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China's Evolving Policy of Intervention in African Conflicts

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Abstract

This article attempts to explore the extent of application of China's policy of non-interference. It compares the application of this policy on some selected African states and attempts to find out whether or not the adopted long term policy and visible shifts can be good for China or Africa as she experiences increased interactions with specific African states on eco-socio-political fronts. By use of qualitative design, the authors extensively relied on written material in this discourse as a way of arriving at intelligible conclusions as to whether the policy will also enhance African peace.

Keywords: Intervention, Non-interference, African Peace, Conflict

1. Background

The policy of non-interference has been applied by many states in international relations. It is derived from the Westphalia treaty of 1648 and the United Nations stipulations which advance on equality of states. The policy has been a pillar on issues of state sovereignty. China's relations with African nations, has largely been guided by its traditional policy of non-interference in other countries internal affairs. The policy is part of China's Five Principles of Peaceful Co-existence with other nations and has therefore guided China's foreign policy in the developing world since 1950s.¹ The policy of non-interference limits China's engagement in domestic affairs of African countries. For this reason, China initially opposed the International Community's intervention in African conflicts especially in the 1980s and early 1990s. However recently, China has increasingly supported intervention rather than non interference. China has provided support to the UN led missions in resolving conflicts in Africa. In particular, China provided support to the UN Security Council led mission in Liberia by sending 1300 troops in 2007. Interestingly, China was the first country to push the UN Security Council to intervene in Somali conflict during the 2006 UN Security Council meeting in Addis Ababa.

China has increasingly supported Africa Regional organizations in their peacekeeping missions. This has been demonstrated through China's large contribution of U.N peacekeepers to Africa in the recent years. China's contribution of soldiers to UN peacekeeping in Africa, for instance has increased tenfold since 2001. By May 2007, China had contributed 1800 peacekeeping troops to UN peacekeeping efforts in Africa. At the moment, China has the largest of its peacekeepers among the five Permanent members of the UN mission to Africa.² Other areas of Chinese involvement include logistical support to the Regional bodies, financial assistance as well as providing relevant training to the African Union Peace and Security Council.³ In 2011, Kenya sent its military troops to join AMISOM mission in Somalia and urged the Chinese government to give support to the AMISOM fight against the Al-Shabaab terrorist group that has links with Al Qaida.⁴

2. Objective Outlined

The paper seeks to address the reasons behind China's increased involvement in Africa peacekeeping operations in conflict stricken regions.

3. Problem Stated

Although western states, with interest in Africa in the past have taken 'an ever-present' player approach, China has however tried to maintain "non-interference" regime in her interventions in the continents' conflicts. Whether this stems as their long time foreign policy is something worth probing and similarly if it is a negation of the western states policy in Africa is another interesting line of thought that this paper builds arguments around using the realism school of thought. The paper attempts to explain China's policy shift from non-interference to intervention in African conflicts

Ministerial Conference of the Forum on China-Africa Cooperation, 15-16 December 2003).

¹ Li Anshan, *China and Africa: Policy and Challenges, China Security*, Vol. 3 No. 3 Summer 2007, pp. 69 - 93 2007 World Security Institute

² Bates Gill, et al. "Assessing China's Growing Influence in Africa," *China Security* Vol. 3, (Summer 2007), p. 5.

³ "Forum on China-Africa Cooperation: Addis Ababa Action Plan, 2004-2006" (Addis Ababa, Ethiopia: Second

⁴ "Kenya: Country Urges China to Back Amisom Task," Capital FM, April 3, 2012, <u>http://allafrica.com/stories/201204040183.html</u>.

4. Theoretical Assertions

The scope of the study is grounded in the field of International Relations. China's intervention in Africa crises can be well explained from a Realist perspective in international relations. Han Morgenthau, the great proponent of Political Realism stated that the main aim of states within the international system is the pursuit of their national interest, which is defined in terms of power.¹ Therefore, the structure of the international system has made states to be inherently self-interested entities with an intention of building power in order to gain and maintain an advantage in terms of power.

