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Comparing United States and China's Foreign Aid in Africa

-The Case Study of Kenya-

미국과 중국의 아프리카 대외원조정책 비교

-케냐의 사례를 중심으로-

February 2015

International Cooperation

Graduate School of International Studies

Seoul National University

Rachel Lee

Comparing United States and China's Foreign Aid in Africa

-The Case Study of Kenya-

A thesis presented by

Rachel Lee

Graduate Program in International Cooperation

For the degree of Master of International Studies

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이 레 이 첼

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지도교수 신성호

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위원장 정종호 **(인)**

부위원장 김태균 **(인)**

위원 신성호 **(인)**

The Graduate School of International Studies
Seoul National University

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The Graduate School of International Studies,
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Have examined a thesis entitled

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- The Case Study of Kenya -

Presented by Rachel G. Lee

Candidate for the degree of Master of International Studies and Hereby certify that is worthy of acceptance

Signature ……...……..…….
Committee Chair Jeong, Jong-Ho

Signature ……...……..…….
Committee Member Kim, Taekyoon

Signature ……
Committee Member Sheen, Seong-Ho

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Abstract

Rachel Lee

International Cooperation

Graduate School of International Studies

Seoul National University

The United States and China allocate the most amount of their foreign aid to Africa, but with vastly different agendas and priorities for development. This paper explores and compares the nature, scope and implementation of United States and Chinese foreign aid policies in Africa. It seeks to analyze the two donor countries' methods of foreign assistance and the relationship between the United States and Chinese foreign aid, using Kenya as a case study. The United States distributes most of its ODA to Kenya's health sector while China invests mostly in infrastructure development. Since the United States prioritizes health, there is less attention on developing infrastructure. However, China finds infrastructure crucial to development and focuses most of its foreign aid in this area. Kenya, thus, sees both its health and infrastructure sectors receive assistance, and a broader spectrum of development takes place.

The same pattern is reflected in Africa as whole. The United States prioritizes health and democracy while China seeks infrastructure development. The United States tends to focus on East Africa while China centers on West and South African countries. Due to these different foreign aid policies, a broader range of development is covered across Africa since more countries and sectors are able to receive aid. Although the United States and China work independently, when their efforts are put together, they cover a wider area of need. Their different interests and agendas allow for more countries in Africa to receive foreign aid, ideally helping more people.

The unintended complementary relationship between the United States and China's presence in Africa is based on the different goals behind their respective foreign aid policies. The United States centers its foreign aid policies on democracy building, poverty reduction and national security. These aspects shape U.S. ODA to focus on education, health and governance. As for China, its foreign aid policies are more commercially based seeking mutual economic development with recipient countries, and access to natural resources and markets. These objectives shape China's foreign aid to center on economic, social and public infrastructure. These differences can be attributed to the unintended complementarity occurring in Africa. Furthermore, the report ends with a survey on the global perception of the United States and China. Both

countries were well received in Africa supporting their presence in the region.

Key Words: United States, China, Africa, Kenya, Foreign Aid, Foreign Assistance, Overseas Development Aid (ODA), Health, Infrastructure, Development, Security, Democracy, Government, Diplomacy

List of Acronyms and Abbreviations

CAC	China-Africa Development Fund
CAMC	China CAMC Engineering Co. Ltd
CRBC	China Road and Bridge Corporation
FDI	Foreign Direct Investment
FOCAC	Forum on China-Africa Cooperation
GDP	Gross Domestic Product
GNI	Gross National Index
LDC	Least Developed Countries
MCA	Millennium Challenge Account
ODA	Official Development Assistance
PEPFAR	President's Emergency Plan for AIDS Relief
PRC	People's Republic of China
USAID	U.S. Agency for International Development

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Comparing United States and China's Foreign Aid in Africa: The Case Study of Kenya

Chapter I: Introduction

The United States and China are the two largest economies and arguably the two most influential countries in the world today. There is plenty of discourse on the rise of China and the possibility of replacing the United States' position as the global hegemony. There are those who argue of a bipolar power system in which both countries will govern the world while others maintain the United States will always and forever remain the most powerful country. Although it is uncertain what scenario unfolds between the two when it comes to hegemonic power it is certain that China's economic and diplomatic influence is rising in the world. According to *The Economist*, China is estimated to surpass the United States as the world's largest economy by 2021.[1] China has also expanded its military spending by double-digits almost every year since the past two decades, and this year is no different. China's 2014 defense budget is $132 billion

[1] R, S., and D. H. "Catching the Eagle." *The Economist*. The Economist Newspaper, 21 Nov. 2013. Web. 29 Sept. 2014.

(US dollars), an increase of 12.2 percent from the previous year.[2] Additionally, China's global influence continues to rise through its generous financial assistance to developing countries, most notably to the African region. In 2009, China surpassed the United States as Africa's largest trading partner.

The United States and China have vital economic, diplomatic and security interests on the African continent and foreign assistance is one way they position into the region. While the United States is the world's largest aid donor by dollar amount, China is the largest aid donor to Africa. In fact, China has given aid to every African country except for Swaziland, which has never switched allegiance from Taiwan. From the donor's point of view foreign aid can be used to promote political, diplomatic and economic relations, protect national security concerns, and showcase altruism. It can also be used to improve the lives of the recipient countries, protect the lives of the donor countries and overall, to create a better world for every human being. Each country has different objectives and reasons for its foreign assistance and thus, implements it in various ways. The United States and China are two major donors to African countries with vastly different agendas. This paper attempts to compare, contrast, and analyze the two countries' aid policies in Africa.

[2] "At the Double." *The Economist*. The Economist Newspaper, 15 Mar. 2014. Web. 28 Oct. 2014.

1.1 Purpose of Study

Distributed by region, the United States and China donate the most amount of their foreign assistance to the African continent. In 2012, six of the top ten recipients of United States official development assistance (ODA) were in Africa receiving 35 percent of total U.S. net ODA. China also provided the most amount of its foreign assistance to that region during 2010 to 2012 donating 51.8 percent of its net foreign aid to Africa. While the United States tends to focus on the health sector, China usually focuses on infrastructure. This paper looks at the general patterns of aid giving by the United States and China using Kenya as a case study, and then observing these patterns in Africa as a whole.

Kenya's strong and diversified economy makes it an attractive country to outside nations. Known as the "Gateway to East Africa" Kenya has strong diplomatic and economic ties with the United States and China. I initially chose Kenya as a case study, because it was the top recipient of U.S. ODA out of all the African nations in 2012. In the same year, it was also the second highest recipient of U.S. ODA following Afghanistan. Having strong relations with the United States, I wanted to see what that means in regards to Kenya's relations with China, especially as China's presence in Africa rises. Coincidently, both the United States and China have friendly ties with Kenya.

As much as foreign aid is expected to help countries in need, it is still a foreign policy where donors seek to gain something in return. It is statecraft and an instrument of soft power in which both the United States and China use it for their states' interests.

In *Foreign Aid and Foreign Policy: Lessons for the next half-century*, Steven Weissman is quoted as describing foreign aid such as this, "Aid, like diplomacy, propaganda, or military action, is an instrument of statecraft. Aid policy has been a component of diplomacy and ultimately a 'sophisticated instrument of control' or at least influence."[3] Foreign aid is thus no more than a tool of foreign policy used to promote diplomatic, economic and political relations with developing countries while enhancing the image of the donor countries. Simply put, it is a form of political diplomacy.

The United States and China's use of foreign aid is no different from Weissman's description. Although their areas of focus may vary, the two countries utilize foreign assistance in the same manner, as a strategic tool. Deborah Brautigam, leading expert on China in Africa and professor at Johns Hopkins School of Advanced Studies, describes the two countries' motives behind aid and the role of foreign aid:

[3] Steven Weissman, "Inside the Trojan House," Foreign Aid and Foreign Policy: Lessons for the next half-century, ed. Louis A. Picard (Armonk, NY: M.E. Sharpe, 2008) 7.

> Like the U.S., China gives aid for three reasons: strategic diplomacy, commercial benefit, and as a reflection of society's ideologies and values. The broad brush-strokes of foreign aid policy are set up by political leaders, who shape aid as one of many instruments of foreign policy.[4]

Thus, foreign aid can be seen as a crucial tool of foreign policy and when used accordingly, donor countries are able to gain some form of return or compliance from recipient countries. As Brautigam notes, both the United States and China use foreign assistance not only to provide aid for recipient countries, but as a means to achieve state interests.

While the two major donors see the importance of foreign aid in similar ways, the United States and China nonetheless, have different incentives and ways of implementation behind their assistance. This paper attempts to look at the scope, nature, and practice of the United States and China's foreign aid and answer the question of why the foreign aid policies of the two countries are so different. Additionally, seeing that the aid patterns are at a variance, are the policies of the two countries in competition in Africa?

1.2 Literature Review

[4] Deborah Brautigam. The Dragon's Gift: The Real Story of China in Africa. (Oxford: Oxford UP, 2009) 15.

