nature of this model it is likely that Russia will begin to work or attempt to work with nations like Djibouti. Russian power in the region stems almost entirely from trade. In this case it makes sense that they would attempt to negotiate with the nation, given the necessity to secure their trade route. Speculatively, Russia could consider offering mercenaries to secure the Bab El-Mandeb Strait much like they did with Mozambique in January

²⁴ For further information on the Fulbright Program: Sub-Saharan Africa. (n.d.). Retrieved from <https://us.fulbrightonline.org/countries/selectedregion/23>

2020 despite the Kremlin's denial of the operation. To which, Rear Adm. Heidi Berg, AFRICOM's director of intelligence, stated

“Russian military engagement and use of private military contractors in Mozambique is designed to increase Russian influence in southern Africa and to enable Russian access to Mozambique's natural resources, including natural gas, coal and oil,” (Schmitt 2020, Russia Exerts Growing Influence in Africa, Worrying Many in the West)

The French Response

France will need to be extremely careful as they have arguably the most unstable influence in the region. Their power will decline, they will need to solidify themselves in the region. Soft power methods like their Franc Afrique dialects and economic leverage will prove beneficial. France may also consider the cultural campaign idea as this would allow them to emphasize their power of Franc Afrique and preserve the status quo by spreading French thought and culture.²⁵ Presently something that they have been attempting to do under the guise of “[v]arious inter-governmental organisations and conferences” that “have operated under the hub of the Agence de cooperation culturelle et technique in an effort to institutionalise the linguistic, cultural and educational links between France and francophone Africa”. (Bennyworth 2011) Thus, promoting the French language is a top priority. Alternatively, they could adjust (or threaten to adjust) the currencies of West African nations to artificially control their behavior by punishing their economies. Though this could backfire if China offered a good enough deal and these African states were hypothetically able to get them to back their currency instead.

²⁵ For more on France's soft power capabilities: How France maintains its grip on Africa. (2019). Retrieved from https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=42_-ALNwpUo

Scenario 3: Failed Powershift

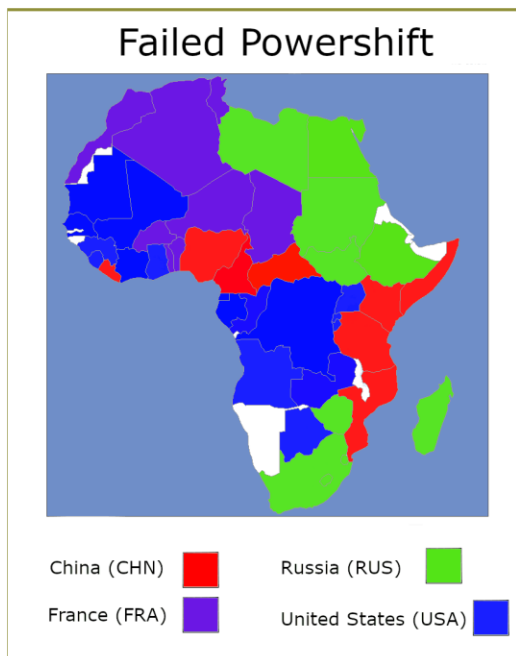


Figure 13 (Pictured Left) Failed Powershift Map (Schroeder 2020)

In this scenario China fails to spread its influence due to a combination of economic issues at home, a distrust of Africans towards Chinese, and an increased interest from other world powers in the African continent. In a bid to claim resources for themselves China becomes too hasty in its actions and cuts too many corners. As a result, businesses fail to take root and the Africans refuse to the terms of some of their ODA's and Concessional Loans. NGO's like Doctors Without Borders present a viable aid option for these HIPC nations and these nations side with

them as there are less stipulations on the ODA. Organizations like the World Bank and the WTO begin to offer more accessible loan options for HIPC's. This gives these nations another aid option. Africans respond negatively to the immigration of Chinese into their nations and begin to look towards self-reliance. Pro Africa/Anti-China ideologies grow as more jobs are displaced by these immigrants and said immigrants hold themselves as better than the native population.²⁶ China is forced to make a



Figure 14 (Pictured Above) Zimbabwean Boycott Bumper Sticker (2008 Rotberg, Rupp)

²⁶ See this documentary for more information on Chinese African people to people relations: Choy, C., & Film News Now Foundation production company, copyright owner. (2016). Reorienting Africa: The Chinese in Ghana (Filmmakers library online)

tactical withdrawal save for only the most invested nations like Tanzania who remain by China as an investor. China remains a power in the region but never attains the status of which it seeks potentially falling from their superpower status due to a lack of incoming raw resources to feed their market economy.

The American Response

The US provides more funds for AFRICOM. Accordingly, the US provides more aid keep their influence. Choosing to focus on the white areas of the map trying to secure influence over key strategic points like Djibouti. Accordingly, they do this by supporting their current troops present at their African bases and by enforcing a policy towards emphasizing aid. This preemptive policy convinces some if not most nations that were considering accepting aid from China to continue to accept US assistance under the pretense of refusing China's help.

Considering that movements such as these would prevent the Belt and Road Initiative from coming to Africa allowing for another nation to take precedence. Naturally, the United States would attempt to swipe at this role employing similar methods as China's strategy in that they promote American culture and thought. Arguably this could be more effective given the prevalence of Western media. Thus, taking advantage of securing trade rights with key nations.

The American Response be a show of strength as demonstrated in the 2018 Ghana–United States Status of Forces Agreement which proposed the Ghana provide exclusive unimpeded access and use of land as well as, radio and construction privileges with the purpose of providing security

and safety of both parties.²⁷ Deals such as this are what allows the US to not only stay relevant but thrive in the African continent.