Morgenthau also argued that national interest is defined within the political and cultural context of the foreign policy formulation.² He also posits that the definition of power and the way it is used depends on the current political and cultural setting.³ Hence, China's foreign policy and its external behaviuor can be interpreted as response to the changing dynamics of the international environment.⁴ For instance, energy security has gained significance as an important objective for powerful states. China as one of the great powers prioritizes security relations with export countries for the continuity of the energy trade relations.⁵

Furthermore, Realists argue that for states to be politically successful no action should be taken in the name of morality.⁶ Hence, the survival of the state is the most important foreign policy objective for the state in the international system.⁷ Therefore, a state's behavior is motivated by the desire to attain this goal and not morality. Realists affirm that states are the most important actors in the international system. However, a realist works with non-state actors in order to take advantage of the platform afforded by the international organization in order to enhance their international standing. This also enables exploitation of any opportunities in order to gain from the international stage.⁸

We contend in this paper that China's contribution in solving conflicts in Africa stricken regions through logistical and financial support and contribution of Peacekeepers in the UN is not motivated by the desire to become politically and economically integrated, but rather the desire to become diplomatically and economically stronger. Therefore, realism is a useful tool in explaining China's foreign policy behavior towards Africa. The realist moral pessimism and self-interest as driving forces for a state's foreign policy helps one to understand why China's foreign policy behavior has been termed as self-serving and ruthless.⁹ The weakness of realism is

5. Research Methods

We selected three countries as case studies in order to understand Chinese motivation for increased involvement in African peace and security affairs. We hope that China's involvement in the selected countries will shed light on her position in Africa conflicts. This paper considers Sudan and South Sudan as one case study due to the inter-linkage between the two countries which were one, until 2011 when it split to become two separate countries. Another country of focus is Mali where China was among the countries that responded to the March 2012 crisis, which led to the overthrowing of the government by a coup. ECOWAS regional body led the negotiations in order to end the conflict.¹⁰China provided financial and logistical support the ECOWAS led mediation. It is worth to note that China was part of the UN Security Council's resolution responsible for making preparations for the interventions against the Islamic insurgents in Mali.¹¹

The rationale for the selection of the case studies is the fact that these countries were affected by internal conflicts that drew international condemnation by the international community. China has economically invested in these regions and has actively been involved in resolving the conflicts. Although the conflicts have ended in these countries, instability still exists.

¹ Morgenthau, H. 1973. *Politics Among Nations The Struggle for Power and Peace*. 5th ed. New York: Alfred. A. Knopf.p. 5

² Ibid, p.9

³ Ibid

⁴ Zhao, Q. 1996. *Interpreting Chinese Foreign Policy*. Hong Kong: Oxford University Press.p.12

⁵ Heller, E.N. 2003. "The Prospect for Power Projections of the People's Republic of China" in *Defense and Security Analysis*, 19(4): 349-367. P.355

⁶ Morgenthau, H. 1973. Politics Among Nations The Struggle for Power and Peace.p. 10

⁷ Zhao, Q. 1996. Interpreting Chinese Foreign Policy. P. 9

⁸ Heller, E.N. 2003. "The Prospect for Power Projections of the People's Republic of China" p.355

⁹ Roy, D. 1998. China's Foreign Relations. Basingstoke: Macmillan.p.229

¹⁰ "ECOWAS threatens Mali coup leaders with sanctions," BBC News. 14 May 2012

¹¹ China Offers Support to Mali Military in Fight Against Islamists" http://www.bloomberg.com/news/2012-09-26/china-offers-support-to-mali-military-in-fight-against-islamists.html

6. Case Presentations, Analysis, Interpretation and Findings

6.1 China's involvement in Sudan

China suffered heavy criticism internationally and especially in Africa for backing the Sudanese government through economic investment in the country and blocking UN imposed sanctions. China propped up the regime of President Al Bashir by opposing the sanctions that would have pressurized the Sudanese government to stop the killings in Darfur. In addition, China remains the largest oil investor in both Sudan and South Sudan. The western media claimed that China investment in the oil sector was hindering the Security Council from halting the gross human rights violations in Darfur.¹ International Non-Governmental Organizations for instance, the Human Rights Watch Report of 2003 heavily criticized China for backing the Al-Bashir regime.²

