Africa

China

extent of visits between 56, 62, 78
as largest trading partner 361
as most important trading partner 79
official development assistance 204–205, 214, 219
oil industry
  Chinese companies in 374
  imports 80, 110–11, 211, 306, 309–11, 359
  oil and gas reserves 289
  upstream deals 308
and power imbalance 82
and World Bank 174–6, 180, 181–2
China’s foreign relations
  as foundation of 56, 61, 65
  significance in 60–62
China’s investment
  Chinese outbound foreign direct investment (OFDI) 388–9, 390–92
  data collection from African host companies 392–8, 402
  data collection from China 388–92, 402
  example of private investment 212–13
  future of 401–403
  investigations among Chinese companies 398–401, 402–403
  investment promotion agencies (IPAs) 393–4
  Ministry of Commerce (COM) 388–9, 392–3, 394
  private industrial estates (PIEs) 400–401
  SOEs vs. private firms 389–90, 394, 397, 399
special economic zones (SEZs) 209, 212–13, 401
views on 386–7
China’s perceptions of Africa and Latin America 109–10
in intellectual discourse
  anti-Chinese sentiments 114
  independent development 113–14
  as rising economy 111–12
  as strategic region for Chinese engagement 110–11
  waning relationship out of revolutionary ideology 112–13
in online discourse
  African threat theories 117
  Africanization warning 118–19
  anti-Chinese sentiments 117
  application of China model 121
  China’s continued investment in 122–3
  China’s sustained presence in 123–4
  implications for Chinese foreign policy 125–8
  as inferior partner 115–16
China’s relations with
  ‘4-6-1 model’ 372, 379
asymmetry to 65–6
background 359–62
critical appraisal of 375–8
expanding role 367–75
FOCAC process 369–72
four principles for developing 57
history 362–3
political importance of 59
post-World War II period 363–7
setback to 64
strategic approach 360
study conclusions 378–81
trade and commerce 372–5
Chinese criminal networks in 377–8

costs of armed conflict to 263–4

perceptions of China

as alternative source of influence 61

anti-Chinese sentiments 114

goodwill visits to 56, 62, 78

low environmental standards 397–8

support for UN admittance 63

TAZARA (Tan-Zam) railway project 2, 55, 202, 213, 365

as Third World country 93

Three Gorges Dam 35, 377

see also African traders in Guangzhou; official development finance with Chinese characteristics (ODF-CC)

