

The Rise of Chinese Funds to Infrastructure, Trade and Investment in Tanzania

RESEARCH REPORT:

**CHINESE ENGAGEMENT IN AFRICA: THE RISE OF CHINESE FUNDS TO
INFRASTRUCTURE, TRADE AND INVESTMENT IN TANZANIA (OPPORTUNITIES
AND CHALLENGES) AND WHAT IS IN FOR TANZANIA?**

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DECLARATION

I, **Caroline MUMWI** declare that this research report is my own original work. It is being submitted for the degree of master in international relations at the University of Witwatersrand, Johannesburg. It has not been submitted before for any degree or examination at this or any other University.

Signature

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ABSTRACT

The rise of China has given attention to most literatures in the international relations by well thought-out to be the most discussed topic. It can be seen that China–Tanzania relationship is considered as a “special” due to their history that can be traced way back during colonial and post-colonial era. But today the relationship is considered to be far better than the one in the 1970s due to globalization influence and China’s diplomatic relations such as using no string attached policy, Foreign Aid and Investment, Economic interdependency (Trade and diplomatic relations) and use of soft power which has been a source of attraction to many African countries including Tanzania. This research report attempts to understand Chinese engagement in Tanzania and its impact towards the population. This research used a semi-structured questionnaire inform of interview. The interview was more focused on different perceptions from Tazara railway managers in regard to China–Tanzania relations and the development of the railway.

The research report further used both qualitative and quantitative analysis, and the findings indicate positive (opportunities) and negative (challenges) for China-Tanzania relations. The research finding shows that China has generated great positive impact to Tanzania especially in economic development such as Trade, Investments and Infrastructure as well as political development involving good diplomatic relationship, and cultural exchange between the two countries. Nevertheless, still there are some challenges faced between China-Tanzania relationship such as, corruption, outdated railway system, poor working conditions for the railway workers, just to mention a few. Lastly, this research indicates recommendations on how to improve on the “special” relationship between the two countries such as, creating more strong policies which will protect Tanzania’s interest and make sure the relationship is both mutual and beneficial to both parties, but we should also consider creating more institutions to enhance genuine relationship.

Keywords: China, Africa, Tanzania, Soft Power, Liberalism, Joseph Nye, Political and Economic relations.

1. CHAPTER 1: INTRODUCTION

Most the literature has shown that Chinese commitment in Africa centered either on what China gets out of the partnership or the impact that China's investment has had on Africa countries. We can see that the study shows the Sino- African relations as a vibrant, where as it involves two way active in which both sides amend to policy initiatives. This paper seeks to explore the relationship between China and Tanzania especially in infrastructure, trade and investment as to consider the opportunities and challenges faced by Tanzania towards this relationship. Furthermore this paper will also give recommendations and prospects for the relationship.

It can be said that China's commitment in Africa is not only emphasized on natural resources but also significant issues such as trade, security, diplomacy and soft power such as political and culture relations. One thing to keep in mind is that China has always been a major donor of Aid and investment in Africa but most of the time China gets negative press about their practices Africa as China is considered as a new form of colonial power especially by west. The western especially USA have impose the knowledge of China being a threat to Africa due to several reasons(Kurlantizick2005) emphasizes that the reason for America concern manly arises from its hegemonic status in the world politics and the ideological incongruity of China within the west value system. China's striking economic growth has swayed the west that it is just a matter of time until China becomes a world superpower but however its ideological orientation makes China revolutionary power that is a threaten both to United States' status and global structure . Moreover it can also been seen in Pumphery (2003) and Grieco (2003) works emphasizing that the area of conflict is Chinese nationalism being the driving power behind an emergent Sino- American naval competition, indeed, China is actually challenging US while concurrently seeking to decrease American influence in the world .

One thing to consider is that China portrays its principle of non-interference and friendly relations with Africa, and this draws a clear distinction with western policies especially in political interference. Furthermore China has been promoting its presence in Africa as based on equality, mutual respect and mutual benefit.

On the other hand China's engagement with Tanzania is considered to be as a special relationship in other words Tanzania is considered to be important to China as an enormous source of resources such as gold, diamond, iron, coal, nickel, tanzanite,

uranium and natural gas to feed its manufacture base as well as source of energy security.

Furthermore China considers Tanzania as important for its affordable manufactured goods. Moreover these two countries also enjoy the benefit of sharing cultural and education exchange. Moreover another thing that makes China – Tanzania relationship different from other Sino- African bi-lateral partnership is the history; both countries had a deep transformation after the end of cold war and the collapse of the Soviet Union. As Tanzania steadily moved in the 1990s from one party system to multiparty democracy while in the case of China the communist party and authoritarianism still dominates. Nevertheless this did not hinder the relationship from happening as in 1980s after the introduction of structural economic reforms and liberalization were introduced both countries engage and opened the doors for cooperation and market relations (Chetty 2012). Furthermore It was Tanzania along with most African countries who supported China to restore its lawful seat in the United Nations and once China had its legitimate rights in the UN restored, China stood by the side of Tanzania for instance, China voted 16 times in succession for the candidate Salim Ahmed Salim, Tanzanian Foreign Minister to be elected during the election for UN Secretary General in 1982. Although Salim failed to be elected as projected, It still marked the good relationship between China-Tanzania.

AIMS, RATIONAL AND KNOWLEDGE GAIN

The rise of China has given birth to a slew of literature in the international Relations. This literature attempts to understand the rise of China in the global era, and the engagement in Africa especially Chinese investment (infrastructure), aid and trade in Tanzania. This topic is important because it is the one of the greatest phenomenal of the present era, especially towards the rise of new countries on the international scene. It can be seen that the United States has been hegemonic for almost 20 years since the end of cold war, but today most countries are rising and challenging the dominance of the US even as it remains to be seen precisely how other rising countries has to fit among the world players .Moreover this research is important in our international arena as it helps us to understand cooperation between countries and this is displayed by China through using soft power , first by using of soft power which means good cooperation in trade , humanitarian support , foreign aid and foreign investment , and another one is the hard power which involves military capabilities such as manufacturing of powerful weapons such as nuclear bombs , but we can see that China does not prefer the use of hard power and mostly the most favorable power is soft power, which involves equality to achieve coordination and cooperation , upholding harmony and mutual trust to realize common security , upholding fairness and mutual benefit to achieve common development and lastly upholding tolerance and creating an open society to achieve dialogue among civilization. .

Furthermore this research is important because it shows a clear transformation and opportunity for the developing countries especially on creating partnership with African countries which include China's aid and investment policies on Africa countries. China – Tanzania bilateral relations have remained intact since 1964 and the two countries have political, economic, military, and cultural cooperation. Furthermore it can be argued that Tanzania is an advantageously vital partner for China because of its location as Indian Ocean gateway to most parts of Africa. Moreover we can see that China has provided Tanzania with financing towards different projects such as agriculture, infrastructure and manufacturing, one question we have to ask ourselves is how effective are the local people benefiting from the projects, is there transparency in the implementation of the projects and lastly is it a win –win relationship and what can be done to strengthen the relationship. Lastly we can say that the topic is worth of interest because it will involves practical explore of different theories in International relations, such as liberalism theory and developmental theory in showing relationship between China and Tanzania.

LITERATURE REVIEW

My literature review will have mainly two sections, first section will be China and Africa relationship and the second section will involve China and Tanzania relationship.

China – Africa relationship

(Dickey 2014) stresses that the relationship between China and Africa has so far been a particularly perfect and harmonious. The most salient example of this perhaps the reality that China has tended to export more to the continent than other way round. Furthermore according to (Konings 2007), who points out that even though there are 52 African countries, the balance of trade is tipped in favor of China? Looking at the characteristics of the trade, an even more oblique picture emerges as it is clear that China mainly imports mineral resources (timber and forestry from Gabon, copper from Zambia, cobalt from the Democratic Republic of Congo, and oil from Angola) in turn exports in to the continent manufactured textiles and technologies, which because of their affordability, are bringing about a crowding – out effects on the continent's domestic producers. (Benabdallah 2015) possess the facts that trade unions have been at the forefront of attempting to curb China's accesses to market. Furthermore he also says that COSATU in South Africa launched a buy local campaign that was motivated by perceived threat posed by China. Furthermore, jobs have allready been threaten in the West African coast by alleged illegal fishing by Chinese nationals (Benabdallah 2005).Furthermore , less than optimum conditions in Chinese – owned factories in Zambia led in 2004 to death of close to 40 employees in explosion (Dickey 2014). And throughout the window period in which African countries were given access to American markets, Chinese companies are accused of having taken advantage of that and set – up and registered businesses in Africa so as to gain access to the market (Konings 2007). Facts and allegations such as these have become ready points to those who claim that China is neo-colonial in its relations with continental Africa. According to the view, the uneven and unfair trade is important to the scramble for Africa which characterized the colonial relations between the Western European states and their African colonies. China is cast as the new colonial power in Africa and is taking away valuable commodities in exchange only for jewels. The distinctions are not completely appreciated. For example, the risks that China has taken in taking over tottering projects in the continent are overlooked. The good relation between Africa and China has been formed on the back of these donations. The People's Republic has also as one of its

claimed principal aims the improvement of the relations into a win-win situation (FOCAC 2016).

But that these criticisms can be made and sustained with apparent merit means that the Forum should be proactive. A Fact Checking Commission within FOCAC should be set-up and be tasked with separating and publicizing facts from the false claims and “propaganda. “Despite claims such as like “China's neo-colonialism” (Wenping 2010), China has differentiated itself from the West by being openly non-interfering in internal African governance issues. This has been its position. But some scholars read into this a lack of long-term orientation in Beijing’s interest in Africa. In other words, China seems to be only – and temporarily so – interested in extracting resources to complete its developmental project. Otherwise, the critics claim, she would be much more interested in improving Africa’s politics as a sign of long-term orientation.

On the other hand, some argue that China is forming good governance in a manner that is both practical and solid.

Under this view, China may be, coincidentally or otherwise, promoting at least the conditions for democratization through bringing in social and economic development and therefore – if democratization theorists are to be believed – will create a middle class that is capable of bringing about democratic change. According to a Brookings Institute report, China has not been a “funder of corrupt dictators” as is nominally argued (Sun 2015).

After numerous wars in Europe, China went on as an independent country, and in many ways more successful tirade to win allies on the African continent by sponsoring independent and revolutionary parties that were not only anti-West but also not yet in cooperation with the Soviets. The most noteworthy among these movements was Robert Mugabe’s Zimbabwean National Union (ZANU) and its encompassing Zimbabwean African National Liberation Army (ZANLA) which was fighting a bush war against Ian Smith’s regime in Rhodesia and went on to become the ruling party of independent Zimbabwe. The great result of this being that the relationship between the two countries is extremely positive today. China also has close relations with Angola and Mozambique for almost similar, though perhaps more controversial reasons (Konings, 2007: 60).

The almost influential interest in Chinese investment in Africa occurred in the years succeeding the year 2000. It cannot be coincidence that this is the year in which the Forum was established. To date, there have been six such meetings and summits between Chinese and African statesmen. A quick look at each of these aspects will reveal the extent to which they have been a launching ground for initiatives that have gone a long way in pushing African development further.

The first conference, which took place on Chinese soil, passed the Beijing Declaration of the Forum on China–Africa Cooperation and the Programme for China–Africa Cooperation in Economic and Social Development. This has laid a basis of future forums and engagement. The second conference, took place in Ethiopia, this registered an increase in attendance and awareness as more than 70 ministers from China and 44 African countries attended the conference. The Conference passed the Addis Ababa Action Plan (2004-2006) which had among its declarations both entities’ plans for further trade plans as well as debt relief and development commitments.

The third conference, which returned to Beijing in 2006, PRC President Hu Jintao, President of China, and heads of state or heads of government from 35 African countries, attended this Summit. President Hu rolled out \$5 billion worth of concessionary loans to Africa during the summit. As one of the “Eight Measures” for Sino-African relations, President Hu announced the creation of the China-Africa Development Fund to further Chinese investment in Africa with US\$1 billion of initial funding with its fund expected to grow to US\$5 billion in the future.

The fourth conference, which was held in Egypt, was a great deal of thoughtful reviewing of the Forum and \$10 billion low cost loan was announced on November 9, 2009, which doubled the \$5 billion loan announced and implemented at the 2006 Beijing Summit.

All in all, the presence of China in Africa, and particularly the creation of the Forum have proven effective in ways that could not have been predicted. It has made other entities ever more willing to reconsider their relationship with the continent. In what economists have termed as the “crowding-in effect” the United States in particular has set itself beaten a new, China-like path in the wake of the Forum.

Lauren Dickey (2014:1), writing for The Diplomat also labeled the US’s “belated beginning” in “its treatment of Africa as a strategic continent,” the country launched in 2014 at the U.S.-Africa leaders’ Summit in Washington. This was the first time a sitting

American president had invited all the leaders of Africa to a single event to discuss regional issues and the macro U.S.-Africa relationship. In the meeting, promises were made by President Obama of, amongst others, a \$14 billion in commitments by U.S. companies for investments in Africa's construction, manufacturing, energy, finance, and technology sectors (Dickey 2014).

According to Piketty (2014), the Forum has as one of its mandatory tasks to do away with this and to foster mutual benefit between and likewise mutual understanding for both parties. A win-win set of relations – one of the big questions on the international arena– between Africa and China has been in many ways been unanswered. Konings (2007), indicate that Chinese SOEs, due to being able to take risks that entirely privately owned companies can never make, has been able to work with African countries in times when they are deemed liabilities. In other words, China has shown both willingness and an ability to invest in Africa when most of the world's financiers have been opposed towards Africa (Ngwenya and Prinsloo, 2016). And as we have seen, the Forum tables not only China's concerns and aims but also to a disproportional extent, Africa's goals and objectives.

China legitimately cooperated on numerous issues that were unclear to improve the FOCAC. This will enhance FOCAC to require Africa to be aware of the size and magnitude of its potential as a continent. FOCAC will therefore need to be more grassroots oriented if it is to fulfill its aim of being an alternative to the western top-down approach. The Forum should also look towards solutions regarding the practices of a number of Chinese businesses on African continent. Accusations of child labor and blatant overlooking of work standards to the extent that 40 Zambians employed in Chinese factories (Benabdallah 2015) cannot be allowed to happen without doubt.

Nevertheless, a cursory look at China's Five-Year Plan (People's Republic of China 2016) for the years between 2016 and 2020 will reveal quite the extent to which Africa is crucial to China's aims and will thereby paint a clear picture of the Forum and its significance. This list of the aims include economic growth with a "medium-high" GDP target of 6.5 percent; double GDP and per capita income by 2020 from the 2010 base; foreign investment increase; Yuan convertibility by the year 2020; and increase in welfare as well a relaxing of the One Child policy to a Two Child policy. These

significances all indicate how crucial it is for China to have as many economic partners in Africa.

Furthermore, with the current rise in extremist incidents both in China and Africa, these two entities will have to cooperate on other issues as well as many other positions (such as mentioning political issues as little as possible) to subside more so as many African states can evade the western-dominated economic, political and legal interests.

China – Tanzania relationship.

Patnam (2003) argues that China's economic involvement in Tanzania has been viewed by many as great opportunity for Tanzania's growth and development. It can be said that the traditional friendship between China and Tanzania was created and nurtured by the founding fathers of the two countries including Chairman Mao Zedong and president Nyerere, till today the relationship has been sound and solid. Draper (2006) in explaining Tanzania – China Relationship we have to include two clearly distinct eras, the first era being socialist period from 1964 to 1989, and the last 27 years, dominated in both countries by economic reforms, political changes and globalization. Furthermore the transition from one development model to another has been a lengthy one, weakening the partnership until 2005 when it was revived by both sides in a very different ideological and geopolitical strategic environment.

Patnam (2003) argues that both countries have benefited from the increase of the trade, as China is Tanzania number one trade partner, number two foreign investor and number one project contractor. Furthermore it is estimated that bilateral trade volume in 2016 was nearly \$4 billion.

And according to Tanzania Investment Centre by the end of June 2016, China's direct investment in Tanzania had reached \$6.62 billion. Van der Warth (2004) has also identified that there are particular industries where Tanzania has a strategic advantage such as in mining, tourism and raw materials. Also Draper (2006) identifies the export of food products to China as potentially beneficial to Tanzania, especially since it has encouraged Chinese investment as means to procure food supplies.

Chinese investments in Tanzania have too been viewed by analysts as opportunity for Tanzania. For example , Shinn & Eiseman (2005:8) in their study of China involvement in the Horn of Africa , concluded that "China's economic assistance and investment contribute to the betterment of the Horn of Africa , for instance China has helped

Tanzania complete 150 turn – key projects , 137 technical cooperation projects, 9 concessional loan projects and provided numerous material and fund , including TAZARA railway, national stadium Julius Nyerere International Convectional Centre ,Library of Dar-es-Salaam University and Mtwara to Dar- es-Salaam Natural Gas Pipeline, to name a few. Furthermore on a micro- level, Alden (2005b:143) has found that there are examples Tanzania entrepreneurs in small and medium business who have benefited from Chinese investments , particularly through the growth of informal and formal linkage with Chinese , business network outside of government sponsorship. Moreover looking to the future frameworks like China – Africa Cooperation forum, the Belt and Road initiative and industrial capacity cooperation will provide broader space for cooperation between Tanzania and China. Alden (2005a: 6) has further argued that Chinese investment in Tanzania has shown a way forward towards the declining investment from the west countries, and should therefore be welcomed. Accordingly, there is a great opportunity for Tanzania to benefit from these investments, especially if the terms of investment involve the transfer of skills and technology to Tanzanians (Alden, 2005a:6), For example Muekalia (2004:10) has found that Chinese technologies in the field of agriculture has undoubtedly increase productivity in Tanzania (due to the data statistics) and created jobs.

Hence, some authors see China involvement in Africa and especially Tanzania to be as beneficial to both sides. Van der Warth (2004:73) describes relationship between China and Tanzania as constructive, stable, friendly and cooperative and moreover Shelton (2011:19) predicts that due to Beijing's understanding of Africa's ongoing struggle for economic growth social stability and peace, China may eventually be true partner in Africa's hope for 21st century economic renaissance.

Despite of saying positive relationship between China and Tanzania, there is however scholars who are quite optimistic about China presence in Tanzania and argue that it should be seen as more of a threat than an opportunity to Tanzanians. Scholars argues that trade between China and Tanzania is highly unbalanced (Taylor, 2004a:94) Thus not only do Chinese imports threaten local manufactures , but also the labor market , since the shutting down of local retailers and manufactures as a result of a thousands of jobs loses as well. As Taylor (2005a:6) has pointed out that lack of political requirements for China's engagement in Tanzania or Africa in general appeals to Africa elites who are often the primary beneficiaries, while there is little gain for the ordinary population and democratic societies in Africa . Alden (2005b:145) also argues that

Tanzania government is happy to do business with China, since it provides them a new source of regime security. Therefore, it has been argued that China appears indifferent to whether or not its activities fuel or perpetuate political instability and conflict in Africa (Taylor, 2004a 98-99) Gary (2004:23) also argues that the continuation Chinese investment in Tanzania may very well just do that.

China: More opportunities than challenges?