Although it was difficult to find previous literature on the direct comparison of the United States and China's foreign assistance, the 2008 Congressional Research Service's report *Comparing Global Influence: China's and U.S. Diplomacy, Foreign Aid, Trade and Investment in the Developing World* was an excellent starting source for this thesis.[5] The report examines the influence of the two countries in developing countries through its diplomatic efforts and foreign assistance. The paper is divided by region and provides specific examples of where the United States and China provide assistance to and the responses of these efforts. It focuses on the use of each country's soft power through the venues of public diplomacy, foreign assistance, global trade, military diplomacy, etc. It also refers to surveys conducted by the Pew Research Center and the BBC to look at how favorable the two countries actions are perceived around the world. The report applauds China's efforts in trying to improve the conditions of developing countries and increase its global influence through the use of its soft power, while recognizing the decline of the United States' public image. The report, however, concludes that

[5] United States. Cong. Congressional Research Service. Comparing Global Influence: China's and U.S. Diplomacy, Foreign Aid, Trade, and Investment in the Developing World. By Thomas Lum, Blanchard M. Christopher, Cook Nicolas, Dumbaugh Kerry,Epstein B. Susan, Kan A. Shirley, Martin F. Michael, Morrison M.Wayne, Nanto K. Dick, Nichol Jim, Sharp M. Jeremy, Sullivan P. Mark, Vaughn Bruce, and Foreign Affairs, Defense, and Trade Division. 110 Cong. Cong. Rept. RL34620. N.p.: Congressional Research Service, 2008. Web. 10 Oct. 2014.

the United States retains its significant impact globally and that China has not reached the level of influence as that of the United States.

China's White Paper on its foreign aid provides an in-depth overview of the country's foreign assistance.[6] Excluding the preface and conclusion the paper is divided into five sections explaining the purposes of China's aid. These sections include Helping to Improve People's Livelihood, Promoting Economic and Social Development, Foreign Assistance under Regional Cooperation Mechanism, and Participation in International Exchanges and Cooperation. The paper provides a detailed explanation including figures and charts on how and where aid is being allocated. It explains the different forms of foreign assistance and includes specific projects by China such as the water-supply project in Zinder, Niger and its humanitarian efforts in flood-stricken Pakistan in 2010. The white paper dedicates a portion to economic development and its mission to actively respond to the World Trade Organization's Aid for Trade initiative. The document concludes with China's role in creating a better society all around through peace and cooperation.

There is ample literature on the topic of China's foreign aid and economic cooperation overseas, especially on the African continent. *China and Africa: Emerging Patterns in Globalization and Development*

[6] The People's Republic of China. Information Office of the State Council. *China's Foreign Aid (2014)*. Beijing: n.p., 2014.

edited by Julia C. Strauss and Martha Saavedra is a collection of articles that try to provide a deeper understanding of the emerging relationship between China and Africa.[7] The scholars cover a wide-range of topics and African countries such as Sudan, Namibia and Tanzania to name a few. It also includes different perspectives on China's engagement with African countries shedding light on both the positive and negative impacts of the relationships formed. Meanwhile, while other research focuses on the perspective from outside observers and China, this book includes a chapter on the point of views from the aid recipients. *African Perspectives on China-Africa Links* by Barry Sautman and Yan Hairong includes an empirically based study of what Africans think of their bilateral relationships with China. The results show a different view from what dominant Western media highlights. Although the surveys, which include data from the Pew Research Center and the Gallup Poll have its limitations, they are the first and few I encountered throughout the entirety of this research.

China's International Behavior: Activism, Opportunism, and Diversification by Evan S. Medeiros provides a clear description of China's foreign aid expanding as a diplomatic tool. Medeiros writes about China's reasons and purposes for engaging in the international

[7] Julia C. Strauss and Martha Saavedra, eds. China and Africa: Emerging Patterns in Globalization and Development. (Cambridge: Cambridge UP, 2009).

community.[8] He is straightforward in describing China's foreign policy actions including a wide range of intentions such as improving the country's international image, political and economic leverage, security concerns, access to resources, and reducing support for Taiwan. Medeiros is to the point and succinct in his statements. He provides many tables and charts to illustrate the trends and patterns of China's foreign assistance.

Charm Offensive by Joshua Kurlantzick is an excellent source when looking at China's soft power.[9] He describes the different categories of China's "charm offensive" providing direct examples from first-hand experiences and interviews. The author's extensive fieldwork, particularly in Southeast Asia, portrays the impact of China's diplomatic and economic efforts around the world. Meanwhile, his interviews illustrate the true sentiments and experience of government officials, diplomats and citizens associated with China's efforts. Although the book is primarily about China, Kurlantzick juxtaposes the Asian country to the United States and dedicates a full chapter on the decline of America's soft power. He dispersedly compares the two countries throughout the book and tends to take a more favorable side on the Chinese. The author, however, does include the challenges and criticisms China faces and may face in the

[8] Evan S. Medeiros, China's International Behavior: Activism, Opportunism, and Diversification. (Santa Monica, CA: RAND, 2009).
[9] Joshua Kurlantzick. Charm Offensive: How China's Soft Power Is Transforming the World. (New Haven: Yale UP, 2007).

future due to its fervor. Kurlantzick's book is one of the few that compares the activities of China with the United States in regards to foreign aid.

Deborah Brautigam's *The Dragon's Gift* is an extensive analysis on China's foreign aid and economic cooperation abroad, specifically in Africa.[10] The author includes a detailed explanation of the past, present and future of China's engagement. She argues that China is not a newly emerging aid donor, but has had a long history of providing foreign aid. The goal throughout the book is to tackle the myths and realities of China's purpose behind its efforts. Brautigam draws from her in-depth fieldwork and research to question western media's portrayal of China's massive aid packages, supporting weak and corrupt governments, and exploiting rich resourced yet poor African countries. She attempts to debunk such myths and portray China's activities in Africa in a positive light. This is an excellent source when researching about China's foreign aid and its rise in the world.

The Rise of Asian Donors: Japan's Impact on the Evolution of Emerging Donors edited by Jin Sato and Yasutami Shimomura includes a section on Japan's foreign assistance to China and how it impacted the latter's practices as an emerging donor today.[11] The authors look at China

[10] Deborah Brautigam. The Dragon's Gift: The Real Story of China in Africa. (Oxford: Oxford UP, 2009).
[11] Jin Satō and Yasutami Shimomura, eds. The Rise of Asian Donors: Japan's Impact on the Evolution of Emerging Donors. (Abingdon, Oxon: Routledge, 2012).

as a recipient and donor country. They attribute China's donor practices to its past donors of the Soviet Union and Japan. Japan's model of linking aid, trade, and investment helped not only develop aid recipient countries, but Japan's economy as well. China was impressed by this and therefore, began to mirror the same model. The authors argue that China's current foreign aid policies were shaped by Japan and the Soviet Union.

Foreign Aid and Foreign Policy: Lessons for the Next Half Century edited by Louis A. Picard, Robert Groelsema and Terry F. Buss focuses on United States foreign assistance as it applies to nation building, democratization and security.[12] The book approaches aid from a donor's point of view. It also presents the transformation of U.S. foreign aid before and after the 9/11 terrorist attacks. The collection of articles covers case studies of major U.S. aid recipients such as Iraq, Ghana and Haiti. It examines the failures of the assistance in recipient countries while each chapter provides recommendations and suggestions in improving U.S. foreign aid. The book also includes the efforts of non-state actors, such as private donors and non-governmental organizations, and their assistance in developing countries. As the title indicates, the book concludes foreign aid as an instrument of statecraft and foreign policy.

[12] Louis A. Picard, et al., Foreign Aid and Foreign Policy Lessons for the next half-century. (Armonk, NY: M.E. Sharpe, 2008).

Security by Other Means: Foreign Assistance, Global Poverty, and American Leadership edited by Lael Brainard looks at foreign assistance in the interests of security, economics, politics and humanitarian.[13] The book addresses the effectiveness of U.S. foreign aid and its impact not only on the national security interests of the United States, but its relations to the interests of the international community. As the book attempts to assess the current structures of foreign aid, it also provides recommendations on a more comprehensive and effective foreign aid strategy for the United States.

1.3 Methodology and Scope

This thesis is a comparative case study on United States and Chinese foreign aid policies in Africa, specifically in Kenya. It is based on previous research and literature conducted by scholars and experts on the two donor countries' foreign aid practices. It explores the nature, scope, methodology, objectives and outcomes of the two countries' foreign assistance. It provides what activities the respective countries engage in and the responses they generate. The paper first looks at the whole of United States' foreign assistance policy and the case study of Kenya, and

[13] Lael Brainard, ed. Security by Other Means: Foreign Assistance, Global Poverty, and American Leadership. (Washington, D.C.: Brookings Institution, 2007).

then follows the same pattern for China. The paper concludes with an analysis of United States and China's aid practices in Africa as a whole. It also considers the responses of the United States and Chinese aid recipients by looking at surveys conducted by the Pew Global Research Center.

The paper first looks at the past and current context of United States foreign aid. I used previous literature for information on the United States' history behind its foreign aid policy and the ways it transformed throughout the decades. To gather data on United States ODA, I used the U.S. Agency of International Development's (USAID) website which provides in-depth information on United States' foreign aid. The website has an overview of U.S. foreign aid such as how and where the funding is allocated. When researching about United States' foreign policy in Africa, I referred to the President's Directive on Sub-Sahara. For my case study, I narrowed the search by country profile, Kenya, and found information on how the aid was allocated: by sector, by implementing agency, and by calendar year. I further explored the projects underway within each sector.

Next, I looked at the history and overall characteristics of China's foreign assistance. I read scholarly works on the origins of China's foreign aid and I used the nation's white papers for information on its current aid projects. Narrowing my research to Africa and Kenya, I used AidData, an

interactive database detailing close to two thousand projects in Africa between 2000 and 2012. This is reportedly the largest public database on Chinese development finance in Africa launched by U.S. researchers.[14] I narrowed down the search by country profile, Kenya, and looked at which sectors and projects China invested in. I also referred to scholarly journals and publications for more in-depth information and analyses of China's aid in Africa.

