DECLARATION

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

Signed: _________________________________ Date: __________________

Ebiede, Tonye Marclint (ID.NO: 646957)
Research Student

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

Signed: _________________________________ Date: __________________

Dr. Richard Bosire
Supervisor.

Signed: _________________________________ Date: __________________

Dr. Tom L.S Onditi
Dean, School of Humanities and Social Sciences.

Signed: _________________________________ Date: __________________

Ambassador Prof. Ruthie Rono.
Deputy Vice Chancellor Academic Affairs.
DEDICATION

To the **OMNISCIENCE** whose glory cannot be shared with any man.
ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

This thesis could not have been accomplished without the help, contributions, and support of some families, lecturers, as well as colleagues.

At the foremost, I would like to thank God Almighty for his grace throughout my graduate studies and thesis writing research process. I thank him for providing for me with strength and creativity needed to make this study a reality.

Secondly, I wish to express my sincere abundant gratitude to my parents Mr. and Mrs. Clinton Ebiede, though I have been away from home for long, you have continued to encourage and support me through prayers, motivation, and finance. Thank you for continuing the conversation with me and encouraging me throughout my life to pursue those situations which will give me something to say instead of just something to talk about.

To my brother and teacher, Tarila Marclint Ebiede you are my biggest critic and biggest supporter, you have believed in me against all the odds, your continued support towards my academic success and career growth is overwhelming. I sincerely appreciate your support and guidance financially and morally for me to achieve my goals. May God Almighty bless you in your endeavors. To the rest of my brothers and Sisters who have always believed in me, may the Almighty God bless you.

To Dr. Richard Bosire, a man of encouragement and critique. I am grateful for his supervision, guidance, support and brilliant suggestions on the content and structure of this thesis. I also appreciate the panel readers, Dr. Oscar, Professor Simeon Sungi and Dr. Elijah Munyi for their critiques and support during my thesis defense.

To my Pastor, Victory Ahuaza and members of the World International Sacred Peace Movement-Kenya branch I thank God, I met you all and for your encouragement, assistance
and prayers in times of trouble. May God, bless you. Thanks to my friends and fellow students, most especially Emmanuel Tabi Ebot, Guy Fineman, Gathoni Kimani, Sara Chan and Ahmed Mohammed Bulle I appreciate the fun we shared and strength we gave each other when the journey got tough. It helped to know that I was not running the race alone.
ABSTRACT

This work set out to analyze the nature and impact of Chinese aid on Nigeria-China relations. It was also carried out to explore the extent which Chinese aid influences foreign policy and trade relations between Nigeria and China.

The study sample is Nigeria as they are high recipients of Chinese aid and soft loans in Sub-Saharan Africa. Data was collected from secondary sources such as journal articles, book chapters, memos and government official reports. Descriptive statistics was adopted in forms of tables, charts, graphs and bar charts which were utilized to describe the trend of the result. Hence, the research methodology is a mixed method, using both qualitative and quantitative methods and relying on secondary data collection.

Theoretically, the thesis is based on interdependence theory. It helps to explore Chinese aid and Nigeria-China relations in three perspectives. The first is promotion and means to secure strategic geographical interest, secondly is in exchange of resources, and lastly to a market for Chinese goods in Nigeria. The study affirms the secretive nature of data on Chinese aid to recipient countries, although, the amount of Chinese aid is growing in countries with mineral resources in Africa.