African traders in Guangzhou

as bridge for sociocultural relations 160, 163–4

bridge theory 134–5

cultural activities 153

demographics

age 138–9

gender 139–40

levels of schooling 140–41

nationality 141–3

occupation 141

in-depth interviews 157–9

festival celebrations

of Chinese festivals 155

of respondent’s country of origin 154

food habits

consumption of Chinese food 155–6

consumption of food from respondent’s country of origin 156–7

identity 152–3

literature review, theoretical construct and location 136–7

methodology 137–8

migrant communities 133–4

socioeconomic contributions

economic bridges 162

employment opportunities for Chinese 162–3

image builders 162

mentors and educators 163

methodology 160

organization of African community 161

sociolinguistic profile

‘calculator communication’ 148–52

common language 150, 151

communication problems 146–8, 151, 152

cross-linguistic experiences 143–4

native languages 144–5

other languages 145

proficiency in Chinese and English 145–6, 148, 149

African Union 61, 204, 210, 266, 331, 359, 379

agriculture

China

and developing world 283–5

‘Going Out’ strategy of aid and trade 275–7

as reshaping global food supply 278–83

China Investment Corporation (CIC) 276–7, 280

COFCO 274, 280–282, 283

food, feed, and fuel 273, 278, 285

food insecurity 278–9

global supply and demand 273–5

Heckscher-Ohlin model 283

Marubeni 281, 283

Nidera 280–281

Noble Agri 280, 281

role of private multinationals in 277, 281–2, 283

role of SOEs in 277, 278–282, 283

soybeans 273, 279–80, 281, 282

symbolism of Xi Jinping’s story 272

aid

effectiveness 216–17

fatigue 216

use of term 194

Alden, Christopher 113, 208, 367

Angola

corruption and 377

as infrastructure beneficiary 373

as main trading partner 372

‘non-interference’ principle 375
Index 565

oil industry 80, 197–201, 289, 308, 309, 310, 311
as recipient of OFDI 392
'special state loan to' case study 197–201, 215
Annan, Kofi 263
Arab Spring 84, 422
ASEAN see Association of Southeast Asian Nations
Asia-Pacific Economic Cooperation (APEC) 78, 321, 330, 343, 499–500
Association of Southeast Asian Nations (ASEAN) 77–8, 79, 81, 102, 338, 457, 459, 467, 473, 476
Auden, W.H. 380–81
authoritarian state
capacity 31–2
combination with market economy 41, 46
crisis of authority 29–30
four characteristics 34–5
one party rule and accountability 39, 45
pre- and post-Tiananmen Square 30–32
recentralization 32–3, 39
success factors
fiscal resources 35
guided by pragmatism 34
moving away from liberalism 36
moving towards market economy 35–6
policy priorities 35
strongly pro-development 34–5
Bandung Conference 1, 53, 64, 93, 363, 369, 450
Beijing Consensus 21–2, 75, 120, 376–7, 378, 380
Biden, Joe 509, 510
BP 292, 296, 297–8, 301–302, 304, 308, 311
Brant, Philippa 479, 488
Bräutigam, Deborah 193, 194, 199, 201, 202, 204, 206, 218
Breslin, Shaun 23
BRICS (Brazil, Russia, India, China, South Africa)
China as major player within 67, 80
economic downturn 76
internal tensions 81
as platform for addressing marginalization 128, 367
pooling currencies 500
as 'rising power' 1
Burma see Myanmar
Bush, George W. 455
Cai, Jinyong 179–80
Cambodia
Chinese aid to 54
timber trade 327, 335–9
CCP see Chinese Communist Party
Central Asia see Greater Central Asia (GCA)
Cereals, Oils and Foodstuffs Corporation (COFCO) 274, 280–82, 283, 328, 340
Ceylon see Sri Lanka
Chavez, Hugo 113, 119
Chen Yiyi 419
Chen Yuan 182
China
as belonging to Third World 94
capabilities and resources 3
changing conduct of foreign affairs 78
changing sense of self 5, 96
as civilizational nation 27–8, 422
crisis of authority 29–30
developing country status
teaches to 96–100
discrepancy over identity 89–91
future of 100–103
lessons and implications 103–105
self identification 66–7, 73, 94–6, 102
'discourse of greatness' 23–4
as driver of global challenges 5
history of engagement with
developing countries
Africa 362–3
India 448–50
Latin America 497–8
Middle East 407–408
rooted in shared experiences 1–2
Third World 76–7
inequality in 42–3, 46, 75, 278
market socialism 76
one party rule 21, 27, 34, 36, 39
reform and opening up policy 27, 56, 58–9, 60–61, 65, 74, 89, 103, 469, 475–6
as reshaping traditional international systems 3–4
social tensions in 31, 43, 46, 431
treatment of dissenters 37
weathering global financial crisis 21, 23–4, 32, 35, 46, 76, 169
‘win-win’ cooperation 2–3, 61, 194, 201, 205, 218–19, 367, 435, 500
as world’s largest middleman in global economy 318
China-Caribbean Economic and Trade Cooperation Forum (CCETC) 2, 481
China-Community of Latin American and Caribbean states (CELAC) 2, 481, 499, 509, 510
China Development Bank (CDB) 182, 308–309, 373–4, 377, 508
China model
applying in developing countries 76, 79, 114, 120–21, 127, 492
assessment of 34–6
and authoritarian state 29–33
as based on state capitalism 79
as combination of authoritarian state and capitalist economy 21, 46
critique
Africa’s development 26
based on false assumption about economic growth 43–4
conceptual trap 29
corruptive state capitalism 41
crippled decision-making 40
irrational and distorted investments 39–40
modernization 25
need for democracy 46
need for further reform 45
preferential treatment 42
problems with state capacity argument 45
resistance to further reform 45–6
three accomplishments and two and a half problems 44–5
debate on 21–9
four subsystems 120
international perspective 36–44
popularization of 24–5
in practice 83
proponents of 26–9, 33
as shielding from shocks 37
as source of inequality and corruption 84
state capacity argument 31–2, 45
use of term 23–4
vulnerability 84
and Western model of modernization 22, 23