There were a few challenges throughout my research, because it was difficult to find existing literature that explicitly compared the United States and Chinese foreign assistance policies. Therefore, I had to do separate research on each country's respective foreign assistance policies and combine the information together on my own. Additionally, it was hard to find specific information on China's foreign assistance projects and policies, as that data is not thoroughly available or made known. I had to use various sources to research a project while relying heavily on secondary sources.

[14] Provost, Claire, and Rich Harris. "China Commits Billions in Aid to Africa as Part of Charm Offensive - Interactive." *The Guardian*. Guardian News and Media, 29 Apr. 2013. Web.29 Oct. 2014.

CHAPTER 2: United States Foreign Aid

2.1 Brief History of United States Foreign Aid

In the past the crux of United States' foreign aid was to contain the Soviet Union and keep communism from spreading into other countries. With the objectives of countering security threats, the United States was searching for ways to prevent the Soviet Union's expanding influence by using nonmilitary means. Therefore, aid was utilized to stabilize and promote the economies of Greece, Turkey and eventually countries in Western Europe to quell conflict and communist sympathies. Many U.S. officials thought it would be easier for communist parties to take hold in poverty stricken countries in Western Europe. Therefore, the United States created a foreign aid initiative called the Marshall Plan, which was a response against the spread of communism and post-war economic crisis.

Meanwhile, United States' foreign aid has changed its focus with the changing of presidents and world events taking place. To categorize by time, alleviating famine in Africa and countering insurgencies in Central America were the primary focuses in the 1980s. In the 1990s, the issue of peace in the Middle East directed aid towards Israel, Egypt, Jordan and Palestine. Then with terrorist attacks in 2001 on U.S. soil

foreign assistance again turned to focus primarily on national security concerns.

For former President George W. Bush, foreign aid became a crucial weapon in fighting what he called the global war on terrorism. During the Bush administration foreign aid was closely linked to the strategic goals of the War on Terror, which included democracy promotion. He was adamant about gaining and using the support from allies and friends of the United States to fight Al-Qaida. In 2006, more than half of United States' foreign aid went to fund military and economic assistance to key allies, while less than 30 percent was allocated to helping poor countries develop.[15] Foreign aid became a vital tool in this fight and its core turned to the national interest of security. As Lawrence Korb the former Director of the National Security Studies for the Council on Foreign Relations in New York summarizes, "If one views the Department of Defense and the armed forces as the offensive part of our national security policy, foreign aid can be viewed as its preventative part".[16] Therefore, foreign aid is attributed to include the self-interest of national security as Bush's War on Terror testifies.

[15] Lawrence Korb, "Foreign Aid and Security: A Renewed Debate," Foreign Aid and Foreign Policy: Lessons for the next half-century, ed. Louis A. Picard (Armonk, NY: M.E. Sharpe, 2008) 35.
[16] Ibid, 27.

While national security was a fundamental aspect of foreign aid, President Bush also launched two major initiatives for development aid during his time in office. In 2004, his administration introduced the President's Emergency Plan for AIDS Relief (PEPFAR) and the Millennium Challenge Account (MCA). MCA provides assistance to countries that promote good governance and show an investment in health and education. PEPFAR continues its mission today and it is the largest commitment by any nation to combat a single disease. Its goals include strengthening the capacity of partner governments in response to HIV/AIDS and integrating programs with broader global health agendas. The Bush administration saw the health sector as a crucial aspect of development, in addition to good government institutions. Currently, the United States continues to work through these initiatives in regards to foreign aid.

2.2 United States Foreign Aid Today

Democracy-building continues to be a vital part of the United States' foreign aid mission under President Barack Obama. The overall mission of USAID is two-fold. It includes eradicating extreme poverty and "promoting the development of resilient, democratic societies that are able

to realize their potential."[17] Nations with such characteristics attribute to the United States' goal in having a more peaceful world and mitigating future challenges. The U.S. believes these types of societies are self-sustaining, educated, embrace elections, and have reliable institutions that can effectively deliver necessary services to every citizen. They are also equipped to mitigate and manage conflict and crises that could otherwise backtrack development achievements. [18] Therefore, the United States sees democratic nations as a key aspect in improving the status of developing countries and promoting peace and stability in the world.

The other side of USAID's mission is to end extreme poverty. Since poverty is multifaceted, the organization seeks to address a range of issues such as food insecurity, illiteracy, health and empowerment. By improving these areas, countries will face an improved and safer world. This is where the two parts of the mission are intrinsically linked, in which USAID sees democracy promotion and all that it encompasses as an essential aspect to ending poverty. Overall, U.S foreign aid seeks to create a more secure world, which ultimately means a safer America:

> USAID's efforts directly enhance American—and global—security and prosperity. The United States is safer and stronger when fewer people face destitution, when our trading partners are flourishing, when nations around the world can withstand crisis, and when societies are freer, more

[17] "Mission, Vision and Values." *U.S. Agency for International Development*. USAID, n.d. Web. 20 Oct. 2014.
[18] Ibid.

democratic, and more inclusive, protecting the basic rights and human dignity of all citizens. By focusing on these two goals, together, we position ourselves to meet the challenges of today while mitigating the risks of tomorrow.[19]

Eradicating poverty and democracy building are key objectives for U.S. foreign aid. They are mechanisms to improve developing countries' livelihoods, which would enhance the world's security and, thus, the United States'. The use of foreign aid to promote democracy is not far off from the previous Bush administration's missions and it remains to be the core of U.S. foreign aid today.

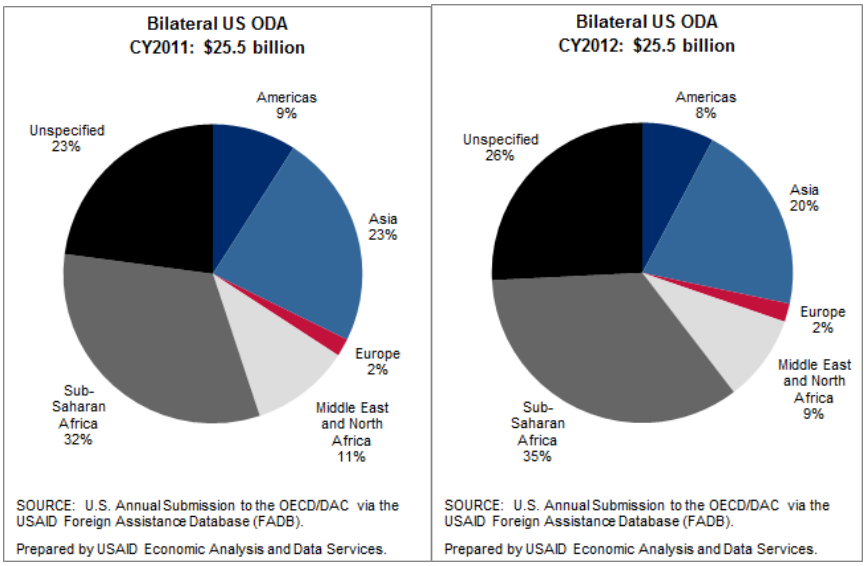
2.3 Allocation of United States Foreign Aid

The United States is one of the biggest donors of foreign aid in the world. It is the largest donor by dollar amount. The country allocates its foreign aid across a multitude of countries and sectors. For the 2012 calendar year, the U.S. total net ODA was $30.7 billion, an increase of $1.5 billion (five percent) from the previous year. By country, Afghanistan received the largest amount of aid with Kenya receiving the second largest. Although Afghanistan received nearly three times the amount of aid as Kenya, by

[19] Ibid.

region, Sub-Saharan Africa received the most amount of U.S. ODA in the two years listed. Figure 1 illustrates U.S. ODA by region.[20]

Figure 1: Geographical Distribution of U.S. Overseas Development Aid 2011, 2012

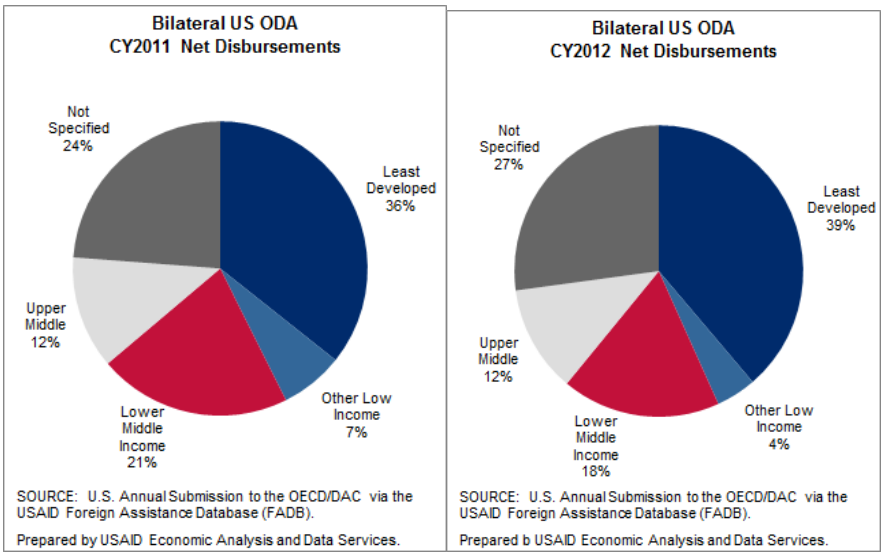


In terms of income group, the least developed countries received the most U.S. foreign aid for the years 2011 and 2012 at 36 and 39 percent, respectively. As most of the least developed countries are located in Africa, this aligns with Sub-Saharan Africa receiving the most amount

[20] "U.S. Official Development Assistance (ODA) Fast Facts: CY2012." *USAID Economic Analysis and Data Services*. USAID, n.d. Web. 06 Nov. 2014.