China's interests in Sudan tainted her image within Africa and globally portraying her as stumbling block to the reversal of the situation in Darfur. This led International Non-Governmental Organizations and United States Hollywood celebrities to campaign against Beijing hosting the 2008 Olympics calling it "genocide Olympics" due to China's economic relations with the Sudan.³ This had a negative impact on China's image, Africa relations with China and globally.

Some African leaders grew impatient with the Sudan government for gross human rights violation, religious and racial discrimination and they found China's presence in Sudan as an obstacle to AU's role of solving the conflict in Darfur.⁴ The criticism from the African leaders threatened China's image and relations in the continent.⁵ This partly prompted the kidnapping of Chinese citizens in the region. For instance in 2008, Sudanese rebels from 'Justice and Equality Movement (JEM) raided a Chinese owned oil field in Darfur and kidnapped nine Chinese workers. Out of the nine workers, five were murdered and four were rescued.⁶ Another rebel group referred to as Liberation Movement–unity faction suggested that the arrival of Chinese companies would be considered as "Military targets."⁷

China thus changed the initially held, non- intervention strategy and applied diplomatic approach to convince Al Bashir government to accept the UN peacekeeping troops in Darfur. Besides, China urged the Sudan government to change the humanitarian situation in the region. China's commitment was illustrated when it appointed a special envoy Liu Gujin to Sudan and later followed by Chinese President Hu Jintao's visit to Sudan in February 2007.⁸ Concerning Darfur crisis, Liu argued that China played a critical role that of a bridge that eventually led the Sudanese government to consent the deployment of the AU/UN peacekeepers to Darfur.⁹ For this role, China received a lot of praise from the United States. This was witnessed in the G8 Summit of 2007 where former president Bush applauded Chinese president Hu Jintao for the positive role China played in resolving of Darfur turmoil.¹⁰

6.2 China's Intervention in South Sudan

China's diplomatic role in South Sudan was significant for the North and South to reach a consensus regarding the oil dispute. China played a significant role in settling the conflict that existed between Sudan and South Sudan regarding border disagreement. China being the largest oil investor in Sudan had the ability to influence both countries to reach a consensus. Further, China close relations with the North influenced the peace agreement that was reached recently.

The existing conflict between the two countries however presented a daunting task for China to change its traditional policy of non-interference with the domestic affairs of other countries. Besides, the conflicts had a

² Human Rights Watch, 2003 Report, "Sudan and Oil," [Available online]

http://www.nytimes.com/2008/01/24/opinion/24kristof.html accessed in March 8, 2012.

Ian Greenberg," Changing the Rules of the Games," The New York Times, March 30,2008,

http://www.nytimes.com/2008/03/30/magazine/30olympics-t.html?pagewanted=all

http://www.linuadip.com.cn/world/2007-02/05/content_801432.htm accessed in March 7, 2012.

¹ He Wenping, "The Balancing Act of China's Africa Policy," *China security*, Vo. 3 No. 3. (Summer 2007), p. 34.

www.hrw.org/reports/2003/Sudan 1103/21.21.html#_toc54492700>,

³ Nicholas D. Kristof, "China's Genocide Olympics," The New York Times, January 24, 2008,

Accessed in March 8, 2012.

⁴ Bates & Huang, "Assessing China's Growing Influence in Africa," p. 13.

⁵ Yinhong Shi "China' peaceful development, harmonious world and international responsibility: achievements and challenges," *SIIS Global Review*, (Spring 2008), pp 19-28.

⁶ "Rescued Workers in Sudan to return home," Xinhua November 5, 2008, http://www.chinadaily.com.cn/china/2008-11/05/content_7175495,htm accessed May 10, 2011.