The impact of Chinese assistance on trade and economy also seems to have more negative than positive on trade with Nigeria and Sub-Saharan Africa countries. The study concludes that interdependence between China and Nigeria is growing domestically as both sides need each other for long-term strategic interrelations markets despite the imbalances.
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<tr>
<td>CCEC</td>
<td>China Civil Engineering Construction Corporation</td>
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<tr>
<td>DAC</td>
<td>Developmental Assistance Committee</td>
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<td>DOFA</td>
<td>Department of Foreign Aid</td>
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<tr>
<td>DPRK</td>
<td>Democratic People’s Republic of Korea</td>
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<tr>
<td>EXIMBANK</td>
<td>Export-Import Bank</td>
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<td>FAO</td>
<td>Food Agricultural Organization</td>
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<td>FDI</td>
<td>Foreign Direct Investment</td>
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<td>FOCAC</td>
<td>Forum on China-Africa Cooperation</td>
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<td>IMF</td>
<td>International Monetary Fund</td>
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<td>MOF</td>
<td>Ministry of Finance</td>
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<td>MOFCOM</td>
<td>Ministry of Commerce</td>
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<td>MOFA</td>
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<td>MOFHE</td>
<td>Ministry of Health and Education</td>
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<td>MOU</td>
<td>Memorandum of Understanding</td>
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<td>NMA</td>
<td>Non-Aligned Movement</td>
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<tr>
<td>NIGCOMSAT-1</td>
<td>Nigeria Communication Satellite- One</td>
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<tr>
<td>ODA</td>
<td>Official Development Assistance</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>OECD</td>
<td>Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PRC</td>
<td>Peoples Republic of China</td>
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<tr>
<td>SSA</td>
<td>Sub-Sahara Africa</td>
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<tr>
<td>UN</td>
<td>United Nations</td>
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<td>US</td>
<td>United States</td>
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<td>UNSC</td>
<td>United Nations Security Council</td>
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<td>USD</td>
<td>United States Dollar</td>
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CHAPTER ONE

INTRODUCTION

1.1. Background of Study

China’s growing involvement in Africa regarding aid, trade, and foreign relations has drawn intense scrutiny from traditional donors (Deborah, 2011; Lyman, 2005). This has led to the question of whether Chinese Aid and collaboration leads to development benefits for countries in Africa (Margret and Zheng, 2001). Although China-Africa relations have recently come under scrutiny, China’s involvements with Africa dates back to the early days of the independence movements in the 1960s and before (Patrick, 2013; Alaba, 2010). However, the present level of Chinese involvement in Africa is taking different dimension (Princeton, 2006). Sino-Africa relationship has grown noticeably over the last five decades and this period is categorized into three separate periods within this time frame (Judith, 2006; Alden, 2008).

The first phase was the establishment of diplomatic relations between China and African states as they gained independence. The second is the period when China was given a permanent seat and replace Taiwan in the United Nations Security Council (UNSC) in 1971 is the second phase. The third stage is the post-Maoist period and the liberation and growth experience in the Chinese economy (Judith, 2006). Since the 1950’s, China-Africa relations were largely influenced by China’s aspiration for international recognition and political or international alliances against the capitalist movements. Before this, Africa was of little significance (Judith, 2006).

China's foreign assistance to countries in Africa started in the 1950's (Zheng, 2016; Deborah, 2011) and had grown to be the largest developing country to providing aid (Zheng, 2016; Naohiro and Yukinori, 2014). Aid from China to countries in Africa has rapidly
expanded because of China’s remarkable economic growth (Nahorio and Yukinori, 2014). China’s Foreign Aid began in 1950 when China provided aid to neighboring countries such as Democratic Republic of Korea (DPRK) and Vietnam. However, it was in 1956 when China began to give aid to countries in Africa (White Paper, 2011; Marek 2012, 2010; Deborah, 2008).

In the early 1950’s and 1960’s China viewed Africa as an insignificant partner in international politics, while most African states (including Nigeria) inside this period additionally saw China as a neutral state (Utomi, 2008). Countries in Africa, such as Nigeria, did little to foster business or even foreign and diplomatic relations with Asian Countries (Utomi, 2008). However, Lyman (2005) asserts that things have changed. China has shown interest in extractive industries and particularly in oil. With Angola and Nigeria being the largest producers of oil in Africa, both countries have witnessed increasing Chinese presence, and Nigeria’s market is open to Chinese goods (Margret and Zheng 2011; Lyman, 2005).

In July 2005 China and Nigeria signed 800 million dollars’ crude oil sales agreement setting the motion of an annual purchase by China of 30,000 barrels a day for five years (Lyman, 2005). China's Foreign Ministry spokesperson, Jiang Yus explains that “Chinese aid to Africa has been a means to enhance foreign policy relations between China and recipient states” (Armstrong, 2013). This statement clearly depicts the main reason for this research thesis. It captures not just the intent of the research thesis, but it has fueled contentious academic debates and deliberations with scholars, media and international political circles on the increasing nature of China's developmental aid to Africa.