of U.S. ODA for the years listed. Figure 2 illustrates the distribution of U.S. ODA by income level for the years 2011 and 2012. [21]

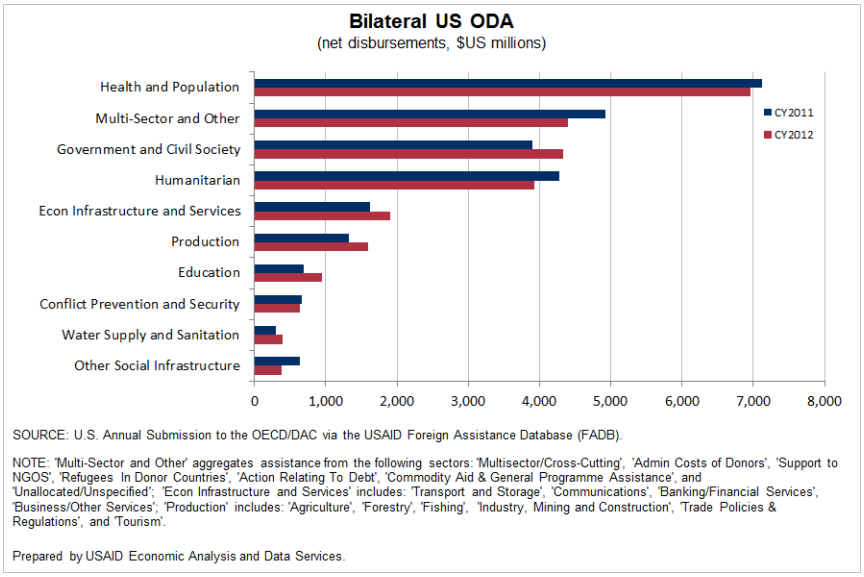
Figure 2: Distribution of U.S. ODA by Income Level 2011, 2012



Furthermore, a major portion of U.S. ODA is allocated into the health and population sector. Other high priority areas the United States focuses on are Government and Civil Society, Humanitarian and Economic Infrastructure and Services. U.S. ODA disbursements by sector also follow the same exact patterns for the two years listed as portrayed in figure 3.[22]

[21] Ibid.
[22] Ibid.

Figure 3: U.S. Bilateral ODA by Sector 2011-2012



2.4 United States Foreign Aid to Africa

Upon taking office, President Obama made a pledge that the United States would commit to supporting strong and accountable governments and sustainable development in Africa. In the President's National Security Strategy of May 2010, he emphasized economic, security, and political cooperation with African countries and the call for partnership as they strengthen their democratic institutions and grow their economies. He also pledged "to remain an attractive and influential partner" by ensuring that African priorities such as infrastructure development, improving reliable access to power, and increased trade and investment remain high" on U.S.

agenda.[23] In 2012, President Obama outlined his vision in a Presidential Policy Directive that reflects United States strategy toward Sub-Saharan Africa. The directive emphasizes the importance of Africa and U.S. partnership in creating a future that is deeply rooted in "mutual responsibility, and mutual respect."[24] President Obama explains:

> As we look toward the future, it is clear that Africa is more important than ever to the security and prosperity of the international community, and to the United States in particular. Africa's economy are among the fastest growing in the world, with technological change sweeping across the continent and offering tremendous opportunities in banking, medicine, politics, and business.[25]

The policy, which is more comprehensive and overarching than USAID's general two-fold mission, includes four fundamental pillars: (1.) Strengthening Democratic Institutions, (2.) Supporting African economic growth and development, (3.) Advancing Peace and Security, and (4.) Promoting Opportunity and Development.[26] The directive emphasizes the importance of democratic institutions and promoting transparent, open and accountable governments. The Bureau of African Affairs highlights its contributions in the Ivory Coast, Guinea and Niger on democratic

[23] "National Security Strategy." (Washington: White House, 2010) 45.
[24] "U.S. Strategy Toward Sub-Saharan Africa." (Washington: White House, 2012).
[25] Ibid.
[26] "Bureau of African Affairs: Our Mission." *U.S. Department of State*. U.S. Department of State, n.d. Web. 30 Oct. 2014.

transitions. In terms of economic growth and development, the policy includes expanding African capacity to compete and benefit in the global market as well as encouraging U.S. companies to trade and invest with African countries. It mentions that exports will be beyond natural resources.

The issue of peace and security is a major priority for the United States especially in some African countries that are harboring or susceptible to falling into the hands of terrorist groups. Therefore, the United States' policy toward Sub-Saharan Africa in countering al-Qaida and other terrorist groups is consistent with the White House's National Strategy for Counterterrorism. The United States will focus their "efforts on disrupting, dismantling, and eventually defeating al-Qaida and its affiliates and adherents in Africa to ensure the security" of U.S. citizens and its partners.[27]

Meanwhile, the last pillar of the United States strategy for Sub-Saharan Africa focuses on sustainable development, which includes matters of poverty reduction, food security, women and youth, and public health. In 2011-2012, health and population received the most amount of U.S. bilateral ODA portraying it as a high priority for the United States. Africa is also the focus of the President's four development initiatives: Global Health Initiative, Feed the Future, the Global Climate Change, and

[27] "U.S. Strategy Toward Sub-Saharan Africa." (Washington: White House, 2012) 4-5.

Power Africa Initiative. These initiatives are a part of USAID, which operates 27 regional and bilateral missions in Africa.

In the recent years, the United States has been actively pursuing African countries more. It is viewing Africa more as a partner in trade and security, rather than a poor continent in need of aid. In August of 2014, President Obama hosted the United States—Africa Leaders Summit, the first for any U.S. head of state. The event gathered leaders from fifty African nations to focus on topics of trade, investment and security. The United States was able to further its ties with African countries and show that its relations with Africa were still valuable.

CHAPTER 3: Case study of United States Foreign Aid to Kenya

3.1 Health Sector

As a crucial economic partner to the United States, Kenya is the top recipient of U.S. ODA in Africa in 2012 receiving $818 million. Currently, USAID is undergoing 610 projects in the country ranging from matters of sexual and gender violence, agricultural research and development, and wildlife conservation. Kenya, home to one of USAID's largest health programs and a focus for the Global Health Initiative, received a significant amount of foreign aid for its health sector. More than three-quarters of ODA to Kenya was allocated to the health sector at $311.4 million with $266.3 million going towards HIV/AIDS. Other areas of health that received funding include Family Planning and Reproductive Health, Malaria and Tuberculosis Prevention, Maternal and Child Health, Nutrition, and Water Supply and Sanitation. Figure 4 shows U.S. ODA disbursements by sector in Kenya.[28]

[28] "Health in Kenya." *U.S. Agency for International Development*. USAID, n.d. Web. Nov. 2014.

Figure 4: Disbursement of U.S. ODA to Kenya

Source: USAID

USAID's health program in Kenya focuses on a wide range of matters such as family planning and reproductive health services, increasing malaria prevention, greater access to clean water, and supporting the prevention, treatment and care of HIV/AIDS. Working with the Kenyan Government and through PEPFAR, USAID strongly supports combating HIV/AIDS in Kenya as it has the fourth largest HIV-epidemic in the world.[29] There is a wide range of activities in prevention, care and treatment of HIV/AIDS throughout the country. Examples include promoting safer sex practices especially among the youth and

[29] "HIV and AIDS in Kenya." *HIV and AIDS Information and Resources*. Avert, n.d. Web. 01 Nov. 2014.

testing activities. There are over 5,800 testing centers in Kenya, which target not only groups most at risk, but also the general population. A lot of progress has been made in the country through these actions.

In one case, USAID provided a mechanism for HIV/AIDs patients to access medicine easier and keep track of their treatment. One pharmacy at Kisumu dispenses antiretroviral drugs three days a week through an electronic pharmacy management software called the Antiretroviral Therapy Dispensing Tool. The tool has made managing HIV medications much easier and allows pharmacy staff to keep track of patients. It also records medication prescribed and dispensed. Social service workers run a daily report that immediately identifies individuals who might be dangerously close of running out of their antiretroviral drugs or who have miss their appointments. In such situations, the staff reaches out to the patients to make sure they are okay. With over 600,000 Kenyans receiving antiretroviral treatment, about 83 percent of them are treated at sites using the dispensing tool. USAID has provided 320 Antiretroviral Therapy Dispensing Tools across health facilities in Kenya making it easier to access medicine. In 2011, 493,000 individuals were receiving antiretroviral treatment. The United States recognizes Kenya as taking a leadership role in its fight against HIV/AIDS.[30]

[30] "Partnership to Fight HIV/AIDS in Kenya." *The United States President's Emergency Plan for Aids Relief*. U.S. Department of State, n.d. Web. Nov. 2014.

3.2 Economic Development

Economic development received the second most amount of U.S. ODA for 2012 at $32.9 million. Agriculture, economic development, and private sector competitiveness received $19.7 million, $5.8 million and $7.4 million, respectively. Kenya has the largest economy in East Africa with a gross domestic product (GDP) of $40 billion and per capita gross national income (GNI) of $820.[31] However, the country suffers from low economic growth rates, wide income level disparity, and high rates of poverty. USAID's economic development program in Kenya aims to mitigate these burdens by building a strong agriculture sector. Agriculture is a crucial component of Kenyan society contributing to 24 percent of the country's GDP. Therefore, economic development focuses on food security, building a strong agriculture sector and promoting economic opportunities in the country. Kenya is also a part of USAID's Feed the Future initiative, which strives for lasting progress against global hunger. The initiative supports Kenyan farmers, particularly women, by providing technical and financial assistance, and bringing local agricultural products to international markets. The goal is to spur economic growth, which would raise people's incomes and, ultimately, reduce hunger.