 ⁷ "9 Chinese oil workers kidnaped in Sudan," International Herald Tribune, October 19,2008, http://www.iht.com/articles/ap/2008/10/19/news/ML-Sudan-China-Kidnap.php .accessed in May 10, 2011.
⁸ "Hu puts forward principle on Darfur issue," Xinhua, February 5, 2007,

⁹ Holstag, Jonathan (2008), "China's Diplomatic Maneuvering on the Darfur Question," in *Journal of Contemporary China*, Vol. 17, no, 54, (2008), p 83.

¹⁰ "President Hu Jintao Met President Bush of US," June 8,

^{2007.} Cited in Xuefeng Sun & Feng Jin paper on, China's Major Approaches to Solving the Darfur Issue, (2009), p. 36.

negative effect on China's economic interest in Sudan.¹ China tried to maintain a neutral position in the settlement of the conflict between the North and South and together with the AU playing a mediation role to settle the conflict by urging both countries to peacefully solve the dispute. China's proactive involvement in peace brokerage was seen when it sent its special envoy Liu Guijin to both Juba and Khartoum.²

However, Chinese involvement in the Sudan-South Sudan crisis has not been without criticism. The people of South Sudan including local citizens, civil society and Government officials have perceived China's involvement in the Sudan and South Sudan war negatively. This is because during the war, Chinese companies continued giving financial support to the Khartoum government and there were claims of violent and forceful dislocation of the local citizens to pave way for exploration of oil by the Chinese companies.³ China's active engagement in solving the dispute between the two countries was motivated by the negative criticism from the southern Sudanese. China's close relations with the Khartoum government created mistrust among the southern Sudanese. The eruption of the conflict between the north and south presented a complex situation to China as it tried to balance its relations with both the Sudan and South Sudan governments.⁴ As the conflict between the two counties escalated over the oil payment row, the officials of South Sudan became increasingly disappointed with China's failure to pressurize the north to lower the oil transit fee.⁵

There is a general perception in the international arena that China could play a more positive role in conflict resolution in the region. The AU and sub- regional bodies including the people of South Sudan have been urging China to play a constructive role leading to the brokerage of the peace agreement between Sudan and South Sudan

China's economic interest in the region and its growing role as a responsible power has increasingly influenced China to proactively engage in conflict settlement a position China has progressively embraced not only in Sudan and South Sudan but also in other countries in Africa such as Mali.

6.3 China's Involvement in Mali Conflict

The recent coup in Mali that later led to the break-away of the Tuareg region by Islamic rebels, forced western African countries and the international community to intervene. China supported the Malian military to fight the Islamist rebels,⁶ a role that China would normally be reluctant to be actively involved. China justified its action by stating that the Militia from the north are not only opposition rebel group but are also a terrorist group.⁷ China has also been actively involved in giving financial support to the ECOWAS – led peace mediation efforts. Further, China was part of the recent United Nations Security Council (UNSC) resolution responsible for making preparations for the interventions against the Islamic insurgents. China's action of supporting ECOWAS mission and engagement in UN effort portrays it as a responsible global player committed to solving conflicts in Africa. It can be argued that China has realized that Mali crisis not only affect Mali but has the ability to affect the entire Sahel region thus affecting her economic interest in the region.

7. Reasons for China Shift of Non-Interference Policy

China has justified her intervention polices by stating that with the changing situations in the international arena, it has been forced to actively engage in solving conflicts thereby changing its policy of non-interference. Furthermore, it acknowledges that with globalization, it has become difficult to differentiate what issue is domestic and what is global. It is argued that as a global responsible player, China is obliged to use its diplomatic means to resolve a rising conflict before it escalates. However, if a particular conflict aggravates, China supports the effort by the UN and regional and sub-regional organizations to resolve it.⁸ This is a position it was initially reluctant to be involved. Some scholars concur that Africa is the region where China peacekeeping is most pronounced.⁹ In many occasions, China has openly stated that it was willing to play a constructive role in settling conflicts and maintaining peace and security in Africa. The China-Africa policy paper of 2006 outlines several areas of cooperation that include confronting peace and security through military cooperation, conflict settlements and peace operations as well as judicial and peace cooperation including non-

⁵ Ibid p. 28

⁸ Through the Chinese eyes, He Wenping, (part 3) by Peter Martin & David Cohen - 2 December 2011, <u>http://www.lowyinterpreter.org/post/2011/12/02/Through-Chinese-eyes-He-Wenping-%28Part-3%29.aspx</u>

¹ China's New Courtship in South Sudan, International Crisis Group, No 186, April 4, 2012.

