THE EFFECT OF SINO-AFRICA RELATIONS ON THE FOREIGN POLICY OF
THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA

BY

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DECLARATION

I, undersigned, declare that this is my original work and has not been submitted to any other college, or university other than the United States International University- Africa for academic credit.

Signed: _________________________________ Date: ____________________

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This thesis has been presented for examination with my approval as the appointed supervisor

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Ambassador Prof. Ruthie Rono.

Deputy Vice Chancellor Academic Affairs
DEDICATION

This thesis is gratefully dedicated to my entire family. Special thanks to my beautiful wife, Juweria Adan and our unborn child for the unconditional support she has shown me through my graduate degree journey. Thank you for always being there!
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<td>Acronym</td>
<td>Full Form</td>
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<td>PRC</td>
<td>People’s Republic of China</td>
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<td>HIV/AIDs</td>
<td>Human Immunodeficiency Virus/Acquired Immunodeficiency Syndrome</td>
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<td>IMF</td>
<td>International Monetary Fund.</td>
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<td>WTO</td>
<td>World Trade Organization.</td>
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<td>SAPs</td>
<td>Structural Adjustment Programs.</td>
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<td>US</td>
<td>United States</td>
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<td>FOCAC</td>
<td>Forum on China- Africa Cooperation</td>
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<td>ECOWAS</td>
<td>Economic Community of West Africa States</td>
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<td>EAC</td>
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<td>GPE</td>
<td>Global Political Economy</td>
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ABSTRACT

The Chinese model of “developmental state” has offered a substitute to the Western model of market democracy. China has also sponsored infrastructure and industrialization developments that the West has declined to fund since the days of colonization. It is to be anticipated that these developments will at the end help Africa revolutionize, a dream that appears possible for the first time since independence. With Chinese presence ever increasing, the United States must now develop an appropriate comeback to defend its own interests and reduce the probability of conflict now that China has arrived as a tactical competitor in the African region. Moreover, globalization endures to transform the world order and China challenges the U.S. as a leading international player.

Based on the findings of this study, the U.S political, security, economic business and investments sectors are challenged by the Sino-Africa relations. The recommendation for this study are; the United States must retrace its role in the international system, evaluate opportunities for self-improvement, and control areas in which it can defend its principles and promote its interests to the advantage rather than the harmful of other states particularly in Africa. As a part of strategic rivalry, the U.S. must defend its interests abroad to uphold the power it presently relishes in the international system, but it must work on generating a more positive image and associations with states that will be commonly advantageous.

The Sino-African relationship, as it cultivates, will additionally inspire the United States to convincingly reconsider its policies and goals. A slight competition could prove healthy to spur the United States into trying new tactics and becoming more considerate and mindful of how it conducts its affairs with other countries. African countries have begun to lose confidence in the U.S. approach, whereas China tests with different tactics that they continuously review in hopes of discovering the correct blend of efficacy.
CHAPTER ONE

INTRODUCTION

1.1 Background to the Study

The history of the relations between China and Africa dates back in the fifteenth century and the Ming dynasty when China was at the height of its shipping technology which enabled the first direct influx of Chinese businessmen and navy fleets to the continent’s eastern shores. Between the Ming dynasty and the contemporary Sino-Africa relations, relations between China and Africa were because of transnational trade flows with other businessmen such as Arabs and Persians. It was not until the Republic of China was founded that Sino-Africa relations were re-kindled (Besada, & O’Bright, 2016).

In 1956, Egypt became the first African state to establish its diplomatic relations with China. It was after this diplomatic relation than henceforth China and Africa became all weather friends where they helped each other in their issues. Before 1955, Africa was of less significance to China. However, after the diplomatic ties with Egypt, China looked for global acknowledgement and political friends, hoping to reinforce global alliances against the capitalist West and the pragmatic communist Soviet Union (Liu, 2001).

Hence, the Bandung Conference was held in 1955 that was attended by 29 Asian and African nations who aimed to promote economic and cultural relation between the two continents. Colonization, expansionism, and the hegemonic position of the western
authorities were among the topics that were discussed. All these countries shared a history and had the same sentiments about the western authorities (Alden, 2005).

After the conference, China helped African states with financial, mechanical and military provision in an effort to confine the leading western powers and establish a new political and global order. On the other hand, African nations were also looking for partners that could help them fight for their independence and economic aid to finance their struggles. However, from 1966 to 1969, Chinese devotion towards Africa was sidetracked by the domestic fluctuations and the great proletarian Cultural Revolution. Nevertheless, after the internal clashes were settled, China began to create new associations on the African continent (Taylor, 2001).

In the 1970s several events occurred that strengthened the relations between China and Africa. First, in the 1967, the number of African states with diplomatic ties with China had increased to 13 and by 1974, the number had increased to 30. Secondly, China won over the United Nations seat against Taiwan due to the enormous support by African states. Thirdly, Tanzania-Zambia railway was constructed which was the biggest aid project by China. Despite that, China was also willing to commit to more prestigious projects in Africa. Reliable nations were presented with state buildings, stadiums, factories, infrastructure, medical teams and student exchange programs. Fourthly, China continued to support the nationalist movements that were fighting for their independence and demanding for the end of colonization by providing military aid (Liu, 2001).
In 1978, China’s main purpose was to create economic and trade relations. According to China, a peaceful environment was necessary for it to achieve economic stability. Previously, China had helped African countries in fighting for their independence. However, at this era it opted to maintain its policy of non-interference where it supported Namibia, South Africa and Zimbabwe indirectly in their quest to attain their independence. Furthermore, in the 1980s, Africa had become less important to China as it pursued for global recognition from Washington and Moscow and strengthened Chinese interaction with both countries to encourage economic development. China no longer supported African nations in their fight against dictators or when they were in need because of its lack of financial resources (Muekalia, 2004).

During the cold war, China focused on other states and it was in December 1982 that Chinese Premier Zhao Ziyang visited eleven African countries and promoted the ‘Four Principles’ of Chinese collaboration with Africa: equality and mutual benefit; an emphasis on practical results; diversity in form; and economic development. These principles were the basis for the new Sino-Africa relations. This action was a shock to the western world and they began questioning the loyalties of China. When official Chinese visits were made to Africa, their main theme was non-interference which was a basis for the new international order. From hence forth, South-South relations were embraced, an opposition of what the West’s perception on human rights. The dichotomy between the West, China and Africa continues up to today. To further strengthen the relations
between China and Africa, the China Africa forum was established in 2000 (Taylor, 2001).

Today, Sino-Africa relations are more practical. The key to the relations is trade and mutual benefits. Nevertheless, China still supports several African countries with direct aid. Three major themes can be distinguished: building projects; Chinese medical teams; and scholarships for Africans to study in China. China has also helped Africa with abundant projects, the largest of which was the building of the 1800-km Tanzania-Zambia railway which cost over US$450 million. China has also built roads, wells and telecommunication amenities in Africa, with political partners being offered large projects to mark their independence such as airports, stadiums, palaces, government buildings and factories (Shelton, 2001).

Besides the construction of buildings and infrastructure, China supports Africa with medical teams too. China has a long history in health diplomacy in Africa, with the first medical team having started in Algeria in 1964. From then onwards, some 15,000 doctors and health workers have been sent to more than 47 African countries. Approximately 180 million patients have been treated by Chinese doctors over the years (Alden, 2005).

China’s other aid program in Africa is in the area of human resources. One of the agreements made at the China-Africa Cooperation Forum related to an increase in human resources. China established a fund that is jointly used by several Chinese ministries, such as those of foreign affairs, commerce, education, and science and technology, and together they are responsible for the training and education of Africans. In 2003, 6000
people were trained and 1500 students visited China on educational exchange programs. By providing these scholarships, China has contributed significantly to the development of human resources in Africa. In addition, scholarship programs like these encourage bonds between Chinese and African institutions and students (Thompson, 2005).

China’s aid for Africans through the building of infrastructure, and providing medical help or through the advancement of human resources is an approach that aims at establishing long-term relationship based on mutual respect, empathy, and friendship. Furthermore, in recent years, Beijing has identified the African continent as an area of important economic and strategic interest. America and its allies and friends are finding that their vision of a prosperous Africa governed by democracies that respect human rights and the rule of law and that embrace free markets is being challenged by the increase of Chinese impact in Africa (Thompson, 2005).

It is therefore the purpose of this thesis to examine the effects of Sino-Africa relations on the foreign policy of USA.

1.2 Statement of the Problem

In the past, several years, China has become exceptionally active in Africa, with a stream of high level visits, large commitments of loan capital, extensive investment, and a general currying of African favor. Reactions in the U.S. have varied. Some see China as a strategic threat, seeking to “lock up” access to vital natural resources such as oil, minerals and timber, and to undermine traditional Western influence. Others reject the idea of a strategic threat, but acknowledge China as a formidable competitor for both political influence and commercial advantage.
It is wise to look upon China as a formidable competitor for both political and economic influence in Africa than as only a benign participant. China now has more diplomatic offices in Africa than does the U.S., and in some countries, Chinese influence counts for more. As noted, China is not deterred from investments and other activities in countries accused of major human rights violations, such as Sudan and Zimbabwe, hence, limiting the potential for US and UN sanctions and other international pressures on those regimes.