[31] "Country Development Cooperation Strategy: Kenya." *U.S. Agency for International Development*. USAID. n.d. Web. Nov. 2014. 17.

Under USAID's Feed the Future campaign, a local agriculture marketing and distribution company called Lachlan Kenya Ltd., was able to create a new seed treatment program that increased the yields and quality of potatoes. The program called Viazi Power, Viazi meaning "potato" in Kiswahili, is a staple food source for millions, but hard to yield due to the effects of climate change. Through a Feed the Future grant, Lachlan was able to pilot the seed treatment and currently, nearly 200 potato farmers have tried Viazi Power with impressive results. Today, Lachlan is providing the basic skills in planting and fertilizing while teaching farmers how to yield optimal results by using the seed treatment. The innovative company was able to develop their ideas into a tangible product through USAID's Feed the Future initiative.[32]

3.3 Democracy and Governance

Towards the end of December 2007, ethnic violence ensued in Kenya in response to the disputed presidential elections. Kenya, with more than seventy distinct ethnic groups, has seen elections dominated by ethnic affiliation since its independence in 1963. The 2007 presidential elections had the highest voter turnout in the country on record at 70 percent, and

[32] "Fusion Farming Gains Momentum among Potato Farmers in Kenya." *Feed the Future*. U.S. Department of State, 30 Oct. 2013. Web. 01 Nov. 2014.

opposition party candidate Raila Odinga looked to be the next president. However, a few days after the election it was declared that incumbent president Mwai Kibaki was the winner. The election results triggered widespread and systemic violence leading to 1,000 deaths and 500,000 people displaced. French Foreign and European Affairs Minister Bernard Kouchner made an appeal to the United Nations Security Council to react in the name of the responsibility to protect, and with help from the international community the violence quelled. Kibaki and Odinga compromised to a power-sharing agreement and the Grand Coalition government was crafted to promote unity, peace and stability in Kenya. USAID's Democracy and Governance program, thus, encourages the reform agenda agreed to by the Grand Coalition Government. This includes funding for civil society, good governance, political competition and consensus, and rule of law and human rights.

Due to the 2007 presidential elections, USAID has focused on enhancing Kenya's system of checks and balances, supporting civil society organizations, and strengthening the voice and advocacy capacity of civilians. Under the organization's Democracy and Governance program, there has been a lot of emphasis on civil society and good governance in the country. By subsector, Political Competition and Consensus received the most amount of funding at $7 million. One project implemented by USAID is providing information on voter and civic

education. The objective is to provide citizens with information so they are able to be effective participants in the democratic process. There is also political party training for all individuals regardless of being a part of a formal political party. This training is intended to strengthen the organization and enhance political parties to effectively represent constituent interests. Over 2,000 people received political party training in 2012. Additionally, USAID and the Government of Kenya are encouraging women, youth and the marginalized to participate more in politics to improve the long-term consolidation of democracy. Under the USAID program, eleven political parties carried out initiatives to increase the number of women, youth and those from marginalized groups.[33] In 2013, Kenya witnessed a landmark election.

3.4 Education and Social Services

Vision 2030 is the Kenyan Government's goal to transform the country into a middle-income nation by 2030 and it puts education as the centerpiece. USAID is working with Kenya to provide equal access to education for all children, train and provide teachers, and work with students with disabilities or those traumatized by violence. They are

[33] "Political Competition and Consensus-Building in Kenya." *USAID*. U.S. Agency for International Development, n.d. Web. Nov. 2014.

especially focusing on girls, orphans and vulnerable children living in urban slums and rural areas. In 2012, USAID contributed $12.8 million into education and social services working to improve basic and higher education. Programs included training teachers, encouraging student enrollment, and providing educational materials and resources to schools. In 2014 there was a 46 percent increase of students enrolled in primary schools compared to 2003. For secondary schools, the enrollment rates nearly doubled between 2003 and 2009. USAID and Kenya are working to encourage more primary and secondary school attendance and provide the capacity to meet the dramatic rise in enrollment.

3.5 Environment

Most of Kenya's population depends on farming or pastoralism. Therefore, well-managed natural resources are crucial to the country's environment sustainability. USAID provided $8.7 million in training and management of Kenya's environment and its natural resources. The agency encourages subsistence farmers and small holders to plant trees to improve their livelihoods and the environment by providing a small stipend to those who do. The environment sector was the fifth largest recipient of US foreign aid to Kenya.

3.6 Peace and Security

The last sector to receive US foreign aid is toward peace and security in Kenya. USAID has been instrumental in mitigating conflict and promoting reconciliation by helping to establish Kenya's first National Policy on Conflict Management and Peace Building. The agency committed $7.4 million to peace and security in Kenya in 2012. To mitigate violence and trauma caused by ethnic, social, gender, and religious matters, USAID is working with civil societies and the youth especially in areas such as Rift Valley. This area has seen conflict for decades due to deep ethnic tensions and land disputes among residents. It is Kenya's most populous and ethnically diverse province. In 1992, 5000 people were reportedly killed due to conflict over land ownership and in 2007 the province again saw grave violence due to the presidential elections.

USAID is working with leaders, members of society, and youth networks to prevent and alleviate violence. They use methods of mediation and training, and social gatherings to promote unity and build peace. Rift Valley Local Empowerment For Peace Program is one peace building and reconstruction program that works to bond ethnic divisions and build community ties. One way the program promotes peace and reconciliation among the communities is through sports. Regular soccer matches have created a space for different ethnic groups to come, play and work together on a different level and to build trust.

The program has also been successful in activities that generate income and empower young females. In the Nandi North district there is a women-led youth group known for their expert knowledge in poultry farming. These women have now become a source for other poultry farmers providing technical support and mentoring the youth in Rift Valley.

Under the peace and security sector Kenya also received $2.8 million—a $1.1 million increase from 2011 for counterterrorism. Terrorism is seen as one of the greatest threats to U.S. security and USAID works to target violent extremism in the countries it deems necessary. Although Kenya is not a primary country for U.S. counterterrorism, USAID provides technical assistance and training to prevent and respond to terrorism there.

CHAPTER 4: Chinese Foreign Aid

4.1 Brief History of Chinese Foreign Aid

The institutionalization of China's foreign aid policy begins in the 1960s with the announcement of the "Eight Principles of Chinese Foreign Aid". During a press conference in Ghana in 1964, China's Premier Zhou Enlai introduced the eight characteristics of Chinese aid:

> (1.) Equality and mutual benefits; (2) respect for sovereignty and no conditionality; (3) reflecting the needs of the recipient countries; (4) assistance in self-reliance; (5) emphasis on quick results; (6) high-quality material and equipment; (7) full acquisition of technology by the local staff; and (8) Chinese aid experts meeting the same standards as local counterparts.[34]

China's no conditionality, the promise of fast results, and "win-win" scenario attracted many countries to seek aid from the country. By the end of 1963 China was providing foreign aid to six countries, but by 1977 there were 36 aid recipients in Africa alone.[35] China's aid mostly consisted of building industrial infrastructure and sending experts to aid recipients.

China has a long history of being a foreign aid recipient and donor. Its foreign aid policy today can be traced back to when China was an aid recipient from countries such as the Soviet Union and Japan. These

[34] Satō, 98.
[35] Ibid.

two countries played an instrumental role in China's foreign aid policy today.

In the 1950s, China's most important donor was the Soviet Union. The two countries signed the Sino-Soviet Treaty of Friendship Alliance and Mutual Assistance just four months after the foundation of the People's Republic of China (PRC). The Soviet Union provided China with hundreds of millions of dollars in concessional and other loan agreements. It was the first time China signed a concessional loan agreement with a foreign country. The Soviet Union provided loans considered "tied" since China was expected to repay them in the form of commodities or foreign currency. The first concessional loan concluded between the two countries provided China $300 million disbursed over five years with an annual interest rate of one percent. From 1950 to 1955, China would receive eleven concessional loans, a non-interest loan and Soviet assistance in reconstructing and developing Chinese industries.[36]

Chinese leaders had a solid idea of the type of assistance they needed from the Soviet Union. In 1948 then President of the PRC, Liu Xiaoqi, laid out four specific requests for assistance from the Soviet Union:

[36] Ibid, 89.

(1) Introduction of the Soviet's experience in converting to a socialist economy; (2) dispatch of Soviet advisors and experts to China; (3) transfer of capital; and (4) assistance in formulating China's economic plans.[37]

China was keen on following the Soviet Union model while also maintaining its ownership over the assistance. Chinese leaders saw foreign aid as an effective tool in acquiring what they needed and took initiative in asking for specific requests.

Furthermore, Japan heavily influenced China's current foreign aid policies of linking aid, trade, and investment. In 1987, Japan introduced the Trinity Development Cooperation. This was a comprehensive economic package using aid, direct investment and import synthesis, mainly to assist export-driven industries in Asia. Japan approached aid as an investment pouring assistance to foreign direct investment and infrastructure. In return the country was able to nurture its own industries and China eventually followed Japan's aid giving patterns. According to Brautigam, "China's engagement in Africa simply repeats patterns established by the West, and especially Japan *in* China" (italics are original).[38]

China also realized that foreign aid was successful in vying support from newly independent African nations. Votes at the United

[37] Ibid.
[38] Brautigam,13.