This growth is, therefore, the reason behind this increase in China's aid as well as the impact of these aid on recipient states with a case study Nigeria. This research work intends to explore China's growing assistance in Nigeria as an instrument of interstate foreign policy
and trade behavior towards one another. The international attention China has given to Africa regarding its foreign policy goals is part of the agenda of Chinese political leadership. It is claimed that China has affected Africa in aid amounting to about $44 billion dollars over the past five decades (Wenran, 2008).

Bilateral China-Nigeria relations is evolving faster and having significant impacts on more people and the country foreign relations (Margaret and Zheng, 2011). The Asian giant and world's most populous country with a population of about 1.32 billion (Brandon, 2007), meets the African giant and Africa most populated country. With a population of about 170 million (Bangbese, 2009). With aims to become one of the world's top 20 economies (Margaret and Zheng, 2011). Nigeria relations with China have grown in the last decade from the limited and intermittent contact that marked the immediate post-independence era to an increasingly complex and expensive engagement (Utomi, 2008). The relationship between the two ‘giants’ People's Republic of China (PRC) and The Federal Republic of Nigeria formally established diplomatic relations with China in February 1971 (Margaret and Zheng, 2011).

Likely, as a result of growing frustration with conditionality associated with aid from western donors, Nigeria relationship with China increased in the year 2003 as there was a dire need for improved infrastructure and economic development under the democratic government of Olusegun Obasanjo (Margaret and Zheng, 2011). There are several kinds of literature on Chines aid to Africa and its growing relationship with Nigeria in various sectors (Shelton 2001. Rupp, 2008). The study used available data that examines the impact of Chinese aid flow to Nigeria within the period of study and look at how it has had effects on Sino-Nigeria relationship.


1.2 Statement of Problem

This research is about the role of Chinese development aid, within the recipient country using Nigeria as a case study. In as much as Chinese aid has increased as noted by Rupp (2008), African states should ensure the use of China's aid to grow relations with China to work to their advantage.

The problems that foreign aid has brought forth have had a significant impact on how states conduct their foreign policies and interstates relations. This is because foreign aid assistance could be used as a tool to conduct inter-state diplomatic and foreign policy behavior especially for developing countries and Africa at large. China’s official development aid (ODA) is most likely to influence countries foreign policies and relations. Hence, the study seeks to understand the role of Chinese aid on its relations with Nigeria.

Nigeria, like most other African states; is faced with rising debt and the economy rely heavily on foreign Aid and large revenue of oil production and exploration. Since independence on October 1st, 1960, Nigeria has received a significant amount of foreign aid and development assistance from western donors and several international agencies. However, in the last two decades, China has increased its foreign development assistance to Nigeria; thus, it is to this point the study seeks to find out if this has improved China-Nigeria relations. Chinese aid seems to be the new beacon of hope for potential development partners such as Nigeria. The last two decades have seen a considerable increase in these relations; a situation primarily due to the donor non-interference policy held by China and the Asian countries in general.

Like every other aid donor, China uses foreign aid to advance their foreign policy interests (Axel, Dreher and Fuchs, 2011). China claims to maintain non-imposing political views, ideas or principles when giving aid to recipient countries. However, being cautious of neo-colonialism and imperialism one needs to understand how this aid flows and support China-
Nigeria relations, using available data to map out the change in the relationship and increased Chinese aid into Nigeria, and knowing how Nigeria's foreign policy and relations towards China has changed in the period of 1999-2015. Hence, how do these increased aid flows from China to Nigeria influence foreign policy relations between Nigeria and China?

The gap of the study is how aid has influenced Nigeria and China relationship? Alternatively, has it had no effect at all on the relationship between China and Nigeria? All these questions continue to be the central position in the debate on China-Nigeria relations.

1.3 Research Objectives
1. To assess the historical origins of China's aid to Africa: Nigeria
2. To explore the nature of Chinese aid flow to Nigeria
3. To analyze the impact of Chinese aid on Nigeria-China Relations
4. To examine other factors that explain Nigeria-China relations.

1.4 Research Questions
1. What is the history of Chinese aid to Nigeria?
2. What is the nature of Chinese aid flow to Nigeria?
3. What is the impact of Chinese aid on Nigeria-China Relations?
4. What other factors explain Nigeria-China relations?