It is thus evident that there are challenging perspective and arguments with regarding to the implication for China's involvement in Tanzania. Based on the review of scholarly literature, the following proposition can be made at this stage Taylor (2005a:6):

- China's orientation towards Tanzania is basically made out of the four principles of common prosperity which involves upholding democracy and equality to achieve coordination and cooperation .Another second thing is upholding harmony and mutual trust to realize common security .Upholding fairness and mutual benefit to achieve common development, and lastly upholding tolerance and creating an open society to achieve dialogue among civilization.
- Another important factor is to consider that China and Tanzania had sound history friendship thus the friendship stills continues till to date and China has invested in infrastructure such as Tazara railway, Central railway, The Bagamoyo port and adjacent industrial zone. China has also invested in education system (exchange programs, training, and knowledge gained and health care as there are so many. For instance Chinese companies have attached importance to establishing sound relations with the local community, promoting social welfare and environment protection such as donating for schools hospitals, water supply projects, etc. After Kagera earthquake, Chinese enterprises and communities was the first to respond and donate to relief effort.
- China uses the liberalism framework as to cooperate and work together, open of market and trade.
- China is not a threat to Africa or Tanzania due to economic and social development found in Tanzania.

Limitation of the study

The first limitation of this study is that it has focused more on the qualitative analysis, this is due to scenery of the research as it can be noticed that it will be very hard for a researcher to measure soft power or apply liberalism theory in quantitative form. With this said it can be related that there is not much room for quantitative analysis as well as any value for empirical outcome.

Another major limitation is the reliable and limited source of data especially from China statistical data. The data seems to be limited or inaccurate due to the involvement of third party. As for most data analysis it shows what Tanzania gets from China but it is difficult to know what exactly China gets from Tanzania. For instance when one speaks of natural resources which China gets from Tanzania there is no actual data or any statistics showing exactly amount of minerals taken. This is considered to be problematic in conducting this research due to the limited information and being biased. Nevertheless I was able to combine and evaluate different sources of data so as to ensure accuracy in my thesis.

A further limitation to this research is that it never had any comparative study as the only focus to this research was Tanzania. Furthermore this did not give a room for different African states that have engagement with China. Focusing on one country can bring about biasness to the outcome due to the fact that there is no any comparison study implemented.

Additionally it can be said that both authors are inclined in a sense that they have not looked into Africa government and institutions when giving comments as China is a new form of colonialism. China involvement in Tanzania is not only ascribed to China's behavior but some of the hold responsible should be shifted to corrupt African elites who function within the frame of neo-patrimonial polities. And in my research I will also look into the importance and the role of Tanzania government and leaders towards this relationship.

In my research I will have the opportunity to visit the Tazara railway and witness the project and how the local people are benefiting from the project, Is it a win-win situation, Is the project effective and what should be done to make sure that both parties enjoy the benefits of the project region.

METHODOLOGY

Research question

The main purpose of this research is to show how the rise of China in the global order as brought an impact to Tanzania. In my analysis I will be able to analyze the use of power but most importantly soft power and Liberalism theory. My research question is as follows: To what extent have Chinese funds to infrastructure, trade and investment in Tanzania contributed to the development of Tanzania especially in Tazara railway? And in its engagement to Tanzania, How does China helps to promote social development for the national interest? Is it a win – win situation, Mutual to both parties?

Hypothesis: Chinese engagement in Tanzania will have an affirmative/positive effect result, such as presence social and economic development.

This paper will use both independent variables and dependent variables. Independent variables are the causes and the dependent variables are the outcomes/ outcome. But also it will show the causality mechanism and relationship of the two variables (independent and dependent variables)

Independent variables

My independent variables are the driving forces of China engagement in Tanzania. There are so many reasons of China – Tanzania relationship, According to Taylor (2005:4) argues that the main reasons for the relationship are economic, trade- related and investment and on the other cases it can be diplomatic relationship such as culture and education exchange. There are so many scholars arguing that both Tanzania and China needs each other in a sense that China's economic interest in Tanzania are based primarily or all of the following three strategic areas firstly China's growing demand for energy , raw materials and natural resources. Furthermore significance source of new market.

- Economic relations –trade and investment
- Political relations-diplomatic relations, cultural exchange and cooperation between China and Tanzania.

Dependent variable

This involves the outcome or the results. Implication of the relationship as to the level of social and economic development in Tanzania in terms of infrastructure such as Tazara railway, Central railway, roads, employment formation, advancing technology and transfer of skills.

How are they measured (especially the DV)?

Independent variable are being measured by the driving force factors which can lead to China – Tanzania engagement which refers to activities, presence , and undertaking of Chinese government in with or in relation to Tanzania. These include Chinese companies and corporations, since these are still partially or totally state owned or state controlled.

Political relations – refers specifically to human rights issues, diplomatic interactions between China and Tanzania, and cooperation between them.

Economic relations – refers specifically to trade and investment between China and Tanzania

Dependent variable measured

This can be measured by investigating the outcome of the implication whether the cooperation is beneficial to Tanzania development which involves socio and economic development in the country, and how the Tanzania local benefit from the projects, are the projects effective of high standards, is the relationship a win- win situation / benefit to both parties. Or there is a negative impact which involves, unequal trade, lack of effective projects and so on. Moreover this will base on the survey and the interview which will be conducted in Tanzania.

Causality mechanism

Casual mechanism can be defined as a process or pathway towards achieving the end result (Nancy, C. 1989). This can be influenced by the causes as to why certain things happens or in simple term one can say what is the relationship between independent and dependent variables , what factors stimulates or act as catalyst/pathway towards the outcomes . Furthermore this is more relevant towards empirical findings or results (Nancy, C. 1989). There are sufficient conditions that are considered to be important

towards the outcome and if one condition is omitted then it is likely that the results will not have any relationship with the cause. In this case I will use variance as a tool of proving causality. Variance is a tool to proof causality, there for it is likely for variance in the DV to occur due to survey which will be conducted the outcome , but at this time it is early to speculate though if there will variance in DV it will result into a casual collision of the IV(Nancy, C. 1989). Therefore in case of this research it will use soft power as one of the causal mechanism due to the fact that China prefers using of soft power towards its engagement with African states, and this is shown by encouraging political values both at home and abroad, culture value technology, knowledge and education exchange, and lastly institutions and foreign policies that are justifiable and have moral authority. In case of Tanzania I will be able to conduct some interviews, observe developments in Tanzania. Additionally I will use process- tracing so as to prove causality between the variables as it will show that the presence of independent variable will predate the outcome to have a causal influence. This is due to the flow of events from colonial era to post-colonial period .Furthermore this thesis will show how the engagement of China to Tanzania can result to more friendly relationship and development in Tanzania by using different data sources, we can also use this process tracing as it shows a clear correlation between IV and DV and which testing whether the casual mechanism (cooperation between the two states) is actually operated in the real world as specified by the liberalism theory.

If methods of comparison are applied – Which one have you applied? (Most similar or/ different) before and after?

In my research I will engage in before and after logic so as to get a clear method of comparison which can mean that before the engagement of China and Tanzania relationship and after the engagement along with a timeline if it is during cold war and after it. Moreover I will also use u most different cases as we can see that China and Tanzania are two countries from different continent. (Asia and Africa) , both countries have two different levels of development as China is perceived to be most developing country and a rising one to become a counter hegemony while Tanzania is one of the least developed countries in Africa . Moreover we can say that both countries differ in their history and culture as well. On the other hand one can still consider that there are the most similar cases as both are under Global South (Asia, Latin America and Africa) due to being underdeveloped continents.

The Research objective

This thesis seeks to show the application and implications of soft power and liberalism theory used by Chinese in relations to Tanzania. As stated above that the relationship between China and Tanzania is considered to be special having both aspects of economic soft power which involves trade, investments-infrastructures , Foreign Aids and political soft power which has cultural exchange, technology and information flow and lastly education.

Theoretical framework

How does your work engage with theories, developing or testing (inductive or deductive)?

The scope of this study is mostly grounded in the field of International Relations (IR), my work will engage (build on) known theory of Liberalism and soft power theory by Joseph Nye. Liberalism essentially emphasizes in cooperative as a result of interdependence (Nel, 2000:60). Furthermore Liberals view the international system as a governable through emergence of regimes manifested in international regulatory organizations such as the United Nations. One important thing to consider is that Liberalism emphasizes morality in international affairs as a way to ensure cooperation and prevent anarchy. Furthermore Liberals view individual rather than states as key economy actors and firms as well as considered as important for creation of wealth. The independent variables being cooperation economic and trade cooperation which will result to level of development in Tanzania. Moreover we can see that China prefer the use of soft power such as trade cooperation , diplomatic relations , morality in the international system so as to prevent anarchy. Mostly due to the culture of Confucianism and building a harmonious world of sustained peace and common prosperity, China's economy has been growing steadily over the last decade, and its economy power has strengthen considerably. Thus China's behavior in the international system and relations with Tanzania does easily fit into liberal analytical framework.

On the other hand soft power theory would fit in my analysis due to the nature of Chinese engagement in Africa. China is using both political and economic soft power to attract most Africa countries; this is through the use of technology, education and culture exchange.

Nature of the Research

We can say the nature of this research is mostly likely a descriptive as it gives a comprehensive account on China's political and economic cooperation in Tanzania from the period of during cold war and after cold war to present date. Moreover we can also say that this research is also exploratory because the study attempts to explore the nature of China's political and economic relations in Tanzania. Furthermore it can also be an explanatory as it also asks a question of why China engages in Tanzania meaning it aims at looking for causes and reasons. In summary one can say it contains a descriptive research nevertheless it has the essentials of exploration and explanatory.

Case selection

My case selection is Tanzania this is due to be among the important countries in which China engage in Africa and the most influential country to China in terms of investments, trade, and resources. Moreover due to the unique from any other Sino-African bilateral partnership the history , the parallel quasi simultaneous and deep transformation of both countries after the end of the cold war and the collapse of Soviet Union . The transformations are distant from being indistinguishable, as Tanzania steadily moved in the 1990s from one party system to multiparty democracy while in the case the case of China the communist party and authoritarianism still dominates. Nevertheless this did not hinder the relationship from happening as in 1980s after the introduction of structural economic reforms and liberalization were introduced both countries engage and opened the doors for cooperation and market relations. Furthermore It was Tanzania along with most African countries who supported China to restore its lawful seat in the United Nations and once China had its legitimate rights in the UN restored, China stood by the side of Tanzania for instance, China voted 16 times in succession for the candidate Salim Ahmed Salim, Tanzanian Foreign Minister to be elected during the election for UN Secretary General in 1982. Although Salim failed to be elected as projected, it still marked the good relationship between Tanzania and China.

DATA COLLECTION

Qualitative Analysis

This research will use more of qualitative analysis as compared to the quantitative one. Qualitative approach is the one which is consequential from published journals and Interviews. Furthermore I will be able to use the published Academic journals from both western and Chinese perspectives. Additionally I will use the web based publication from both think tanks such as the “The White paper on China’s African policy”. Moreover in my analysis I will use the comparative style which is considered to be an aspect of qualitative approach which will have two components the first one process-tracing (comparison of events over time derived from historical aspect) and the second one is cross sectional(in the midst of states at the similar point in time).

This research will use the analysis of soft power and liberalism theory. Nevertheless it will also touch on hard power (military capabilities) and nationalism in relating to realism theory.

In My research will have both primary and secondary sources? In primary sources it will include interview, survey and field work in Tanzania to the places where China has highly invested such as roads , railways, hospitals , schools , and Trade centers relation office. Furthermore In conducting my interview I will be able to identify and interview mangers/ rail and pipeline workers who mainly work at Tazara railway. Moreover I will also be able to communicate with them through emails first so as set meeting arrangements. Regarding the area on which I will be conducting my interview, I would like to say that it will be more advantageous if I will conduct my interview at Tazara railway so as I can be able to observe the development and take pictures. Additionally it is worth noting that while doing my preliminary research, I found that I do not need permission by the government, employers, mangers, as long as I obtain permission from individual participants.

The secondary sources which I will use will be books and articles found in Scholarly journals, and use Afro barometer. Moreover I will also use both qualitative (Academic literature from books and journals) and quantitative (this is in form of existing statistics concerning China’s economic engagement in Tanzania. This means that I will rely on secondary source for interpretation and explanatory of quantitative statistical data.

Interview format

The interview will be conducted at Tazara railway in Tanzania and I will be able to interview five managers from the stations. The questions are well all set in structured format so as to give a clear understanding to the interviewees and this format will also help with the qualitative analysis as it will be easy for the respondents to give their own ideas and allow flexible response, furthermore this will also give a room to access information especially from the managers who are expertise at Tazara. The questions did not demand any empirical information due to the fact that the study was not for comparative purposes. Furthermore I was able to record and transcribed the interviews. Lastly as for ethical purposes it was important to maintain the confidentiality of the managers.

Outline of Chapters**Chapter 1: (Introduction)**

Chapter one has introduced the study by articulating the problem statement and research question that are to be investigated. The main focus is to explore the nature and implication of China's political and economic relations with Tanzania opportunities and Challenges faced in this relationship. Furthermore this chapter provides us with the aims, rational and knowledge gain, on why the topic is important to International relations. Moreover this topic provides a background for China's Tanzania engagement, by providing a brief history of the two countries. Also this chapter explains about theoretical framework such as operationalisation, Nature of the research, and data collection.

Chapter 2: (China and Africa relations)-Engagement

This chapter will provide a historical relationship between China and Africa. Furthermore it will also look at its engagement way back from 1949 to 2000. Additionally it will look at economic, political and social engagement of their relationship.

Chapter 3: (China and Tanganyika 1964-1989)

Provides a background and contextualization for China's involvement with Tanzania from the period of 1964 to 1989. Moreover it describes China's shift in foreign policy since the start of its modernization period in 1978, thus providing an overview of China's general foreign policy orientation. Moreover we can also see that this chapter also

provides an historical background of China's relations with Tanzania especially in diplomatic relations.

Chapter 4: (China – Tanzania relationship 1990-2018(28 years))

This chapter there is clear information on China – Tanzania engagement, trade, and investment and as to how the implications are shown. It starts by describing the general profile of China – Tanzania trade. Also this chapter explores the political relations between China and Tanzania, also explores the diplomatic relations. Moreover this chapter also explains the other side of how other scholars viewing China as threat to Africa and Tanzania. Also this chapter also filled the gap / holes by looking at Africa leadership and governance. Driving forces of China engagement in Africa especially Tanzania, Implication for Tanzania: Good, Bad or ugly and lastly Challenges and opportunities.

Chapter 5: Sino-Tanzania Cooperation measures

This chapter will provide theoretical analysis and this will include both soft powers and liberalism perspective as emphasized by Joseph Nye. Furthermore by using these theories, I will be able to apply the theories into implementation of it to China's engagement in Tanzania. Furthermore it will also look on Parameters for development, this chapter will focus on trade and investment and infrastructure patterns in Tanzania. It will begin describing the general profile of China- Tanzania and then focuses particularly on how the investments have influenced the level of development in Tanzania, if the relationship is a win- win situation, and do the local benefit from the relationship, lastly the chapter will round off by giving a few suggestions and prospects for the relationship.

Chapter 6: Interviews with Tanzanians-Tazara railway

I will be able to conduct some interviews with Tanzania. Managers to see their opinion Furthermore ethnographic observation such as picture taking will be part of it. Additionally I will identify and evaluate benefits encountered and challenges faced at Tazara railway.

Chapter 7: Conclusion

The final chapter concludes by presenting overall findings of the study, the prospects for China – Tanzania relationship and potential for further research on this topic.

Theoretical concept

This chapter seeks to institute a theoretical framework which will be suitable for China's Engagement in Tanzania. In my research the most theory that fits to my research is soft power theory by Joseph Nye. Nevertheless when one talks of Power the first thing to come into mind is the "Realism theory" which always stresses about use of power from individual level, state level and International level.

Realism and concept of national interest – hard power

In understanding the whole concept of realism it is a must to have the idea of components of realism which are statism, self-help and lastly survival (Robert, J. 2003). This means that the state has to provide security for its inhabitant and protect it from any international threat furthermore it can be seen that there is no anybody even in the international level that is superior than state. When it comes to survival it is important for any state to make sure they survive economically, politically and socially (Baylis, J. 2005). Furthermore can go even far as to go to war with any state for their own national interest. According to Jackson and Sorensen realism ideas are cynical sight of individual nature, such as during conflict Realism believes that the only way to solve a conflict is through going to war in show of state defense and survival. Additionally Morgenthau stresses that individuals are selfish, aggressive and greedy and power seeking mongers so it is always about the struggle for power and survival of the fittest. This can be stressed way back from cold war era as many super powers were questing for power and this can be seen in this era of globalization (Baylis, J. 2005).

However, we can see there is a shift from classical realism to neo- realist whereby Waltz points out most essentially tools of realism are balance of power and security. As it can be traced that during cold war two bi- polar powers United States and Soviet were considered to be most influential in trying to balance each other, but as Soviet Union collapsed many rising countries challenged the USA so as to bring the balance of power and to maximize autonomy (Baylis, J. 2005). Furthermore Waltz points out that it is not human nature to seek power but rather the structure of the international system/ anarchic international system force states to seek power

Defining Power

Power is the ability to influence another person. Nevertheless there is a single definition of power, according to Bertrand Russell's theory of social power; power is defined as "the production of intended effects" (Bertrand, R. 1938) Furthermore Max Weber defines power as "the probability that one actor within a social relationship will be in a position to carry out his own will despite resistance, regardless of the basis on which this probability rests" (Max, W. 1947). Realism theory believes that power only rests in term of material capability, such as military capabilities and other resources. Classical realism and Neo realism define power differently, as classical realism believes that power rely on human/ individual have control over certain things but this is different with Neo- realism which stresses that it is the anarchic international system or global order (Jack, L 2002).

In defining power it is very important to have power relations so as it can be easy to apply the whole concept. When it comes to states there are four elements of power such as rising power, super power, regional power and global power. But this also goes hand in hand with the international institutions, global corporations and even individual person. There are two types of power one being hard power and another one soft power (Steven, L.2005). the hard power includes military capabilities and soft power includes technology, culture values, political value, and foreign policy.

Soft power-Joseph Nye

Joseph Nye is famous for his work of soft power; nevertheless we can see that the term can be traced from Morgenthau who emphasized on "quality of diplomacy" and harmony integration between the nations (Nye, J. 2004). One thing that should be noted is that Soft power should not be considered as the weak power but rather as a strength in which states use to pursue their foreign policy. Furthermore Nye believes that soft power should not be achieved by the use of force but rather attraction or persuasion. This can be attained by the use of political values, cultural ideas, organizational essentials and lastly foreign policies. It is important for every country to have these factors so as to bring attractions from within and even abroad.

Political value includes good domestic policies such as democracy, international policies (liberal ideas) – economic interdependence (Nye, J. 2004). Furthermore culture includes education, commerce and information exchange. Foreign policies includes authenticity and ethical influence. Hard power is different from soft power as it involves military

capabilities such as weapons but also hard power uses coercive diplomacy, but the big difference between the two is that hard power uses force but soft power uses co-opt. Furthermore hard power can also have economic power as one of its essentials, as for economic power the use of bribes, aids and sanctions are most applied (Nye, J. 2004). Nevertheless large nations can have both hard power and soft power so as to have the balance in the international structure as a result this has attracted weaker nations in forming relationship with them.