China National Offshore Oil Corporation (CNOOC) 287, 295–8, 300–305, 307, 311, 313, 508
China National Petroleum Corporation (CNPC) 287, 293–305, 308–14, 468, 508
‘China Threat Theory’ 99–100, 111, 126
Chinese Communist Party (CCP)
aim to develop socialism with Chinese characteristics 103
challenge to 31–2
on China’s rapid growth 42–3
development goals for China 102
early response to financial crisis 35
on export-led growth 278
as a governing organization, not a political party 33
intensifying discipline 84
justifying leadership of modernization process 27
legitimacy 30
praise for 28
resisting Western election systems 25
support to communist movements 52
‘Chocolate City’ see African traders in Guangzhou
Clean Development Mechanism (CDM) 101, 330
climate change see environment
Clinton, Bill 455
Clinton, Hillary 386, 485–6, 490
COFCO see Cereals, Oils and Foodstuffs Corporation
Comprehensive National Power (CNP) 450–451
Copenhagen Summit on climate change 101
Corkin, Lucy 199–200, 215
Cuba 53, 54, 71, 113, 497, 499, 500
Cultural Revolution 30, 113, 118, 361
currency see renminbi (RMB)
deforestation and timber trade
Asia-Pacific Network for Sustainable Forest Management and Rehabilitation (APFNet) 330, 338
case studies
Cambodia 335–9
Gabon 339–41
Peru 341–3
certification 332–5, 341, 343, 344
China’s imports, developing countries’ forests and negative springboard effects 325–9
China’s response to 329–35, 343–6
China’s rise in global timber trade 321–5
Chinese Academy of Forest (CAF) 330–31, 332, 333–4
Chinese Forest Certification Council (CFCC) 332, 334
Convention on Illegal Trafficking in Endangered Species (CITES) 337–8
Equator Principles 333
examining China’s role in 318–19
Forest Law Enforcement and Governance (FLEG) processes 331
Forest Stewardship Council (FSC) 332, 334
forests and wood consumption 319–21
Global Witness 328, 336
illegal trade in timber 321, 326–9, 331–2, 334–45
Myitsone Dam 339, 345–6
Programme for the Endorsement of Forest Certification (PEFC) 332, 334, 344
rosewood 337–8
State Forestry Administration (SFA) 319, 322–3, 324, 330–31, 332, 334, 340, 344, 346
World Wildlife Fund (WWF), 320, 329, 332
Dehghan, Hossein 409
democracy
and China model 46
China’s view of Indian 452
democratization
delay in, as problem 44, 46
of Myanmar 473, 476
relationship to state capacity 32
resistance to 376
Deng Xiaoping
aims and perspectives for Third World 79–80
on China belonging to Third World 72, 94
on China never becoming leader of Third World 66, 72, 73
‘crossing the river by feeling the stones’ 209, 276
‘Four Cardinal Principles’ 108
on getting rich 42
metaphorical ‘opening’ under 362, 364
on preserving ‘low profile’ 5, 96
reforms 30–31, 42, 321, 364, 498
‘socialism with Chinese characteristics’ concept 34
‘Three-Step Development Strategy’ 102
d’Estaing, Valery Giscard 229
developing countries
China, and agriculture 283–5
China’s energy strategy, and 306–14
China’s relations with changing nature of 4–5
growing diversity in 65–6
as ‘intermediate zone’ 51, 71–2
mutually beneficial relations 56–8, 62–3, 67
new basis for 58–62
policy paradoxes 66–7
promoting unity among 64–5
subordination of policy to relations with superpowers 63–4
support for revolutions 52–6, 71, 78, 84
value-free diplomacy 38
classification of 91–4, 103
definition 51
forests of 326–9
terminology 51
see also Third World
Development Assistance Committee (DAC) 92, 195, 196, 198, 202, 203, 207, 208, 216, 218
Dittmer, Lowell 83, 436
Dollar, David 172–3, 175
economic reform
achievements since 30, 89, 95
assistance for 100–101
benefits of, for Chinese 75
correlation with demand for timber 321
drawbacks since 95
government emphasis on deepening 512
government’s functions and roles 32–3
launched under ‘get rich’ slogan 42
liberalizing 44
ties with Latin America 498
Egypt
China’s contribution to 54, 208
Chinese tourism 422
in cooperation zone 370
establishing relations with 53, 363, 364
non-intervention of China in crises 421
relations with United 82
as top national oil company 295
as trading partner 373
Eichengreen, Barry 241
Ellis, Evan 510
‘emerging economies’ 92–3
‘emerging markets’ 92–3
environment
China’s global footprint 346
China’s low standards 397–8
climate change
China’s position 5, 80, 90, 100, 101, 323, 329–30, 371, 450
consequences of 273–4
Copenhagen Climate Conference 90, 100, 101, 450
forestry 319–20, 328, 329–30, 346
Pacific Islands 491
emissions 90, 100, 320
pollution problem 39–40, 43, 97, 172, 211, 291, 376
value of forests for 319–20
ExIm Bank of China
and IBRD MOU 176, 181–2
involvement in African electricity generation 218
large overseas lending portfolio 236
loan to Angola 197–200
loan to Kenya 213
loans to Latin America 275
as main ODF financer 204–205
main role 373–4
Pacific Islands debt 488
predicted African financing 239
project financing in Sudan 377
‘Two Preferential Loan Programs’ 207
and World Bank
MOU 201
normative differences 186
Exxon Mobil 292, 296, 298, 301–302, 304, 411, 482
FDI see foreign direct investment
fiscal reforms, two ratios 32
Five Principles of Peaceful Co-existence 53, 57, 450
FOCAC see Forum on China-Africa Cooperation
foreign aid principles 54–5
foreign direct investment (FDI)
in Africa 175, 212, 215, 217, 386–7, 393–6
Angola’s attractiveness to 200
into ASEAN 457
controls on 231
in Greater Central Asia 430
in Latin America 499, 507–508, 512
in Myanmar 468, 475
US, source of global 233
forests see deforestation and timber trade
Forum on China-Africa Cooperation (FOCAC)
few biodiversity proposals operationalized 330
financial institutions implementing pledges of 373–4
as platform for interactions with developing regions 2, 61, 210, 361
process 369–72, 379–80
Frankel, Jeffrey 243
‘free riding’ 200, 440–41
Fukuyama, Francis 22–3, 46