1.5 Hypothesis
Chinese aid influence China-Nigeria relations.

1.6 Significance
Previous studies on China’s aid have largely focused on Africa on a general context and mainly from traditional donor’s authors, who have tried to understand the mask behind the increase of China’s aid to Africa and in so doing China’s developmental assistance has faced severe criticism from most western authors. China’s aid is depicted by this study as an independent variable that influences Nigeria China foreign and trade relations since 1999 when Nigeria became a democratic country.
The debate, for some time now has been on whether Chinese aid is personalized with the intention of exploiting African natural resources in the guise of developmental assistance. However, this research seeks to bring balance and objectivity on the subject matter by presenting available data showing the distinct phases of Chinese aid to the continent regarding foreign policy, trade, to name but these.

To fully understand the significance of China’s aid to China-Nigeria relations or as an actor influencing the relationship between the two states, the existing scholarly gap on foreign policy and aid needs to be addressed. China aids in Africa has continuously increased and to an extent exercise some level of influence in relations with recipient state. This study, therefore, attempts to provide information aimed at assisting policymakers and scholars to take a more active role in understanding the role of China’s aid as an influencing factor in recipient state policies and relations towards China.

This study could be of benefit to the Nigeria parliament, ministry of foreign affairs, ministry of finance and policy makers, and could help students understand the effectiveness of Chinese aid on China-Nigeria relations. Hence, to provide a vivid understanding of Chinese aid as a tool to improve states relationship. Also, China’s developmental assistance as a growing phenomenon that is likely to influence recipient states relationship may be useful to other researchers and scholars in the field of international relations and international political economy. Hence, providing a stepping stone for further study and research on Chinese aid and its relationship with recipient states.

1.7. Definitions of Terms

1.7.1. **Foreign Aid**: Developmental aid as referred to by Jerker et al., (1997) is a global phenomenon that originated from the post-cold war period, and it encompasses several institutions both bilateral as well as multilateral, solely employ in giving aid to poor and developing nations. Maurits Van Der Veen (2011) gave an earnest and idealistic definition of
aid, stating that it is an innovation introduced by the politics of modern age into the practice of foreign policy. In this study, Foreign aid is a bilateral and multilateral act of donating in cash or kind to countries what they deem needed in other to achieve a particular foreign policy relations and objectives.

1.7.2. Foreign Policy: foreign policy as defined by Ryan et al., (2012), can be divided into two aspects. The first aspect is to understand the meaning of foreign which as described by Ryan et al. (2012) is meant to apply policy toward the world outside states geographical boundaries, secondly policy is a set of rules officially implemented by states in other to guide their relationship with other countries. Using this definition in this study, foreign policy will be described as a set of rules by states or actors to pursue an interest outside its boundaries.

1.8. Scope and Limitations
One significant limitation would be time and space since this study must be finalized within a period of context and limited to a certain length. This thesis will be restricted since not all aspect of China’s aid to Africa can be covered. Rather, the research is limited to China’s developmental assistance and relationship with Nigeria.

The research thesis recognizes some essential weaknesses. It will concentrate on the period of 1999-2015, the period Chinese foreign policy strategy to Africa changed from ideological liking to a talk of key partnership and necessary development motivation. This research maintains the following noteworthy limitations. It concentrated from 1999 when China re-drew its association with Nigeria on a popularity based stage of administration.
CHAPTER TWO

LITERATURE REVIEW

2.0 Introduction

As already clearly established the study of Chinese aid and its growing relationship with Nigeria within the period of study is an integral aspect of the research as it underpins the very fabric of China’s interest in Nigeria vis a versa Nigeria Interest in China. It is against this background that various authors have added their opinions and analysis of growing Chinese aid and the Africa States relationship. This study samples some of these scholars and their debates. This chapter presents literature reviewed and theoretical framework in line with the research objectives. It discusses the history of China’s foreign aid and the key objectives of China’s aid to Africa; the Nature of China’s aid to Africa and Nigeria. The impact of China’s aid on Nigeria-China relations; and other factors that explain China-Nigeria relations.