The Russian Response

Russia seizes this opportunity to spread its influence and becomes more powerful in the region. Russia the opportunist sense that China's movements will fail take advantage of this and begin to undercut China. They co-opt (possibly annexing) the nations that China was investing in and begin to influence them. Such as, in "September 2010, [when] Moscow hosted an expert consultation between [Tanzania and Russia] on the use of debt to Russia Tanzania to finance development projects in the ORT, which resulted in the agreed parties initialed a draft intergovernmental agreement." (Russian-Tanzanian Relations 2020) Alternatively the Russians could also apply hard power representations to hold these nations similar to their seizure of Crimea in 2016.²⁸ Their economic powers in the region are what allows them to justify this action as they will claim that these nations see Russia as a better option than China. Provided that something may not be entirely wrong, as failed/weak states like the CAR will be wanting to maintain good terms with their supplier so that they can continue to skirt international laws; acquiring weaponry for their wars.

The French Response

In this scenario France maintains their pressure in West Africa via soft power

²⁷ For further information on the Ghana–United States Status of Forces Agreement: Ghana–United States Status of Forces Agreement. (2019, October 3). Retrieved from https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Ghana–United_States_Status_of_Forces_Agreement#Details_of_the_2018_agreement

²⁸ For more info on the methods of annexing Crimea: Reuters. (2017, July 24). How Russia took Crimea from Ukraine almost without a fight. Retrieved from <https://www.newsweek.com/russia-crimea-ukraine-how-putin-took-territory-without-fight-640934>

methodology. France achieves this through economic and linguistic acquisitions. Economically, France controls the reserves of many African states. This allows for the previously mentioned artificial inflation of said currencies. It should be noted that the French can also control the interest rates on the African Franc currencies and everything with regards to this as the banking is French, the credit is French, and the paper is French. Such a system allows them to manipulate currency in such a way that it allows them to control not just businesses but populations as well. Language allows for the French to secure themselves culturally in the hearts and minds of the people. Current efforts provided them to speak their native tongue as an official language in most of West Africa. Accordingly, with this increased motivation it is only a matter of time before the French develop their own Confucius Institutes. Given that they have already been presenting themselves as cultural leaders by sponsoring events like the Sauti za Busara Zanzibar festival in Tanzania and in order to develop a camaraderie with nations.²⁹ Furthermore, if France was to crack down with this, they could pressure any countries that wish to leave them via incitements of coup d'etats, money manipulation, and cultural and international pressures.

Conclusion

This paper intent is to take a large topic and examine its components. Synthesising the political, economic, and cultural facets of Chinese foreign policy to assess potential futures for the continent; as well as, the powers that influence it. Just consider the following quotes:

“Without Africa, France would slide down into the rank of a third world power” -Jacques Chirac, Former French President

²⁹ For further information on the festival: France sponsoring Sauti za Busara Zanzibar festival. (n.d.). Retrieved from <https://tz.ambafrance.org/France-sponsoring-Sauti-za-Busara-Zanzibar-festival>

"Africa will never be independent. Africans believe in Europeans, Americans and Chinese more than themselves—they don't trust themselves at all."-Vladimir Putin, Current Russian President

"Africa, I have to say, is a continent of tremendous, tremendous potential. The outlook is bright."-Donald J. Trump, 45th President of the United States

"China and African countries are destined to be good friends, good brothers and good partners, and China-Africa cooperation stands as a fine example of South-South cooperation."-Xi Jinping, President of China

Forthwith, one quote does not define a man let alone a country yet in seeing these leaders discuss a continent in such a manner it beseeches the question on what their motives are. Accordingly, this scope is necessary as to look at a topic as complex as this necessitates that one examines all parts; micro and macro, to generate projections that are as close to reality as possible. This allows for full predictive modelling as factors that are frequently missing in political examinations are present. For if one draws wisdom from only one place it becomes stale hence the short history, the four case studies, and the three factors of examination. It is significant to note that due to the nature of this topic that one may take offence to its content. Understand this is not my intention, as the sole purpose of this is to present my statistical speculations in the public realm. Politics is fickle; filled with people who cannot recognize the opinions and ideas of opposition. It is my hope that this paper will demonstrate the value in diverse viewpoints. Politics is the study of power, and the people have the power thus to understand a person is to grasp their potential for power. This translates to my project by showing how individual opinions can spell disaster for national interests (See Scenario 3). As

well as, providing the idea that by understanding people one can work with them for mutual benefit (See Scenario 2) or subjugate them for one's personal gain as in Scenario 1. This grab for power is present in my case studies Djibouti is an example of a valuable prize being desperately fought over by numerous nations only to be manipulated by the prize itself. Ghana is like an old toy discarded and forgotten by its users only to be taken by another kid just to see the old one gets jealous and want it back. Tanzania is a tale of corruption and a kleptocracy in action while the CAR is a warzone where people starve, and opportunists get rich. These studies were chosen as they provide a micro chasm of Africa Djibouti the stable state, Ghana the ignored state, Tanzania the corrupt state, and the CAR the weak state. So that in briefly examining these nations that the readers of this paper could apply the suggested strategies of each power to said nation and consider how it would play out.

In sum, I choose to examine the economic factor through the lens of dependency theory, because that theory (simplified) is the idea of subjugation generating wealth. Thereupon, the idea that the winners control the losers and that this relationship is what causes HIPC's to remain in the loser's camp. These actions are indicative of a powershift and it would be prudent for people to watch this carefully. For while this solely examines the Chinese Grand Strategy for Africa and its implications for the world and its powers; those implications will provide a new world with new rules, and with that the possibilities are endless. People pursue power for many reasons, countries do the same, yet they all fear the time in which it ends and when the powered become the powerless the possibilities become clear.

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