Gabon
energy-related projects 305
noninterference principle 375
timber trade 327, 339–41
Garver, John 54, 447, 449
GATT (General Agreement on Tariff and Trade) 91, 94, 97, 99
Geithner, Timothy 184
Generalized System of Preferences (GSP) 92, 94, 97
Gilboy, George 454
‘Going Out’ movement 2, 209, 211, 274, 275–7, 471, 488
Gordhan, Pravin 184

Greater Central Asia (GCA)
Chinese engagement 435–6
future of 438–42
problems with 437–8
Chinese workers 431, 440
criminal networks 430, 432, 434, 437–8, 441
economic success and challenges 428–32
energy security 437, 442
and European Union (EU) 428, 429
illegal cross-border trade 431–2, 434, 437, 438, 440
and oil 287, 308, 312–13, 415, 428, 437
security and military cooperation 432–4
Shanghai Cooperation Organization (SCO) 428, 432, 434, 435–6, 440, 442
Sino-Russian relations 427–8, 429, 433, 434, 435–6, 440
Uighur issue 429, 432, 441
and United States (US) 428, 429, 434, 440–41

Gross Domestic Product (GDP)
Angola 200
China 89, 95, 98, 238, 287, 430
India 98, 451
Latin America 507
South Korea 97
United States (US) 226
use of, in country classification 91

Gross National Income (GNI) 91–2, 95, 203

Guangzhou see African traders in Guangzhou

Hameiri, Shahar 486
Han, Huamei 143
Hanson, Fergus 482, 484, 487, 490
Hayward-Jones, Jenny 490–91
He Xin 31
Heginbotham, Eric 454
Hevi, Emmanuel 360
Hong Lei 499
Howie, Fraser 36
Hu Angang 31–2, 45, 451
Hu Jintao
avoiding endorsing China model 25–6
commitment to peacebuilding 261–2
‘peaceful rise’ 73
realizing ‘harmonious world’ 73
Sino-Indian relations 453
support for African development 175, 210, 370–71
visits
to Africa 364
to Latin America 111, 499
to Saudi Arabia 410, 416
Hu Yaobang 56–7
Hua Guofeng 3
Huntington, Samuel P. 32

IBRD see International Bank for Reconstruction and Development

India
disputes relating to developing country status 98–9
as first non-socialist country to establish diplomatic ties with China 52–3
Handbook on China and developing countries

with largest number of poor people 89, 451
as major rising competitor 78, 454
Sino-Indian relations
ASEAN 457, 459
border agreements 460
border disputes 82, 446, 447, 449, 452, 453–4, 459, 462
complexity of 445–7
cooperation 450
Dalai Lama 448–9, 459
economies comparison 98, 451
geographical terrain as influence 447–8
history as influence 448–50
hydrological agreements 460
Indian exports 460–61
Indian Ocean 446, 455, 456–7, 459, 461
Japan 452, 458
‘Look East’ policy 446, 455, 457, 459
maritime silk route 462
military relations 451–2, 454–6, 460–61
nuclear capabilities 454, 455, 458
and oil 454, 457
ONGC Videsh 457
peacemaking initiatives 461
perceptual shifts towards 454–8
‘peripheral diplomacy’ concept 461
persistent attitudes towards 450–54
policy implications of China’s view of 458–63
public opinion influence 452–3
representation as cow 449–50
societal perceptions 452
South China Sea 447, 457–8
and Soviet Union 449, 456, 459
Tibetan uprising 448–9, 452, 459
and United States (US) 446, 455–6, 457, 458, 459
Indonesia
oil industry 313–14
and timber trade 324–7, 329, 331, 338, 341, 345
International Bank for Reconstruction and Development (IBRD) 169, 183–5, 187
international currencies see renminbi (RMB)
International Development Association (IDA) 169, 170, 175, 176, 180–81, 187
International Monetary Fund (IMF) 93, 171, 183, 195–7, 228, 233, 243, 245
international monetary system (IMS) 226, 229–30, 237, 239–42
Iran
nuclear capabilities 409, 411, 414, 415, 417, 420, 422
oil industry 78, 80, 82, 242, 285, 288–9, 294, 308, 311, 410, 412–13
peacekeeping in 64–5
relations with China 76, 81, 408, 409, 410–11, 413–16, 419–21
Iraq
oil industry 288–9, 295, 307, 308, 309–310, 311–12, 411, 421
relations with China 411, 423
wars in 38, 65, 413, 415
Japan
as aggressively expansionist 74
as attractive model for growth 407
as belonging to Second World 93
business model unique to 283
China’s perceptions of 438, 446, 451, 452, 459
investment in Latin America 509
loan to China 202
ODA to China 100–101
and oil 211, 290, 291, 310
reduction in voting share 183
relations with Myanmar 473
relations with Pacific Islands 479, 485
RMB internationalization 238
stagnation following high growth 44
territorial disputes 82
ties with India 438
timber 324, 328, 345
Jervis, Robert 448
Jiang Zemin 31, 102, 111, 113, 364
Kaplinsky, Raphael 367–8
Kawai, Masahiro 178, 179
Kazakhstan
   China’s trade with 430
   Chinese workers in 431
   criminal networks 437
   global trade 429
   oil industry 80, 290, 307, 308, 312
Kennedy, Scott 22
Kim, Jim Yong 179–80, 181
Koenders, Albert Gerard 260