In international fora, China has more consistent support from the African bloc than does the U.S. Commercially, China uses practices that disadvantage U.S. companies. For example, China often will combine a bid for oil or mineral concessions with promises of some aid projects, a practice which the U.S. is forbidden to do under rules of the Development Advisory Committee of the OECD, to which China does not belong. China also undermines some practices and principles of other donors. For example, against World Bank rules, China has African countries collateralize its loans with commitments of future oil or other mineral exports. China is not a strategic threat to the United States in Africa, but it poses serious challenges for political and commercial influence.

What is perhaps most striking is that while China has a clear and comprehensive strategy for Africa, with significant implications for U.S. interests, the U.S. does not have a similarly comprehensive response. This study hence to examine the effects of Sino-Africa relations to the foreign policy of U.S.A., and offer recommendations to U.S.A. actions to this predicament.

1.3 **Hypothesis**

1. Sino-Africa relations have a negative effect to the foreign policy of US not only in Africa but in the rest of the world and how the US reacts now will determine its foreign policy in the future.
2. If US cooperates with China in their foreign policy in Africa and the rest of the world, they will end up having mutual benefits rather than being rivals.

1.4 Research Questions

1. What are the history of Sino-Africa relations to the foreign policy of USA?

2. What are the effects of Sino-Africa relations to the foreign policy of USA?

3. What are the business and investment effects of Sino-Africa relations to the foreign policy of U.S.A?

4. What are the mitigating factors that can be used to solve the problem?

1.5 Objectives of the Study

1.5.1 General Objective
To investigate the effects of Sino-Africa relations on the foreign policy of the USA.

1.5.1 Specific Objectives
1. To examine the effects of Sino-Africa relations to the USA foreign policy.

2. To determine the business and commercial investment effects of Sino-Africa relations to the foreign policy of the USA.

3. To evaluate mitigating effects that can be used to solve the problem.

1.6 Justification of the study
This thesis is on the effects of Sino-Africa relations on the foreign policy of the USA. Stringently observing only, the headlines, Chinese policy does seem damaging to US
interests. US has had influence in Africa for more than 50 years yet it has done more
damage than good not forgetting the numerous US military intervention that have been
implicated in African states, and the high interests that comes with their loans and leave
alone the aid conditionality that only serves their own interests.

It is therefore not surprising that most African states have turned to China for economic
and aid deals and hence China is on the rise. Moreover, with their attracting policies of
non-interference and win-win policies with their partners, and more so their low interests’
rates and debt cancellation policies, more African states are getting more attracted to their
deal and less to the western deals which have been dabbed to only underdeveloped
Africa. On the contrary, since Sino-Africa relations have been developed, China has done
more good than harm by construction of railways, infrastructure, and provision of the
numerous scholarships to African students. In addition, not forgetting the cancellation of
debts to some of the African countries.

Therefore, China seems to be on the rise and its taking over the US foreign policy with
Africa, which is detrimental to the US foreign policy since Africa is one of the largest
trading partner with US. It is therefore important to carry out this research to provide
knowledge and alert to the US decision makers on the steps that they should undertake to
secure their foreign policy in Africa especially with the rise of China economically and
its intensifying relationship with Africa.
1.7 Significance of the study

Chinese engagement with Africa has the potential to be either detrimental to US interests. It is important for the US to understand the China-Africa relations and establish a policy that will promote cooperation with China for mutual benefits for China, Africa and the US. A win-win for all the parties will help establish a healthy relationship for the three parties and hence all will benefit and grow economically. A lack of understanding on behalf of the US could lead to ineffective policy and a less than productive relationship with both China and Africa and hence this will be detrimental to their foreign policy in Africa and to the relation with the Chinese who are one of the world’s fastest growing economy and power. The China-US rapport will be a key part of future US foreign policy.

1.8 Operational Definition of Terms

Foreign policy is a pattern of behavior that states adopt to conduct foreign and diplomatic relations with other states of the world and which is founded based on clearly defined national interests (Mushtaq & Choudhry, 2013). Sino-Africa relations refers to the historical, political, economic, military, social-land cultural cooperation between China and the African continent. Foreign aid is a means that wealthy countries use to nurture relationships with client states where the donor holds in mind that the economic prosperity of the client state will help in the achievement of both their objectives. Hence the donor provides the client with the resources needed to develop itself economically.
CHAPTER TWO

LITERATURE REVIEW

2.1 Introduction

There is a wide range of literature discussing Sino-Africa relations and US foreign policy. Most begin by stating how quickly Chinese engagement in Africa has grown in recent years. Then, they either delve into the implications on whether Chinese engagement is advantageous for African countries or disadvantageous. This Chapter will examine literature on the heated debates on Sino-Africa relations; comparison between China-Africa and West-Africa relations and the influence of China on the Western development approach. This chapter further discusses theories that are relevant to this thesis and a summary of the chapter as outlined.

2.2 Literature Review

2.2.1 political effects

Global debates on Sino-Africa Relations

The Western scholars also view China’s non-intervention policy of “no-strings attached” as a source of predicament because it encourages China to foster ties with unethical or abusive governments in Africa, like those of Zimbabwe and Sudan. However, China if often seen by most African leaders as an alternative that fills the vacuum left by the western donors who have refused or been unable to lend to the African states. In June 2001, Secretary of state Clinton was quoted saying that “United States was worried that
China’s foreign aid and investment in Africa have not been steady with largely accepted global standards of transparency and good governance.” She continued and further argued that "China has not always utilized the talents of the African people in accomplishing its business interests (Malakata, 2011).

China is also criticized by the United States for its relationship with Sudan after president, Omar Hassan Al-Bashir was welcomed in China despite an International Criminal Court warrant for his arrest for war crimes and crimes against humanity. However, due to China’s support of Sudan, it now imports more than 60 percent of Sudan’s oil and is the regime’s main arms supplier (Higgins, 2011). Other western scholars have condemned the Chinese as opportunists who see opportunities where there is chaos. This is because African regimes are defined with corruption, political strife, and debt ridden third world economies and all the Chinese see or care about is the rich natural resources in the region. The critiques further asserts that China should change its reforms for the purpose of ending political strife in Africa (Moody, 2011).

Sino-Africa Vs Western States interventions in Africa

PRC leaders, formally at least, celebrate Africa’s culture and accomplishments, and China’s sixty-five cultural contracts with forty-six African nations have led to hundreds of interactions (People’s Daily 2004; Daily Trust 2006). As one researcher, has observed, while Africa, to the West, is a “harbor for extremists,” the “cradle of HIV/AIDS,” and a “source of unsteadiness,” for China it is an “advantageously important continent” and a place of opportunity (Gu 2006). China, furthermore, recognizes its political indebtedness
to Africa for her backing of China’s entry into the U.N. and continued support in international forums. On the other hand, the Western states’ fail to recognize their indebtedness to Africa for its help to the West’s industrialization and cultural growth (Inikori, 2002).

**Sino - Africa and the Western Development Approach**

China’s influence does not only lie in Africa. China is also in other regions such as in Southeast Asia and in Latin America where it tries to fill the void in assistance left by the western donors. For example, Beijing is a primary supporter of Burma, Cambodia, and Laos, and “delivers a contained security guarantee” to these countries. Chinese aid can challenge U.S. interests in endorsing democracy and human rights in the regions (Vaughn & Morrison, 2006). For instance, in 2003, China provided Burma with a $200 million loan after the United States executed sanctions against Burma for human rights defilements (Lum, 2008).

In December 2009, Chinese Vice President Xi Jinping signed an agreement with Burma for a 1,240-kilometre pipeline to supply crude oil from western Burma to southern China. A few days after ratifying the pipeline contract with Burma, Xi voyaged to Cambodia to declare $1.2 billion in aid and loans for Cambodia. Only one day prior to Vice President Xi’s influx, Cambodian authorities forcibly transported 20 Uighur refuge seekers to China. As Per Human Rights Watch, Nepal, Pakistan, and Uzbekistan have also carried out repatriations of Uyghurs at Beijing’s request (Lum, 2008).
In addition, Chinese aid could hypothetically destabilize key goals of U.S. development aid, which includes endorsing democratic governance and market oriented economic modifications. First, China’s support offers an alternate source of capital for infrastructure and humanitarian aid. Second, Chinese relief often does not have necessities that come with Western aid, such as governmental reform and human rights protections. Chinese relief supports governments with poor human rights histories such as Sudan, Zimbabwe, Venezuela, and Burma. In exchange for relief letters, these recipient countries must uphold to certain values such as diplomatic allegiance to matters such as Taiwan, Tibet, and Uyghur asylum seekers. Furthermore, these relief packages come at the cost of providing access to natural resources and domestic consumer market (Bland & Hook, 2011).