Furthermore, Nye tends to shift from traditional notion of power which involves military capabilities, and individual as the core of power to more of interdependence, culture ideologies, educations, technology, global information, institutions and ideologies. This has shown that there is less significance in country having vast geography area, resources and even population (Nye, J. 2004). Nevertheless Nye does not oppose realism idea of power but rather focus on Neoliberalism ideas. For instances Nye uses United State has a country which remained in power after the end cold war, having both hard and soft power, but having challenges in using of their soft power as we can see the Iraq in 2003 could be seriously taken as a threat to the international sphere but also what is seen as western feminism can be seen as an offensive in case to Arabs nations .So at the end of the day it is always about the responses and the enthusiastic of both interpreters and receivers(Nye , J. 2004). When it comes to political value, countries are attracted more too democratic system as compared to authoritarian government because of its rule of the people, peace and unity compared to class division and ethnic conflict (Nye, J. 2004).

The rise of China

According to Rowen. 2017, the rise of East Asia from the final decades of the twentieth century onwards may ultimately prove to be a more important world- historical event than the collapse of communism, the balance of the world's economy shifted significantly from the west to the east in this period. Since the 1980s, economic growth rates on the western rim of the Pacific Basin have been between two and four times higher than those in the developed economies in Europe and the North America (Rowen, 2007). Moreover the rise of China will undoubtedly be one of the great dramas of the twenty first Century. China's extraordinary economic growth and active diplomacy are already transforming East Asia, and the future decades will see even greater increases in Chinese power and influence.

The question still remains, “Will China overthrow the existing order or become a part of it”? And what if anything, can the United States do maintain its position as China rises? Some observers believe that the American era is coming to an end, as the western oriented world order is replaced by one increasingly dominated by the East (Qingmn, 2010). The historian Niall Ferguson has written that the bloody twentieth century witnessed ‘The descent of the west’ and a reoriented of the world, towards the East. Realists go note that as China gets more powerful and United States position erodes, two things are likely to happen are as follows, first China will try to use its growing influence to reshape the rules and institutions of the international relations system so as to serve her own interest, and other states in the system, especially the declining hegemony will start to realize China as a growing security threat. As a result this will predict to tension, distrust and conflict, the typical features of a power transition (Qingmn, 2010). In this view the drama of China’s rise will feature an increasingly powerful China and a declining United States locked in an epic battle over the rules and the leadership of the international system, and moreover as we can see that the as the world’s largest country emerges not form within but outside the established post – world war II international order, it is a drama that will end with the grand ascendance of China and the onset of Asia- centered world order (Qingmn, 2010).

When China made a slightly move from communism towards capitalism there it marked a turning point of development and economic prosperity through the country’s reforms and opening up, an approach China adopted in 1980. Moreover we can see that the policy was adopted by the influence and under the headship of Deng Xiaoping (Qingmn, 2010). Though adopting this economic policy it facilitated the more private sector and investments in China, as a result China become one of the rising and influential power in the international world order. Furthermore it can be viewed that after the cold war there have been a very outstandingly peaceful period (Qingmn, 2010). But still we cannot say that there has been no crisis or conflict after the cold war as we can see now there is a new form of conflicts which involves intra state conflicts, tribe with tribe, and religion conflicts (clash of civilization). We can also see that despite all the ongoing conflicts China has managed to prove otherwise as it has managed to undertake three decades of peaceful rise or peaceful development (Qingmn, 2010). On the other hand the rising of China has resulted into different perception of China , some appreciation China , other see China’s rising as a threat , but what should be considered is the main

stream perception which emphasizes on China's exceptions and responsibilities towards common development the world and maintaining peace.

Current trends in China

We can see that there are so many political problems which china is currently facing such as; corruption, censorship, unequal opportunities, privilege class and lack of transparency, this is due to their political system which is an authoritarian regime (Dickson.2003). We understand that over the past 2000 years of feudalism history before the Republic revolution in 1911, Chinese overall quality was low with much of totalitarian and autocratic ideas in mind. The communist movement in China was aimed to liberalize Chinese oppressed by imperialism, colonialism, and feudalism (Dickson.2003). However, due to low national quality and hostile external environment of the cold war, CCP soon after came to power mistakenly adopted many extreme and autocratic policies in domestic politics (Dickson.2003).

On the other hand we have noticed that Chinese government is not a change resistance and actually China has a plan to gradually reform its political system (Dickson, 2003). According to Ramo he points out that the CCP is the source of most of the change in China in the last 20 years. Yu goes on by saying that Chinese know how demagogues can destroy countries in the name of democracy. China has its own reform agenda based on China's painful history experience (Dickson, 2003). We support Colley's viewpoint that many people tend to see China's development as a glass half empty or largely focus on the negative side of China (Dickson, 2003).

What those people neglected is the fact that Chinese government has made much progress in terms of political civilization since the start of reform while its process is a rather incremental one. Started since the end of Cultural Revolution before which the main political ideology was struggle, CCP has been continuously reforming its political system and improving its domestic political values (Dickson, 2003). Many new ideas have been legitimately implemented by the CCP government, such as hearing system in 1996, rule of law in 1997, civil society in 1998, developing political civilization in 2001, protection of human rights, human – oriented in 2003 and protection of private property written in the national Constitution. Colley argues when Chinese leaders like Wen Jiabao talk of putting people first and developing a harmonious society, they tend to mean it (Dickson, 2003). Moreover we can argue China needs and can have more

substantial improvement in domestic governance because even within the current political system a one party democracy can still be developed; and in the meantime, China needs to better communicate with the outside world what progress China has made and what the political reform it plans to proceed (Dickson, 2003).

Culturally, we can see that China has very unique culture and tradition. China now owns many unique and attractive cultural resources such as Chinese language, Chinese philosophy, Chinese music, movies, arts, architecture, Chinese food, Chinese medicine, Chinese martial arts, and China town in major cities all over the world (Dickson, 2003). We can also see that Chinese use Confucianism whereby it is based culture which had dominated Chinese society for almost more than two millennia before the New Culture Movement in 1915 which called for abandoning the old Chinese culture and learning the western culture (Dickson, 2003). On the other hand we can see that of recent most of the America television shows which were once accepted to be showed in the China are now banned for instance the Bing bang theory. Moreover we can see that there is always restriction in media and freedom of speech meaning that everyone has to watch what they say so as to protect the soft image China has domestically and in the global arena (Dickson, 2003).

Economically the Chinese economy experienced astonishing growth in the last few decades that catapulted the country to become the world's second largest economy in 1978- when China started the program of economic reforms, the country ranked ninth in nominal gross domestic product (GDP) with USD 214 billion, 35 years later it jumped up to the second place with nominal GDP of USD 9.2 trillion (Wang, 2010). Moreover we can see that since the introduction of the economy reforms in 1978, China has become the world's manufacturing hub where the secondary sector comprising industry and construction represented the largest share of GDP.

China's foreign Policy

What should be considered is the fact that China's diplomacy has in cooperated universal and international features; despite having that China prefers using of its own features of Chinese culture which is very important to them. Furthermore it is the diplomacy that connects China and the rest of the world together. And by diplomacy we mean the "conduct of adjustment and management of interstate relations". In view of the fact that we can see that China's diplomacy has mostly resulted into positive results and major role played especially in maintain the world peace and enhancing development of

human being. Additionally China has main two diplomacy goals, first is to uphold good relations between China and other countries through China engagement in international affairs and indulgent of China. Moreover we can see that China's persuade and engagement with the rest of the world is very extraordinary, as China seeks opportunities with other countries and same applies to them, by that it means there is a mutually rely and friendship in the engagement.

It can be said that China portrays itself as a third country that pursues and independent foreign policy of peace (Xuedong, 2006). China believes that its decision on foreign policy is based on peace derived from mainly five peaceful coexistence ; mutual respect for sovereignty and territorial integrity, mutual non – aggression , non-interference in each other's affair , equality mutual benefit, and peaceful coexistence. The year 2009 marks the 60th anniversary of the founding of people's Republic of China (RPC), and New China's diplomacy also has gone through a journey of 60 years (Xuedong, 2006). The 60 years history of RPC can be divided into first the 30 years after its founding the other 30 years since the opening up and reforms in 1978. We can see that the first 30 years were mainly targeted to resist the powerful and hegemony state. Another aim was to strengthen national independence, and safeguard sovereignty and territorial integrity. Furthermore the second year 30 years was more of displaying soft power and good image both domestically and internationally especially in the economic and development of China (Xuedong, 2006).

First we can see that China's diplomacy has created peaceful international and peripheral environment for both domestic economic development by ensuring the sustained and stable high economic growth rate domestically, and by raising China's comprehensive national strength and its international competitiveness (Xuedong, 2006). Moreover we can see that China's gross domestic product (GDP) has increased from 364.5 billion RMB in 1978 to more than 30 trillion RMB in 2008. China's contribution to the world economic growth surpassed more than 10 percent, and China national power today is incomparable with that in the past (Xuedong, 2006).

Moreover we can see China's engagement and integrated into the international community has increased over the past 60 years, moreover China has joined more than 100 international organization, having 300 multilateral relations treaties, participated in 24 UN peace keeping operations and having more than 10,000 peace keeping personnel (Hounghua, 2007). We can say by this China has created a very soft and influential reputation in the global era and international level. Furthermore we can see

that China is engaging in the international economic system, this is through trade engagement, including bilateral trade, and even multilateral companies. On the other hand we can see that China is making a different turn by involving itself in the coordination and cooperation with different institutions, making the country adapt to the international community (Hounghua, 2007).

Additionally we can see that China is playing a really huge role in the international affairs and it has become more responsible. Seeing China as peaceful negotiator and diplomatic consultation in the settlement of global and regional conflict, assume the international responsibilities and lives up to its commitments in the settlements of such global issues as global climate change and public health. This has positively displayed the good image of China both in the domestic affairs and international arena (Hounghua, 2007).

We can also see that China 60 years of diplomacy as being a successful story as it can be seen that China is more engaging with many different countries to save its purposes, China engagement with different countries has reached 171 which is a very important image and maintenance of its reputation in the international affair. Though having different policies in maintaining its diplomacy relationship with developed countries, China always find away to meet in the common grounds while reserving differences (Hounghua, 2007). Moreover we can see that China finds a strategies policies and cooperation relationship in order to engage well with their partners .In conformity, and equal opportunities, China has signed treaties 13 of its 14 land neighbors and solved 90 percent of its land border disputes or has reached agreements on those that are still difficult to solve according to the principle of shelving the disputes, creating a peaceful, stable, cooperative and win - win peripheral environment on the basis of equality and mutual trust (Hounghua, 2007).

Furthermore China has advocated its principle of assisting and promoting diplomacy, which involve humanitarian diplomacy, economic diplomacy, and security diplomacy. We can see that China understands the important of other international actors in the way which can help them develop and prosper, but we can also see that the future and the fate of China has been intimately tied with the rest of the world (Hounghua, 2007). The aim of Chinese people is to ensure the cooperation and the contribution of the both the regional and global development.

In reviewing China's we can see that China has taken a huge step and the future is more promising than ever, China diplomacy has proved to the world that China is not seeking to challenge the world order but rather try to fit in the system (Hounghua, 2007). Moreover we can see that China's diplomacy and its foreign policy has a great mission, though a very heavy burden as well. What can be trusted is that China is opting to take a peaceful road towards its achievement and that the Chinese people will join the peoples from all other countries to make dedicated effort to realize the beautiful desires of human beings (Hounghua, 2007). In general we can see that China is not really trying to change any world order but only try to maintain it. The next step is to look at the USA and China relationship as it is very important to look into depth as the main concern is the USA finding perceiving China as a threat, this can be because of different ideologies especially democracy, rising of China's economy (scrambling for market in different countries), and military capabilities. So it is important for us to look into America - China relationship (Hounghua, 2007).

2. Chapter 2: Chinese engagement in Africa

The Late 1950s was considered as a high peak for China – Africa relation due to anti-colonialism, revolution campaign and the African solidarity influenced by China on the third world countries. China was able to give both moral and material support to the third world countries to help them with their liberation movements (Xinhua 2007). Furthermore it can be said that visiting of premier Zhou Enlai to Africa opened up a strong and a consolidated relationship between China and Africa, whereby he was able to initiate “*Five principle Governing the Development of Relations with Arab and African countries*” and “*Eight Principles for Economic Aid and Technical Assistance to Other Countries*” as a result it laid a foundation to sincerity , friendship and equality, mutual benefit, reciprocity and common prosperity , mutual support and close coordination and lastly learning from each other and seeking common development (Taylor 2008).

We can see that in the late 1990s China decided to adjust her policies towards Africa and focus more on new framework which involved trade, diplomatic ties and cultural exchange program. This was marked by the creation of bilateral engagement between China and Africa (Taylor 2008). We can see that the first Ministerial meeting was held in Beijing 2000, whereby the meeting was able to establish two papers- the “Beijing Declaration of the Forum of China” which it emphasizes on the vision , mission of the program”.(foundation, objectives, principles, and goals). The second document is “Beijing Program for China- Africa Cooperation in Economic and Social Development” which also had emphasis on trade and investment cooperation, agriculture, infrastructure, tourism, natural resources, health, education and technology (Taylor 2008). Philippe 2009).

Beijing declaration defines FOCAC as “a framework for collective dialogue between China and African countries”. Furthermore Beijing declaration believes that the cooperation can only be achieved through, respect, equality and mutual benefit. One thing to consider is common historical perspective which China and Africa share and common identity which is the South-South cooperation, having similar historical context as both were under colonialism and this is the time to honor the great friendship they had in the long history. Furthermore one special characteristic which they share is that they both fit in developing (south) countries as opposed to developed countries (North)

Political Engagement

Political engagement is considered to be one of the fundamental aspects when it comes to any relationship which involves two parties (countries or more). Furthermore the engagement is said to involve all round of cooperation such as mutual respect, equality and maintain good friendship (Xuejun 2012). Additionally we can see that both China and Africa share the same history of western colonialism, and as for now both parties want to avoid what had happened in the past such as establishment of colonies (neo colonialism) and practice of slave trade to be sophisticated relationship of trade goods with each other. Political engagement also considers official visit between the two parties, as we can see that there have been several official visits by both Chinese officials and African leaders. Former president of China Hu Jintao made his 18 trips to most of the African countries (Taylor 2008).

Furthermore also Chinese foreign ministers are able to travel to Africa every year as part of maintaining good relationship between the two parties. Additionally this can be also seen to the current president Xi Jinping who was able to make his first visit to South Africa in 2013 soon as he was elected, and he has continued to maintain the same legacy of visiting African countries for further engagements. This is contrast to America, whereby their officials state visit is considered to be far few as compared to China ones(Taylor 2008).Moreover one important thing to consider is that China has always maintained a good friendship with Africa this is through mutual respect and cooperation, as a result to non-interference policy. China believes that Africa should be able to solve their own internal affairs without any interference from any country or even institutions. Furthermore this goes hand in hand with the common development as China stresses that when giving Aids and assistance to Africa no political conditions should be implemented (Taylor 2008). During the 18th Summit of Africa Union Jan 2012, Jia Qing who was by then the Chairman of Chinese people's Consultative Conference, gave a speech and stressed that Africa and China have always had a special relationship which includes respecting each other sovereignty and independent on the internal affair, and win- win cooperation even in pursing development agenda or assistance and support, no political strings has ever being attached. Nevertheless, what China demands from Africa is 'One China policy', and by this it means that China believes that when dealing with African countries the principle of de-politicization should be considered. Furthermore perhaps this is also the best way to deal with its own the issue regarding sovereignty of Taiwan, Tibet and Xinjiang. Nevertheless this has

sparked more criticism from international arena, from countries to even other international organization (Taylor 2008). The main concerns raised are that China does not follow the democratic principle and it is violating human rights as well. China is considered to help a number of tyrannical regimes as it is considered to have a free will in investing in countries where there is political instability such as Sudan, Congo, and Zimbabwe. What China benefits from these countries is natural resources such as minerals- gold, copper, cobalt, oil/ gas just to mention few, in exchange with heavy weapons. For instance China spent \$143 million on heavy weapons to help Sudan government. Another example is the fact that China was also able to invest and even sold to them heavy weapons such as fighter jets, military communications equipments, and heavy military cars knowingly the autocratic regime of former president Robert Mugabe (Rotberg2012).

One thing to consider for sure is that China does not want to challenge America or any western country in particular due to that America is mostly considered as a human rights and democratic regime watchdog (Taylor 2008). What China is up to is the use of realism characteristics such as survival, self-help, and lastly self-interest (national interest, this is to consider that China is based more on economic profit –market orientation to both parties (Qinglin 2012). China also thinks it should not take the blame for engaging with the autocratic regime countries because even America is doing the same for their economic survival and survival of its people. As it was reported that America was able to give aid to foreign military financing (FMF) especially to the most corrupt countries such as Democratic Republic of Congo, Chad, and Guinea (Qinglin 2012).

Furthermore we can also say that America has also been involved with the most tyrannical regimes countries such as Equatorial Guinea, whereby it is considered as one of the most corrupt country in the world (Qinglin 2012). America is stated to be large investor of oil and gas in Equatorial Guinea; additionally we can see that the America Embassy was able to be reopened again in 2006 so as to smooth the progress of diplomacy and economy. This is also seen in Angola and Nigeria, whereas it is easy for them to get western aid or loan (America and Europe) due to the fact they have natural resources particular oil as a source of security (Qinglin 2012).

We can note that China is doing its best to maintain the soft power and avoid any harm. China having permanent Security Council seat, involvement in Africa peace keeping,

and lastly anti-piracy campaign shows that it has a will of making positive change to the community rather than challenge the world order.

Post – Tiananmen relation

This Tiananmen incidence can be seen as turning point of China – Africa relationship. The incidence happened in June 1989, in Tiananmen Square whereby the democratic organization supporters were peacefully protesting, but all of a sudden they were viciously silenced by the CPC soldiers (Shinn 2009). As a result China received so many criticisms from different organizations especially the western ones, and this affected China's foreign policy and diplomacy relations. Furthermore China received scrutiny from western media and government claiming that it is against human rights, and democracy (Shinn 2009).

On the other hand Africa did not show any involvement when it came to this particular matter, by this it means that China was not criticized by Africa and China felt as if it was a time to rekindle their relationship and embrace their friendship. But also brought about the rethinking of the China's foreign policy, as it was seen that there are so many external things to consider when it comes to formulation of it such as considering human rights practices, democracy and further considering of anti-imperialism and anti-hegemonies principles (Shinn 2009). China was also able to emphasize on sovereignty and non-interference especially in political matters and as a result of this it attracted most of the Africa governments to engage in partnership as they believed that Africa's problems should be solved by themselves and not otherwise (Shinn 2009).

UN peacekeeping operations

We can see that since 2001, China has increased UN peacekeeping operations globally; this has been perceived as a positive influence worldwide. Furthermore in 2001 China was able to contribute 27 armed personnel to Africa, with the mission of being observers. The following year China increased number of military personnel and this covered military troop, police, and civilian works (Gamache, 2013). China deploys its military personnel to South Sudan, Darfur, Liberia, West Sahara, and Democratic Republic of Congo. Moreover China also agreed and contributed to 395 peacekeeping troops in Mali and this included the combat troops who were part of the peacekeeping mission. According to the head of UN Association of China Chen Jian stated that "the contribution of peacekeeping troops is a major breakthrough, with this, our contribution

will be complete. We will have policemen, medical forces, engineering troops and combat troops” (Gamache, 2013).