² "China dispatches envoy to Sudan with proposal over oil," Sudan tribute, December 5, 2011.

³ China and Conflict-Affected States: Between principle and Pragmatism, Safer world, January 2012. P. 119.

⁴ China's New Courtship in South Sudan, Crisis Group Africa Report, No. 186, April 4, 2012 p. 20.

⁶.' China Offers Support to Mali Military in Fight Against Islamists' http://www.bloomberg.com/news/2012-09-26/china-offers-support-to-mali-military-in-fight-against-islamists.html

⁷Tendai Musakwa, Head of African Studies at China's largest think tank gives wide-ranging interview to CAP, says French intervention in Mali "was necessary" 30th January, 2013

⁹ Philippe D. Rogers ,"China and United Nations Peacekeeping Operations In Africa," *Naval War College Review*, Vol.60, (Spring 2007), P.73.

traditional security.¹However, China normally invests in African regions which are unstable and where western countries tend to avoid due to the high risk involved.² Consequently, its investments and citizens working in these regions are intertwined with the prevailing conflicts.

Various factors may explain China's shift of its non- interference policy. They include economic motivations, political factors, international pressure, call from Africa regional bodies and China's concern regarding its image in the continent.

7.1 **Economic Reasons**

China shift of its non-interference policy has been motivated by economic interest. Conflicts in the region affect its economic interest. According to the standard report of 2012, China and Africa trade which stood at \$166 billion in 2011 was expected to exceed \$200 billion in 2012.³Moreover, China is Africa largest trading partner and Africa is China's fastest growing trade partner.⁴Thus, China participation in peace and security realization in the region is important to safeguard its investments and trade. In addition, safety of its citizens that have occasionally come under attacks during the past few years is a new phenomenon that would influence China's political policy.

7.2 **Political Reasons**

China's recent engagement in interventions in conflict stricken regions in Africa is not only for economic reasons but also political reasons. China wants to win the support of African countries to advance its interest globally. This is especially demonstrated in the way it votes in multilateral organizations such as the UN. Crisis Group Africa in its 2012 report states that China's closeness with countries such as South Sudan is also motivated by diplomatic reasons as it serves political alliances for backing China's interest in the international institutions.⁴

7.3 **International Pressure**

The international community has in many occasions called upon China to play an active role in solving conflicts in Africa. For instance, the international community condemned China for abstaining from voting for the sanctions that were meant to pressurize the Sudan government and prevent the human rights violations in Darfur region. Conversely, China ability to convince Sudan to accept AU/UN peacekeeping troops received international community commendation for this significant role.⁶ The Regional organizations in the continent have openly asked China to take an active role in helping to mediate for peace in Africa.

7.4 **Call from Africa Regional Bodies**

In many occasions, China has shifted its initially held positions to support the position held by the regional bodies. For instance, China's support to deploy more peacekeepers was also rooted in the fear of being condemned of impeding the work of the Africa Union (AU).⁷AU's ability to influence China's position was exemplified when the AU representatives in the UN Security Council politically supported the AU/UN deployment to Darfur prompting China to change its initial position.⁸ Chris and Alves (2009) agree that the African countries have the capacity to influence China policy towards African countries with AU taking the leading role.⁹ From the beginning of the crisis in Darfur, China has been cautious not to interfere in AU effort to end the conflict. As demonstrated in 2004 China abstained in a UN resolution that threatened an oil sanction on Sudan and justified its stance of abstaining instead of vetoing in order not to interfere with AU work. AU had already sent 3000 troops to Darfur and needed more by Simon Freemantle and Jeremy Stevens peacekeepers to be deployed in the region.¹⁰ As a result of AU request, China supported the deployment of AU/UN hybrid force to Darfur. In addition, it gave financial contribution to the AU peacekeeping troops amounting to \$3.5 million for humanitarian aid. Besides, China eventually sent its peacekeeping troops to the Darfur region.¹¹