2.2.2 Economic effects

Global debates on Sino-Africa Relations

Chinese involvement in Africa has received endless criticism from the western states since the rise of Sino-Africa relations in the 20th century. Western countries have been watching China’s engagement with Africa with such displeasure. The former President of the World Bank, Paul Wolfowitz, asserted that “International financial institutions are losing projects in Asia and Africa to Chinese banks who don’t care about social or human rights situations (Beattie & Callan, 2006).
In addition, the president of the European Investment Bank also bitterly accused the Chinese of unprincipled deeds. On the other hand, the head of the US-China Economic and Security Review Commission attested before Congress that China is providing wealth to African countries to build their infrastructure and they are not concerned whether such wealth is landing on the hands of corrupt politicians (Beattie & Callan, 2006).

China has also been criticized of increasing the debt burden to African countries. The World Bank and the IMF have argued that Beijing regularly offer loans with cheap interest rates in exchange of political and economic advantages. For example, China requested all African states that benefits from their development assistance not to vote for Tokyo and Taiwan in their request for their seat at the Security Council. However, it is important to note that, the relationship between China and Africa is based on a solution where everyone benefits and not one like that of the western states who only establishes policies that are only in their favor. Moreover, it is also important not to forget that China has cancelled more than 31 financial debts in Africa since 2007 (Ndubisi, 2007).

Other critiques have argued that the Chinese model is an amalgamation of historical and cultural settings which cannot easily be moved to other countries. While calculated thinking, hard work and the grabbing of opportunities are vital fundamentals for development which could be practical elsewhere, African states do not have a clear long-term economic approach hence, they cannot play the same role China does in the global economy (Croll, Lebzen & Paes, 2008).
**Sino-Africa Vs Western States interventions in Africa**

The difference between the West and China development in Africa lies in the theoretical debate between respect for human rights and sovereignty. China give huge cheap loans to African countries in exchange for their access to natural resources in Africa. On the other hand, the west gives loans in exchange of promoting democracy and more so, reduction of corruption in Africa. Such western approaches have been known to fail in the past (Coddon, 2012). China’s certified policy declaration on its trade and aid affiliation with African nations asserts that as a first code, China “respects African countries’ decisions in their political system and economic growth path appropriate to their own national situations, and they will not intrude into the national affairs of African states and more so they support them in their fair struggles of protecting their sovereignty and the integrity of their territories” (Coddon, 2012).

While the United States Agency for International Development has a close bond with the Department of State, America’s foreign policy center, most of China’s relief is managed by the Ministry of Commerce and the China Export-Import Bank (Exim Bank), whose main goal is to reinforce China’s economy. The strategy of aid by the Chinese is based on two national objectives; first is to protect supplies such as oil and rare earths for consumption in China. The second is to establish markets in African states for supporting China’s export-led domestic (Coddon, 2012).

The China Exim Bank offers huge cheap loans to African states with low interest rates than those of the western banks which are increasingly below the market value. The
terms of these loans only require that fifty percent of the money is spent on either Chinese goods or services such as materials and construction organizations. These loans are a way in which China gets access to African natural resources. An example of such an infrastructure swap was in 200 in Congo where the Congolese government made a deal with Beijing for the construction of massive cobalt and copper mines; 1,800 miles of railways; 2,000 miles of roads; hundreds of clinics, hospitals, and schools; and two new universities which summed up to six billion dollars and in return China now has the right to mine twelve million tons of copper and cobalt for the next twenty-five years in Congo (Fishel & Lawson, 2007).

On the other hand, the financial institutions of the west such as the International Monetary Fund-IMF and the World Bank have been known to impoverish most of the African state rather than provide economic development. For example, the implementation of their structural adjustment programs only made the situation in Africa worse due to the conditions that the government had to adjust to such as reduction in public spending such as cutting down the costs for food, medical care and education which only led to the increase in the number of illiterate people, malnutrition as well as increase in the number of hungry people in the region. Furthermore, such conditions made it hard for most of the states in Africa to achieve the targets set in the Millennium development goals (Coddon, 2012).

Moreover, with their high interest rates on loans, most African states found themselves largely in debt to such institutions to a point that it would take them centuries to pay-up
the loans. To add salt to injury, such interactions seemed to only favor one side since the implementation of the structural adjustment programs were meant to open markets for the west goods in Africa and the loans with the high interest only brought more profits to the west. It is with no doubt that this is one of the reason as to why most African states have opted to turn on the Chinese for aid since their conditionality’s are somewhat fairer than those of the west (Coddon, 2012).

Additionally, many African states have been in search of new models and reference points for economic development rather than the models provided by the west that only seemed to impoverish Africa. The Chinese model seemed fit especially because of their shared history of colonization by the west countries. Hence, it seemed more suitable to collaborate with China who understands the situation in Africa and who have been able to crawl out of the same situation that African states find themselves in of underdevelopment. Furthermore, African Development Bank President Donald Kaberuka stated that China should be a role model for African states in their quest for development (Stephen, 2007).

Chinese involvement in Africa has enabled many African states to establish themselves financially from external trade, soft loans and the ability of Africans purchasing industrialized goods at a cheaper price. The Chinese presence in Africa is a lesson to the African states that the path to development can be achieved and more so, China presents Africa with an opportunity to abandon underdevelopment and epochs of atavism (Edoho, 2010). Additionally, despite Chinese aid in different regimes, China has gone further to
provide its aid to the various regional integrations in Africa. For example, China signed a contract with the Economic Community of West African States (ECOWAS) for collaboration in substructure advancement, trade, and investment. While the treaty intended at promoting business collaboration, data exchange, bilateral training, and investment in natural resources, a key feature was the motivation of infrastructure growth, mainly the support for a trans-West African coastal highway, from Dakar to Lagos. Chinese substructure investment in ECOWAS has remarkably been motivated by a parallel increase of resource extraction contracts that require power and transportation regional relations (Bilal, 2012).

_Sino-Africa and the Western Development Approach_

Previously, international organizations such as the World Bank and IMF have been known to grant loans to African states but on conditions of political reforms that are dictated by the western states. Now the circumstance is flipped on its head with China granting huge cheap loans with no conditions and without the concern of transparency or accountability. However, such loans possess a problem especially when they are given to tyrannical governments dictating over oil and mines in their regions (Ghazvinian, 2007).

2.2.3 _Security effects_

_Sino-Africa Vs Western States interventions in Africa_

The activities of Western states that are related with past imperialism or present expansionism make PRC actions seem predominantly typical to Africans. Most
projecting among these Western actions are; establishment of neoliberal SAPs that have caused in reduced growth, enormous debt, deteriorating incomes, and shortened social welfare; the use of relief to force obedience with SAPs and the foreign policies of Western powers; isolationism (despite free-trade rhetoric) in developed states that prevents African exports; and assistance to authoritarian leaders (notwithstanding the talk of democracy and human rights) to protect resources and fight “extremists.” In addition, Western belittling of Africa, through a constant undesirable sermon covered with strong insinuations of African ineffectiveness, remains dominant (Araya 2007).

The PRC régime, with its philosophy of Social Darwinism (i.e., the richer, the fitter) and characteristic depictions of Africa as homogeneously poor takes some accountability for these insolences. Moreover, the PRC is careful to recognize Africa’s difficulties as the bequest of imperialism (Business Day 2004; Li Xing 2003). PRC leaders have never condemned Africa as “a hopeless continent” (Economist 2000). In additions, they would never assert, as a U.S. House Sub-committee on Africa member did to a Rwandan human rights activist during the 1994 genocide, that “America has no allies in Africa, only interests, and it has no interests in Rwanda” (“Ghosts of Rwanda” 2005).

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Despite the many critiques by the west on China’s involvement in Africa, China seems to get involved increasingly in Africa. The west may not like it but there is an opportunity for them to up their game and learn from China’s approach. The European Union is re-evaluating its implementation of conditionality due to their realization that “Change
cannot be executed from the outside”. The European Union has begun to pull away from conditionality in their involvement with African states and stresses on financial rewards for states that meets good governance standards instead of punishing those who do not meet such standards. Moreover, the Coordinator for Africa-China Relations at the European Commission, Uwe Wissenbach stated that, “It is the high time that the European Union change their old ways in their involvement in Africa and adopt the mutual interest based in their commercial activities in Africa” (Hackenesch, 2009).

2.2.4 Business and commercial investment effects

Global debates on Sino-Africa Relations

Cardenal and Araujo (2011) have also argued that, Beijing ‘globalizes’ in its own terms, meaning that mutual benefits come at a price for the development of African countries. For example, bilateral agreements are usually demarcated on harsh conditions such as low interest loans in exchange for long-term contracts of oil exports, China’s purchase of land for cultivation in Africa, which interferes with the development of African agricultural exports. This negative side is replicated in wider patterns such as the replacement of local workers with Chinese labor force; the erosion of the local competitiveness generated by Chinese companies and the resulting domestic joblessness; the financial ambiguity for the countries once resources are exhausted; or the
unreceptiveness which involves Beijing’s support for dictatorial regimes (Gondwe, 2010).

The Chinese government has also been criticized of spending a lot of funds in foreign aid and yet most of their citizens are still struggling to acquire their basic needs. To avoid such domestic criticisms, China has opted to keep the records of their foreign aid spending a state’s secret. Critiques hence argue that the government should first solve the domestic needs of their people before sending aid abroad (Gondwe, 2010).