In reaction to the statement; it is to state that though there is clearly quite a lot of literature on aid in Africa (Easterly, 2008, Roger, 1987; Roger, 2007; Jerker, et al, 1997; Brautigham, 2008, 2011, 2012; Leslie and Rachel, 2004). They tend to focus on Western Donors and those of OECD Development assistance committee (DAC), except for Deborah Brautighan (2008, 2009, 2011, 2012) of which some of her publications has tended to study the influx of China’s aid into Africa. However, for clarification purpose, it should be noted that the Chinese are not members or part of the DAC.

2.1. Conceptual Analysis of Aid

Aid as a concept has been dominated by developed countries of the west either through bilateral and multilateral agreement, administered by the International Monetary Fund (IMF), World Bank, and United Nations (UN). Over the years, the OECD development assistance committee (DAC), which is used by the west to facilitate aid to developing
countries, in the process of adopting changes regarding their approach; however, they began to experience new rising aid donor power with competition from emerging economies.

China fueled by decades of economic growth and with interest to expand International activities, by offering loans for infrastructure development and trade flexibility to countries in Africa. Without conditionalities towards good governance and transparency as always requested and guided by Western donor agencies such as IMF and world bank aid and loans (Aibanga & Brokow, 2010).

China’s aid to Africa has and continue to spark contentious debates and discussions within scholars and students of international relations and other social sciences. This is seen mostly as a partial explanation, which is through the various comments postulated by political realist or oppositionist of China’s aid to Africa who conceptualizes growing China’s aid and relationship as an “old wine in a new bottle” with a “made in China” (Jean-Pierre, 2010).

2.2. Historical Background of Aid

The various names and terms used to identify aid varied, as various scholars have different conceptual explanations. Some call it foreign aid (Stephen, 2008), others preferably called it International assistance, and to some International development cooperation (Degnbol-Martinussen and Engberg-Pedersen, 1999). Nevertheless, whatever normative term used to label Aid, it is a subject that is complex and fragmented (Peter, 1997).

The historical arguments behind the development of Aid as a concept in International Relations can be traced back to the period of the 1950s. Degnbol-Martinussen and Engberg-Pedersen, (1999) posit that developmental assistance as a concept originated with the idea of USA foreign Minister George C. Marshall in 1947 to give enormous aid to European states in order to reconstruct them economically after world war II, basically what is known as the “Marshall Plan.” Stephen Browne (2006) acknowledge the origin mentioned above postulate
that development assistance began with the famous heady words from former US President Harry Truman which he states that;

More than half of the people of the world are living in conditions approaching misery. Their food is inadequate, they are victims of disease, and their economic life is primitive and stagnant. Their poverty is a handicap and a threat both to them and to more prosperous areas.

For the first time in history, humanity possesses the knowledge and skill to relieve the suffering of these people (Browne, 2006). Jerker et al (1997) further clarifies developmental assistance or aid as a global phenomenon of the post-war era, which has grown and has given rise to several multilateral and bilateral institutions with the sole purpose to deliver aid to developing countries.

The motives for giving and receiving aid or developmental assistance varies from states to states and from actors to actors. Over the years from the inception of aid the motives have significantly Changed (Degnbol-Martinussen and Engberg-Pedersen, 1999). Using the Marshal plan the reasons of aid tends to be based on national security and commercial considerations, as this was central in the foreign policy of the US in the 1950s to 2000’s. Nevertheless, after the era of 1950’s the motives behind aid changed, as the emphasis was placed by the US government and other western donor as an obligation to help countries develop economically.

2.3. Origin of Chinese aid in Africa

Aid and developmental assistance is a phenomenon that was born out of world war II. Which has attained a dynamic growth and led to the rise of states and development institutions that are either bilateral or multilateral (Carlos & Nicolas, 2010; Jerker, Gloria, & Nicolas, 1997; Joanna, 2001; Roger, 2007). This Philosophy of aid and development assistance was later applied to other parts of the world from Latin America to Africa and Asia (Carlos & Nicolas, 2010). Sub-Sahara Africa (SSA) which currently receives the highest
share of official development assistance (Carlos & Nicolas, 2010) has been related to the colonial relationship with donor states (Roger, 2007; Carlos & Nicolas 2010). Aid flows to African countries ideally began in 1960’s when the most state in Africa was granted Independence (Roger, 2007). However, in 1970’s, aid flow to Africa states increased because of the emergence of multilateral and Scandinavian aid donors (Carlos & Nicolas).