Economic Engagement

China and Africa engagement is mostly based on trade and investment. It can be said that both parties highly depend on each other, as China depends on natural resources from Africa to feed their industries and market to sell their manufactured goods in return for the investment, development programs (building of schools, hospitals, in Africa such as investing in infrastructure (railways, roads) and trade (Gamache 2013). Furthermore we can see that over the past decade the trade between China has flourished and as a result it has brought so much development in Africa. Furthermore we can see that China was able to build new headquarters of Africa Union in Addis Ababa in Ethiopia as a gift and the cost spent was approximately \$200million. During the opening of the new headquarters the Ethiopian prime minister thanked China government and its people for their commitment in helping Africa as he stated that “*China its amazing re-emergence and its commitments for a win- win partnership with Africa is one of the reasons for the beginning of the African renaissance*” (Gamache 2013).

Trade

It can be said that Sino – Africa trade has been beyond belief over the past years since 1990s. There have been increase in trade relations as in 2012(\$199billion) it marked the peak of it all due to an increase in ten times compared to 2000(\$10 billion) As seen in the figures below China’s import to Africa reached \$113.17 billion and at the same time Africa’s imports from china stood to be \$85.32billion and by this it shows that the two parties are considered to be the major trade partners (Ngozo 2012). When it comes to trade relations , Africa is considered to have multiple trade relations with other continents and countries particular Europe however still maintain the large trade relations with China. One thing to consider is that China maintains (concentrate) trade relationship with some few countries due to the presence of oil, gas and natural resources – minerals such as South Africa (21%), Nigeria (12%), Egypt (11%), Algeria (7%), Libya (6%), Republic of Congo, (4%) and the Democratic Republic of Congo (3%) (Ngozo 2012).

Furthermore China-Africa trade cannot be only well thought-out by just country but also different sectors, as we can see that in 2011 Petroleum was painstaking to be mainly of Chinese imports and this contributed to 64% of the imports from Africa leaving little room for other resources such as 16% for iron, 8% manufactured goods, and 6% copper (Ngozo 2012). In sum we can say that China – Africa trade and economic relationship mainly depends on extraction resources. On the other hand China exports what Africa demands the most, and by doing this it makes it easy to meet their demands due to the fact that they are inexpensive. China export transport, machinery equipments and manufactured goods such as textiles and electronic toys (Ngozo 2012).

It can be said the trade between China Africa is not a balanced one due to the nature of the exports products between China and Africa. Recently there has been an increase of Africa exports to China nevertheless the increase is considered to be unbalanced because of large export of oil to China. As a result it has lead for China to become the world's second leading importer of oil (subsequent to Japan).

Chinese Investments.

We can see that mid 1990s marked the strongest relationship between Sino- Africa; this is through different investments and projects in Africa. China focused more in investing in developing countries as compared to developed ones (Ngozo 2012). As a result China received a warmly sincere welcome from Africa governments, as they believed that China will bring opportunity for development due to the capital invested in their countries. Furthermore Shelton, 2011 stresses that according to the statics provided, Chinese investments in Africa has increased steadily, as it was seen in the year 1990s the investment capital was estimated to be US\$820 million and by the end of 2000 it reached US\$990million, US\$1.36 million in 2004 and by the mid 2006 it went over the board to be US\$ 1.18 billion (Ngozo 2012). Moreover Chinese companies have given much attention to different sectors in Africa, such as energy and resources, health care, infrastructure and transportation, agriculture and different development projects. In investing in Africa, Chinese government is considered to be the main key player as it works hand in hand with the Africa governments to achieve investment in manufacturing and technology but also there are primary lenders for the investments in Africa, which are China Development Bank and China Exim Bank (Ngozo 2012). Moreover the two banks give a hand and offer support to the Chinese government especially in promoting abroad expansions and development. One thing to note is that most of the Chinese FDI

is bound for the most blessed oil countries such as Nigeria , Angola , Egypt , Chad and Niger just to mention a few. This is due to the fact that China also is seeking for oil extraction form the mentioned countries.

Infrastructure Financing

There has been an increase to Infrastructure financing in Africa by the Chinese government, and this has marked a special and unique relationship which China and Africa has. As seen in the figure below the financing infrastructure has increased steadily from US\$500 million in 2001 to US\$ 14 billion in 2011. As a result almost two third of the investment was allocated to transportation sector, and this also gave a room for further investments in communication, sanitation, water and energy.

China's focal point in investing in infrastructure can be explained in economic relations between the two parties (China and Africa) (Ngozo 2012). As we can see, both countries have different levels of development. Africa is considered to be slugging behind when it comes to transportation network, telecommunication and power, on the other hand China is perceived to be one of the world's leading industrial and infrastructure development. We can see that China depends on Africa's raw materials to feed their industries in China, so from this point of view it is very important for China to invest in infrastructure it can be easy for extraction of raw materials as demanded. Moreover infrastructure has also facilitated trade within Africa states as a result of good cooperation and peaceful neighborhood.

As stated above the Exim Bank of China is mainly responsible for the arrangements of funds to the infrastructure in Africa, whereby its main objective comes when it is able to provide export's seller and buyer's credit for the sustainability of china's trade to thrive. Furthermore the model and structure used to assist the infrastructure is called the Angola model whereby the loan is being paid by the proceeds collected from the natural resources and this is done especially to the countries which cannot guarantee financial payment of the loan. Furthermore we can see that it is not a surprise that we see most Chinese investments /infrastructure are in most resource affluent states such as Angola, Nigeria, Sudan, Zimbabwe, and Botswana, just to mention a few (Ngozo 2012).

Development Aid and Loans

China assisting Africa in development be due to several reasons , but in this case there are mainly two reasons which can be considered to be the most effective, first reason is trade and investment agenda and the second one is said to be that China is maintaining its soft power image and China is also aware that assisting Africa in development is the greatest way of having a positive image in the international politics as to avoid the negative perceptions which they have been receiving from the western countries particularly USA(Ngozo 2012). There are so many challenges encountered by different scholars and analysts in giving the actual statistics on China

– Africa Aids and loans, the first challenge is lack of information and statistics data from the Chinese government towards development Aids in Africa nations. Furthermore another is different understanding of the term “development Aids” from China and the organization for Economic Co- operation and Development (OECD) of which China is not a member (Ngozo 2012).

It can be seen that on 11th April 2011, the first white paper concerning Foreign Aid in Africa was released by the Chinese State Council. The paper acknowledged the following, “By the end of 2009, China provided \$37.7 billion in aid to foreign countries, including \$15.6 billion in grants, \$11.3 billion in interest – free loans and \$10.8 billion in concessional loans.” Furthermore the paper shows that between 2004 and 2009 there had an increase of foreign aid to Africa by 29.4 percent annually increase (Ngozo 2012). We can also see that in 2009 was considered as the year of full commitment between China and Africa whereby Africa got 46.7 % of the foreign aid, 38.8%Asia, 12.7% Latin America and 4% to Oceania. Nevertheless the paper did not give clear distribution patterns and figures regarding each country in Africa. Moreover when it comes to Foreign aid we can say that China emphasizes on the “local ownership” policy whereby they believe that Africa governments can allocate and utilize/ empower the funds according to the needs of their people but this has always been a problem due corruption of most African leaders. Another drawback is the status and kind of projects, such as building government offices or sport stadium are not important for poverty reduction or economic development (Ngozo 2012). The funds provided should be allocated in developmental projects such as health, education and agriculture projects. It can be said that “One China” policy is highly considered when it comes to aid and investment in Africa (Ngozo 2012). Furthermore China uses the no string attached policy, as they believe that Africa’s problems should be solved by Africa itself and no one should ever interference in their domestic matter. Furthermore China believes that

using this policy it will assure best practices of Aids and further improves transparency, good governance and effective distribution of funds to developmental projects. China has a full commitment in helping Africa continent due to its strategic objectives in Africa. China recognizes itself as an economic associate and as an aid donor (Ngozo 2012). Furthermore China is tries to relate with Africa due to somehow similar history and economic level(developing nation) and by this China does want to maintain the history which they had with Africa and this is through helping with development assistance projects such as infrastructure , agriculture , health system, and maintaining the policy of non-interference.

Chapter summary

This chapter has successfully shown a background of China – Africa relationship and involvement in Africa. Furthermore it has clearly shown the shift of China’s foreign policy and adjustment from the 1978 to the modern era of capitalism. But we can also see that China’s foreign policy has mostly considered two important things first it is the diplomatic relations with other nations , and second being economic affairs. Furthermore China stresses that in engaging with a state “five principles of peaceful coexistence”

- ☐ Mutual respect for sovereignty and territorial integrity.
- ☐ Non-aggression.
- ☐ Non-interference in the domestic affairs of another state.
- ☐ Equality and mutual benefit.
- ☐ Peaceful coexistence.

Furthermore as seen from the chapter above China does not aim at challenging international order rather than it aims in achieving a positive image in the international arena through encouraging the use of soft power such as giving loans and Aid, investing in infrastructure, Health and agriculture. Nevertheless China has also engaged itself in the using hard power such as military capabilities (selling of weapons to and giving of military aid – equipment to Africa countries.

As any country China engagement in Africa has shown liberalism interpretation. This is due to the economic engagement, trade and good cooperation. Liberalism points into main two directions: first they emphasizes that there should be an assurance of

economic freedom and most of all the limitation and involvement of government and this goes on by stating that institutions should be given authority whereby their main work is to protect and nurture these values especially when it comes cooperation and trade involvement. This is what China has been doing for the past decades, ensuring the use of peace and negotiations rather than war.

When it comes to diplomacy relations regular state visit is considered to be one of the main characteristics. Both parties make sure that they have the diplomatic visit so as to learn from each other and further engage in different projects. Furthermore does not impose any conditions to the countries engaged with, as they believe in non-interference and sovereignty, nevertheless the political condition which can be imposed is the “One China policy” which means that Taiwan should never be recognized by the countries that want to engage with China. However there are some few countries (5) in Africa which have decided to recognize and engage with Taiwan.

This chapter has also discussed the Forum on China – Africa cooperation which was established in 2000 with the aim of consultations and cooperation between China and Africa mainly by encouraging cooperation in agriculture, health, trade and investment. Furthermore it can be said that there have been many successful stories concerning this forum to both parties, mostly to Africa states such as infrastructure, health, and security. On the other hand we can see that China is perceived to be a great and most influential power in the international arena, and in order to maintain this status China is giving full aid, loan and investment to Africa countries so as to get more support for the position they are having. Nevertheless Africa countries also rely on China due to its position as a permanent member of UN Security Council, as they believe that China has a voice and can really represent the developing countries well especially in their domestic interest.

There has been so much criticism about China not observing human rights in Africa due to the fact that China is willing to engage with the most undemocratic countries or authoritative regimes such as Zimbabwe and Sudan or even countries that are in war such as Democratic Republic of Congo. However China is party to the international Bill of Rights and by this it means that it is important for them to observe and respect universality of human rights but also what should be considered is the culturally relativism. Nevertheless this should not be an excuse for China not condemning and disparage the African regimes, as it is everyone’s responsibility to be a watchdog of each other when it comes to human rights issues.

It is further important to consider that China alone should not be blamed for its engagement with the autocratic regimes or undemocratic ones because the same applies to USA whereby they have been engaging mostly with Middle East countries, which most of them are undemocratic. Furthermore this can also be seen with French assimilation and engagement with Francophone countries. As a result the questioning of China and Africa engagement should not be overemphasized and more focus should be on how to deal with corruption especially to the African elite' leaders, but also more focus should be on reforms economic institutions and effectiveness of bureaucracy.

This chapter has also discussed on economic relations of China and Africa, particularly in the trade and investment. We can see that there has been an increase of trade relations between China and Africa over the last decade. This has been due to the nature of the trade relation which China and Africa have; first China imports raw materials such as minerals, and crucial products, which help them to feed their industries. On the other hand Africa imports manufactured goods and significance supplementary goods which are very important to Africa, and by this we can see that the two parties depend on each other.

Chapter 3: China-Tanganyika relationship (1961-1989)

China – Tanzania relationship is divided by two clearly eras, the first period is the socialist period which took place in 1964 to 1989, and the second one is capitalist period which was marked from 1990 to date -20189(28).the second period is mostly dominated by economic policy reforms, political and diplomatic engagement and lastly the period of globalization.

This chapter will examine the three main phases of Sino – Tanzania relationship. The first phase is the nationalist and independence phase which took place from 1950s till 1961; the second phase is post-independence in 1962 till 1964 during the Union of Tanganyika and Zanzibar, the last phase is the post Union, which is 1965 whereby Tanganyika had a an easy transition as compared to Zanzibar (Burgess 2009& 2010). Historically Tanganyika was under two colonial masters, first in 1885 during the scramble for and partition Tanganyika was given to Germany, and later it was considered as the first province of British League of Nations in mandate in the 1922 and by the 1946 it was fully considered to be under British trusteeship. We can also see that the whole process of decolonization in Tanganyika was a soft, smooth and a very peaceful one, and on 9th December 1961 Tanganyika got her independence (Wilson 2000)

First phase: Nationalist period (1950s -1961)

It is important to understand the origin of China – Tanganyika relationship. It can be said that the relationship was due to the historical context whereby both countries had strong political parties and political leaders as well (Mwakikagile2008). In Tanganyika TANU the dominant party formed on 7th July 1954 was considered to be the most popular political party with the most influential and well regarded leader Mwalimu Julius Kambarage Nyerere. Furthermore Nyerere was able to present and defend TANU's agenda both domestically and internationally. TANU's political agenda stood to be the pan-Africanism and anti –imperialism on Africa. Moreover in September 1958, still under a British mandatory TANU held the first meeting (PAFMECA)- Pan Africanism Freedom Movement of East and Central Africa and Nyerere emphasized on anti-colonialism by stating that “Freedom is our natural right , if you do not give us freedom , we will use force to achieve it” (Wilison 2000). But one thing to note is that Nyerere was considered to a perfect candidate as he was a product of their own (British colonial system)

meaning that he attained and completed his school at the University of Edinburg in UK. And much more he was also considered not be a threat to British authority due to his capacity adding British value and knowledge in his decision making and also being able to acknowledge (Mwakikagile2008).

On the other hand this drew attention to Chinese's people who also had the same political agenda of anti – colonialism and spread of socialism ideology to the Africa countries. Moreover due to Nyerere role in helping liberating Africa countries, China was so eager to work hand in hand with Tanganyika. According to the people's Daily in May, China showed great enthusiasm for the support of Tanganyika independence (Mayall 1990). Furthermore China went on by describing Tanganyika as “an initial victory of anti- colonialist struggle of the people”. This gave China more morale to support Tanganyika through moral, military and material capabilities (Hubbard 2011).

China, Africa and Arab countries relationship was formed in 1995 at the Afro – Asian Conference in Bandung Indonesia. (Hubbard 2011) China determinedly supported African countries towards attaining their independence and also ensuring economic development to them. But we can see that in the year 1958, things started changing drastically due to the misunderstanding and tension which China and UAR (United Arab Republic), the agenda of anti-imperialism was no longer a colossal anymore or unified force as it was in the beginning. This made China to focus more to Africa (third world countries) (Larkin 1971). We can see that in 1960 five years after the first Bandung conference in Indonesia, The China – Africa Friendship Association (CAFA) was formed and the objectives of this association was the support of nationalism and according to the Mao Zedong who was the chairman of the communist party of China, wanted to make sure there is a way forward towards combating china's political remoteness through fostering strong ties with third world countries. Furthermore to champion the diplomatic relationship between Chin and Africa the Afro- Asian Solidarity Council was considered to be a crucial vehicle (Jarman 2001).

Furthermore the platform played a huge role for Chinese people to articulate its spot on international issue. As a result several meetings were held in support of liberation of African countries particular the Southern Africa .Chairman Mao also had an impact on liberating the US especially on the radical racial issues., and he emphasized that it is important to fight discrimination, oppression and segregation in the world, meaning that white and black Americans should be treated equal regardless of their skin (Jarman 2001). As a result this posed tension between western countries and China as they

believed that China is trying to replace and challenge the capitalist ideas with the socialism ones. However to Tanganyika's it was not really considered as a threat due to the fact that its foreign policy was non-aligned, meaning that it was not based on socialism side or capitalism ideologies, so by this Tanganyika was in such a good position to be involved with bilateral or even multilateral agencies such UN, Canada, western Germany, East Germany (Jarman 2001). However two months prior to Tanganyika's independence TANU was showed interest in supporting the Eastern bloc and Soviet Union in particular such as East Germany, Czechoslovakia and China. This is the time when China and Tanganyika bilateral relationship became strong and even grew faster due to the same ideology of nationalism (Jarman 2001).

Second phase: post-independence period (1962- 1964)

This second phase of China – Tanganyika came immediately after independence and lasted till the Union of Zanzibar and Tanganyika on the 26th April 1964. As stated before, Tanganyika independence was a peaceful and a quick one, as it was the first country to attain her independent as compared to the neighboring countries such as Uganda and Kenya (Huang 2008). Soon after independence Tanganyika uttered a socialist ideology on development especially through Arusha declaration (UJAMAA). Moreover in this chapter we will look at the two events which brought the relationship to the high peak, first it is the 'One China policy' and the second one being the establishment of organization for African Unity's Liberation Committee in Tanganyika (Dar es Salaam) – May 1963(Huang 2008).

One China policy

Nyerere was ready to work with China by all means so as to maintain their bilateral relationship. Soon after Nyerere recognition the One China Policy, it further opened the doors to Sino-Tanganyika whereby it shows a clearly that Nyerere would support the People's Republic of China at any cost (PRC) (Niblock 1981). Furthermore this shows an emphasis that Tanzania did not have any diplomatic relationship with Taiwan .On the eve of Tanganyika independence Ambassador of China to Ghana Mr. Huang Hua discussed about their bilateral relationship with Nyerere and they made it clear that their relationship would be based on the five principles of peaceful coexistence which are mutual respect, non-interference and sovereignty, non-aggression, equality and mutual benefit) (Niblock 1981). Despite of Tanganyika not having an embassy in Beijing this did not restrict her from establishing official relationship between the two governments.

Internationally China's influence started to grow steadily but most especially towards UN General Assembly, this is through emphasizing on African policy.

Furthermore in 1962 Ambassador He Ying was allocated to Tanganyika to carry out the diplomatic work in Tanganyika. This was a successfully platform for both governments as they would work close and discuss what was important and beneficial for their governments. One important thing the Ambassador stressed out is the restoration of UN seat and the recognition and support of 'One China Policy', because other countries and organizations especially USA recognized the "Two China" (Larkin 1971). We can see that their relationship worked both ways as most African countries through Nyerere were able to support China in restoring their seat in UN, Furthermore Chairman Mao Zedong was so impressed and said that "it is our African friends who brought us back to the United Nations" After restoring the UN seat China continued to have a strong relationship with African countries , especially Tanzania whereby China voted 16 times for the Candidate Salim Ahmed Salim Tanzania minister of foreign affair to be elected as a UN Secretary General, though this was not a win for him"(Larkin 1971).

Tanganyika and China had the same agenda on liberating struggles in Southern Africa as they both believed in anti – imperialism and the spread of socialism. Tanganyika government through Mwalimu Nyerere showed support and the will to help the countries which were still under colonial domination. On the other hand China was also willing to cooperate and work in hand with Tanganyika towards achieving this mission. Furthermore China provided military, financial, and moral support (Larkin 1971).