Ladsous, Hervé 260
Lampton, David M. 274
land grabs 284
Large, Daniel 369
Latin America
   China’s foreign relations
      as foundation of 56, 61, 65
      significance in 60–62
   China’s relations with
      asymmetry to 65–6
      banning nuclear weapons 498
      breakthrough in 64
      changing dynamics shaping 496, 511–14
      different relationship path 53
      diplomatic and political
         engagement 499–501
      extent of visits between 62
      four principles for developing 57
      history 497–8
   LAC countries
      exports and imports by
         technological intensity 506
         FTAs with 504
      nuclear capabilities 498
      transportation costs 504
      as major economic target 80
      natural resources
         exports composed of 506, 511
         high freight costs 504–505
         Japan’s investment in 509
         oil industry 275–6, 290, 313, 504,
            507, 508, 512
         policy paper 501
      political importance of 59
      recent developments 498–510
      rivalry between China and US 509–510
   trade and investment 501–509
   China’s perceptions of
      gaining 109–110
      in intellectual discourse
         anti-Chinese sentiments 114
         importance of Taiwan 112
         independent development 113–14
         as rising economy 111–12
         as strategic region for Chinese engagement 111
         waning relationship out of revolutionary ideology 113
      in online discourse
         application of China model 120–21
         China’s continued investment in 123
         China’s sustained presence in 124
         as fellow imperialists 116–17
         implications for Chinese foreign policy 125–8
         Latin American threat theories 118
         Latin Americanization warning 119–20, 127
      as Third World country 93
   Le Billon, Philippe 336
   Li, Eric X. 28–9, 33
   Li Keqiang 204, 210, 212, 213–14, 299, 331, 346, 359, 446, 453, 460
   Li, Ruogu 182, 186
   Li Xiaoxing 175, 364
   Li Zhigang 135
   Lin, Justin Yifu 177, 178–9, 185–6, 209, 219
   Ma Ying-Jeou 60, 483
   Mandela, Nelson 366–7
   Mantega, Guido 184
   Mao Zedong
      and Africa 115, 122–3, 364
      aims and perspectives for Third World 79–80
      aspiration for global leadership 113
      Beijing’s unitary voice 439
      campaigns against expansion of bureaucracy 30
      Great Leap Forward 278
Latin American interventions 112–13, 497–8

correspondence of 71

principles of peaceful co-existence 73

relations with developing countries 52, 54, 63–4

‘three worlds’ theory 93–4

views on India 449–50

warning against ‘Westernization’ 33

Marshall Plan 195, 370

Mearsheimer, John J. 100, 126

Memorandum of Understanding (MOU)
on Africa 206

China ExIm Bank-IBRD 176, 181–2

China ExIm Bank-World Bank 201

on combating illegal logging 331,

332–3, 345

with India 460

Men Honghua 451

Mexican flu (H1N1) 118, 119

Middle East relations with China

alooiness from conflicts within 78

anti-terrorism 406, 417

China’s approach 412–18

Confidence Building in Asia (CICA) 406, 415

DragonMart 418

energy flows 410–411

expanding role 418–21

foreign policy engagement 408–409

free trade agreement (FTA) 417–18

Gulf Cooperation Council (GCC) 415, 417–18

history 407–408

introduction 405–406

Iran 413–16

lack of political influence in 81, 82

Muslims 418

non-energy trade and investment 411–12

nuclear capabilities 409, 411, 414,

415, 417, 420, 422

and oil 76, 78, 80, 287, 288–9, 293,

303, 308, 309, 311–12, 314,

405–406, 408, 410–22

reluctance to become excessively

dependent upon 111

resource quest 409–411

Saudi Arabia 416–17

Silk Road 408, 413, 418–19, 422

small Gulf states 417–18

study conclusions 422–3

and United States (US) 405–406,

407, 408, 409, 412–13, 414–15,

417, 418–20, 421, 423

Middle Kingdom 28, 121

Millennium Challenge Corporation (MCC) 217, 218

Mills, Greg 368

Ministry of Commerce (MOFCOM) 111, 182, 199, 203, 207, 319, 334, 345

Ministry of Environmental Protection 40, 331

Ministry of Finance 40, 177, 179

Ministry of Foreign Affairs (MOFA) 61, 62, 182, 300, 319, 419

modernization

building state to lead 29–30

China model problems for 45

China model towards 24

initiatives, government emphasis on 512

Iran’s views on China’s 413

and modernity 25

one party rule of CCP 27

and peacekeeping 256, 267

program for 102–103

and ties to Africa 359, 368, 375–6

two-pronged approach towards 34

unique and successful path of 29

Western model of 22, 23, 37–8

Modi, Narendra 453

monopoly 41–2

MOU see Memorandum of Understanding

Moyo, Dambisa 215

Mugabe, Robert 377

mutually beneficial relations 56–8,

62–3, 67, 113, 204

Myanmar

ASEAN identity 467, 473, 476

and China

aid from 54, 466, 468–9

contribution to development 466–9
future development of Myanmar 473–6
log imports to 326–8
motivations for developing 469–72
MOU on combating illegal logging 331
natural resources 314, 472, 475–6
political change towards 473
provision of facilities to 461
as first non-socialist country to recognize PRC 52
Myitsone Dam 339, 345–6, 468, 472, 475

Naim, Moisés 193, 208, 217
National Development and Reform Commission (NDRC) 298, 299–300, 305, 311, 322
national liberation movement support 53–4, 56, 58, 67, 93
National People’s Congress (NPC) 26, 33, 37, 55, 62, 333
Nehru, Jawaharlal 448, 450
neo-authoritarianism 31
neo-conservatism 31
Nepal 54, 459
‘New Silk Road’ 2, 408, 422
Nixon, Richard 482, 498
Nkrumah, Kwame 143, 363, 365
noninterference 75, 79, 81, 82–3, 84, 211, 257–61, 420–21
North Korea 52, 53, 71, 77, 81, 201–202, 471
nuclear capabilities
China 66–7
India 454, 455, 458
Iran 409, 411, 414, 415, 417, 420, 422
Latin America 498
Nye, Joseph 114

Obama administration 213, 423, 486
Obama, Barack 35, 78, 217–18, 509, 510
ODA see official development assistance
ODF see official development finance