Nations, skillfully organized by Tanzania, gave China its seat back, which was occupied by Taiwan. Soon after, China began aid programs in thirteen additional African countries and by 1966 there were 36 aid recipients of China in Africa alone. From the beginning, China saw the power of foreign aid. The country continues to use foreign assistance to achieve its diplomatic goals in reducing support for Taiwan.

4.2 Chinese Foreign Aid Today

Today, China's foreign aid policy remains to mirror Zhou's "Eight Principles of Chinese Foreign Aid". According to the country's second white paper on foreign assistance published in July 2014:

> When providing foreign assistance, China adheres to the principles of not imposing any political conditions, not interfering in the internal affairs of the recipient countries and fully respecting their right to independently choosing their own paths and models of development. The basic principles China upholds in providing foreign assistance are mutual respect, equality, keeping promise, mutual benefits and win-win.[39]

The white paper, which is an overview of the country's foreign aid from 2010-2012, closely resembles the policies from the 1960s. It adheres to no conditions, no interventions in the recipient country's domestic affairs, and overall, equal and mutual benefits for both parties.

[39] The People's Republic of China. Information Office of the State Council. *China's Foreign Aid (2014)*. Beijing: n.p., 2014.

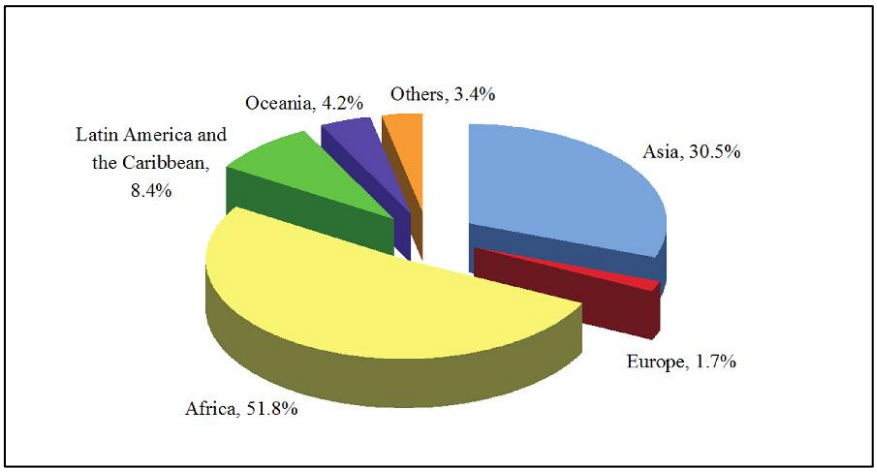
The document is divided into five parts: Developing Foreign Assistance Cause Steadily, Helping Improve People's Livelihood, Promoting Economic and Social Development, Foreign Assistance under Regional Cooperation Mechanism, and Participation in International Exchanges and Cooperation. The document explains how China's foreign assistance is used under each section.

China's white paper details the allocation of its foreign assistance. From 2010 to 2012, the country appropriated a total of 89.34 billion yuan ($14.41 billion) in foreign assistance. China's foreign aid consists of three types. Concessional loans account for most of the foreign assistance at 49.76 billion yuan ($8 billion) or 55.7 percent and were mainly used in manufacturing projects, infrastructure projects and providing machinery and electronic supplies. Grants account for 32.32 billion yuan ($5.2 billion) or 36.2 percent of the total value and were mainly used for social welfare projects, emergency humanitarian aid, funding human resources development, etc. Meanwhile, interest-free loans comprise 7.26 billion yuan ($1.16 billion) or 8.1 percent of the foreign assistance value and were mainly used to construct public facilities and projects to better people's livelihoods.

In the three years examined, China provided foreign assistance to 121 countries. These include nine in Oceania, twelve in Europe, nineteen in Latin America and the Caribbean, 30 in Asia and 51 in Africa. Most of

China's foreign assistance went to Africa at 51.8 percent and Asia received the second most amount at 30.5 percent. Latin America and the Caribbean, Oceana, Europe and other unspecified regions received 8.4, 4.2, 1.7, and 4.2 percent, respectively. The distribution of assistance by region follows the same pattern as the United States' allocation. Figure 5 illustrates the distribution of China's foreign assistance by geographical region.[40]

Figure 5: Geographical Distribution of China's Foreign Assistance Funds 2010-2012



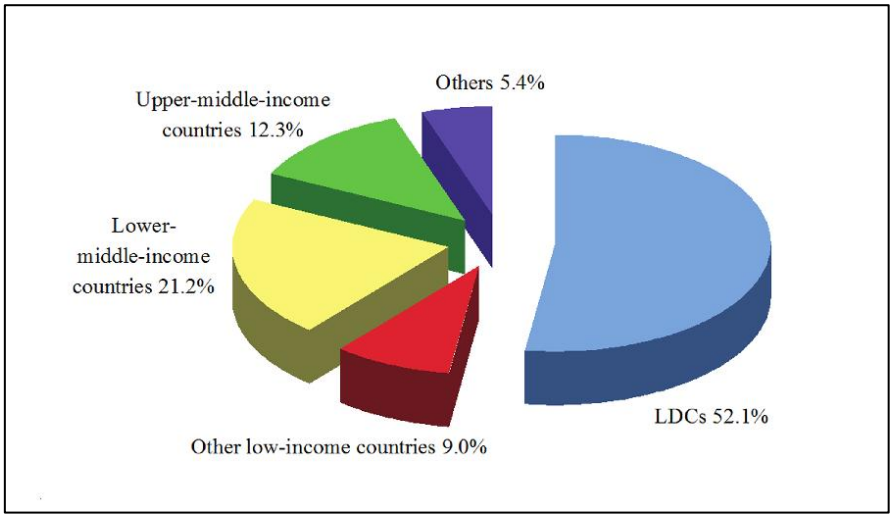
Source: China's White Paper on Foreign Aid 2010-2012

Majority of Chinese foreign assistance was allocated to the least developed countries at 52.1 percent, similar to the United States. Most

[40] Ibid.

LDCs are located in Africa, which aligns with China giving the largest amount of its foreign aid to the African region. Figure 6 shows a graph of China's foreign assistance distribution by income level. [41]

Figure 6: Distribution of China's Foreign Assistance by Income Level 2010-2012



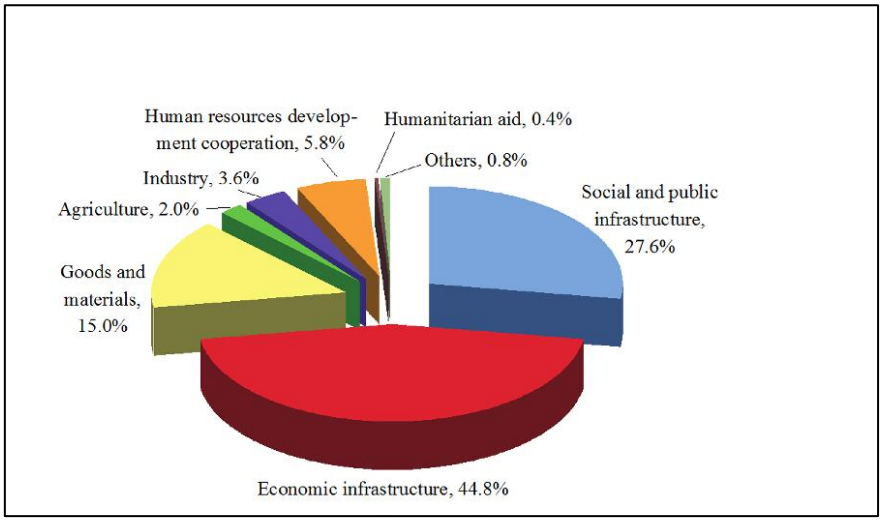
Most of China's foreign assistance was used for economic infrastructure followed by social and public infrastructure, which accounted for 44.8 percent and 27.6 percent of the projects, respectively. China's white paper dedicates a portion to "Improving Infrastructure" in which it explains the country's assistance "to help recipient countries with

[41] Ibid.

much needed infrastructure construction".[42] It provides the example of Kenya's Sika Highway. China helped in building a portion of the highway that connects Kenya's economic hub Sika to its capital Nairobi and "thus making a contribution to the road network that links up Kenya, Ethiopia and Tanzania".[43] Other sectors that received assistance were in agriculture, industry, goods and materials, human resources development cooperation and humanitarian aid. According to the white paper, China engaged in projects such as conducting technical cooperation, dispatching medical teams and volunteers and providing goods and supplies. Figure 7 illustrates the distribution of China's foreign assistance by sector.[44]

[42] Ibid.
[43] Ibid.
[44] Ibid.

Figure 7: Distribution of China's Foreign Assistance Funds according to Projected Fields 2010-2012



Source: China's White Paper on Foreign Assistance

China's white paper also illustrates its efforts in capacity building and the importance of global partnership, both of which can be seen as China's soft power. The document reports of human resources development in which Chinese nationals have been sent overseas to share their knowledge and expertise to those in developing countries. In addition, foreign officials have been invited to China to participate in seminars that covered topics from economics and management to vocational education. China also held training sessions for about 10,000 personnel from countries receiving aid on areas of health care,

environmental protection, and disaster relief and prevention to name a few.

China's white paper also displays its efforts in reducing poverty and improving the livelihoods of developing countries. In its conclusion, China calls on the international community to do more in strengthening South-North cooperation and promoting economic and social development. However, it continues by reiterating its own goals and pledges to developing countries:

> China will follow the trend of the times, which is peace, development, cooperation and win-win result, keep to the righteous viewpoint on justice and interests, respect and support developing countries' exploration of development paths suited to their own national conditions, actively promote South-South cooperation and make concrete efforts to help other developing countries promote social and economic development…China is willing to work with the international community to share opportunities, meet challenges, strive to realize the world's dream of lasting peace and common prosperity, and make greater contribution to the development of mankind.[45]

China's white paper provides an optimistic and rosy view of its foreign assistance. The country pledges to stay out of the recipient country's internal political affairs, respect its needs for development while maintaining mutually and equally benefitting relationships.