Efem N, Ubi (2014) explains how some emerging economy like China began to challenge the current International and traditional aid donors by giving out an enormous amount of aid, both in cash and in kind to Africa countries. Ubi (2010) emphasizes that China share the same history of oppression and underdevelopment with Africa, hence China deemed itself to be of better position to vitally assist Africa after about three decades of economic growth; as this will help Africa to emulate Chinese experience in growth, development, and poverty reduction (Efem, 2014).

Then again, Tan-Mullins et al. (2010) observe the historical events of China as an emerging donor to Africa. By Stating that, China and other developing aid donors in Africa wander into active aid dating as far back as the period of the cold war time frame and past (Tan-Mullins et al., 2010). Besides, rising aid donors in Africa, for example, China emerged in 1980’s and 1990’s regardless of DAC domination of Aid Giving, depicting this increase in consent to McMicheal (2000) as an ideological and geopolitical move (Tan-Mullins et al.).

Giorgia & Marco (2014) on the other hand categorize China’s aid giving in Africa into three perspectives, the authors observe that China cannot be classified as a “new” or an “emerging” aid donor (Girogia & Marco, 2014). Given that it had started aid giving to Africa and other parts of developed countries since Maoist Period (Girogia & Marco, 2014; Deborah, 2011; Naohiro and Yukori, 2014). Before that era, China’s aid enters its second face with little growth in 1970’s (Girogia & Marco, 2014) and its final and present stage evolved in 1990’s when China’s aid to Africa and other developed countries grow beyond
political motivations. To more strategic ones placing emphasis on the achievement of mutual
economic benefits (Girogia & Marco, 2014). To an extent, these three epochs of Chinese aid
to Africa and rest of the world provide a platform that shows the evolution and origin of
Chinese Aid to Africa. This gives an insight on the evolutionary process that has engulfed
Chinese as an aid donor state.

Kristian & Comte (2010) argues in support of the above, stating that; China is not new
to foreign aid, but rather it is re-emerging rather than emerging. Africa countries have been
beneficiaries of Chinese aid for almost 50 years (Kristian & Comte, 2010) and with this,
Chinese relationship has experienced gradual change from ideological promotion to the use
of economic policy tools to pursue foreign policy agenda’s (Kristian & Comte, 2010).

In 2006, China declared that year to be “The Year of Africa” (Kenneth, 2013) and
which China it went on to Published the popular “China African Policy” which china’s aid to
Africa was one of the objectives pursued by the China-African Policy (Kenneth, 2013).
Agubamah (2014) view Nigeria and China relations on a bilateral and general periscope
stating that Nigeria first had diplomatic contact with China in 1960 upon attainment of
independence.

Diplomatic ties were officially established in 1971 between the two countries when China
was admitted into the United Nations Security Council (Xiaoyn 2008). However, Chinese aid
to Nigeria experienced a change and growth in 2002 under former President Olusegun
Obasanjo administration; it was mostly bilateral aid which was given by China to Nigeria to
improve the economic and social development in Nigeria which eventually contributed to
boosting the relationship between China and Nigeria. Annually, from the period of 2002
Chinese aid to Nigeria was estimated about sixteen million USD (Xiaoyn, 2008). However,
data on Chinese foreign aid to Nigeria is quite difficult to put a figure on because of the fact
that China does not release complete data on its aid to countries; this as a result of the fact
that China government posit that released data on Chinese aid to countries could lead to other countries asking for more and likely to affect policy making in China.

Data from China’s aid statics and that which is in scholarly literature on foreign aid do not correspond in any way as most of the data are based on assumptions on trade, foreign direct investment (FDI) all categorized as aid. In reaction to this, some scholars (David, 2008; Lum et al., 2009) argued that China’s aid is inflated by the government of China. However, it still does not cover the fact that China’s foreign aid is driven primarily by the need for natural resources and diplomatic objectives which this paper intends to focus.

2.4. Nature of Chinese aid to Nigeria

The concept and nature of China’s aid generally to Africa has been dynamic over the past three decades (Brautighan, 2011). Aid to the continent has been increasing and expanding to various developmental sectors of the continent. Chinese aid has been given to support the economic, educational, technological, and infrastructural sectors in Nigeria for over a decade.