ODF-CC see official development finance with Chinese characteristics
OECD-DAC 92, 196, 202, 203, 207, 208, 216, 218, 298
OFDI see outbound foreign direct investment
official development assistance (ODA)
changing nature of 208, 213
China, non-embracement of concept 201, 203, 207, 221
from China to Africa 204–205, 214, 219
criteria for recipients of 92
granting of, to China 97
impacts of prevailing regime 215–17
impacts on traditional donors 217–18
from Japan to China 100–101
nature of 195–6
and ODF, distinction 194–5, 196–7, 205, 218–19
reflecting ‘donor-recipient’ relationship 205
reporting 207, 221
official development finance (ODF)
conceptualizing with Chinese characteristics 201–204
growth powered by 211
main forms of 207
and ODA, distinction 194–5, 204–205
official development finance with Chinese characteristics (ODF-CC)
Angolan case study
assessment of 201
background 197
capital rotation 199
concessionality 198
impacts on debt vulnerability 200
loan ‘spill-over’ effects 200–201
loan terms 197–8
loan uses 198
security and interest subsidies 199–200
China’s engagement with Africa 193–5, 204
conceptualization of 201–204
defining 205–208
impact assessment 208
impact on Africa 212–15, 219
impact on China 208, 218–19
domestic economic restructuring 209–210
energy security 211
foreign trade in services 210
impacts on prevailing ODA regime 215–17
impacts on traditional donors 217–18
and ODA, distinction 195–7, 205, 218–19
outbound investment 212
reassessment 204–205
oil
vs. food 278, 285
global demand for 273
oil industry
and China
business capabilities
financial performance 303–306
petrochemicals 302–303
refining 302
reserves and output 301–302
technology 303
as centrepiece of resource extraction 80
Chinese firms in 293
energy strategy and developing countries 306–314
loans for oil and gas 275–6, 308–309
noninterference 82
reliance on imports 78
structure of 293–8
governance structure 298–301
summary 314–15
as world’s largest oil importer 287
consolidation 292–3
global setting 288–91
see also individual countries
‘One China’ policy 360, 369, 419, 498, 500–501
Other Official Flows (OOF) 196, 205
outbound foreign direct investment (OFDI) 388–92, 398

Pacific Islands and China
benefits of China’s presence 492
conflict and cooperation
Australia’s position 486–7
China-related disruptive actions 487–8
debt incurred 488
new regional order
Australia’s perspective on 490–91
dissatisfaction with status quo 491–2
effectiveness of Western-dominated 491
Pacific Islands agency
benefits of 489
Fiji 489–90
significance of 491–2
rise in Oceania
natural resources 481–2
political influence 482
regional relations 480–81
rivalry with Taiwan 482–4
trade 480
strategic balancing
Australia and main player 486
initiatives not living up to expectations 485–6
regional threat scenarios 484–5
‘soft balancing’ 485
trade, investment and aid 479
Palestine 53, 406
Pan Wei 24–5, 120–21
Paris Club 197, 200
Paris Declaration on Aid Effectiveness 216–17, 487
peaceful development
contradictions 80–83
limitations 82–3, 480
as official diplomatic ethos 111
in practice 74–6
in theory 72–4
peacekeeping operations
China’s changing approach to 252, 261–4
China’s strengthening role in 252–3
Dag Hammarskjold principles 257–8
Democratic Republic of the Congo (DRC) 258–9, 260, 265
disarmament, demobilization and reintegration (DDR) 260, 261, 266
Mali 82, 86, 253, 259–60
motivations and beneficiaries of China’s efforts 253–7
noninterference vs. constructive engagement 257–61
recommendations 264–7
Responsibility to Protect (R2P) principle 252, 257–8
security sector reform (SSR) 260, 266
UN Peacebuilding Commission (UN PBC) 260, 266
Pei, Minxin 44
Peluso, Nancy 335
People’s Bank of China (PBOC) 40, 229, 230–31, 241, 242
People’s Liberation Army’s (PLA) 255, 256–7, 448, 474
Navy 454–5, 456, 458, 461, 467, 484
People’s Republic of China (PRC) and agriculture 275–6, 278, 284
assistance programs 80
central role of United States in 72–3 change in foreign policy 77
countering Western influences 80, 81
date of establishment 51
diplomatic relations with Costa Rica 500
with Cuba 497
with Egypt 53
with India 450
with Latin America 57, 112, 498
with North Korea 52
early revolutionary foreign policy 63
financing projects in Chad 175
growing influence in Africa 361, 363, 364, 366
Latin America’s initial reluctance to recognize 53, 497
promoting unity within developing countries 64
recognition by Angola 201
extent of 56
by Myanmar 52
rise as international financier 171
signing of Agreement of Trade Relations 94
Tibet issue 448
United Nations (UN) admittance into 112
support for 62–3
supporting, in peacebuilding 261–2
and World Bank 170, 181–2
Peru
Chinese FDI 508
oil industry 307
online story about 116
as Pacific-facing nation 512
relations with China 111, 497–8
timber trade 327, 341–3
trade with China 502, 503–504, 506–507
Peters, Enrique Dussel 120–121
PetroChina 296, 297–8, 299, 301–304, 313–14
pollution see environment
poverty
China assisting World Bank to reduce 179, 184, 186
China’s international approach to 202–203, 204, 208, 275, 328, 371, 372, 501
China’s reduction of 37, 38, 44, 95, 170, 173
China’s remaining 89, 95–6, 171, 172
India’s rate of 451
links to peacebuilding 262, 263
World Bank’s rationale for continuing relationship with China 173–4
power in China
as export powerhouse 97
generally 41–2, 66–7, 83–4
as ‘regional, by default’ 484
in relation to Africa 208, 374
in relation to India 446, 447–8, 451, 455–6, 459
in relation to Middle East 418–21, 423
in relation to Russia 436
soft 81–2, 114, 374, 408, 409, 422
state 29–30
status quo 179
voting 183–5
as wedded to power politics 83
Prasad, Eswar 241
PRC see People’s Republic of China
Pryke, Jonathan 486
public goods 218, 318, 320, 346, 375
Pye, Lucian 29–30