While China's foreign assistance vies for a win-win scenario that benefits everyone involved, the country's foreign aid policy includes other

[45] Ibid, 16.

objectives that aren't explicitly written in the white paper. Foreign aid is a form of statecraft and it can be used to vie support from recipient countries when needed. To summarize Medeiros, China's foreign aid has diplomatic goals in reducing support for Taiwan, building bilateral relations in order to secure access to natural resources and markets in Latin America and Africa, gaining voting power from developing nations at international institutions, and security reasons. Similar to the United States, China's foreign aid policy is also a form of public diplomacy. Foreign aid can have a variety of outcomes not only beneficial to the recipient countries, but donor countries as well.

4.3 Chinese Foreign Aid to Africa

China's foreign assistance to Africa is not a new phenomenon. It dates back to 1950 one year after the PRC was established. China's foreign assistance program to the region gradually transformed throughout the decades, yet it remains to embody the East Asian Aid Model of linking aid, trade and investment. From the years 2010 to 2012, Africa received the most amount of aid from China's foreign assistance fund at 51.8 percent with most of the assistance going towards infrastructure and economic development projects. China's engagement in Africa can be described as commercially driven in which investments bring in returns.

Trade and access to natural resources have increasingly played a central role in its current aid program, but it is not the only purpose for assistance.

China describes its relationship with African countries as a win-win situation. It provides large amounts of foreign assistance and investments into development projects, while upholding strong trade and economic relations. China created an investment fund solely for African nations called the China-Africa Development Fund (CAD), which helps to stimulate Chinese investments on the continent. Every three years China and Africa gather for the Forum on China-Africa Cooperation (FOCAC) to discuss political, economic, and social relations between the two sides.

President Xi Jinping's first overseas trip as Head of State was to Africa. The visit is not an uncommon practice for Chinese leaders. However, President Xi's visit showed the evolving patterns of China's policy toward Africa. In 2013, China's special envoy for African Affairs, Zhong Jianhua, visited Africa more than ten times to mediate the conflict in South Sudan. This move was unprecedented for a country that prides itself on not interfering in other countries' domestic affairs. China's significant oil stake may have prompted the intervention, but regardless of the motive, the country is making its presence known in the region.

CHAPTER 5: Case Study of Chinese Foreign Aid to Kenya

China and Kenya's relationship begins in 1963 two days after the African country gained independence. China was the fourth country to open an embassy in Nairobi, home to China's largest embassy in Africa today. The Asian country is also the largest source of FDI for Kenya and its second largest trading partner. Estimates say China has invested anywhere from 65 to more than 70 projects in Kenya from 2000 to 2012, totaling approximately $1.78 billion in financial assistance.[46] China has provided billions of dollars in concessional loans and grants in addition to multiple development projects.

5.1 Infrastructure: Transport and Storage

According to AidData, transport and storage received $640.3 million while health received $274.4 million from China. Only Energy Generation and Supply received more assistance than the health sector at $285.5 million. Since China's White Paper on Foreign Aid lists transport and communications, broadcasting and telecommunications, and power supply

[46] "Tracking Chinese Development Finance - Beta." *AidData Beta: Open Data for International Development*. AidData, n.d. Web. 5 Nov. 2014.

under economic infrastructure, this paper will also list those sectors under economic infrastructure.

In line with China's infrastructure-based approach to its foreign assistance, the country has invested in several road, communication and power-supply projects in Kenya. From 2000 to 2011, economic infrastructure based projects totaled $1.19 billion. Projects include road constructions and loans, power grid upgrades, and a wireless communication contract. China's white paper highlights the Sika Highway, which connects the capital Nairobi to Kenya's economic hub Sika. China helped construct the third section of the highway, which also connects Kenya, Ethiopia and Tanzania.

Another infrastructure project China is helping to construct is a major railway aiming to link Mombasa with Nairobi, and in the future, Rwanda, Uganda, and South Sudan. Called a "historic milestone" by Kenyan's President Uhuru Kenyatta the project costs a total estimate of $13.8 billion. Like most Chinese aid being "tied", the China Road and Bridge Corporation (CRBC) will build the rail line connecting Mombasa to the capital. The Chinese government will fund the part linking the two Kenyan cities. This specific section costs about $4 billion in which ten percent will be paid for by the Kenyan government. The railway has high hopes in significantly boosting trade and, furthermore, transforming East Africa into a more competitive investment region.

5.2 Infrastructure: Energy and Power

China has also helped Kenya's energy and power supply by providing a concessional loan to upgrade its power grids. In 2005, the Chinese Import Export bank provided $1.4 billion in loans to finance the Kenya Power Distribution System Modernization and Strengthening Project. China CAMC Engineering Co. Ltd led the project under two phases in which both phases have been successfully completed. According to the Chinese company's website the work included designing, supply of materials, installation and testing, and civil construction. According to CAMC, "The project will guarantee power supply for a series of industries such as local tourism, water treatment facilities, agricultural irrigation, sugar plants and the like". [47]

5.3 Health

China has also provided foreign assistance to Kenya's health sector. Projects include the construction of health-related facilities, medical training, donations of anti-malaria medicine and medical equipment. During the span of 2000 to 2012, Kenya provided $274.4 million with

[47] "Business Contract of Kenyan Urban Power Grid Upgrading Project, Phase II Was Concluded." *Business Contract of Kenyan Urban Power Grid Upgrading Project, Phase II Was Concluded*. China CAMC Engineering Co., LTD., 5 Nov. 2007. Web. 06 Nov. 2014.

most of the funds going to a cooperation agreement between China Sinopharm International Corporation and Kenya's international hospital in 2012. The current status of the project is unknown. Many health-related projects between the two countries involved malaria prevention and treatment. Out of the ten projects listed from 2000 to 2012 on AidData five were malaria related. In 2008, the two countries in association with the Kenyan Ministry of Health and the Chinese Ministry of Science and Technology held a workshop of malaria prevention and control in Kenya. In 2009, China also donated over $900 thousand in anti-malaria medicine to Kenya, the third such donation in six years. The donation was a pledge made by the Chinese government during the FOCAC summit in Beijing in 2009.

5.4 Goods and Materials

China distributes a lot of its foreign assistance funds to good and materials, which made up fifteen percent of its foreign aid in 2010 to 2012.[48] AidData combined China's foreign aid to Kenya's government and civil societies sector to be $150.6 million from 2000 to 2012 with all the projects related to supplying technical services and office supplies for

[48] The People's Republic of China. Information Office of the State Council. *China's Foreign Aid (2014)*. Beijing: n.p., 2014. 4.

government agencies.[49] In 2012, the Kenyan government requested a surveillance system in an effort to fight terrorism and improve security in major cities around the country. China provided the funds worth $100 million in grants to install surveillance cameras around Kenya. Like many of the Chinese funded projects, Chinese company Nanjing Les Information Technology won the contract to install the surveillance system.

5.5 Agriculture, Forestry, and Fishery

China also provided equipment for Kenya's agriculture, forestry and fishery sector totaling $5.1 million from 2000 to 2012.[50] Much of the aid was in the form of machinery and vehicle donations. One project in 2002 included a grant of $3 million to help the Kenyan government pay off a debt to local farmers and alleviate a maize crisis.

5.6 Education

China has also contributed foreign aid to Kenya's education sector through scholarships, provision of Chinese language books, and the construction of Confucius Institutes. Every year, China invites a number

[49] "Tracking Chinese Development Finance - Beta." *AidData Beta: Open Data for International Development*. AidData, n.d. Web. 5 Nov. 2014.
[50] Ibid.

of students from other countries to study in the Asian country. In Kenya, China has been offering government scholarships annually since 1982 and at any given year, there are reportedly 200 Kenyan students studying at Chinese universities.[51] The first Confucius Institute ever in Africa was at the University of Nairobi, with two more set up at the University of Kenyatta and the University of Egerton. These government-led institutions serve to promote Chinese language, culture, and image across the world. According to Dr. Martin Njoroge, the Director of the Confucius Institute at Kenyatta University, there were more than 1,000 students who registered for Chinese language classes in the first semester of 2013.[52]

[51] "Kenya-China Relations: A Journey of Friendship and Cooperation." *The Presidency*. The Presidency Republic of Kenya RSS2, 8 May 2014. Web. 05 Nov. 2014.
[52] "Why Kenyan Students Are Hooked on Chinese." *China-Africa Reporting Project*. China AfricaReporting, 22 Oct. 2013. Web. 07 Nov. 2014.

Chapter 6: Conclusion

6.1 Evaluation and Analysis

The United States and China have vested, but varying interests in Kenya in terms of foreign assistance. While the United States allocated most of its foreign aid into Kenya's health sector, China distributed most of its assistance to infrastructure-based projects. When looking at the overall ODA of the United States, most of its funding goes into health and population. The same patterns were witnessed in the case of Kenya. As for China, nearly half of its foreign assistance is allocated into economic infrastructure, again which aligns with its assistance to Kenya. Although Kenya's health sector received the third most amount of China's assistance according to AidData's categorization, the number pails in comparison to its assistance for infrastructure. The aid was also mostly in the form of malaria medicine and construction of a hospital in 2009. Additionally, the data on China's foreign assistance covered a span of twelve years in which the country provided $274.4 million towards health in Kenya. Meanwhile, the United States provided $311.4 million in 2012 alone to Kenya's health sector.