Despite of the challenges faced in its foreign relations, Tanganyika did not hold back in displaying its soft power and cooperation internationally. Furthermore it has been shown that Tanganyika was undergoing financial problems but Nyerere had faith that it our moral responsibility to help each other especially the time of disaster (Jarman 2001). We can see that Tanganyika was able to make bilateral assistance to the countries which have been affected by the disaster, such as \$11,200 for Hurricane – struck in Trinidad and Tobago, Cuba, and Haiti, \$8,400 was contributed to Italy's Longarone and lastly \$8400 was a donation for Skopje earthquake in Yugoslavia. This does not mean that Tanganyika was wealthy but giving the donation it a symbol of humanity and showing moral support. Furthermore Nyerere once stated "giving is mercy in the spirit, it is not in wealth and the value of the gift is in the spirit behind it" (Jarman 2001).

Things were not as good as they were displayed in the public, due to the feud between Beijing and Moscow. Beijing did not Moscow due to the fact that Moscow was more considered to be European and not Asian, so despite having same ideology of socialism and communism this did not prove a point that they would fight imperialism and colonialism and led for Beijing to her conduct her affairs privately and secretly(People's Daily 1963). Furthermore it can be see that there was also political difference and tension between Beijing and other Afro- Asian government and the only way to solve the problem was to conduct the second conference so as to clear the tension and political differences .We can see that Tanganyika's role and participation in anti – imperialism and anti- colonialism was of a great significance as it drew attention in the platform further motivated the Afro- Asian leaders to plan for the second conference in Tanganyika (Moshi region) and this was to be attended by the government delegations(People's Daily 1963).

On the day of the conference in February 1963, Nyerere was effusive conscious about the tensions between the Beijing and Soviet Union, so during his opening speech Nyerere tried to balance both sides and not only relying on one part only as a result criticized both capitalism and socialism. This brought a room for both parties to rethink of their mission and China took this opportunity to strengthen their relations with other Afro – Asian countries (People's Daily 1963).

Furthermore at the conference they agreed to certain proposals quoted such follows

- Appeal to the people of Asia and Africa to support the just struggle for national independence of the peoples who have not yet attained it, and adopt concrete measures to support their struggle;
- Declare that all countries large and small are equal and that their independence, sovereignty and territorial integrity are sacred and inviolable.
- Strengthen cooperation and mutual assistance among the Afro –Asian countries on the basis of the Five Principles of peaceful Coexistence and Ten principles of the Bandung conference.

As a result this reduced so much tension between Beijing and other Afro-Asian countries especially with Soviet Union (Jarman 2003).

Furthermore the Moshi conference created more opportunity to trade relations between Beijing and other Afro – Asian party especially Tanganyika as both parties signed different trade agreements and contracts. China displayed great interest in Tanganyika towards liberation struggle in the South and promised their full support. For instance during the visit to China Adam Sapi Mkwawa who was the Tanganyikan National spokesman said that China and Tanganyika friendship is considered very special and of a great ideal (Jarman 2003).

Diplomatic Relations – Tanganyika and China

It can be said that China foreign policy was more driven by political affairs than economic affairs. China was seeking for good reputation and displaying of soft power such as spreading, but on the other hand Tanganyika did not have much to offer such as natural resources (mineral) as compared to other Africa countries. Furthermore despite having diamond in Northwest still it was hard for foreign investors to able to invest due to the lack of proper infrastructure, such as roads and railway during such period of colonialism(Jarman 2003). China was more attracted to form a relationship with African countries because of the similarities in historical context especially when it comes to colonialism and fight against imperialism. China did not isolate countries which had support for Taiwan but drew them even close and tried to influence them to align with them. Additionally this went on by giving them financial assistance (Jarman 2003). He Ying who was an ambassador of China to East Africa believed that having a strong relationship with Tanganyika will be important because it will open further doors for their relations with other Africans countries especially East Africa ones: Kenya and Uganda this is due to Nyerere leadership as they saw potential in him and the ability of him to convince people. For instance in one occasion Nyerere was able to organize a meeting between He Ying and Malawi prime minister Hasting Banda and the meeting was held in Dar es Salaam – Tanzania.

Furthermore Nyerere was perceived as an exception leader and a great facilitator, as a result the Sino – Tanganyika relationship expanded from political to diversification of different sectors such as agriculture, trade, labor unions, and national development. Additionally this also allowed exchange visit of official/ leaders governments of China - Tanganyika (Jarman 2003).

Third phase: The post – union 1964-1965

This phase involves three main events, first the visit of premier Zhou Enlai to Africa in 1964, then visit of Nyerere to China, and the last event is the negotiations and construction of Tazara Railway in Tanzania.

Premier Zhou Enlai along with China's Foreign Minister Chen Yi visited Africa for the first time in 1964. Furthermore the aim of their trip was to consolidate their relationship with Africa countries. During his visit Zhou had an agenda of anti-imperialism and fighting against colonialism especially to both Africa and Latin America countries (Jarman 2003). China made sure that they travelled to most African countries with the influence of spreading socialism and encouraging nationalist movements countries include Sudan, Ghana, Ethiopia, Mali, Somali just to mention a few. Despite the visit in Africa, Chinese leaders did not get to visit Tanganyika or Zanzibar but this did not mean that their relationship was in a bad position (Jarman 2003).

On the other hand Zhou met two important and revolutionary leaders of Algeria Ben Bella and Ghana Kwame Nkrumah and they were able to discuss about security matter and nationalist influence. We can see that the reception of the Chinese leaders received was exceptional as women, children, men and student sang in joy to welcome them; this showed a good sign of good relationship between China and Africa. British observed that reception of the Zhou was cold and not much attention was given to the leaders as by then Soviet had influenced Ghana. Furthermore the level of economy between Ghana and China were perceived to be the same and it was really hard for China to offer anything especially when it comes to aid (CMFA 1965).

The same year Tanzania delegates paid a visit to Beijing. Second vice president Rashid Kawawa and his delegate visited China in June 1964, Kawawa received a tenderly welcome from Chinese citizens, and according to the Chinese press it stated that ten thousand people from all walks of life gathered to welcome him." Furthermore his visit to Beijing was considered to be a successful one as Kawawa was able to negotiate \$44.8 million for Tanganyika government (Jarman 2003). Furthermore Kawawa also received military assistance as it was so important for Tanganyika to secure the national by then due to the presence?? Additionally Vice president was delighted to meet Beijing's Mayor Peng Zhen and discussed the political situation in Tanganyika and the Mayor promised to offer their support regarding liberation Struggles in Africa.

China promised military aid and the training of the Tanganyika Cadet so as they can have the ability to fight the enemy. But on the other hand British government was not happy with the relationship between Tanganyika and China as they viewed the relationship as a threat and a disturbing one due to the fact that China was starting to get influence and popularity Africa countries. Furthermore British government stated that China is considered to be dangerous because it makes the African countries to lose their identity of which they really are and transform them to trail the extremist (Jarman 2003). However this did not trouble Nyerere as he believed that Tanganyika's foreign policy was non alignment one meaning it did not based neither western nor eastern bloc (Capitalist or communist).

In 1965 Nyerere decided to shift the matter from political strategy matters to more of economic matters soon after the Tanganyika and Zanzibar union. Tanzania sent its economic delegation to China for assistance for the government objectives in dealing with the economy of the country. Same year Babu was appointed by Nyerere as the head of economic delegation due to the fact he was qualify for the job as a result it was not a surprise when trade negotiation between China and Tanzania was conducted smoothly and successful furthermore the meeting took only an hour to reach the agreement and negotiations(Jarman 2003). Additionally they agreed that Tanzania will be given \$14million in a period of five years, whereby Tanzania could buy anything that they may perhaps meet the expense of from China and Chinese could also purchase goods worth of \$14 million in Tanzania. This was considered as a great deal to start with and it further opened doors for good trade between China and Tanzania.

Another important aspect of their economic negotiation was the construction of (TanZam) railway – Tanzania and Zambia railway now called Tazara. We can that Nyerere was eager for construction of TanZam railway as it could help both countries towards achieving economic development. Furthermore another factor was to help with transportation to the neighboring countries especially those undergoing liberation struggles (Jarman 2003). Tanzania asked for donors from both international institutions to different countries but the response of very unsatisfactory as they all refuse to help with the construction of the railway. During his visit Babu presented the proposal of constructing the railway to Chinese, and China was willing to help carrying out with the project. Babu did not want to reveal name of the donor/ sponsor for the project but he insisted that the funds was no longer a problem (Jarman 2003).

Nyerere first visit to China 1965

Babu and his delegation visit to China resulted to a great success towards economic development in Tanzania as their meeting paved a way to Nyerere's visit to China so has to solidify their friendship. We can see that both countries had same mission and agenda towards imperialism and colonialism (Zhou 2004). When Nyerere visited China he saw the ownership and due to the warmly welcome he received from Chinese people, this was different in Russia whereby he did not see the ownership and any feel of belonging. Nyerere's visit to China was broadly reported both local and internationally because of the influence which Nyerere has in the liberation struggle and the role of Tanzania in African solidarity. Sam Nujoma who was the chairman of South West Africa people's Organization (SWAPO) stated that the warm welcome by the Chinese people was great sign that China wants the best for Africa and the only way to do that is by helping Africa countries to fight against colonialism and all forms of imperialism (Zhou 2004).

We can see that China offered to construct TanZam due to the relationship which the two leaders had Chairman Mao and president Nyerere, and their relationship also affect the country relationship as there was a solid connection between China and Tanzania. Soon after the visit of president Nyerere the bilateral negotiations concerning the project were made between the year 1965 and 1966. Furthermore During his visit Nyerere visited Nanjing and Shanghai cities whereby he observed the ethics and diligence of Chinese people and this impressed him. According to TANU official Pius Msekwa, Nyerere believed that Tanzanians can learn from Chinese people, starting from ethics, values, hardworking to good governance, and this will help to keep the state simultaneously through understanding the nationhood ideology (Zhou 2004). Furthermore Msekwa stated that "one word from either Chairman Mao or prime Minister and everybody would follow" this shows discipline within Chinese people and the political party. The ruling party TANU thought of adopting Chinese system so as it can be easy to mobilize the members and have ethics, values and discipline within the party. Furthermore Nyerere believed that it could be important for Tanzania official leaders to go to China to, learn few things which would help them in their leadership (leadership program) (Zhou 2004). As a result Tanzania became more independent and adopted three principles of realism which are statism, survival and self-help .President Nyerere emphasized that it is important for Tanzania not to rely on borrowing money from other countries especially the west(German and British governments in particular) . This is to show that Tanzania has to have pride in making their decisions and by any

means it has to survive. Nyerere stated that “borrowing money from other countries to carry out what can be done by us is very foolish” (Zhou 2004).

Zhou visits Tanzania

On 4th June 1965 Zhou made his first visit to Tanzania, and was warmly received by both government officials and ordinary citizens (Zhou 2004). Furthermore we can see that many people lined up from the airport to the State House with joy and happiness to welcome Zhou. They sang beautiful songs and this can be quoted

Today is an unforgettable day for the Union Republic

A world famous luminary is visiting our home

We welcome you to see our sisal

We welcome you to try our rice gruel

We invite you to drink the sweet coconut juice.

This showed that Tanzania was very delighted to have Zhou in their country, and this symbolize mutual friendship, respect and strong bilateral relations furthermore in his speech Zhou addressed and emphasized on the common issues which most African countries were facing by then and he also tried to relate to his countries such as subjugation, slavery and imperialism / colonialism (Campell 2000).

Additionally he stresses that African should be able to make their own decisions and Africa should be for Africa free and independent. Moreover in their meeting President Nyerere told Zhou about economic problems faced by Tanzania and Zhou points out that in order for developing country to reach their economic goals, they should not compare themselves with the developed nations especially the west this is due to the fact that each country is different this is mostly due to different history as well (Campell 2000).

Chinese military support to Tanzania

It can be said that building an army was the first agenda after the union; Furthermore it can be said that Tanzania had limited alternative in military donors as most west countries were not so impressive to assist and the only way to deal with this issue was to seek military aid from communist party especially China(Campell 2000). It was very hard for Tanzania to resist military help from China; this is due to the strong bilateral

relationship which both countries had but also due to the insecurity conditions in the region. China was the most willing country to assist Tanzania to build an army due to its technological and industrial capacity. Additionally China assured Tanzania in military materials such as weapons, and training/ transfer of skills and knowledge to the Tanzania soldiers (Campell 2000).

The Chinese military assistance to Tanzania was considered as an infiltrate of their bilateral relations. It was important for China to help Tanzania due to main three factor; Tanzania's role in OAU and support in the African liberation struggles, China believed that helping Tanzania will be helping the whole continent, furthermore having influence to Tanzania will also attract other African countries to align and form relationship with China (Campell 2000). As stated before we can see that the relationship between China and Tanzania was based in the their common interest of anti – imperialism and colonialism and military assistance will ensure peace to the liberation groups who were based in Tanzania especially in Morogoro region (Mazimbu) area and Songea region, Southern Tanzania. (Campell 2000).

Another important factor is the wearing a way of colonial military (especially British military) in both Tanzania and Zanzibar. So it could have been very hard for the British to give military aid to Tanzania , furthermore the process of European imperialism was not over yet in Southern Africa and this was also a risk for British government(Campell 2000). On the other hand some western countries such as Canada were also willing to help Tanzania but this was hard for Tanzania to accept the offer due to many conditions and constrained involved. China took advantage of the situation and worked with Tanzania government to form TPDF (Tanzania people Defense Forces) on 1st September 1964(Campell 2000).

Moreover another factor is the commitment and responsibility that China had towards Tanzania. Beijing was obliged to help Tanzania due to the bilateral relations which both countries had especially due to the historical context and the friendship between chairman Mao and president Nyerere (GAO 1965). Furthermore China took advantage in providing weapons, and training Tanzania soldiers so as it can be easy for Tanzania to support the African liberation struggles and to reinforce Tanzanian armed forces capacity and capability to uphold national security.

Moreover President Nyerere was very disturbed with the ongoing tensions between Western countries and communist party especially when he came up with the decision

of accepting Chinese military assistance as he justified that he was out of options and there was limited alternatives (Gao 1965). Nyerere stressed that Tanzania was now considered as China's satellite due to the strong and mutual relations shared, and insisted that China wants the best to Tanzania and African countries and by this it means that China does not want to interfere with Tanzania business (political, economic and social).

President Nyerere conducted several interviews and he insisted that Chinese government was very understanding and willing to work hand in hand with Tanzania to create a strong army for security purposes. Furthermore the president continued by saying that it was very easy for China government to take action in helping Tanzania without any bargains or conditions (Campell 2000). Additionally Chief of the Tanzania Army Forces General Sarakikya insisted that Chinese were very delighted when Tanzania presented her request and it took them a month to respond, Additionally China government agreed to send eleven people seven instructors along with four interpreters. Furthermore they also agreed that the team would work for the limited time, only six months this would also cover the training period and transfer of technology and skills and not otherwise (Campell 2000). Furthermore China provided infantry weapons, uniforms and other military equipment's, the estimated cost was under \$15 million but this was a different case with Western countries as it took them more than a year to respond to the Tanzania request.

Laying foundation to Tanzanian- Zambian railway (TanZam Rail link 1965-1967)

In looking at China – Tanzania relationship the first thing that comes to our mind is the construction of TanZam railway known as Tazara railway. Soon after Chinese military assistance, Chinese government accepted the Tanzania's request regarding construction of Tanzania – Zambia railway (TanZam), and an offer was made to President Nyerere in 1965. Furthermore this is exactly same time where China was undergoing the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution around 1966- 1967, but still China was very generous enough to assist Tanzania as a true friend and a great partner. We can see that before Cultural Revolution, Both President Nyerere and President Kaunda had requested for donors to assist them with the project, and it was unsuccessful as they did not get any donors (especially from the west) and later that year Chinese government was ready to take the task (Bariyo 2011).

During colonial period railways were very important: first the colonialist would use this means of transportation as a way of tapping and acquiring raw material especially minerals and the transportation of workers from one plantation to another or mining area. Nevertheless this was different in post independent as both Tanzania and Zambia were seeking for political liberty and economic progress of the two countries and as well as liberation Southern Africa liberation struggle. Additionally this project considered to be very important because it would symbolize Pan Africanism and African nationalism as it would unite many Africans countries. On the other hand we can see that this was an opportunity for China to display its soft power and get more influence in the international arena but this was an also a stage to upstaging its rivals especially the western countries and Soviet Union(Bariyo 2011) .

Despite the Chinese government presenting a great offer to president Nyerere, and being a breakthrough to Sino – Tanzania friendship still this project was one of toughest and hardest one to manage as there were so many challenges which both parties had experienced first the offer brought about international attention as China was considered as a threat to the international atmosphere as it was considered to be spreading socialism / communism ideologies to most African countries rather than helping them in economic development(ideological perspective regarding anti-imperialism.

Furthermore this project was considered to be a transnational and distance one as it was very far for China to construct the railway and many Chinese constructing the railway died due to the tropical climate conditions and Malaria. Additionally this project had pressure from both side first there was division in some of Tanzania officials regarding the project as some government were very disturbed with China and Tanzania relations(Bariyo 2011) . Furthermore the Zambia constraints as Kaunda was not certain China's motives and agenda, another important factor is that Zambia was still having a close relationship with Britain so it was very hard to establish relationship with China. Despite the external pressure most especially from western Tanzanian government did not gave up on pursuing the project as Nyerere believed that Tanzania's foreign policy was non alignment as Tanzania was not on either side communist or capitalist, and the justification for Chinese assistance is due to limited donors and many developed countries were not willing to assist (Bariyo 2011).

Finally President Kenneth Kaunda agreed to Chinese construction of TanZam railway and this was the beginning of Sino- Zambia relations and singing of tripartite conformity

in 1967. Nevertheless this made Western powers to propose to different projects such as highway and pipeline projects which could take same route as TanZam railway but still this did not part the relationship which China and Tanzania had established.

Chapter summary

This chapter has addressed China – Tanzania relationship in the 1960s which was considered as an influential year of the bilateral relations. Furthermore it showed the strong relationship between the two heads of the state, President Nyerere and Chairman Mao who made the foundation of the Sino – Tanzania possible. Furthermore both China and Tanzania shared the same agenda of fighting imperialism, colonialism and the role of president Nyerere in liberation struggle. Nevertheless China was undergoing economic and domestic problems such as Cultural Revolution but this did not restrict China from helping Tanzania with her projects such building an army(military capabilities)- TPDF and construction of Tanzania – Zambia railway(TanZam). One thing to consider is that Sino – Tanzania relationship was built in the strong beliefs of mutual need, respect for both sides. Tanzania supported and committed itself in recognizing One China Policy and went further by making sure the restoration of PRC's seat in the UN, this sparked their relationship.

This chapter has also shown numerous visits from sides, Tanganyika officials to China in 1960s and other Chinese officials to Tanganyika. Furthermore the chapter has emphasized on several projects conducted by Chinese government to help Tanzania soon after independence. The first important project is the foundation and establishment of Tanzania people Defence Forces army which was established in September 1964.

Moreover the Chinese military assistance involved both military equipments and the military training for infantry, navy and air force. Another project that made the relationship strong is the TanZam railway this project was offered by China despite undergoing Cultural Revolution and economic hardships; the railway was to smooth the progress of communication between Tanzania, Zambia and Southern countries fighting for their independence (Ngozo 2012). Additionally the railway was considered as a new beginning of the new independent countries to initiate their economic development. Western countries and other International institutions were not happy with Chinese assistance towards these projects as they stated that “the project was economically not viable”, this is due to the fact that Western countries believed China was helping

Tanzania so as they can spread their socialism ideologies Africans countries (Ngozo 2012).