China investment in Africa has also been criticized as having low environmental, labor and secure standards, and/or harsh working environments, while large scale substructure projects are said to hardly hire locals. There is condemnation that Chinese venture into natural resources has made it progressively problematic for African states to expand their economies. The Western media prejudice against China's increasing impact on the continent compares Chinese actions to a new scramble for the Africa’s riches (Rebol, 2010).

*Sino-Africa Vs Western States interventions in Africa*

The Chinese provides the principle of mutual benefits to the African states, even if it means ignoring corruption and human rights exploitations due to cash flows. China believes that its success in growth in the past years is also possible in Africa. Chinese development programs in Africa are focused on infrastructure, provision of education scholarships to African students, rather than the social projects and programs that are implemented by their counterparts (Brautigam, 2009).
African states are usually delighted to do business with the Chinese because it does not involve the kind of tutelage that they encounter with the west. For example, Alfred Mutua was quoted acknowledging the excellent work performed by the Chinese whereby, once the Chinese commits to construction of a road or any other infrastructure, they do it rapidly and they never intrude their work because one situation or the other has not been appreciated. On the contrary, the western countries seem to have commitment issues. For example, in 2005, the G7 states promised to give Africa 25 billion dollars annually which they have not submitted to up-to date. Chinese government on the other hand promised 5 billion dollars in 2007-2009 which they delivered (Alain, 2008).

At the continental level, China figuratively sponsored the building of the AU headquarters, in Addis Ababa. In January 2015, China signed an agreement of understanding with the AU to support the development and building of a new generation of road, railway and air transport connections between capital cities across the continent. According to China's Information Office of the State Council's White Paper on China-Africa Economic and Trade Cooperation, China is definitely in support of achieving Africa's growth and development through the promotion of integration and continental harmony (Aidoo, 2015).

The White Paper records that since 2011, the Chinese government has signed framework treaties with the East African Community (EAC) and ECOWAS to openly enlarge and support cross-border substructure construction. China is a non-regional affiliate of local and continental organizations including the African Development Bank, the West African

Likewise, in 2005 a PRC official working on WTO affairs, Wu Jiahuang, made a presentation to the United Nations Industrial Development Organization on industrialization, trade, and poverty reduction through South–South collaboration. According to Wu, the main reason behind China’s achievement was because China’s savings and motivation of foreign direct investment, which summed to 28 percent of value added to industry in 2004. He also said that PRC industrial and trade growth are connected, with over half of industrial exports produced by foreign investors. Wu also asserted that the PRC does not overprotect domestic industry. Average PRC tariffs decreased from 43 percent in 1992 to 10 percent in 2005, less than those of its trading partners. Primary agricultural products and textile tariffs averaged 15.5 percent and 12.9 percent, respectively, while those of China’s trading partners averaged 24.5 percent and 17.7 percent (Wu, 2005).

Furthermore, China offers world-class resources and “inexpensive domestic labor,” so its industries can market the world’s most competitive products, leading to better incomes, state revenue, and social welfare. China offers a model for developing states based on fast industrialization powered by a high level of investment and attentiveness on exports and, unlike the West, its low-tariff, low-subsidy government permits other developing
countries to export official thus essentially argued that PRC policymakers are more reliable economic liberals than those of the West and that this superior openness accomplishes the mutual needs of Chinese and citizens of other developing states (Wu 2005).

The Chinese are not just about everywhere, they are in most places but the West are not. For example, the Chinese business are everywhere ranging from grocery stores and building material shops to restaurants and corner stores in even the most isolated provisional towns throughout Africa. Beijing has concentrated in on exile states like Sudan where Western firms are either barred by sanctions or limited from doing business because of concerns over human rights, oppressive policies, labor standards and security matters (Schmitt, 2007).

Sino - Africa and the Western Development Approach

The change of priorities in Africa between China and the West are believed to have happened in April 28, 2006 when the Dutch government pulled out 150 million dollars’ aid fund out of Kenya with a claim that the state had been unable to eliminate corruption. At the same period, the Chinese were busy signing an agreement in Nairobi for oil exploration in exchange for road building, the construction of a sports center, and infrastructure support for rice growers. Since then, China’s involvement in Kenya and the rest of Africa has been on the rise (BBC News, 2006).

In Latin America, Chinese influence has also increased rapidly over the years. China is also becoming an alternative to U.S as a source of aid for infrastructure developments
and humanitarian aid. For instance, when Ecuador evaded on its global promises in 2008, China stepped in to offer financial support to keep the government running. Chinese aid also supports governments of concern to the United States (Burma Rivers Network, 2011). The rise of China as a substitute source of financial support for projects has raised worries about the capability of the United States and Europe to inspire advancement on human rights, good governance, and environmental safety matters with countries such as Venezuela or Bolivia. For instance, Chinese aid extends the capability of the Hugo Chávez government in Venezuela to account for ground-breaking events both domestically and in the region (Arson & Davido, 2011). Despite such reality truth, the west however need to swallow their pride and accept that their strategies in Africa have not been working. The Chinese strategies towards Africa are not perfect either but at least they have been able to provide rapid growth in the region and in which many African leaders seem to embrace (Coddon, 2012).

As China’s foreign aid endures to increase in comparison to the United States and multilateral development banks such as the World Bank, it is possible that the Chinese government will be able to exercise superior impact over developing nations, broadening China’s strategic and economic aims (Yan & Mang, 2011). Chinese great influence in Africa and abroad is of great concern. How the United States replies to this challenge will affect U.S. foreign policy for years to come. It is therefore within this backdrop that this piece aims to examine how the Sino-Africa relations are a detrimental factor to U.S foreign policy and provide probable solutions to such predicaments.
2.3 Theoretical Framework

The scope of this study is grounded in the fields of both International Relations (IR) and Global Political Economy (GPE). The theoretical framework therefore draws from theories originating from both traditions. Some of the theories in International Relations are Marxism, Liberalism, and Realism. These theories are important in illuminating states’ performance in the international system.

In both GPE and IR, critical Theorists such as Marxists emphasis on the structure of the international system, predominantly the structure of production (Moyo, 2009). From this viewpoint, market relations are by nature unfair, and the structure of global capitalism is basically self-contradictory since it perpetuates global disparity. Even though it is likely to comprehend Sino-Africa relations from a critical standpoint, particularly since the economic relationship is unequal and some may even view it as manipulative, it postures some analytical problems especially because China is also part of the Global South” (encompassing mainly of Asia, Latin America and Africa), and occasionally even holds the same kind of critical rhetoric against the Global North (O’Brien & Williams, 2004) In this case, then, Critical Theory is not the most appropriate tool to apply in this study.

Liberalism, in both GPE and IR, understands the international system as basically cooperative, due to interdependence. Hence, Liberals view the international system as governable through the development of governments, established in international governing organizations, such as the United Nations. From a Liberal view, varieties of actors play the same important functions in the international system, and results in
international affairs are not only ensured by power relations between nations, but other aspects also play a role. In IR, Liberalism highlights morality in international affairs to ensure collaboration and avoid anarchy (Moyo, 2009). Within GPE, Liberals see individuals, rather than states, as the main economic actors, and firms are seen as significant for the formation of wealth. From this standpoint, the role of the state in the market is nominal, since state intrusion is seen as an alteration of the natural market mechanism, ensuing in economic failure (O”Brien & Williams, 2004).

Liberalism, however, is not essentially significant in explaining Sino-Africa relations because China has become more integrated in the universal market and therefore it has not entirely led to collaboration. China has recurrently made use of its position in the UN Security Council for its own benefits and has not collaborated on matters such as human rights. Moreover, Liberalism asserts that states intervention leads to failure of markets (Dobler, 2005).

However, this argument does not seem true in the Chinese case because nearly all of China’s economic relations are ruled by the state including its economic contribution in Africa. Contrary to Liberals arguments, this has not resulted to economic failure but instead China’s economy has been advancing gradually over the last decade and its financial power has been reinforced greatly. Therefore, Chinese attitude in the international system and relations in Africa are not simply acceptable into the Liberal critical framework (Cheru & Obi, 2010).
According to the great protagonist of Political Realism, Hans Morgenthau, the main purpose of states in the international system is the quest of their national interests “demarcated in terms of power”. Therefore, because of the structure of the international system, states are innately self-interested units, with the main goal of establishing power so that they can advance and uphold and benefit in terms of the balance of power. It was Morgenthau’s argument that the national interest is demarcated within the “political and cultural context” of foreign policy formulation. Hence, that the meaning of power and how it is used rest on the present political and cultural environment (Morgenthau, 1973).

In this case, China’s foreign policy and external conduct “are perceived as receptive to the changing undercurrents of the international environment”. For instance, the idea of “energy safety” is fast acquiring fame as tactical objective for powerful states. In this milieu, those states whose deeds can be clarified in terms of Realism (such as China) will prioritize “securing trade routes and guaranteeing relations with export realms favorable to enduring energy trade” (Chau, 2007).