To summarize, Economic Development received the second most amount of U.S. aid followed by Democracy and Governance. The aid was used in education and governance, areas in which the United States sees

as tools to improve societies. It also allows the United States to integrate and immerse its ideals into developing programs. As for China, it provided the most amount of aid to Kenya's Transport and Storage, Energy Generation and Supply (in which the two sectors are considered infrastructure projects by the Chinese government) followed by Health. Such as the United States regards education and governance as channels of development, China sees infrastructure in the same way. China views infrastructure development as a means to improve societies and approaches projects in a more non-interfering stance. While it also provides foreign aid to the education and government sectors, it is almost always in the form of materials and supplies. To put it simply, China will provide the school, but it will not tell you how to teach. These are some of the potent differences between United States and Chinese foreign aid in Kenya.

While the aid giving patterns of the two countries in Kenya stand at a variance, the same can also be said for United States and Chinese foreign aid in Africa overall. The two nations' priorities do not overlap nor do the countries they provide assistance to. In fact, even their lowest priorities for aid do not coincide. In 2012, the top five priorities for U.S. ODA were population/education/reproductive programs, health, agriculture, food aid/security, transportation and storage. For China, the top priorities were Transportation and Storage Equipment, Energy

Generation and Supply, Communications, and Upgrading mining projects.[53] Furthermore, while the United States provided aid to mostly East Africa, China sought out countries in the West and South. The top aid recipient African countries of the United States included Kenya, Ethiopia, Tanzania, and South Africa. China provided most of its aid to Senegal, Burundi, Sierra Leone, and Congo.

6.2 Unintended Complementarity

Due to the vastly different approaches of United States and Chinese foreign aid in Africa, it may look like the two countries are strongly competing on the continent. But rather than seeing their relationship as a competition, these differences may argue for an unintended complementarity of development. China's investment in Africa's infrastructure and the United States' investment in Africa's health allows for both areas to develop. In this way, there may be more balanced growth since one sector is not developing quicker than others. In other words, the United States and China are working separately, but unintentionally complement each other's efforts.

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[53] André Corrêa, D'Almeida. "U.S. "vs." China in Africa: A Message to President Obama and Premier Li Keqiang." *The Huffington Post*. TheHuffingtonPost.com, 14 Oct. 2014. Web. 07 Nov. 2014.

Furthermore, the two countries provide aid in different ways even under the same sector. For example, matters related to civil society and government. While the United States focuses on strengthening the voice of civil society and molding accountable institutions, China provides office equipment and technical training for the Kenyan government. The United States and China fill the other's missing pieces and together complete the puzzle.

The unintentional complementarity of the United States and China's presence in Africa can be attributed to the two countries foreign aid policies and initiatives. For both countries, foreign aid is a foreign policy tool used to promote diplomatic and economic relations. When broken down by country, the United States centers its foreign aid policies on democracy building, poverty reduction, and national security. These aspects then refine U.S. ODA to focus on education, health and governance. As for China, its foreign aid policies are more commercially based seeking mutual economic development with recipient countries, and access to natural resources and markets. These objectives shape China's foreign aid to center on economic, social and public infrastructure. At a Senate Foreign Relations Subcommittee on African Affairs in 2011, Senator Chris Coons explained that while the United States focuses primarily on Africa's health, China invests mostly in Africa's infrastructure illustrating two very different agendas. It can be argued that

the United States and China's different foreign aid policies and motivations behind their aid have a complementary effect in recipient countries in Africa.

Development assistance is not the only area in which the United States and China have a complementarity relationship in Africa. According to political scientist and professor at Columbia University André Corrêa d'Almeida, "the U.S. and China are not actually competing in most of the African markets and sectors in which they are operational".[54] He looks at FDI, market share, and the export and import sectors to make his case. From 2001 to 2012, Nigeria and South Africa were the only two out of the top five recipients where U.S. and Chinese FDI overlapped. In 2009, Chinese firms made up 40 percent of corporate contracts with African countries making while U.S. firms only accounted for two percent of Africa's market share. In regards to the top five export and import partners of the United States and China, South Africa and Angola were the only two overlapping countries. These patterns illustrate how differently the U.S. and China approach African countries.

Seeing the different patterns of the United States and Chinese foreign aid, there have been a lot of debate on which country does it better. Although both countries have received criticism and praise for its foreign aid, it is difficult to evaluate or determine which country's aid

[54] Ibid.

package is more effective. However, both countries have been well received in Kenya and in Africa as a whole. According to a Pew Research Center's survey on the two countries' global influence, Africa regarded the U.S. and China very favorably.[55] Out of all the regions surveyed, the U.S. and China were most favorably received in Africa. Furthermore, out of all the African countries surveyed, the U.S. and China got the highest views from Kenya at 81 and 78 percent of favorability, respectively. In terms of the U.S. and China's influence on Kenya's economy, the African country gave a 79 and 81 percent rate of good influence, respectively. In general, more than 50 percent of every African country surveyed found the U.S. and China to have a good influence in their country. Although the United States and China are tackling different tasks in Africa, their actions are well received.

6.3 Summary

While the United States and China have deep and differing interests in Africa, they both play an instrumental role in helping to develop the region. The two countries allocate the most amount of their foreign aid to Africa, each investing in different areas of development and region. The

[55] "America's Global Image Remains More Positive than China's." *Pew Research Centers Global Attitudes Project RSS*. Pew Research Center, 17 July 2013. Web. 07 Oct. 2014.

United States focuses primarily on health and democracy. It regards education and governance as tools to improve societies working to integrate and immerse U.S. ideals into development assistance programs. China, on the other hand, focuses on infrastructure development and chooses a more non-interference stance. While it, too, provides foreign aid to education and government sectors, it is almost always in the form of materials and supplies.

The implementation of foreign aid in Kenya by the United States and China can also be seen in most of Africa. In general, the United States focuses primarily on health and social development such as education and governance, while China invests in economic and social infrastructure. The aid giving patterns in Kenya are also seen in the general aid giving patterns of China and the United States. The two countries' top and even lowest priorities of development do not overlap. They have very different motivations and incentives for providing foreign assistance in Africa.

In this regard, it can be said the vastly different foreign aid agendas unintentionally improve development in the region. Since the United States deems health as a major priority, there is less attention on developing infrastructure. However, China finds infrastructure crucial to development and focuses most of its foreign aid in this area. Meanwhile, the aid recipient country sees both its health and infrastructure sectors

receive assistance, and a broader spectrum of development as a whole takes place.

Kenya provides a good example of how and where United States and China's foreign assistance is used. Most U.S. ODA is allocated to the health sector, especially in HIV/AIDS prevention and treatment projects. The U.S. also focuses on economic development, which includes projects such as strengthening Kenya's agriculture sector—the country's main source of income. China, on the other hand, focuses primarily on infrastructure development by building roads, railways and improving communications. Other areas such as education and agriculture receive significantly less amount of foreign aid from China. Since the United States and China's foreign aid agendas do not overlap, Kenya is able to receive a wide spectrum of development assistance. The different areas of focus enhance the overall development of Kenya. Therefore, this unintentional complementarity is based on the vastly different foreign aid focuses of the United States and China.

Africa as a whole also benefits from the different foreign aid policies of the United States and China. The U.S. focuses more on East African countries while China concentrates more in West and South Africa. The United States and China work independently, but together they cover a wider area of need. The different interests and agendas of the United States and China allow for more countries in Africa to receive aid,

ideally helping more people. Furthermore, the United States and China are positively received in Africa according to a global survey by the Pew Research Center supporting the two donors presence in the region.

There is no doubt that Africa is an important region for the United States and China for a multiple reasons: security concerns, natural resources, new markets and trade. But rather than seeing the two countries as competitors in the region, perhaps the United States and China can be seen as members of the same team. Although their foreign aid polices stand at a variance, together, their results have a more extensive and positive impact.

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초록

미국과 종국의 대외원조 중 가장 많은 부분을 차지하고 있는국가는 아피리카로 동일하지만, 두 국가가 지원하는 개발 과제와 우선순위에 있어서는 큰 차이점을 보인다. 본 연구는 미국과 중국의 아프리카 대외원조정책의 종류, 범위, 중재를 본석하고 비교하였다. 케냐의 사례연구를 통해 미국과 중국의 대외원조방법과 두 공여국 간의 관계를 분석하고자 한다. 미국의 원조는 대부분 케냐의 보건의료분야에 이루어지고 있는 반면, 중국은 기반시설개발에 가장 많은 원조를 지원하고 있다. 두 국가의 각기 다른 대외원조과제로 인해 케냐는 보건의료 및 기반시설본야에 지원을 받게 되었고, 예상치 못하게 국가의 발전이 향상되었다. 이와 유사한 상황은 아프리카 전체에 나타난다. 대외원조의 지역을 비교하면, 미국은 동아프리카에 초점을 두는 반면, 중국은 서아프리카와 남아프리카에 초점을 맞추가 있다. 또한 미국은 원조의 본야에 있어서 보건의료와 민주주의에 우선순위를 두고 있지만, 중국은 기반시설개발에 중점을 둔다. 각기 다른 대외원조정책으로 인해 보다 많은 국가로부터 다양한 분야에

원조를 받게 되면서 아프리카 전반에 폭넓은 개발이 이루어지고 있다. 연구는 미국과 중국을 향한 세계의 여론이 어떠한지를 살펴보고 끝을 맺고자 한다. 두 국가는 아프리카에서 호평을 받았으며, 아프리카는 미국과 중국의 원조를지지하였다.