4. Chapter 4: China – Tanzania relationship (1990- 2018)

Transition period

This is period whereby Sino – Tanzania relationship was subjugated by economic reforms, globalization era and lastly political changes. This is the period whereby both China and Tanzania concentrated and focused on economic development due to the impact of globalization. It can be seen that in both countries enthused from economic socialism to the market oriented and structure adjustments in the late 1980s (Ngozo 2012). Furthermore it was this period that affected Sino – Tanzania bilateral relationship as it was very hard for both parties to maintain and cope with the changes so their relationship was weakened. Additionally we can see that there were numerous changes in their relationship as the number of state visits to both parties slowed down, trade relations and project assistance as well. For instance we Nyerere visited China five times during his presidency from 1964 to 1985 and after he stepped down he visited China eight times. During Ali Hassan Mwinyi who was Nyerere's inheritor from 1985 to 1995 was able to visit China only twice. Never the less this also applied to the Chinese leaders as only two top official leaders visited Tanzania Prime Minister Zhao Ziyang and Vice – Premier Zhu Rongji and the aim of their visit is due to the poor management of Tazara railway (Ngozo 2012). President Mwinyi reassured that the bilateral relationship with China will always remain strong as it has always been. Furthermore he went on by declaring that “Tanzania would pursue a friendly policy towards China”. During his presidency Mwinyi was able to introduce two important policies.

First president Mwinyi reformed the constitution for the purpose of introducing multiparty system, and another policy introduced was market forces in the economy (Ngozo 2012).

In 1995 Tanzania had its first free and fair election which involved different political parties (Multiparty system). In the election there were four candidates running for presidency, and Benjamin Mkapa the CCM candidate was elected with 62 percent (Ngozo 2012). We can see that during his two terms which consisted 10 years Mkapa only visited China twice, the first visit was in 1998 and the second one was in 2000 during the establishment of the first Forum on China Africa Co- operation (FOCAC) held in Beijing China. Mkapa spoke vastly of China and insisted that the bilateral relationship between China and Tanzania is a special one and it was very important to maintain that

relationship (Ngozo 2012). Furthermore Mkapa insisted that both China and Tanzania have been affected by globalization especially with the new economic policies and reforms.

Additionally China was also worried regarding some projects in Tanzania due to the new economic environment. China advice Tanzania to restructure the URAFIKI textile (Tanzania – China) so as to recover and make more profit. Furthermore Chinese government was very committed in this and invested almost \$1.7 million and made some changes in the administration such as recruiting new workers and callous the reimbursement of the permanent employees. As a result this created tension between Tanzania and China as there were strikes in 2000 and 2005 respectively and this affected the strong bond which both countries (Ngozo 2012).

Another factor which led to the cooling Sino – Tanzania is the Bombing of US Embassy in Dar-es- Salaam in 1998. This incidence created a close relationship between Tanzania and US and the west countries in general. Tanzania forged strong relationship with US due to the anti- terrorism agenda. Moreover the following year 1999 President Mkapa visited USA and the two parties established trade, economic relations and even diplomatic relations (Cliton 2013). When President Kikwete was elected in 2005, he followed footsteps of Mkapa by visiting USA in 2006 to meet President Bush and this opened and created a room for their relationship to grow, especially in western trade and economic investment (Cliton 2013).

The revitalization of Sino- Tanzania relationship–2005

It can be seen that throughout colonial period and post-colonial era, Tanzania relationship with China was at the peak because of the Ujamaa policy which was same as socialism ideology. Furthermore both countries had the same mission of fighting colonialism/imperialism in Africa. But we also see that Tanzania relationship with China post-colonial period was based in political and military relations meaning that there was no room for economic development. Additionally Tanzania's economy was reliant more in agriculture sector as it contributed 30% of Tanzania's GDP.

The introduction of globalization resulted to two things first political changes and economic reforms – market oriented (Eckert 2013). As a result Tanzania government started diversifying its economy, such as trade, tourism, and infrastructure, also the government was able to ensure market based reforms as it was seen as a way towards

economic success. Furthermore we can see that Mwinyi and Mkapa had a favorable integration with the west but this was different with President Jakaya Kikwete who had served as a Foreign Minister during Mkapa's presidency. When Kikwete was elected in 2005 the first agenda he presented is the Millennium development goals as he made sure that the policies will fulfill Tanzania's vision in 2025. President Kikwete made sure that Tanzania was able to mobilize its natural resources, water, energy and natural resources, also ensure development in education, investment in agriculture sector and lastly infrastructure and transportation. As a result during his presidency there was economic growth and this gave a room for inflation rates to drop and the national was able to pay off a quantity of its foreign debt.

In 2006 Chinese Prime Minister Wen Jiabao visited Tanzania; the two leaders met and reactivated their relationship. China and Tanzania relationship was based in political and diplomatic basis during and after colonial era but this time they decided to move away from that and focus more on the economic basis and more of business oriented (Cliton 2013). Both parties still embrace their longtime and historical relationship which they shared and this was the opportunity to make things right as Chinese government was very concerned with Tanzania and USA relationship. China determined to catch up with other Tanzania's west partner through increase economic diversification in Tanzania. Both governments agreed five important sectors and signed the agreement on that: health, agriculture, diplomatic relations, transport /infrastructure and communication. Furthermore China thought it was important to renovate Tazara railway which was outdated and out of style (Eckert 2013).

We can also see that after revival of their relationship, state visits between the two countries increased as President Kikwete visited China three times 2006 and 2008 during the FOCAC forum and in 2014 for 50 years anniversary of Sino – Tanzania diplomatic relations. Former Chinese President Hu Jintao and his heir Xi Jinping visited Tanzania in 2009 and 2013(Cliton 2013). China was able to attract Tanzania by introducing “no string attached policy”, by this it meant that China was not concerned with any political situation/ conditions especially democratic or not unlike the western countries and international Institutions such as IMF, and World Bank who demand for democratic regimes and economic policy changes. Furthermore China does not need to know if the country is political unstable or it is peaceful, due to sovereignty and noninterference agenda (Cliton 2013).

5. Chapter 5: Sino – Tanzania Cooperation measures

China –Tanzania relations can be referred as a “special relation” this is mostly due to the historical context which both parties shared especially socialism ideology- (UJAMAA), and anti

– Imperialism / colonialism. But we can see that in 2006 china and Tanzania shared two important objectives first seeking and maintaining peace and the second objective is development, this was made possible through establishment and strengthened of political and military objectives such as exchange programs and diplomatic visits. On the other hand China thought it would be nice if they could strengthen culture, health, education and agriculture and economic relations rather than focusing only in one sector (Cliton 2013).

Diplomatic relations

China forged its diplomatic relations with both Tanganyika and Zanzibar on 9th December 1961 and 11th December 1963 correspondingly. On the Union day 26th April 1964 China established its diplomatic relations with United Republic of Tanzania and ever since their relations has been a thriving one(Cliton 2013).

China – Tanzania diplomatic cooperation has been influenced by some important events such as the signing of “The treaty of Friendship between People’s Republic of China (PRC) and the United Republic of Tanzania” in 1965, this treaty involved different area of bilateral cooperation between the two countries such as military, trade and investment culture and healthy sector. Furthermore the is a say which states that a friend in need is a friend indeed, this means that

Tanzania was also very committed in helping China towards restoring its legitimate seat in the United Nations in the year 1971. Chinese government was very delighted with the outcome and solidified their relationship even more (Cliton 2013)

Political relations- party to party relations

As it is seen that both China and Tanzania has maintained their party relations as it was for colonial period with TANU and CCP. Furthermore both CCM (Chama cha Mapinduzi) and CCP (Chinese Communist Party), have the strong bond this is through frequently exchange visit and knowledge sharing (Ham 2012). In 2003 Secretary General for CCM Abdurrahman Kinana, visited China and met with Liu Yunshan party

leader of CCP, the two leaders shared great time together, shared and exchanged knowledge regarding economic and political reforms (Ham 2012). Furthermore the relationship between the two political parties has brought relief and sense of bond between the China and Tanzania elites. Moreover we can see that the strong relationship has helped CCM with adapting new economic reforms such as changing from socialism to globalization so as to fit in the international ground (Cliton 2013). Additionally the relations has facilitated leadership skills as CCM is learning from CCP elites and this has influenced Tanzania 's ruling elite in their governance through development models, hardworking , ethics , values and nationalism. One can say it is Chinese government which is trying and make an effort in pursing and marinating this relationship as compared to Tanzania's government for instance in June 2014 Chinese Vice president Li Yuanchao visited Tanzania and met with Philip Mangula who is the Vice Chairman of CCM, the meeting was surrounded by mainly two agendas first Mr Yuanchao insisted that the two parties should maintain communication, mutual friendship, equality, respect and political trust. Additionally he also emphasized on diplomatic visit and shared knowledge and skills within the two parties so as to facilitate ensure and maintain the friendship and brotherhood between Tanzania and China (Cliton 2013).

Despite maintaining their relationship there has been many critics regarding the two political parties (CCP and CCM). As the famous opposition party CHDEMA claimed China is crossed diplomatic line between the two countries, this is due to the fact that Chinese Ambassador in Tanzania Mr Youqing attended CCM political rallying in Kishapu, Shinyanga. This was seen an political interference and also breaching of Article 41(1) of the Vienna Convection of 1961 which stated that "foreign diplomats must keep off the domestic affairs of their hosts countries, political events included" The opposition party CHADEMA wrote a letter to Chinese government and UN asked for actions to be taken regarding the incidence but at the end of it all no action was taken to both countries (Cliton 2013). Chinese government justified this through non-interference policy whereby the insisted that China will always believe in sovereignty , non-interference especially in political affairs due to the mutual respect , friendship and equality which they share with Tanzania and China does not want any harm for its partner. Lastly in this political relationship there have been diplomatic and state visit in both two countries and this has strengthened their relationship.

Enhancing Military Co-operation

Entrenched in the history China and Tanzania share strong military relations but in the year 2000s especially 2010 there has been intensification of military relationship between China and Tanzania. Tanzania has always been one of the most important regulars of arms retailing in Africa. We can see that there has been an increase in Chinese arms sales particular in Tanzania for the past decades, as the statistics shows that (US\$325 million in 2009 to 2015). Nevertheless due globalization Tanzania has also been able to have other military cooperation with other countries and this has somehow reduced influence in their military relations (Cliton 2013).

China – Tanzania military cooperation can be traced during the post-independence in 1964, whereby previous to that Tanzania put end to their military cooperation with Canada and opted for Chinese military assistance and on the 1st of September 1964 Tanzania people defense forces (TPDF) was formed under the influence of Chinese government. Moreover China he-pled Tanzania with the building of naval base in Kigamboni Dar-es- Salaam and also with air base military centers in Ngerengere-Morogoro (Cliton 2013). Additionally China also was able to provide military equipments such as weapons, uniforms and training of the soldiers, but another important thing to note is that China was also very support of African Liberation struggles movements and anti-imperialism/ colonialism especially in Congo , South Africa, Mozambique , Burundi, and Rwanda , just to mention a few.

In the late 1970s there was a clash between Sino – Soviet as a result it created further military competition in Africa and Tanzania took advantage of this situation and decided to channel more alternatives regarding military aid (Taylor 2009). Tanzania thought it could be important for the

Country for the country to look other alternatives and not just relying on one source of military aid and still maintain their relationship with China. It is important to say that the military Co-operation between China and Tanzania is based on three important aspects: arms supplies, personnel training and lastly exchange visits.

TPDF commanders have been visiting China since 1964 for different program training and knowledge sharing but with People Liberation Army (PLA) commanders/ delegation made their first visit in 1974 led by deputy chief of staff. But from 1990s till to date there has been an intensification of visits exchange between TPDF and PLA, for instance Chinese Minister of Defence Chi Haotian visited Tanzania in 1994, and also in 2005 Cao Gangchuan who was also Minister of Defense visited Tanzania. Lastly in 2010

chief of Staff Chen Bingde visited Tanzania and met with Tanzanian Minister of Defence Hussein Mwinyi and discussed ways of strengthen their military cooperation .

Chinese government has been frontline in fighting terrorism and piracy, and in the early 2000s China decided to send its PLA Navy ships in Tanzania so facilitate the anti – piracy operations in Africa and particular Tanzania (Taylor 2009). Apart from the anti – piracy activities the PLA Navy conducted military diplomacy activities such as providing both reading and building materials for schools and also train Tanzania soldiers. But on the other hand in December 2017 The PLA foremost Hospital ship visited Tanzania and thousands of Tanzanians patients received free treatment.

There has been also an increase in military training, it can be seen that in 1978 only 1000 Tanzania military personnel trained in China, but from 2000s Tanzania has been sending military personnel every year for training in China. Furthermore we can also see improvement in military equipments from lighter weapons which were used in 1990s to heavier weapons used in 2000s.the equipments involved 30 tanks 59G, 6 training combat fighter, 14 fighter aircrafts F-7MG. China has helped in the edifice of Military National Defence college in Dar-es –Salaam in January 2011 and the funded was by the Chinese company together with Chinese government. The college receives military students all over Africa mainly for intelligence course and this has facilitated also good relationship within African countries (Taylor 2009). Furthermore in 2005 China assisted Tanzania with the improvement of Ngerengere Air Force base, so as it can be used as an alternative or emergence for the passengers using Julius Nyerere International Airport.

It is also important to note that in 2011China was financed giant project which Chinese government gave out \$64 million to assist with the independent Mobile Network for the Tanzania People Defence Forces so as to ensure secured(security purposes) information. Moreover China does not have a defense attaché' in Tanzania but has a PLA numerous officers in Tanzania who work hand in hand with TPDF (Taylor 2009).

Despite having as strong and incredible military relationship Tanzania has been able to form other military ties with different countries such as UK, Russia, Italy and Germany, US, and South Africa this include donation of vehicles such as IVECO, patrol boats and Helicopters. Additionally US have given Tanzania a role of training both East African countries for the purpose of UN peace keeping for the aim of fighting terrorism and Piracy in Africa (Taylor 2009). Regardless of having multiple military relationships with different countries most west nations, China – Tanzania relationship is still considered

very special as Tanzania is still a major client of Chinese military supplies equipments in Africa. Also visit exchange and training of military personnel is still considered to be higher than in any African country (Cooke 2008).

Economic Relations: Chinese investment in Tanzania

In 1990s Tanzania shifted and reformed its economic policies from socialist to capitalist which involves global integration, trade, investment and market orientation. It can be said that during colonialism and post colonialism Tanzania and China had a very close relationship which was based more in self-reliance policy and nationalism as a result it gave self-belonging and identity to Tanzania(Eckert 2013). But due to the external pressure and globalization it was important for Tanzania to adapt to capitalism. It was during Kikwete presidency were Sino – Tanzania economic relations intensified and foreign venture model was created. Furthermore this was the time where the Foreign Direct Investment (FDI) picked up and a result into the standard of US\$ 1.8 billion per year ever since the year 2010. According to Tanzania Investment Centre (TIC) Chinese presence and investment in Tanzania is well thought-out as the modest as China was considered to be the largest investor compromising more than 15% of Dar-es – Salaam's trade from 2014 to 2017.

Post-colonial period Chinese facilitated two huge projects which are building of Tanzania – China Friendship Textile (URAFIKI) and the construction of Tazara railway (Tanzania – Zambia railway) (Eckert 2013). But due to industrialization policy in China the Foreign Aid Investment is being guided by the following searching for, market to sell their manufactured goods, and raw materials to feed their industries back home. We can see that there has been an increase of China investment companies in Tanzania since the end of 2016; almost 140 registered companies are conducting trade and services in Tanzania. Beijing's Ministry of Commerce data shows that investment in Tanzania has risen from US\$700 million in 2011 to US\$2.5 billion in 2013(Cooke 2008). The investments include transportation and communication sector, education and cultural exchange, agriculture, energy and resources and so forth. Furthermore we can see that Chinese investments has not increased Tanzania's GDP and economic growth but also provided jobs for the local people, as more than 150,000 people are employed in Chinese companies.

One of the massive projected initiated was that of construction of Bagamoyo Port in Dar-es Salaam, additionally the port is projected to be of benefit as it will sustain more

cargos than the Dar-es- Salaam port and this will have a positive impact in the country and East Africa as well as it will be used by all the Eastern African countries as it also be used as a getaway. Additionally China offered to construct Bagamoyo and Mlandizi road as it would facilitate the connection and internal link with Tazara railway-(Tanzania and Zambia countries) (Cooke 2008).Furthermore China also provide a soft loan of \$1.2 billion for the construction of a road (523km line), which will be able to connect Dar- es- Salaam and Mtwara for the aim facilitating Mtwara pipeline extraction (Cooke 2008). China offered to assist Tanzania with the extraction of Mtwara gas pipeline which constituted about \$1.3 billion, the project would also facilitate with the production of energy for Tanzania. The deal was finalized in September 2011but on the other hand Tanzania did not only rely on Chinese offer as it went on seeking more donors to help with the construction and extraction of project.

Furthermore when Tanzania government approached the west countries, the response was not as positive as the conditions made by the western countries were had to deal with. China saw that as an opportunity to solidify their relationship more and gave Tanzania government some favorable conditions such as the interest rate will only consist 3% and the would pay in 33 years , this was such a shock to the western countries and institutions such as World Bank and the International Finance Monetary. On the other hand most countries were not happy with China wining the offer as they claimed that the offer1965) stated was not public announced and China based contract was silver platter deal due to the long -term friendship which both China and Tanzania share(Cooke 2008)

Trade Relations

China and Tanzania trade and economic relations started way back in 1960s whereby Tanzania source of income was based in agriculture – based economy and its population was only 11 million(Eckert 2013). Furthermore we can see that it was not only political motives which drew China to Africa especially Tanzania, as China was in great demand of raw material, and market to sell their manufactured goods(Eckert 2013). It can be said that in 1957 China had already established trade relations with some of African countries such as Nigeria, Tanganyika, Ghana, and Ethiopia. China used The Uhuru Railway known as Tazara railway and URAFIKI textile to strengthen their trade relationship so by this it meant that China established strong relationship between Tanzania and Zambia, and both two countries were blessed with mineral resources such as copper from Zambia and gold and Tanzanite from Tanzania.

Furthermore China was also to have trade relations and invested in agriculture, infrastructure and industrial projects. Wilson (1965) stated that the two countries enjoyed their trade relation in the 1960s but in the early 1970s their relationship started to deteriorate due to the fact that China was also conducting trade relations with other countries such as west countries and Japan (Cooke 2008).

Furthermore in 2000s especially, during Kikwete presidency China- Tanzania trade relations picked up and China was considered to be number one trade partner and third exporter to Tanzania subsequent to India and Switzerland and China import has increased to 900%. We can also see that despite the rise in their trade relations most Tanzanians can get access and be able to buy Chinese goods even their products does not last for long. Furthermore the bilateral trade seems to be a comprehensive one, whereby Tanzania mainly exports agricultural and mineral products and imports electronic products such as phones , laptops and etc and textiles. It also very important to ask ourselves if the trade is a win – win relationship (Cooke 2008). As see in the graph below, the light blue lines reflect on the negative value between the import and export products. This shows that there has been an increase of import products from China more than the exports ones, furthermore this shows unequal or incommensurate between the two parties. As a result Tanzania has encountered trade discrepancy to China as there has been an increase of trade deficit from \$124 million to 1\$ billion. Looking at the neoclassic theory market it suggests that the trade deficit can be considered as necessarily as a ghastly condition due to the fact that it finds its own way of correcting itself over a certain period of time (Eckert 2013). But in China and Tanzania case this is seen as a worrying matter to economists especially during 2011 and 2016 whereby Tanzania had trade deficit because of turn down in gold and other traditional exports to China and leads to unstable exchange rates (Eckert 2013). Additionally this means that Tanzania Shilling does not have influence / the currency is down and China has been holding it, and this makes more expensive in purchasing manufactured imports from China.