Furthermore, Realism holds that in order to be politically fruitful, states cannot afford to worry themselves with queries of ethics, and hence no action should be taken in the name of ethical principles (Morgenthau, 1973). For Realists, the most vital foreign policy goal is the endurance of the state in the international system (Chau, 2007). Hence, states act reasonably towards the attainment of this objective, and do not tolerate issues of morality to obstruct its accomplishment.
Realism emphasizes that states are the most significant actors in the international system. However, the importance of the role of non-state actors in the international system is not vanished on Realists. For instance, states are likely to take benefit of the platform afforded by international organizations in order to increase their international standing, as well as exploit any chances to profit economically through organizational channels (Chau, 2007). In the case of China, it has been contended that China’s current dynamic contribution in international trade and the international system is due to the desire to become more politically and economically unified, but somewhat the wish to become diplomatically and economically tougher (Rotberg, 2008).

Realism is, therefore, a useful theory for explaining and examining Sino-Africa relations. For instance, the Realist ideas of self-interest and moral cynicism help one to comprehend why China’s foreign policies have been labelled as “normally self-serving and repeatedly cruel” (Rotberg, 2008). However, it is not adequate to view China’s actions in Africa only through the views of Realism. China’s Africa policy tests some of Realism’s key conventions, such as for instance the stiff argument that states always place military security above financial security.

Moreover, a response based on a realist theory on international relations expects the U.S to react with violence. Such an action would include procedures designed to refute Chinese foreign aid policies that are considered damaging to US interests (Rotberg, 2008). However, this is not the case and hence, for this reason, it is also essential to assess China’s involvement in Africa from the viewpoint of Economic Nationalism.
There are some essential resemblances between Realist assumptions and those of Economic Nationalism. In fact, some academics have recommended that Economic Nationalism is in effect the economic disparity of Political Realism (O’Brien & Williams, 2004). Economic Nationalism is therefore aptly combined with Political Realism in this theoretical framework.

Like Realism, Economic Nationalism advocates the importance of the role of the state in the global system (O’Brien & Williams, 2004). Economic Nationalists contend that the state’s role has not reduced due to globalization, because the procedure of globalization is essentially determined and molded by states, and besides because national economies are the most significant actors in international economic procedures (Pere, 2006).

An additional comparison with Realism is that Economic Nationalism is also concerned with power. The utmost fundamental alarm of Economic Nationalism is that of strengthening national power (Brautigam, 2006). National power suggests a mixture of political and economic power when economic power is capitalized on, so is political power, and vice versa. Therefore, Economic Nationalists identify that there is a deep linking between wealth and power (O’Brien & Williams, 2004).

For Economic Nationalists, the welfare of the nation is of vital significance for the growth of power. In order for a state’s economy to grow and revolutionize, the state requires to assemble the nation through state rules (monetary, trade, legal, education etc.), and in so doing, generate a national market. The state’s responsibility in economic growth eventually leads towards the development of a national identity, because
“economic expansion creates and implements the impression and sentimentality of the nation, which rises the political power of the state”. Therefore, the connection between the economy and the nation is a significant issue for Economic Nationalism (Brautigam, 2006).

Economic Nationalism has frequently been related with Mercantilism and protectionism. Nevertheless, Economic Nationalism is definitely distinct from those tactics (Business in Africa, 2006). Where the Mercantilist’s objective is autarky, the Economic Nationalist’s objectives are national harmony, independence and the enlargement of national power. Where Mercantilists advocate isolationism, Economic Nationalists will support free trade if it boosts national power (Brautigam, 2006).

Economic Nationalists contend that liberal economic strategies in the international economy do not require liberal strategies in the national economy instead, state involvement is a requirement for successful contribution in the international economy. For Economic Nationalists, the economic procedures of states are generally designed in such a way as to reinforce national unity. Characteristic Economic Nationalist rules include; industrial policy, Keynesian policy, and currency manipulation (Brautigam, 2006). Economic Nationalism is suitable to the study of Sino-Africa relations.

China has an elongated history of nationalism, and its foreign policy positioning remains markedly nationalist. Chinese nationalism was incited on mainly by Western aggression towards China, and Western law over some parts of China since the Opium Wars in the 19th century (Alden, 2007). It is in this historical setting that Chinese monarchs endorsed
nationalism as a means to oppose external aggression and declare their freedom (Alden, 2007). Nationalism was the main influence driving Chinese foreign policy for most of the 20th Century (Chen, 2007).

Since 1949, the Chinese government has vigorously encouraged “state nationalism” (construction of a Chinese nation instead of ethnic nationalisms) (Alden, 2007). Nationalism still controls China’s foreign policy angle. Modifications in Chinese foreign policy are generally context-specific editions that help to attain the important goal of Chinese nationalism: “to pursue and reserve China’s national freedom” (Alden, 2007).

The key primacies of Chinese nationalism are; economic growth, national harmony and freedom, and international respect (Chen, 2007). Among the three, economic development is seen as the most vital importance, the one that includes all other national goals (Chen, 2007). It is thus within the framework of these theoretical viewpoints that Sino-Africa relations have been examined and understood.

2.4 Chapter Summary

Based on the backdrop of the empirical findings, there have been heated debates on Sino-Africa relations since Chinese intervention in Africa started to expand hence challenging the western states such as Europe and US in their intervention in Africa. China has been condemned of neo-colonizing Africa by using it to achieve its goals such as the access to natural resources. However, Sino-Africa relations is based on mutual benefits where China provides certain services to African states such as building of infrastructure in exchange for access of natural resources.
Additionally, China have maintained their policy on nonintervention and “no strings attached policy” and the west have argued that such policies encourages corruption because China is not concerned whether the funds they provide for foreign aid lands into the hands of corrupt African leaders. African leaders have however embraced foreign aid provided by the Chinese because it provides an alternative to foreign aid from states from the west. Moreover, China provides loans which have cheap interest rates than those of the west and they are also known to fulfill their aid promises than the West.

China has therefore posed as a challenge to the west especially US who were the number one trading partner to Africa but however, the European are learning from the Chinese and have started laying low on the policies of conditionality’s. The US have yet to learn and all they do is criticize and warn African states not to have trade relations with the Chinese with no valid reasons. However, it is the high time for them to take actions because their actions at this period will determine their foreign policy in Africa and other regions that the Chinese are taking over such as Latin America and Southeast Asia and probably the rest of the world.

The chapter also examines some of the theories related to this thesis such as realism, Liberalism Economic Nationalism and Marxism. However, realism and economic nationalism best describes the situation in this case.
CHAPTER THREE
RESEARCH METHODOLOGY

3.1 Introduction

The study involved the formulation of a blueprint of actions that were undertaken to effectively answer the research questions of this study. The study relied on qualitative secondary data method to get answers to the research questions. Secondary data using qualitative methods involves the use of existing data to get answers to the research questions that are different from the questions asked from the original research (Hinds, Vogel & Clarke-Steefen, 1997). The reason for using this method of data collection in this thesis is due to limited resources and unavailable time to collect data in the area of study.

3.2 Data Sources and Collection

The data collected was mainly secondary data whereby previously collected data was used to answer the research questions. Data was collected from multiple research studies with similar hypotheses to the study that helped in answering the research questions. Other sources of data included reports from government agencies, World Bank reports, United Nations development program reports, United Nations reports, and blogs, internet sources such as journals and official publications and books.

3.3 Scope of the study

Temporal: The study relied on information gathered by other experts from 2000-2016 on the effects of Sino-Africa relations on the foreign policy of USA.
**Space:** The main purpose of the study was to investigate the effects of Sino-Africa relations on the foreign policy of Sarthe study relied on Africa, China, and United States of America as the main geographical area of study.

### 3.3 Limitations of the Study

The study was mainly limited to the public content accessible during the time it was evaluated. The research time and resources did not allow going to the field and assessing the state of affairs during the time of the writing of this thesis. Hence, this thesis is based on information from other experts who have done research on the foreign policy of the United States of America and Sino-Africa relations.

### 3.4 Conclusion

The study was mainly desk review where various documents of the United States foreign policy and Sino Africa relations were used to provide answers to the various research questions of the study. With the use of secondary data, the study merged results from different studies addressing the same research questions.
CHAPTER FOUR

DATA ANALYSIS

4.1 Introduction

The United States and China have comparable tactical interests in Africa. China as discussed in chapter two has four predominant strategic interests in Africa which are; access to natural resources predominantly oil and gas; export markets; political backing, mostly in international mediums and devotion to its “One China” rule; and adequate security and stability to certify the security of its investments and the continuance of its commercial actions (Barston, 2014).

Apart from the “One China” policy, the United States shares the rest of the interests. It pursues access to natural resources, export markets for U.S. products, and support for policy initiatives at the United Nations and other international arenas. It also has an interest in endorsing security and stability on the continent, although U.S. security concerns spread to a broader variety of problems, such as the moderation of terrorism, narcotics trafficking, and universal crime. The United States also seeks out access for U.S. military forces, as well as ground troops and both air and naval possessions, to both train African counterparts and directly engage terrorizations to U.S. national security, a tactical military interest that goes far beyond the military diplomacy in which China engages as a means of fostering overall diplomatic ties (Davies, 2007).
Nevertheless, the United States and China have chased different policy purposes and priorities in Africa in almost every arena that is, political, military, economic development, economic and commercial engagement, and cultural outreach. The United States has stressed good governance, foreign aid focused on human development, and private sector investment, while China has emphasized political liberation and state-backed investment in infrastructure and natural resource extraction (Dapo, 2009).