Ramo, Joshua Cooper 21–2, 376
renminbi (RMB)
background 226–7
emergence of 230–33
and international currency
China’s impetus to establish 229–30
difficulty of establishing 228
functions of money 227–8
risks of establishing 228–9
internationalization, expected
impact
greater sensitivity to Chinese
economic developments 241–2
on IMS and global stability 239–42
increased RMB outflows from
China to developing
countries 237–9
increased trade with China 234–6
on trade and investment 233–9
study conclusions 243–4
resource curse 214, 284
responsible stakeholder concept
99–100, 483
RMB see renminbi
Romero, R.C. 116
Roy, Denny 484
Royal Dutch Shell 292, 296, 298,
301–305, 308
Rudd, Kevin 182
Russia
China
and Greater Central Asia 427–8, 429, 433, 434, 435–6, 440
oil imports 80, 310
strategic cooperation with
101–102
and timber imports 325, 334
veto of draft resolution on
Myanmar 467
climate change impact 273
illegal trade in timber 326
oil and gas loans 308–309
oil and gas reserves 290–91, 293–4
security cooperation 415
Saalman, Lora 457
Said, Edward 127
Saudi Arabia
oil industry 78, 80, 285, 288–9, 294,
305, 309–310, 311, 410–11
relations with China 408, 409,
412–13, 416–17, 422
Savimbi, Jonas J. 197
Shambaugh, David 35–6
Shanghai Cooperation Organization
(SCO) 78, 80, 81, 96, 406, 428,
432, 434, 435–6, 440, 442
Sharif, Nawaz 409
Shen, Simon 483
Shinn, David H. 111
Shirk, Susan 454
Singh, Manmohan 455, 460
Sinopec 287, 293–305, 311–13, 374,
411, 414, 415, 417, 482, 508
Smith, Jeff 452, 456
Snow, Philip 118, 124, 363
SOEs see state-owned enterprises
South Korea
as attractive model for growth 407
developing country status 97–8, 99
and oil 211, 314
stagnation following high growth
44
South-South cooperation 57, 73, 194,
203, 364, 366–7, 514
Soviet Union
China
adoption and dismantling of
industrialization model 30
as aid recipient 202
avoiding path of collapse 21
deprivation of clear position on
conflicts 65
opposing hegemonism 64
as problem for 71
and China’s relations with Cuba
497, 498
and China’s relations with India
449, 456, 459
collapse, impacting on China’s
support to Greater Central Asia
427, 429
as comprising First World 93
distribution of oil and gas reserves
290
impacting on China’s relations with Africa 362, 363, 364, 366
plans to reconstruct parts of Europe 195
representing bear 450
‘three carriages’ model 33
special drawing rights (SDR) 228, 229, 241, 243, 245
Sri Lanka 54, 362
state capacity 31–2, 45, 486
state-owned enterprises (SOEs)
deep financial pockets and broad political shoulders 277
dominating economy 36
investment interests 212, 389–90, 392, 397, 399
providing revenue for government 35
reform proposals for 32–3, 301
role in grain trade 272
see also Cereals, Oils and Foodstuffs Corporation (COFCO)
‘string of pearls’ 406, 461
Strong, Anna Louise 71
Sudan/South Sudan
Chinese OFDI projects 391–2
dam construction 377
noninterference principle 375
oil industry 211, 289, 307, 309–311
peacekeeping in 252, 256, 370
rail project 213
superpowers
China as 72, 89, 96
relations with 59, 63–5, 380, 446
Sutter, Robert 483
Syria’s civil war 81, 84, 258, 420–21, 423
Taiwan 53, 60, 112, 366, 482–4
Teitt, Sarah 264
Thailand
concerns about China’s intentions 53
illegal rosewood logging 337
as importer of China’s wood furniture 324
Than Shwe 469, 470
Thein Sein 473, 475
Third World
changes in Chinese thinking 77–9
China’s contradictions
accusations of self-interest and unfairness 83
economic diplomacy 82
economic prowess vs. political influence 80–81
leadership capacity 81–2
practice of noninterference and peaceful coexistence 82–3
China’s relevance to 83–4
historical perspectives 76–7
importance to China 71–2, 77
practical framework 74–6
status quo in Chinese perspective 79–80
theoretical framework 72–4
see also developing countries
‘three worlds’ theory 93–4
Tiananmen Square 31, 59, 376, 470
timber trade see deforestation and timber trade
Todorov, Tzyetan 127
Tong, Anote 489, 491
Tong Dahuang 44–5
Total 292, 296, 301–302, 304–305, 308, 311
Trade in Services Agreement (TISA) 104–105
Triffin dilemma 229, 231, 237, 241
Truman, Harry 195
Turkmenistan
‘absolute neutrality’ policy 435
China’s gas consumption 437
global trade 429
oil industry 290, 308, 312–13
Uighur issue 422, 429, 432, 441
United Nations Conference on Trade and Development (UNCTAD) 91
United Nations Development Program (UNDP) 203, 204, 208, 329, 430
United Nations Environmental Programme (UNEP) 320–21
United Nations Framework Convention on Climate Change (UNFCCC) 92, 101, 330
United Nations (UN)
China’s admittance into 62–3, 112, 202
China’s support for sanctions against North Korea and Iran 81
China’s support in peacebuilding 82, 261–2
peacekeeping operations 252–67
United States Agency for International Development (USAID) 206, 485