Graph: Direction of Trade in 2014/2015. World Bank National Data and OECD National Accounts Data (2015)

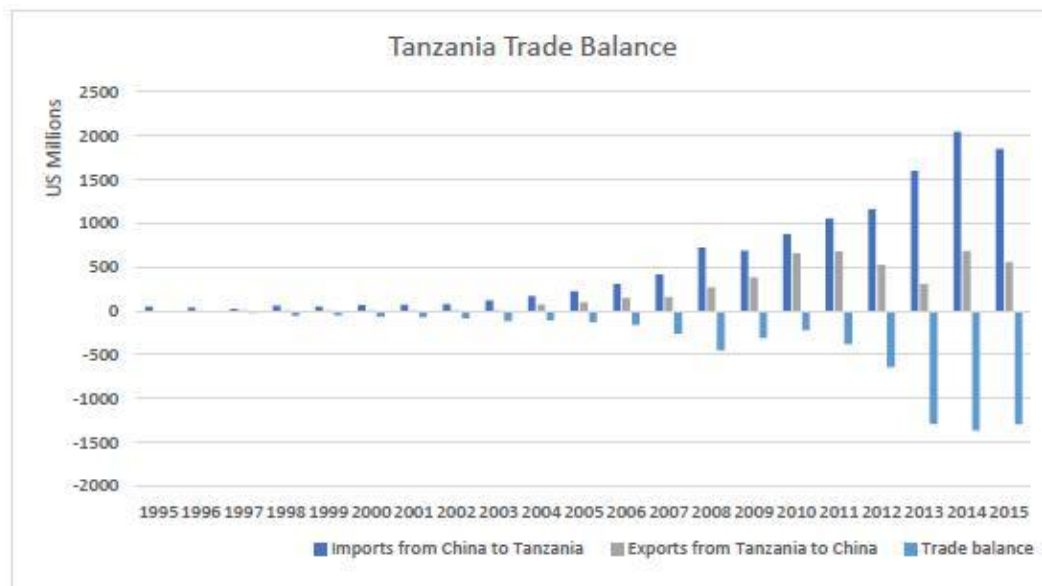


Figure 1: Tanzania Trade Balance

Furthermore it can be said that China – Tanzania trade relationship is a monopoly one as due to their strong bond and long term relationship and there have been critics claiming that China is benefiting more from this trade relationship and Tanzanian official government can do anything about it as they are protecting their partnership(Eckert 2013). Additionally there has also low demand of some raw materials such as cloves, cotton and this has affected both the national income and decline in other trade partners.

Graph indicating Imports from China to Tanzania: World Bank national Data, and OECD National Accounts Data (2015)

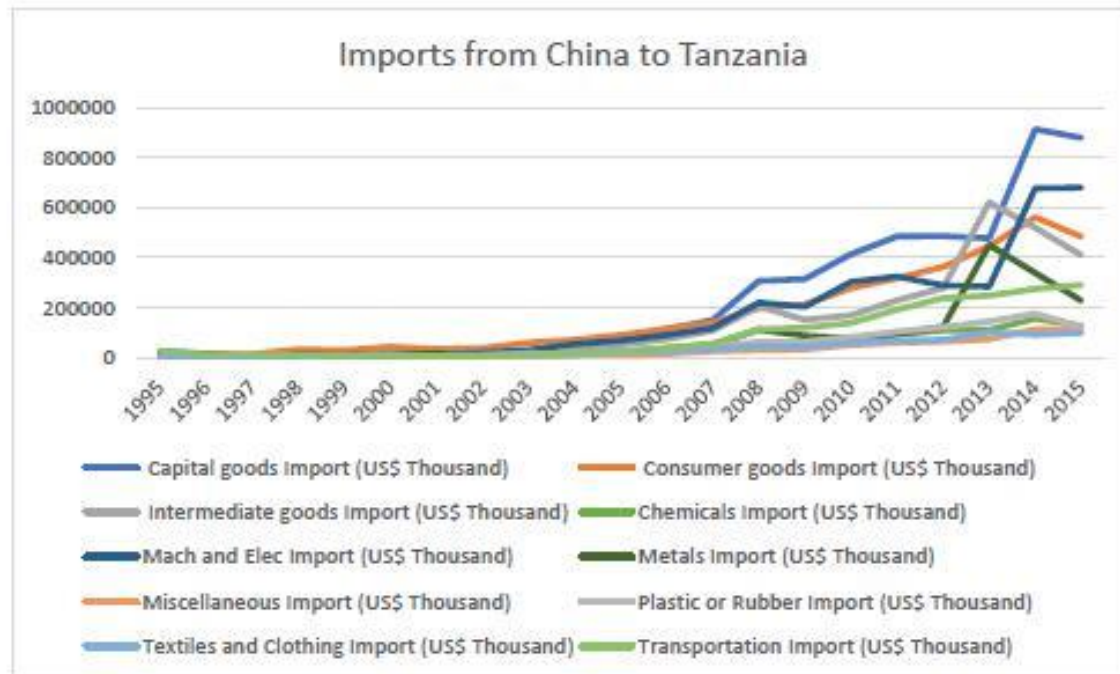


Figure 2: Imports from China to Tanzania

The above graph above indicates the main imports of goods from China to Tanzania from the year 1995 to 2015. Furthermore the main imported goods are considered to be manufactured products/ capital goods such as machinery equipment cars and some processed tools. Additionally the graph also indicates the intermediate goods which can also be related to the capital goods or manufactured ones (Eckert 2013). These are goods which are used to make the most of the final goods, meaning that the goods are used to repairing and assemble of the final products such as cars, and motorbikes. Lastly the import of mechanical and electrol goods which are mostly used for construction of infrastructures such as bridges, roads and railways.

Graph exports from Tanzania to China: World Bank national Data, and OECD National Accounts Data (2015)



Figure 3: Exports from Tanzania to China

The above graph indicates the exports products from Tanzania to China. Tanzania exports. The main exports include raw material such as agriculture products (cloves, sisal, cassava and cotton) and natural resources such as minerals: gold, diamond, Tanzanite and so forth. But still it can be considered that raw materials exported have low value as compared to the manufactured products imported from China (Eckert 2013). Looking at dependency theory it is hard for Tanzania to benefit from this trade relation as Tanzania tends to sell her exports goods as at a low price and the developing nations , or developed nations sell their manufacture goods as at a highly cost though it is very hard for one to abolish this relationship as we both depend from each other , China depend on Tanzania's exports to feed their industries so as Tanzania also depends on China for its manufactured products due to lack of industries. China considers Tanzania as a good trade partner for contribution and productivity of their products (Eckert 2013).

Building Infrastructure

It can be seen that China has been a true partner in assisting Tanzania with the infrastructure investment. China was able to construct Tazara railway in the post-independence period and this has solidify their friendship and brotherhood. In 2013 China made an offer to develop three important ports areas for commercial purposes, this includes Dar es Salaam, Mtwara and Tanga. China Merchants Group (CMG) offered to construct the Bagamoyo port which was expected to handle 20 million containers a year (Eckert 2013). The project was signed during the visit of Chinese President Xi Jinping in 2013, costing \$10 billion by the following year 2014 the work started and it was expected that the port was to become the largest port in East Africa and this could attract different countries to use it and increase the national income. In 2016 the projected was suspended due to the discovery of natural gas in Mtwara, so China opted to renew and improve the Mtwara and Dar es Salaam port so as it can be potential for the extraction of the natural gas. Another considered factor for the suspension of Bagamoyo port is the critics from the Tanzania opposition party where by claimed they needed to recompense the local people who were forced to move in Bigamy (Eckert 2013).

Additionally from year 2011 to 2012 china donated 2.1 billion for infrastructure investments such as building ports, railway, buildings, edifice of wind power farms and gas pipeline. Furthermore in 2017 China signed investment deal with Tanzania for the construction of satellite city the project and the project costs were \$US 1.7.

During the interview China's ambassador to Tanzania stated that China is so considerate and easy to work with underdeveloped countries especially with Tanzania, for instance out of the 10,000 tarmac road constructed in Tanzania , Chinese government charged 6000 km for only \$600,000 while the US and the western countries charged \$1 million.

Education and Cultural exchange - Soft Power

The education and cultural relationship can be traced since 1964 and this created a symbolic relationship between the two countries. But in the beginning of 2000s China increased influence in their relations with Tanzania so as to maintain their soft image. It can be said that in the year 1961 to 2008 the number of student going for studies in China rose to 600 students. Furthermore, more than 2000 students in Tanzania opted to take Mandarin, technology and medicine studies (Eckert 2013).

Furthermore due to the influence which China has in Tanzania , Mandarin is taught at the University of Dar-es –Salaam but still not many Tanzanians are interested in learning the language as the way Chinese experts and diplomats are with learning Swahili language. Additionally China has also opened Confucius institutions at Dodoma University and Dar- es-Salaam University, mainly this is to transfer and share knowledge about their culture mostly hardworking, ethics, value, and respect (Eckert 2013) .In 2014 the two countries were able to celebrate their 50 years of their diplomatic, culture and shared valued relationship, attended by Chinese Vice president Li Yuanchao and Tanzanian Vice president Dry Mohammed Gharib Bilal (Eckert 2013).

Furthermore, China alleged that it would be further important to bring Chinese teachers so as they could help with the Mandarin teaching in Tanzania, In 2015 China government sent 12 teachers to Dodoma , Dar- es – salaam region and Morogoro (Eckert 2013). Additionally China has also managed to have influence in media as China Radio International uses Swahili and Mandarin in broadcasting. But there are also Chinese soap opera broadcasted in Tanzania translated in Swahili such as (Xingfu meibao shidai or Happy Beautiful Era) (Eckert 2013).

Research findings

This research aims at showing to what extent has the Chinese funds, trade and investment in Tanzania contributed to the development of Tanzania especially in Tazara railway, as for my hypothesis it stated that Chinese engagement will have an affirmative such as presence of social and economic development however there are challenges faced by Tanzania government in the engagement with China.

6. Chapter 6: Interviews with Tanzanians: Case study–Visiting Tazara Railway

Is Chinese engagement in Tanzania- source of tension and neocolonialism or good partner?

Drawing from information from my proposal, I developed relevant questions to ask some Tanzania railway managers (attached questions) to fill the gap in the information left by different published material. I conducted interviews with five managers from Tazara – Zambia railway in Dar-es – salaam. The interviewees provided insight thoughts from the China investment in Tanzania especially in Tazara railway, as if it is a new form of colonialism or a true mutual friend which include win - win relationship.

Historical perspective-Tazara railway

It was called mission impossible by the West Tazara railway marks the friendship between the three countries, which are China, Zambia and Tanzania. Furthermore the friendship can be traced back in 1964 when Tanzania and Zambia declared independence. In the following year President Nyerere visited China to ask for help regarding the construction of the railway. Furthermore in 1967 both representative from China, Tanzania, and Zambia signed an agreement in which China promised to provide loans without interest and send experts to help build the railway line. The main reasons of this railway was to facilitate economic development and improvement of people's welfare through trade relations and also help with the movement of liberation struggle people. Moreover the construction began in 1970s but while there was such an enthusiasm the job was harder than expected, furthermore the railway passed through largely inhabited area and it was very easy catch the communicable diseases, such as Malaria and so forth. But also during the construction they faced some serious problems such as technical difficulties, inadequate machinery and so many people died during the construction. Additionally the Chinese experts made 5000 to 6000 trips to complete the project and in 1976 the project was completed and it was the first China largest foreign aid at the time.

Tanzanians reaction to Chinese engagement

As stated above, I was able to visit Tanzania and conducted interview with five managers who work for Tazara railway in Dar-es- Salaam. All the five managers interviewed gave a positive reaction with the construction of the railway and the impact to the local community. But also insisted that there are challenges faced by the passengers and the workers in Tazara. According to the questions asked most responses .The construction of Tazara railway was and still is a successful joint venture and beneficial to both Tanzania and Zambia. Furthermore emphasizing that Tazara has been very instrumental in the economic, social and political development especially in the SADC Region. Furthermore all the five managers insisted that there is no any exploitation between Tanzania and China as the relationship is more beneficial to both parties meaning it is a win – win successfully and mutually co- operative as Chinese gave up a loan of \$500 in construction of Tazara and up to date Tanzania have not paid even a single cent so this is considered to be more of a successful story which could be carried generation to generation. But also this project has created a number of jobs to Tanzanians and it has helped with the reduction of unemployment in Tanzania, but also on the other hand it has helped with improvements in mining especially in Zambia (copper) but also there is agricultural development in terms of large tea, coffee, food, products, industries such as Southern paper Mill, Tanzania Breweries and etc. But also they insisted that businessmen especially from Congo and Zambia use Tazara railway. Additionally, one manager was also keen enough to say that the relationship we have with China is not only about economic , political or social relationship , we consider China as our brother a “friend is need is a friend indeed ”, the strong relationship which Chairman Mao and President Nyerere had was a very strong relationship , we should reflect on our history and continue to work on our relationship but also he insisted that in the past China invested on Textile industry(URAFIKI) in Tanzania so it is important to acknowledge their assistance. During the interview I was also curious in knowing the living conditions of the workers in Tazara railway, due to the fact that they are the one working long hours of time, the response I got was also a positive one as the claimed that Human Resource policy on Trade Union is guided by the Labor Laws of the two countries Tanzania and Zambia. Moreover there are four trade unions and two in each country, which include Tanzania Railway Workers Union (TRAWU), Tazara Workers Unions of Tanzania (TAWUTA), Crew and Allied Worker Union of Zambia (CRAWUR) and Workers Union of Tazara Zambia (WUTAZ) have been recognized by Tazara as

co-operating partners. Furthermore the managers insisted that the workers have a good living conditions plus a reasonable earned salary.

In conducting my interview was also keen enough to know if the investment in standard gauge by Chinese in Tanzania would challenge Tazara railway, the response was that they will be no any challenges which Tazara will encounter as the present agenda on industrialization in Tanzania emphasizes on development, and China assisting Tanzania with building of standard gauge is a beneficial thing / impact to the country and China is looking forward towards investing in infrastructure not only railway but also ports , roads and so forth. Additionally Tazara railway is supporting the new agenda of President Magufuli which is industrialization by serving the Southern Paper Mill Company in Mufindi, Mbeya Cement Company, Magma Coal Mine in Songwe region and SAO Hill Timber Company.

In observing Tazara railway, the railway seems very outdated and I was very concerned if there will be any repair and reconstruction of it, the response was that there are plans to revamp Tazara Railway through cooperation by both governments of Tanzania, Zambia and China and that will be very soon as they are still working on the proposed agenda. Finally In my interview all the five managers had a positive view of China engagement in Tanzania claiming that China has always been a true friend and partner as well.

Observation and Ethnographic pictures - Limitation

Being able to visit Tazara railway was such a fascinating experience thing due to the famous history and relationship which the three countries shared. In my observation Tazara railway is very outdated, one can say it is dying and it needs immediate help to repair the railway. Furthermore the China's ambassador to Tanzania announced in February 2018 that China is willing to help with the construction of the railway due to the strong bilateral relationship between Tanzania and China. Furthermore looking at the workers' houses the living condition is not as pleasant as the way all managers stated and this is considered as a problem in the Tazara railway authority. Furthermore this gives us a second thought regarding wages and working hours. This means that the managers were a bit biased as they only looked at one side of the coin emphasizing only of the positive benefit and did not say much about the challenges faced by the workers or how the railway is in bad condition.

Benefits encountered by Tazara Railway

- ☐ Creation of jobs to the local community
- ☐ Increase of trade and income within the Tanzania and Zambia
- ☐ Good relationship with the neighboring countries – ones using Tazara Railway
- ☐ Provision of infrastructure equipment to Tazara railway such as wagons and locomotives.
- ☐ Provision of railway personnel experts
- ☐ Provision of Training to China regarding railway operation management to Tazara
- ☐ Improvement in agriculture sector
- ☐ Tourism sector – tourists from different countries especially Southern region such as South Africa, Zimbabwe, and Zambia.
- ☐ Rise in Tanzania's GDP – especially through trade and infrastructure sector
- ☐ Building of schools and hospitals near Tazara railway for the development of the local community.

Challenges faced by Tazara railway

- ☐ Lack of Capital and financial assistance in managing Tazara railway
- ☐ Poor repair infrastructure meaning Tazara railway is considered to be beyond repair
- ☐ Low transportation capacity as the train takes long hours
- ☐ Lack of support from Tanzania government.
- ☐ Tazara has failed to maximize its huge potential and its business is deteriorating
- ☐ Poor housing for the workers – outdated

Theoretical Frame work

Common development, Peaceful rising? - Liberalism perspective

China has an inspiration of becoming one of the great powers in the international arena. But one thing to consider China does not want to challenge or dominate the system but only maintain her position as a soft power. China is using mainly objectives in attaining that position which are, true equality and multilateralism. Most Western countries blame China's rise as a threat and insisting that China does not observing human rights when giving Aids to most African countries. Furthermore this research has shown that theory of Liberalism is mostly dominated and used in China and Tanzania engagement this is due to the fact that liberalism has essentially cooperative as a result of interdependence (Nell, 2000:60). Furthermore Liberals view the international system as a governable through emergence of regimes manifested in international regulatory organizations such as the United Nations. One important thing to consider is that Liberalism emphasizes morality in international affairs as a way to ensure cooperation and prevent anarchy (Cliton 2013). Furthermore Liberals view individual rather than states as key economy actors and firms as well as considered as important for creation of wealth. The independent variables being cooperation economic and trade cooperation which has resulted to level of development in Tanzania. Moreover we can see that China prefer the use of soft power such as trade cooperation, diplomatic relations , morality in the international system so as to prevent anarchy. Mostly due to the culture of Confucianism and building a harmonious world of sustained peace and common prosperity, China's economy has been growing steadily over the last decade, and its economy power has strengthen considerably . Thus China's behavior in the international system and relations with Tanzania does easily fit into liberal analytical framework (Taylor 2009).

Furthermore China is committed to peaceful development and mutual understanding of the two countries. Due to their shared history China values Tanzania's friendship and has been able to assist in different sectors such as agriculture, education, Health Aid, building of infrastructure such as Bagamoyo, Mtwara and Dar- es- salaam port, standard gauge, railway, and roads. But also we can see that shared trade between China and Tanzania has increased Tanzania's GDP and this has resulted to rapid growth economic wise. Moreover this relationship has resulted creation of jobs in Tanzania which can be considered has a positive effect in any country.