Due to these very diverse methods to progressing their interests, Washington and Beijing are not contending directly against each other for calculated access or effect in Africa in contrast to the rivalry amongst the United States and the Soviet Union during the height of the Cold war, when relationships with individual African states were more or less a zero-sum game. Washington and Beijing are each individually chasing their own goals and priorities in Africa, and rivalry exists in those areas where precise policy or commercial goals differ (Adam, 2008). This section aims at examining the political, economic, security, business and commercial investment challenges on the U.S foreign policy as a result of Sino-Africa relations.

4.2 Data Analysis

4.2.1 The Political Arena

In a speech to Ghana’s parliament in 2009, President Obama stated that “good governance is the element that can reveal Africa’s huge potential.” In the belief that, clear democratic political procedures are essential for accomplishment in other arenas.
Assistant Secretary of State for African Affairs Johnnie Carson said in March 2013 that democracy and good governance are the United States’ “topmost priority in Africa.” Their promotion is one of the four “pillars” of the White House’s June 2012 *U.S. Strategy toward Sub-Saharan Africa*. President Obama’s introduction to this tactical plan notes that U.S. efforts will give priority to these political goals, along with the elevation of economic development, above other U.S. purposes in Africa (Khalid, 2013).

China does not share the American goal of solidification of democratic institutes, and it has diminutive interest in endorsing the basics that make up this “pillar” of the U.S. policy which are; liable and clear government, democratic procedures, human rights, civil society, and self-governing media. On the other hand, arguing that it has the right to enter into contracts with independent countries, Beijing has pursued political and economic bonds with African states regardless of whether or to what degree they endorse transparency, democracy, or political rights. Whereas the United States pursues to convert African politics to encourage a democratic ideal, China trusts firmly that outsiders have no right to meddle in the internal doing of an independent African régime (Ismail, 2012).

Chinese influence in Africa is seen as an alternative to the western policies which have been criticized of serving their own interests. With African states having high regard for Chinese policies which provides a mutual benefit for all, the US will have a great challenge in their efforts to promote democracy and good governance to states that no
longer believe in the US mission in Africa and who have an alternative to the US policies which they criticize to serve their own interests.

4.2.2 The Security Sphere

China and the United States also have very diverse security interests in Africa. Undoubtedly, China desires to prevent unsteadiness that would hamper or impend its investments, although its stress on non-interference means as a policy issue, it is prepared to stand far superior political strife than the United States, which sees such advancements as possible terrorizations to democracy, human rights, and economic development. China and the United States do have a common interest in fighting piracy, which both perceive as a danger to commercial shipping.

One of the essential fundamentals of U.S. security aims in Africa, based on the U.S. Strategy, is combating al-Qaida and other extremist groups, which worries Beijing slightly, if at all. China would assess most of the other U.S. security objectives registered in the U.S. approach that is, averting conflict, modifying murders, and restructuring security institutions, as unjust intrusion in African states’ interior matters. U.S. policy primacies in Africa are more deeply conquered by military and security fears than are China’s. Certainly, some Chinese observers note rather disapprovingly that U.S. relationships with Africa have developed deeply militarized since the September 11, 2001, extremist attacks. Although AFRICOM is possibly the greatest noticeable display of this dynamic, U.S. assignation in many African states has been subjugated by
collaboration concerning extremism, piracy, and other international terrorizations (Mark, 2009).

The United States has made a point of not selling weapons to groups of armed conflict or to tyrannical régimes suspected of human rights violations such as Sudan and Zimbabwe. It has regularly contrasted its limitation in respect to China’s willingness to vend weapons to almost any régime. This assessment has allowed U.S. officials to state Washington’s pledge to democracy and human rights. In practice, nevertheless, while China has been a far more productive vender of arms to Africa than the United States, the United States has been less discerning concerning the nature of the governments purchasing its weapons. From 2006 to 2010, according to the research group SIPRI, China offered 25 percent of African conservative weapons imports, while the United States vended only 3 percent (African Center for Economic Transformation, 2013).

Captivatingly, nevertheless, a 2012 study of U.S. and Chinese arms sales to Africa in the 17-year period from 1989 to 2006 displayed that “the United States have a habit of transferring conservative arms to controlling governments to a larger degree than does China” and that “Western (European and US) arms sales do not analytically desire democracies because Washington is concerned in a far broader range of security terrorizations than Beijing is, and because Washington and Beijing pursue such dramatically diverse security actions there, the United States and China do not actually “compete” in the security arena (Joost, 2013).
Chinese engagement with African states has only slightly affected U.S. security strategy in Africa. The main effect on U.S. security interests has been to deliver sustenance that allowed “exile” governments such as those in Sudan and Zimbabwe, to counterattack U.S. and Western sanctions, restrictions, and other methods of political pressure intended to push these administrations to converse offensive rules. Continuous Chinese military aid, trade, and investment in mining actions such as oil in Sudan, diamonds in Zimbabwe, offered these governments with incomes that allowed them to grip on to power without shifting growth. Critics of Beijing contend that the Sudanese government was free to endure its genocide in Darfur only because China hindered efforts to create a UN peacekeeping mission, sustained buying much of Sudan’s oil output, and continued in selling weapons, helicopters, and other military weapons to Khartoum (Ross, 2013).

Due to their different opinions in the implementation of security in Africa, China stands a higher chance of establishing a good rapport with Africa with its policy of non-interference. The U.S is just perceived to meddle with the affairs of Africans with its application of military intervention which only leaves hundreds of innocent civilians’ dead as in the case of Libya. China’s soft power is more convenient in Africa because it does not interfere with the affairs of other states especially in Africa. With the increase of Sino-Africa relations, the U.S experiences challenges in implementing its human rights and democracy policies especially with the critics it receives on unjust intrusions in African states. All that African states will see is it being a barbarian that takes pleasure in
interfering with other states affairs and using force to solve crisis which results to the death of innocents.

### 4.2.3 Economic Development

In relation to the 2010 Quadrennial Diplomacy and Development Review, the United States gives attention to its development initiatives in six development regions where the U.S. administration is best positioned to deliver meaningful outcomes that is food security, global health, global climate change, sustainable economic growth, democracy and governance, and humanitarian assistance. An extensive variety of economic trials facing Africa are encompassed in the category of “sustainable economic growth,” as well as promoting entrepreneurship, increasing both the hard and soft infrastructure needed for improved trade, advancing broad-based agricultural economies, educating their citizens, ratifying huge numbers of small- and medium-sized businesses, solidification of broad-based agricultural economies, and investing in clean energy technologies to decrease greenhouse gas emissions.

In Africa, nevertheless, the huge majority of U.S. advancement aid is focused on basic needs food security, health, humanitarian aid, peace and security, and the advancement of democracy and good governance. Of the $6.368 billion in aid demanded for Africa in FY2013, 16.7 percent ($1.064 billion) was positioned for economic development, but two-thirds of this amount ($691 million, or 65 percent) was devoted to agriculture and to some extent more than one-eighth ($144.7, or 13.6 percent) was devoted to
environmental initiatives such as conservation, pollution control, and adaptation to climate change. Therefore, only 3.6 percent ($228 million) of the total FY2013 U.S. aid appeal for Africa was devoted to economic development initiatives other than agricultural and environmental programs, such as trade, investment, finance, infrastructure, and private sector competitiveness (U.S. Department of State, 2013).

On the contrary, China’s expenses in Africa is conquered by investment, infrastructure, and trade. Though large “aid” packages are presented conspicuously in recent FOCAC declarations by Chinese leaders, most of this funding is commercial in nature and secured to promoting Chinese exports and services. Investment in human resources, health, and education have developed more as a precedence for Chinese policymakers, mainly as a public diplomacy tool to burnish China’s image, but still make up just a small share of China’s general relations in Africa. The United States focuses its aid efforts on human growth to a much superior degree than China, which stresses on economic development and profitable activities. Because they are addressing such diverse growth challenges and chasing such diverse advancement goals, it is problematic to declare that Washington and Beijing are contending with each other in the financial development arena (GAO, 2013).

However, despite their different development objectives in Africa, the U.S. still faces economic threats from China-Africa relations especially because Africa is the major producing oil source for the U.S. As highlighted in the literature of this study, China has surpassed the U.S in the economic sector. This is as a result of its increasing economic
diplomacy in Africa. The U.S therefore need to reevaluate their economic approach in Africa since this is a challenge to them economically and also as the leading economic state in the world not forgetting as a super-state.

4.2.4 Business and Commercial Investment

Some U.S. officials and Africa-watchers have articulated anxiety that Chinese economic practices in Africa will make American businesses less competitive. Chinese loans are frequently less in price, more flexible, and less clear than economic assistance given by Western financial institutions, hence, giving Chinese businesses an inside track or, undeniably, a certain track on projects sponsored through such mechanisms. Furthermore, most Chinese commercial entities are funded or reinforced in some way by the state, permitting them to offer lower-cost contracts (Hayes, 2011) or commence projects that are less commercially feasible in order to develop a government interest (Coons, 2011).