United States (US)
African aid projects 217–18
China
and African aid 124, 198, 199, 201, 212
Agreement of Trade Relations 94
as ‘big headache’ for 71
blocking of PRC 63
challenging developing country status 97, 103–104
containment bloc against 52–3
dual role for 72–3, 82
as enemy of 63–4
and Greater Central Asia 428, 429, 434, 440–41
and India 446, 455–6, 457, 458, 459
as in interest to contain economic rise 100
and Latin America 119–20, 124, 126, 497, 501–3, 508, 509–10, 511–12, 513
and Myanmar 467, 468, 471, 473, 475
and Pacific Islands 479, 482, 483, 484–6
as politically no match for 80–81
pressure to cut carbon emissions 90, 100
as comprising First World 93
concessionality 198
democracy 22–3, 38
as First World country 93
impact of dollar domination 239–40, 242
inequality in 42
military presence in Africa 82
oil and gas reserves 289, 291, 293
oil imports 311, 313
plans to reconstruct parts of Europe 195
political gridlock 37–8
share of global GDP 226
Sino-US rapprochement 57, 64, 124
solvency 38
volatility 240–41
voting share 183

van Agtmael, Antoine W. 92
van Ness, Peter 123

Venezuela
as Atlantic-facing nation 512
Chinese FDI 507–508
oil industry 80, 290, 294, 305, 307, 308, 310, 313
relations with China 82, 111, 113
trade flows 502

Vietnam 52, 53, 58, 71, 82, 201–202, 338, 457–8

Wang Min 255, 258
Wang Shaoquan 31–2, 45
Wang Shihao 117
Wang Yi 67, 267, 374–5, 453

Washington Consensus 21, 26, 75, 83, 120, 126, 178, 197, 376

Watts, Michael 335

Wen Jiabao
on Africa’s development 25–6
on causes of financial crisis 37
on China-India border dispute 453
commitment to energy 298, 419
dismissing existence of China model 113–14
support for African development 219, 369–70, 371
support for Oceania 480, 490
visits
to Africa 364
to Latin America 500

Western countries
China
and Africa 123, 386–7
contrasting notions 36–7, 38
dependence on 61
imperialist strategy to contain 112
and Pacific Islands 484, 487, 489, 490–92
policies, condemnation of 59
refusal of impositions from 22, 59
comprising greater part of
peacekeeping operations 252–3
conditions imposed on developing
countries 38
major oil companies 292
model of modernization 22, 23,
37–8
and Myanmar
China’s intervention 466–7
investment deterrents 473–4
measures against 467, 470
ODA system 195, 197, 215–17
perceptions of aid 194
White, Lyal 368
Wolfensohn, James 170, 177
Wolfowitz, Paul 173–4, 178
World Bank
China’s influence on 169–70
composition of staff 177–80
financial contribution 180–81
future research agenda 185–7
institutional adaptation 176–85
rationale for engagement 170–76
shareholding reform 183–5
strategic partnership 181–2
criteria for countries’ level of
development 91–2
data provision/reports
on Africa 212
on China 95, 198, 212
on food prices 279
on forests 320, 336, 347
on India 98
loans to China 101
multilateral aid 195
pledge on development issues in
Africa 201
predictions for China’s status as
developed country 103
questionable efficacy of funded
programs 370
role in forest management 331, 344
use of floating rates 196
World Trade Organization (WTO) 61,
90, 92, 96–101, 103–104, 321–2,
366, 482, 503
Xi Jinping
Africa 364
book recommendation 28
as champion of state power 33
‘China Dream’ vision 21, 26
China’s uniqueness 27
on developing countries 1
features of leadership 33
India 453, 461
Latin America 2, 78, 496, 509–510,
512, 513
Middle East 408, 410–11, 415–16,
417
Netherlands 280
personal story of 272
reinforcement of authoritarian state
32–3
‘six persistents’ 85
‘three confidences’ 26
United States 72, 509, 510
Xie Xuren 184, 185
Yang Jisheng 41, 42
Ye, Lei 241
Yongjin Zhang 480, 484
Zhang Huiyu 265
Zhang Shengman 176, 177–8
Zhang Weiwei 27–8
Zhao Gancheng 451–2
Zhao Huasheng 435
Zhao Lei 262
Zhao Nanqi 456–7
Zhao, Suisheng 22, 375
Zhao Ziyang 31, 57, 364
Zheng Bijian 73
Zheng He 362
Zhou Enlai 1, 52–3, 62, 202, 359, 363–4
Zhou Xiaochuan 229
Zhu Rongji 32, 246
Zhu Xian 179
Zoellick, Robert B. 99, 170, 174–6,
178–80, 182–4, 186, 214