Tanzanians reactions to Chinese engagement- general reaction

Tanzanians have different range of reactions, which include both positive and negative ones. Most government and political leaders perceive Chinese engagement as a positive thing. Furthermore pointing out China has help Tanzania with economic growth, through trade activities, construction of infrastructure such as roads, railways, ports and also creation of employment to the local workers in Tanzania (Cliton 2013). Furthermore the Tanzania government has gone ahead praising their relationship saying it is one of a kind but David Shinn said that “they have no desire to kill the goose that is laying the golden egg”. But on the other hand there are some government officials who believe that Chinese involvement in Tanzania is considered as a new form of colonialism (Neo colonialism), due to the fact that Tanzania exports raw material of that worth a lot minerals and in return with manufactured goods which are still of low quality ,as they went on describing that China has unfortunate practices at working places especially in mines and factors- long working hours for the workers , low wages , and poor working conditions. But in still majority of Tanzanians perceive China engagement in such a positive way and believe that China wants the best for Tanzania and not otherwise (Cliton 2013).

Indicators for development

Economic significance

In my finding China engagement has resulted to positive development in Tanzania this is through construction of infrastructure, railway, and roads also education through exchange programs and medical aid assistance. Furthermore the trade relations between Tanzania and China has increased and as a result to an increase in Tanzania’s GDP (Cliton 2013). We can see that China has increase in raw materials such as agricultural products such as clove, cotton and sisal, but also we can see increase of demand of minerals such as gold, diamond, iron, and Tanzanite. These products are used to feed Chinese industries. Increase in commodities demand has given a positive effect on commodities prices as well (Cliton 2013).

China engagement in Tanzania has helped with the increase of Tanzania’s GDP. Furthermore we can see that in 1994 the GDP was (\$4.51 Billion) and in 2014 it’s increased to \$48.2 Billion. Since 2005 the GDP has increased and grown to be more than 300%. This has shown a positive effect to Tanzania’s economic growth (Cliton 2013). Additionally the economy is based most in

The agricultural sector through it is trying to diversify it to other sectors such as tourism, manufacturing sector, infrastructure and so forth .For instance China has been able to increase the GDP through public expenditure especially in communication, mining sector and lastly financial services (Cliton 2013).

The statics shows that China's GDP was very low in the years 1980s but soon after the opening up of the market and economic reforms (effect of globalization) their GDP increased. Furthermore China engagement with Tanzania especially during Kikwete presidency in 2005 Changed Tanzania's history in economic sector as there was economic prosperity through trade increase and investment.

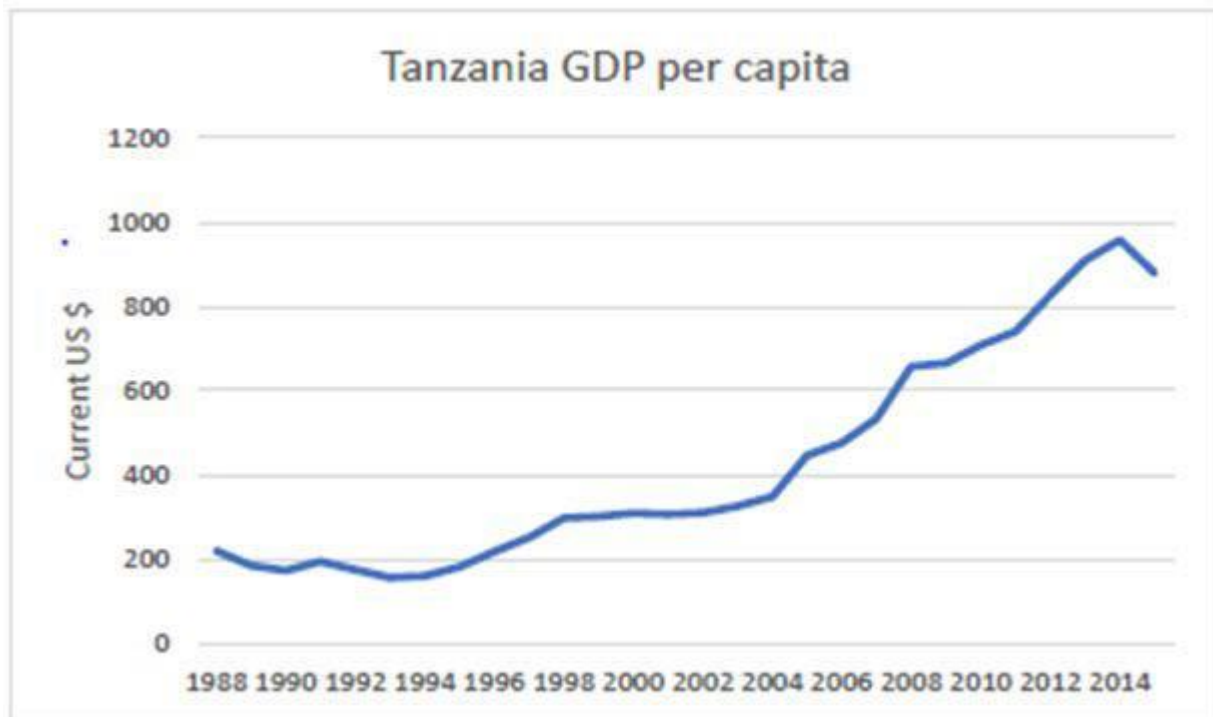


Figure 4: Tanzania GDP per Capital

The Human Development Indicator (HDI) was formed to “emphasize that people and their capabilities should be ultimate criteria for assessing the development of a country, not economic growth alone”. This includes long and healthy life, knowledge and a decent life. Tanzania ranks 151 out of 192 countries with the HDI being 0.53 but we can see that from 2000 to 2010 there has been an increase in the HDI (Bariyo 2011). Moapa established a strong relationship with the west through trade and investment so does Kikwete with the Chinese government. Affordable

Cheap goods from China a considered to be life server due to many Tanzanians cannot afford to buy expensive product from the west or local products because they are very expensive. (Bariyo 2011)

Political significance

China and Tanzania political relationship is based on the common identity which the two countries share such as anti – imperialism, common development, peace and prosperity. Furthermore we can see that both countries enjoy the diplomatic relations established and exchange visits between the two countries. Tanzanians have appreciated the “no string attached” approach and standing on the principles of sovereignty and territorial integrity (Bariyo 2011). The only condition which China gives to most African countries is the recognition of One China policy which is so significance to China.

Furthermore more Tanzania political leaders emphasize that China treats Tanzania as equal partner with mutual respect, equality and like one of them as compared to Western who treats Tanzanians as a former subjects due to the colonialism history (Cliton 2013). But furthermore they complain that West countries have many conditional ties when it comes to Aids and investment and the cost is very high as compared to China, By this it means China and Tanzania are considered to be true friend , who understand each other very well when it comes to development and prosperity.

Challenges

Corruption and Resource waste

Just like any African countries, Tanzania has been facing corruption especially from their leaders. There is a claim that Chinese aid and investment money contribute to the increase of corruption and dishonest leaders take that as an opportunity to enrich them. Furthermore due to policy of non-interference and no strings attached, the policy has made leaders less transparency and accountable. Furthermore we can also see that large sum of money from Chinese investment has also lead to the underdevelopment of the country as most of leaders take corrupt when initiating regarding the licensing , regulations, lands and exports of commodities (Bariyo 2011).

Additionally due to demand of natural resources such minerals, Tanzania is in a position of becoming a resource curse victim due to the depending on the natural resources alone and not diversifying on other sectors. But also the commodity demand has resulted to rent seeking whereby the resources of a company or an organization or even individual to obtain economic gain from others without reciprocating any benefits to society through wealth creation , and this is mostly seen to the government leaders and

political officials(Bariyo 2011) . This can also be explained by poor bureaucratic management. Another problem is that China's Tanzania policy implementation involves a whole a lot of departments, however, without a coordinating body under the State Council, it is difficult for any the Ministry of Foreign Affairs alone to make an overall plans for all sides involved (Bariyo 2011).

Unbalance of Trade

The trade relations between China and Tanzania seem to be unequal one due to the fact that China is benefiting more from the trade. Despite China claiming that their relationship is based on the mutual benefit, win – win situation still like any other country, China is looking for its national interest first(Rupp 2008). China is using three perspectives of realism which are self-help, survival and statism. Every country needs to survive in the global market due to everyone tend to pursue maximum profit of their own. Also another thing to consider is the cheap and low quality manufactured goods. Most Tanzanians might be happy with the affordability but still the low standard and quality of the goods makes the local to fight with them (Rupp 2008).

Clashes with Local Chinese Population – Tanzania

Chinese companies in Tanzania are well known for ill management when it comes to treating of its workers especially in Mines and factors. Most workers are underpaid, poor working conditions, long working hours, bad living condition and preventing the workers from attaining the top managerial position. Many Tanzanians are blaming the government for not be able to implements and law enforcement which will be able to protect the workers (Rupp 2008). This has made Chinese companies not be able to meet the expectation and demands of the population

.For instance URAFIKI textile workers protested in 2004 due to poor working conditions at the textile. Moreover we can also see that Chinese sends their experts and workers to Tanzania to work on different projects such as large scale industrial this makes it difficult for employment in Tanzania, but furthermore China also use their products for their construction and they avoid using the local products for construction. Additionally there are so many Chinese people (Influx) in Tanzania who work in restaurants, and hawkers/ selling second hand clothes as a result the local are very upset due to the fact that the jobs could be done by them – Taking their jobs. Moreover there is also

competition between. Chinese small business actively harms Tanzania by competing with them (Rupp 2008).

Tanzanian government has set a new policy whereby it ensures that Chinese coming from Tanzania needs to provide jobs to locals and not otherwise. In 2011 the deputy Cabinet minister stated that Tanzania welcomes the Chinese investors but not as “vendors or shoe shiners”, jobs which could be done by Tanzanians. China’s Ministry of Foreign Affairs (MFA) is aware of the situation and tension regarding the local people and their Chinese people and by so it encourages the Chinese businessmen not to be so competitive with the local so as to allow the profit and reduce tension between them. Furthermore also encourages that Chinese should form a good relationship with local so as to have peace and harmony.

Little investment in social infrastructure

It can be said that most Chinese companies focus in extraction of natural resources mostly in the remote areas / rural and fail to deliver social services to the local people around such as schools , clinics and other roads. This has really frustrated most Tanzanians as they believe that China is taking advantage of them or it might be the Tanzanians government officials who are taking money for the allocated project (Rupp 2008).

Patterns and Trends: China and Tanzania -Trustworthy Friends and Sincere partners forever

Tanzania and China share the special relationship. This is through sharing of their common objective such as anti – imperialism, anti – colonialism and common development. Furthermore China and Tanzania have elevated their friendship in economic juncture and diplomatic basis. China and Tanzania relationship has not grown overnight the relationship was formed by the two fore fathers Chairman Mao and President Nyerere, till today the relationship has been safe and sound with the strong coordination and collaboration in achieving common development within the two countries(Rupp 2008). There is a Chinese saying which says “when we drink water from the well, we should not forget those who dug it”. We will always honor the memory of all those pioneers who devoted themselves to building China- Tanzania relations. As we move ahead, we can always draw strength from our history”. Sino–Tanzania relationship is based on sincerity, friendship, mutual respect equality, mutual benefit and

common development. China has helped Tanzania with the forming of TPDF (Tanzania People Defence Forces) in 1964. Till today China has been helping Tanzania with the training of soldiers – exchange programs, weapons assistance, and uniforms. Furthermore China has promised Tanzania army to give more support especially in building military colleges, giving of heavy weapons and so forth (Rupp 2008).

Additionally China has promised to expand invest in Tanzania especially infrastructure such as repairing of Tazara railway, but also being able to invest in new projects of Mtwara pipeline construction, Bagamoyo port and building of standard gauge. Moreover China has promised to enhance mutually benefit cooperation in agriculture, through providing pesticides, and fertilizers. Furthermore investing in manufacturing sectors and help Tanzania utilize its wealth of resources so as to have self-governing and sustainable growth (Rupp 2008).

China also has emphasized in providing economic and political assistance with no strings attached so as to help Tanzania prosper. Furthermore the China government is committed to help Tanzania with education especially towards exchange programs in China and Tanzania. Another important aspect is boosting of culture exchange so as to enhance mutual understanding between the two countries and cooperate in each and every sector (Rupp 2008).

7. Chapter 7: Conclusion and prospects for Further Research

China's engagement with Tanzania has always remained both politically and economically strong. China and Tanzania still share the socialist "friendship" as the founder of their nations Chairman Mao and President Nyerere had the strong bond. China was committed to assist Tanzania way back, with the construction of Tazara railway and Urafiki Textile Mill. China and Tanzania relationship has both opportunities and challenges. China developing a strong relationship with Tanzania in the 2000s was considered as a way forward towards development, however just like any western country China had a self – interest manner whereby with the demand of natural resources from Tanzania as resulted into both resource curse , rent seeking and corruption.

China is more likely to change course in Tanzania due to the clashes with the local regarding poor management such as poor working conditions to its workers, not hiring the local, and lastly competition from the local industries.

Competition from the western countries should also be encouraged; we can see that China is relaxed due to the fact that USA does not have so much influence in Tanzania. However, Tanzania government should strengthen their bilateral relationship with western countries so as it can pressurize China in delivering its service to Tanzania as there has been a complain that Chinese products are of low quality – substandard and even the roads built by the Chinese are not of a high standard .

In conducting my Interview at Tazara railway the managers said so highly of Chinese engagement but when it came to challenges faced they were reluctant to say what exactly is happening at the railway especially to the workers and how outdated the railway seemed to be. Saying this it is important for the next research to involve even workers regardless of their position.

Prospects for China – Tanzania Cooperation

China and Tanzania are great two partners and this is due to their shared history and common goal of development but despite saying that there are challenges faced by this relationship. First, the most of western media and institutions speak ill of China engagement in Africa clamming that it is a threat to the International system, and it is a new form of colonialism (Neo colonialism) and abuse of human rights , but this is the same thing that is happening to America as well. I think these arguments should be ignored, and both China and USA should work together so as to help African states particular Tanzania to develop (Rupp 2008).

Use of soft power: Media, Culture and people to people exchange

There should be more use of soft power so as to solidify the relationship between Tanzania and China. China's rising has perceived wrongly by most of the western media and negatively towards Africa. China engagement in Africa is considered to be a new form of colonialism (neo colonialism and what China wants from Africa is the extraction of its raw material such as expensive minerals however expanding China's media will have a positive side and influence in

Africa and Tanzania in general. In his speech Ambassador of China to Kenya stated that "In this era of development and globalization media plays a crucial role in the role of International relations and foreign policies. Unfortunately, in today's setting dominant information mainly flow as from the few developed countries to developing countries. Stories and information from developing countries are often edged out. This reality

created a serious gap that affects how developing countries view themselves and the rest of the world” (Guangyuan 2013). By that statement China should invest in media and broadcasting, like establishing a broadcasting centre in Dare-es- Salaam as they did in Kenya with CCTV (Chinese Central Television).

Furthermore there should be more cultural interaction such as teaching mandarin in Tanzania and Swahili in China, this will facilitate good relation and bring people together. But also China should be able to increase Confucius Institutes in Tanzania so as it can be easy for Tanzania to learn from China especially in ethics, value, hard working, and respect. Also there should also be exchange programs for universities , think tanks , nongovernment organization so as it can help two sharing the knowledge and prosper producing young intellectuals and aspiring leaders . The knowledge shared should be more in technology but also this will create formal link between Tanzania local government and Chinese people.

Investing more in Health Aid

China should expand its medical Aid in Tanzania such as anti- malaria campaigns due to the fact that Tanzania is one affected by Malaria. Furthermore it should also expand medical training, financing for clinics and hospital so as to reduce the increase of infections. China should also be able to employ medical training programs to their hospitals this will create employment to the local people. Lastly China should focus more on healthy diplomatic on the construction of the clinics.

A great Space left for Sino- Tanzania trade and investment

We can see that there is still a huge potential for China and Tanzania trade cooperation. The two sides should expand trade in processing it, service outsource, technology transfer, project contacting. Furthermore more Chinese enterprises should be encouraged to invest in Tanzania due to the new agenda of industrialization, and this will result into skill transfer and increase economic growth.

Explore New Forms of Aids and economic Trade cooperation

It is important for both China – Tanzania to rethink about their economic relations; this is due to the fact that there are unequal trade relations between the two parts. China tends to benefit more from this trade relationship as compared to Tanzania. New policies should also be implemented and win – win cooperation would become more prominent. At the same time it is important for China to bundle aid, trade and invest to widen channels of economic and trade cooperation.

Continue to strengthen Tanzania's infrastructure

We can see that the infrastructure constructed by Chinese government has facilitated commercial development in Tanzania. But still China should be able to help Tanzania in constructing more ports, railways, standard gauge and roads, this high quality and not substandard ones.

Broaden China – Tanzania agricultural cooperation

Tanzania is blessed with abundant land and water resources. It has great agricultural resources as well. Once drawing on China's agriculture intensification technology and experience and coupled with building water reserved facilities, this can give a way for Tanzania to achieve food self-sufficient.

Effective bureaucratic system in Tanzania

Establishing a strong bureaucratic system which will work with Chinese investors for the development of Tanzania. This means that there should be check and balance in the leaders, transparency so as to end corruption in the country. Every leader should be accountable regardless of the position he or she is having.

7.1 Recommendation for further studies

China – Africa relationship been criticized by the western countries. China is seen as new colonial master who is not observing human rights. Further research should be conducted on comparative study of China, USA and Africa so as to get a depth analysis of the particular countries.

USA and western policy makers do not understand on how China views Africa and what factors shapes China towards Africa.

More research should be conducted on Chinese migration implications in Tanzania, as there has been an increase in Chinese migration to Africa.

Further research should be conducted on Tazara railway regarding the workers conditions and what to be improved.

QUESTIONS (INTERVIEW GUIDE)

1. Identify key characteristics of the China-Africa relationship

a) Has there been so far more of benefits or setbacks realized as a result of Chinese engagement in the areas of infrastructure? (Tazara railway) What is the extent of the success and failure stories? - Challenges encountered by Tazara railway.

2. Look at the relationship between two entities if mutually beneficial or otherwise (Win –win situation)?

a) How can you entail the China-Tanzania relationship in terms of benefits realized on the two associating countries?

b) China being among the super powers with its rapid advancement in technology is in a strong and favorable position to adversely exploit Tanzania who is lagging behind technologically and economically. What is view on such a scenario? Are Tanzanians substantially ready to retaliate the exploitation?

3. Explore the impact of China's historical relationship with Africa and investment in Tanzania.

a) How can you describe the impacts realized as a result of China engagement through investment in Tanzania over the course of the relations?- Tazara railway

b) On what basic areas during their period in Tanzania have Chinese directed their investment efforts in Tanzania? Do they focus on the same areas today as it was the case in prior years? If there is a change in focus, why did they have to change their concentration? What were the impacts on the areas concerned in the past and what are impacts realized in areas focused on today?- (Can this be a challenge to Tazara railway new standard gauge?)

c) What is your perspective with regard to Tazara, taking into account of the present agenda on industrialization in Tanzania?

d) What is the Tazara Human resource policy(HR) with regard to workers Union both sides of partnering consistent to government?- social welfare of the workers

e) To what extent have the region along Tazara railway taken advantage in creating regional development program and how is Tazara helping to achieve that end? – Social development?

- f) Tazara was constructed under Chinese government assistance. Is the Chinese government or her corporation forthcoming in terms of major investment in the new strategy for Tazara? -
- g)** There is a claim on the railway station that it has been over time in its aging and outdated even? Are there any strategies or policies taken to improve its infrastructure? - Policies and strategies?

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Below are the photos taken during my data collection at Tazara railway in Dare-Salaam, Tanzania on the 15th March 2018. The photos show the railway which was constructed by the Chinese government.