Moreover, the Chinese administration very proactively endorses Chinese business and investment in Africa, according to Stephen Hayes, the chief executive officer of the Corporate Council for Africa, an American business group devoted to promoting U.S.-African commercial bonds. Hayes attested to a Senate committee in November 2011 that one of “the uppermost primacies of Chinese embassies is to support its business growth in Africa.” China is alleged to have 150 commercial diplomats in Africa (Schneidman, 2013) and “to boost Chinese corporations.”
According to Fijałkowski (2011), “Beijing has recognized ten centers for investment and trade advancement in sub-Saharan Africa, which offer business meeting services, special funds and basic approval actions for Chinese initiatives in quest of to investing in Africa.” The Chinese Ministry of Commerce has also united with the United Nations Development Program to generate the China-Africa Business Council, which organizes trade missions and aids Chinese corporations to create joint projects, train workers and accomplish due diligence research (Fijallkowski, 2011).

U.S. companies are more interested in technology, while Chinese organizations are more involved in construction and infrastructure (GAO, 2013). Although some of the major American corporations have a presence in Africa (Polgreen, 2012) and although most of the financial analysts have confidence that Africa’s comparatively robust foretold financial development will make it to the next great financial opportunity, relatively limited American corporations are deeply involved in sub-Saharan Africa. “The African market is not on the sensor screen of the American commercial community”. Moreover, the U.S. is efficiently yielding the African marketplace to corporations from China, India, Brazil, Russia, Turkey, the European Union and other regions (Schneidman, 2013)

American companies’ partial existence in Africa could however increase if financial development on the continent endures, as Africa’s growing middle class (Ncube & Shimeles, 2010) acquires more disposable income, as U.S. policy initiatives encourage amplified investment by American corporations, and if more African states experience
better political steadiness and encourage respect for the rule of law. Many problems hamper investment in Africa. They include political unsteadiness, corruption, insufficient or undependable power supplies, poor transportation infrastructure, and the comparatively small size of local markets, which is worsened by inadequate regional integration (Deloitte, 2013).

However, the question posed is why are the Chinese entities eager and able to invest regardless of these countless weaknesses while many American firms are discouraged by them? First, state grants permit Chinese corporations to take larger political and financial risks than U.S. companies might undertake. As the GAO reported in February 2013, American corporations, most of which are answerable to shareholders are less prepared than Chinese companies to risk investments in sectors other than oil and gas because U.S. firms are concerned about risks conducting commercial activities in the region, due to factors such as corruption and absence of economic and political steadiness. In disparity to U.S. businesses, Chinese state-owned initiatives and private companies with considerable government funding are more prepared to be flexible in commercial businesses, for instance, cooperating with local industries and to take on business risk (GAO, 2013).

The fact that China continues to increase its business and investment opportunities regardless of the political and economic conditions in African states, increases its chance of more business cooperation in Africa since it does not discriminate to invest in Africa
despite Africa’s poor condition. Moreover, this explains its immense economic growth within a very short period of time. On the other hand, U.S limited business and investment opportunities in Africa is a challenge to their economic growth and also to its status as the largest economy in the world.

4.3 Chapter Summary

The above literature highlights the challenges that the US is facing in its foreign policy due to the Sino-Africa relations. Based on the backdrop, the U.S faces challenges in Political, economic, security and business and investment sectors as a result of the increase in China-Africa relations.
CHAPTER FIVE

CONCLUSION AND RECOMMENDATIONS

5.1 Introduction

This chapter aims at providing an overview and discussion of the findings from the previous chapter and giving conclusions and recommendation for the study.

5.2 Summary of Findings

Based on the findings of this study, the U.S political, security, economic business and investments sectors are challenged by the Sino-Africa relations. In the political sector, the U.S is challenged in its promotion of good governance and democracy in Africa. China relations with Africa is based on their policy of non-interference which is more prominent to African states than the American goal of solidification of democratic institutes. The American policy is pictured to interfere with the affairs of African states of which are sovereign states that entitled to do as they please. It is of no surprise that the Chinese influence has largely increased in Africa and this has resulted to the increase and development of their economy in a short span of time. This is also a challenge to the U.S as the leading economy in the world. It is therefore important for the U.S administration to reexamine their political diplomacy in Africa to eradicate the challenges that are brought about by the Sino-Africa relations.

In the security sector, the U.S and China have the same goal of combating piracy. However, their approach is security reforms in Africa are different as China has the
policy of non-interference while the U.S believes in promotion of human rights democracy and economic development in Africa even if it means the use of military force to achieve this goal. The U.S policy in Africa is that of promoting human development whereas Chinese aims at promoting economic development. Africa is however in need of economic development which the Chinese are increasingly providing.

This poses as a challenge to the U.S foreign policy who have implemented their policies for ages yet, with increased underdevelopment in Africa. Chinese policies are hence pictured to be an alternative to the to the U.S policies and are more preferred by the African states. This challenges America from implementing democracy, human rights policies in the African states and decreases their influence of cooperation in Africa. It is therefore important for the U.S to reconsider their security policies in Africa that do not pose as a threat to the sovereignty of African states.

Economic development is one of the American goal in its relations to Africa. However, this has not been the case because despite the many years that America has had influence in Africa, increased underdevelopment has been realized. However, with the increase of Chinese influence in Africa, some sparks of development have been discovered such as development in infrastructure is accredited to the Chinese influence in Africa. This portrays a bad picture for the U.S administration and it also poses a challenge of their initiative of economic development in Africa given that African states are more drawn to the Chinese initiatives of economic development. It is important for the US to reassess
their initiatives of economic development in Africa that will surpass the increased influence of the Chinese in Africa.

Africa is one of the major trading partners with America. However, this has been challenged with the increase in the Sino-Africa relations. However, based on the findings of the study, China is not to blame. America has been resisting do business and invest in Africa due to poor conditions in Africa of political instability and increased corruption. This can be understood as a reflection of their policy of human rights. However, China on the other hand with their policy of non-interference has taken the advantage and increased its business and investment relations in Africa despite their political unsteadiness. It is of no surprise that most African states have turned their attention to the Chinese corporations for businesses and corporations.

This poses as a challenge to the U.S especially in the oil business since Africa is their major supply. With more focus given to the Chinese business and investment corporations, America stands a chance to lose Africa as their oil supplier and this will be detrimental to their economy and to their oil industries. It also challenges their initiatives of promoting economic development and good governance in Africa since Chinese business and investment in Africa do not consider moral standards or human rights violations of which the African states seem to embrace. It is therefore important for the U.S to reassess their tactic of doing business and investment in Africa that will exceed the Chinese initiatives.
5.3 Conclusion

The Chinese model of “developmental state” has offered a substitute to the Western model of market democracy. China has also sponsored infrastructure and industrialization developments that the West has declined to fund since the days of colonization. It is to be anticipated that these developments will at the end help Africa revolutionize, a dream that appears possible for the first time since independence. With Chinese presence ever increasing, the United States must now develop an appropriate comeback to defend its own interests and reduce the probability of conflict now that China has arrived as a tactical competitor in the African region. Moreover, globalization endures to transform the world order and China challenges the U.S. as a leading international player (Baylis, Smith & Owens, 2013).

The United States must retrace its role in the international system, evaluate opportunities for self-improvement, and control areas in which it can defend its principles and promote its interests to the advantage rather than the harmful of other states particularly in Africa. As a part of strategic rivalry, the U.S. must defend its interests abroad to uphold the power it presently relishes in the international system, but it must work on generating a more positive image and associations with states that will be commonly advantageous.

The Sino-African relationship, as it cultivates, will additionally inspire the United States to convincingly reconsider its policies and goals. A slight competition could prove healthy to spur the United States into trying new tactics and becoming more considerate
and mindful of how it conducts its affairs with other countries. African countries have begun to lose confidence in the United States approach, whereas China tests with different tactics that they continuously review in hopes of discovering the correct blend of efficacy and effectiveness (Barston, 2014).

5.4 Recommendations

Lessons from Sino-Africa Relations

Evidently, the United States and China do not share a mutual background, nor do they share basic beliefs in how a country should approach politics and human rights. Despite their variances, China and the United States do not face a zero-sum game. While each state has contradictory purposes and tactics, they can diminish the potential for conflict and in some cases even collaborate with each other. The United States must scrutinize its own past and present with African states. It must also endeavor for more understanding of Chinese approach and inspirations on the African continent to determine the background for the assumptions it makes and to construct a proper response (Berglund, 2016).

In spite of the negative stigma that has slowly materialized around U.S. relations with Africa, China’s tactic to the region can offer a substitute through which the U.S. can explore additional operative approaches of its own engagement. Basically, the U.S. can pick up from China’s experimentation, just as China has observed Western accomplishments and failures on the continent and used them to improve its policy.
structure. For the U.S., Sino-African pursuit of common benefit can offer a positive illustration from which it can pick up. Certainly, a reassessment of its method to Africa must arise for the United States. It grieves from deteriorating legality and absence of cutting edge assignation with African countries, and it can learn to respect African desires on the African continent instead of striking rules that may not work or resonate with the people. The United States should not uphold its historical technique of associating with the African people (China Daily, 2010).