7.5 **Image Matters**

China's proactive involvement in conflict resolution in Africa has also been motivated by its concern regarding

2007. Cited in Xuefeng Sun & Feng Jin paper on, China's Major Approaches to Solving the Darfur Issue, (2009), p. 36 ⁷ Huang & Morris, "Assessing China's Growing Influence in Africa," p. 13.

⁸ "Security Council endorses African Union decision on need for Concrete steps in transition to United Nations Operation in Darfur." UN press release, May 16 2006,

www.un.org/News/Press/docs/2006/sc8721.doc.htm. ⁹ Chris Alden and Ana Cristina Alves, "China and Africa's Natural Resources: Challenges and Implications for Development and Governance," SAIIA Occasional paper No. 41, September 2009, P. 21.

http://www.chinadaily.com.cn/english/doc/2004-09/19/content_375722.htm accessed in March 10th 2012.

¹ China's African policy paper of 2006, <u>http://www.fmprc.gov.cn/eng/zxxx/t230615.htm</u>

² Shimelse Ali, Nida Jafrani, China's Growing Role in Africa: Myths and Facts, *Carnegie Endowment* February 9th, 2012.

³ Insight and Strategy - EM10 and Africa: China-Africa ties deepen, but on whose terms? Standard Bank Report

⁴ Ibid

⁵ Ibid p. 2.

⁶ "President Hu Jintao Met President Bush of US," June 8,

¹⁰ "UN adopts resolution on Sudan's Darfur", China Daily, September 19, 2004.

¹¹ "China to Continuously support African countries," Xinhua, July 1, 2006.

its image in the continent. China's image has been tarnished because of its role in Sudan conflicts where China heavily invested in the oil sector and failed to use its position to pressurize the Sudan government to change the situation on the ground. Further, the South Sudan people considered China to have been siding with the Sudan government. This has led to a negative perception of China's investment in the South Sudan region. Therefore, with the disagreement between the Sudan and South Sudan, China has diplomatically been actively involved in negotiating for a mutual agreement. Its special envoy Liu Gujin has visited both Khartoum and Juba urging both governments to reach an agreement. China has tried to maintain its neutral position to avoid criticisms from South Sudan. Besides, China realized that the majority of the oil was found in the south and if it does not take a neutral position, the criticism may affect its economic interest in the region.

8. Conclusion

China's actions in the Sudan, South Sudan and Mali portray a responsible player in African domestic affairs. It does not want to be perceived as an obstacle in the efforts made by the regional bodies in Africa to solve conflicts. China's action in the Sudan- South Sudan mediation efforts to resolve the oil disagreement is a realisation that the conflicts will affect China's economic interest since it had invested heavily in the region. Moreover, by China helping in conflicts mediation, its image that was initially negatively perceived by South Sudanese residents will eventually improve. As China, participates in peace keeping in the region, its image as a responsible global player will also be enhanced.

It is clear that as China grows in its relevance in the global stage, its responsibilities also increase. Therefore, with China's growing role especially in African peace and security, its policy of non-interference has had to adapt to the new changes. Similarly, China has realised that peace is important so as to ensure safety of its economic investments in Africa. It is worth to note that the realization of adoption of global responsible image implies a weakness in realism. It also implies that a global responsible image requires some application of security strategies

China increasing involvement in Africa conflict resolution is a trend we are likely to see in the future. This will however be dependent on the Africa countries position on the matter. Therefore, with China's growing interest in African peace and security, the Africa Union should therefore come up with the rules of engagement with China in solving conflicts in Africa. In this way, China will play a more positive role in the enhancement of peace in the African region

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