Additionally, the present competitive method amid the U.S. & China is not useful to Africa and the West should not see China as a danger to its relationship with Africa. It should not see itself as Africa’s redeemer but as its partner. The ‘savior attitude’ is itself a reason of the rivalry. Clearly, the U.S. approach has not worked well so far, and it has worsened in light of Chinese progression on the African continent. In order for the U.S. to endure to be pertinent as a strategic competitor of China in the region, it must work in the direction of cultivating more common respect and listen to African responses to generate an equally advantageous relationship like China aims to facilitate (Daily Guide, 2013).

Towards a common ground

Regardless of their diverse tactics, U.S. and Chinese interests in Africa are corresponding. Both states require Africa’s massive energy and mineral resources to withstand their economies. Both states also pursue affectionate diplomatic relationships
with African states. There are actual variances, nevertheless, in their economic and political viewpoints, mostly when it emanates to governance matters. A grave component in discovering mutual ground is respect for all viewpoints, particularly those of the Africans. A comprehensive procedure would prevent rising doubts that the rest of the world is once again colluding to loot Africa’s natural resources (Davies, 2007).

In the energy and mineral sectors, healthy competition could profit Africa by increasing product charges and therefore national profits. The benefits in this area are also corresponding. China is mainly strong in infrastructure progress, while the United States has greater mining technology. Both these strengths are virtuous for Africa. Mineral extraction without substructure for refining and manufacturing industries would uphold a worldwide disunion of labor in which Africa is a mere exporter of raw materials. By funding infrastructure growth, China is playing a dangerous role in the modernization procedure (Degnbol-Martinussen & Engberg-Pedersen, 2003).

Both states have robust health-sector programs on the continent that could profit from partnership. This is mainly true in the areas of malaria and tuberculosis stoppage and treatment. The United States and China could also cooperate on agricultural projects in Africa. On the security front, there is also adequate space for alliance. China may not back up some of the counterintelligence and counterterrorism policies used by the United States, but their interests meet in the need to restraint piracy, drug smuggling, and illegitimate fishing in the western Indian Ocean. Both the U.S. and Chinese navies are full of life in the anti-piracy crusade, as they mutually hinge on the sea lanes in and
around the Gulf of Aden to transport dangerous energy and trade goods. Closer partnership would decrease pressures and profit the United States, China, and Africa (Dijkstra, 2011).

Discovering mutual ground in trade and growth rules would give the United States and the West superior influence in compelling China to obey to international standards on labor, the environment, and human rights in its relations with Africa. This was manifested in 2007, when China openly reprimanded Sudan for its rules in Darfur and reinforced UN Security Council Resolution 1769, which authorized a peacekeeping force. Henceforth, likelihoods for financial collaboration between the United States and China occur in Africa while at the same time enduring to work in the direction of the goals of the numerous states involved (Dijkstra & White, 2013).

The areas of collaboration overlay regularly in areas and states, occasionally without purpose. By the United States and China supporting in infrastructure expansion and investment, enhancing trade, training and educating the labor force, and helping energy and natural resource progress, they will not only aid African states, but also their own financial development as well (Dijkstra & White, 2013).

**Infrastructure Development and Investments**

Infrastructure development and investments covers an extensive range of business activities. In addition to the traditional infrastructure developments such as in ground transportation, water, power growth, and other comparable public works, the sector has
also extended to telecommunications and aviation support zones. Nevertheless, in order for African states to support a growth in multilateral and bilateral trade, additional growth and “modernization of ports, road, and rail transport, and telecommunications and information technology (IT) capacity” is essential (Xinhua News, 2009).

Infrastructure growth is a vital feature to economic development in African states. The United States and China have diverse tactics to growth and what constitutes advancement, but African states need all of it. China is very involved in large, “heavy”, infrastructure public works such as building roads, bridges, stadiums, and harbors (Economist intelligence unit, 2009). In the meantime, the U.S. African enduring development help, which is typically directed by USAID, pursues to address the original sources of conflict and to alleviate the effects of natural disasters by endorsing environmentally sound natural resource organization, refining citizen access to basic health facilities and education, creating income producing chances, and inspiring responsible and transparent domination (Democratic republic of Congo, Ministry of infrastructures, public works and reconstruction, 2009).

In both cases, growth is positive for African states which require help. Many of the state’s that are in need of aid are still resolving internal conflicts, or are in a post-conflict situation. Some are purely underdeveloped and at no time had the investment in infrastructure or continued development, as in the case of Namibia which struggles in numerous advancement areas. African leaders see the United States and China as states that are capable to offer diverse kinds of investment and support, and want to enjoy the
welfares of strong relationships with all.” Chinese and United States programs can complement each other so that all benefit (Economist Intelligence Unit-Country Monitor, 2009).

For example, transportation systems are an essential part of a state’s infrastructure. An advanced network permits goods and services to move all over the state for domestic, regional, and international markets. Tanzania is a case where Chinese and U.S. transportation growth projects complement each other. Tanzania endures main trials in its transportation infrastructure that damage its capability to enlarge financial development. According to the World Bank, Tanzania has one of the poorest road networks in Sub-Saharan Africa and requires widespread construction and support (International Monetary Fund, 2009).

Another significant infrastructure sector is the Information, Communications, and Technology (ICT) sector. This sector is particularly significant for internet conductivity and interoperability of mobile phone networks, which presently exceeds land line use in Africa. China is very active in this sector both privately and publicly, and comprises some of China’s leading multinational corporations; TCL Corporation, Lenovo, and Huawei. For example, Huawei is dynamically providing network and technology facilities in diverse African states, of which are in Sub-Saharan Africa (Dunne, Kurki & Smith, 2013).
This direct support comprises of building communication towers and placing ground lines that connect numerous parts of Africa that earlier had poor or undependable service. The United States, on the other hand, has limited direct ICT industries effective in Africa, but the USTDA employs over 20% of its annual Sub-Saharan African budget on ICT operations (Dunne, Kurki & Smith, 2013).

Most of the programs supported by USTDA are regionally focused with only limited exemptions devoted for precise African states, and instead tries to promote local ICT business growth. Microsoft is active in Africa with numerous domestic associates offering technology which it trusts that by doing so will offer chances to enable trade and overcome barriers. The United States is providing regional expertise for assimilating ICT networks while China is vigorously selling explicit services and building parts of the infrastructure. When more U.S. ICT businesses enter the market, there will likely be an increase of competition between the U.S. and Chinese businesses. An increase in market competition is good both domestically and internationally for the domestic and foreign companies. The African Union, via NEPAD, has realized the necessity for African nations to generate an ICT infrastructure, and an amalgamation of the United States and China ICT investment in Africa will be a significant donation (Eggen & Roland, 2013).

Another form of investment prospects for the United States and China to complement each other is foreign direct investment (FDI). FDI comes in numerous forms as well as acquisitions, incorporation, mergers, or joint ventures. South Africa offers a good illustration of how FDI from the United States and China has profited the country. South
Africa is one of Africa’s few emerging states that investors are eager to take great risks in. In 2007 the United States foreign direct investments were worth over $5.1 billion and in 2008 they were worth over $4.9 billion with manufacturing being the leading sector. China’s FDI into South Africa in 2006, the up-to-date data obtainable, was over $208 million. Nevertheless, this does not comprise the $5.6 billion deal between the Industrial and Commercial Bank of China and South Africa’s Standard Bank (Espen, 2015).

Foreign direct investment in South Africa is one of the aspects donating to a rise in development in southern Africa. South Africa represents a state that has made marvelous development since sanctions against it were removed in 1994. FDI in South Africa permits an economy with two tiers, “one matching developed states and the other with only the most basic infrastructure,” to continue growth and integration into the global economy. By using FDI, China and the United States can make huge donations to the domestic economic growth of African states while at the same time chasing their own economic goals (Hagan, Romano & Nollkaemper, 1997).

**Sustainable Trade Relations**

By building on development and investments into African states, the United States and China can take advantage of those expenditures by intensifying trade. Establishing race relationships with African states is vital for the United States and China. Each state has established numerous programs to boost trade with specific African states and trade communities for access to African resources and market potential. One of the most
significant means to build trade capacity is generating ways for goods to rapidly and proficiently flow through ports of entry and exit to consumers (NORAD, 2015a).

China and the United States have both supported the growth of trade hubs or centers which enable trade into and out of Africa. The United States funded four Global Competitiveness Hubs in Ghana, Senegal, Botswana, and Kenya. The trade hubs’ objectives are to advance trade policy regionally and domestically, improve trade infrastructure, and inspire enterprise development programs (NORAD, 2015a).

**Energy and Natural Resource Improvement**

Long-term investments comprise of investing in the capability for African states to sustain the human resources as well as the natural resources that exist. Energy advancement covers a wide diversity of sources of energy including coal, petroleum, and renewable sources. Africa, with its huge natural resources, is rapidly becoming a significant energy source for numerous states. Africa requires investment in energy generation projects to “intensify sustainability” both in centralized and decentralized schemes (NORAD, 2015b).

This means they require to produce energy on both a large and small scale, as well as utilize the energy resources accessible for export, precisely on the value-added part of trade systems. Supporting African states to advance their resources sensibly and deliver energy for their own people is vital to sustainable monetary development. U.S and China
should work together to help Africa achieve its goal as well as achieve their own interests (NORAD, 2015b).
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