Aid or international development assistance describes a donation given to developing countries by wealthy nations so that the former can meet the primary needs of their citizens (Paula, 1998). This explanation is to a considerable extent simple but inaccurate, as aid is not just for developing countries, and does not necessarily meet developmental needs of the recipient countries; it also has economic, diplomatic, and political strings attached. To China, its developmental assistance is more of an economic system that enables a larger means of investment, development and forester trade deals between countries.

The first phase of Chinese aid was in 1979-1994 and was categorized with financial grants and interest-free loans. Furthermore, 1979 to 1994 was the second phase of Chinese aid. Unlike the first step, it was categorized with economic considerations, purchasing equipment set for construction of infrastructural projects, and technical assistance. Lastly, the current
phase of Chinese aid span from 1995 to 2004 and was categorized with interest-free loans, co-operation and joint ventures projects and increased financial grants.

2.5. Chinese aid to the Educational sector

Xianyun (2006) argues that Chinese aid regarding education to Africa has been consistently expanding, in various scope and methods; and it is based on the multilateral system. Educational funding from China to Africa is increasing in numbers as the numbers of Africans benefiting from Chinese scholarship over the years has grown. China to an extent fulfilled Aid duties to African educational system, yet despite everything, it needs detailed facts and statics on the official factual investigation on its aid financing information because there are little data to evaluate this claim. China's aid to Africa education has been expanding, and the responsibilities are executed than expected (Wan, 2015).

Further to that, researching on China’s educational Aid to Africa, Kenneth King (2013) notes that, China thou have an African policy. However, its policy on education has not been clear or separate but rather part of education, science, culture, health, and social aspects. To this end, ratification of China’s aid to the educational sector in Africa might not be clear, but the Chinese government has given its full support to Africa human resources development and education. Moreover, in China’s foreign Aid to both Africa and Asian countries, the funds for education is spent in building schools, providing teaching equipment’s and materials, dispatching teachers, training educators and interns and offering scholarships to students from developing countries (Kenneth, 2013).

In reaction to that, it is to state that the number of Chinese Confucius institutions in Africa has increased all over the continent, this raises the question if the demand for The Mandarin language in Africa is because of increasing Chinese educational Aid and scholarship to study and research in China? Alternatively, is it just a means to import the
Chinese language into Africa? Alternatively, rather is it the already influence of Chinese aid in the educational sector?

Educational aid regarding scholarship and vocational training or research from China has increased, and this package includes higher education, vocational training, Chinese language instruction (Confucius) in developing countries, construction of schools and partnership with multilateral organizations such as the EXIM bank (James, 2015).

The Forum on China-Africa Cooperation (FOCAC) has planned to increase the number of educational beneficiaries from Africa studying in China with assistant from the Chinese government. With the changes that come in the new millennium and China renewing its commitment to engage Africa, especially in search of raw materials and mineral resources as a fuel to its economic growth, more and more Africa students have reported to have arrived in China on Chinese government scholarships (Adams, 2014).

China-Africa educational cooperation historically is characterized by three phases. The beginning phase started with when diplomatic relations between China and African countries such as Kenya, Egypt, Uganda and Cameroon in 1956; with about 24 exchange students traveling to the East side (Hannusch, 2012: 492). Implementation was the characteristics of the second phase which fall under the period of 1970’s – 1980’s. Moreover, with the number of exchange students increasing to about 4,570 Africans by the end of 1996 (Ferdjani, 2012).

Beyond this, at the dawn of 2000 Chinese began providing educational equipment, building research laborites all over the continent. The dawn of new millennium is the third phase which started with the “declaration of 2000” which serve as a programmer that facilitated China-Africa Co-operation regarding economic and social growth which King (2013) has clearly verify as part of human resources development and education.
2.6. Economic nature of Chinese aid

Still, in the context of the pervasive nature of China’s aid, Wioletta Nowak (2015) further outlines that based on “White papers on China’s Foreign Aid” which is primarily distributed to countries in Africa, Latin America, Asia and the Pacific. The development assistance is characteristically combined with investments and trade initiatives. The core rationales and driving force behind China aid program to Africa are mostly economic and strategic objectives (Nowak, 2015). In 1994, China’s foreign aid policy launched the “Grand Plan of Trade and Economic Cooperation” (GP-TEC). Which was flange by the then Minister of Foreign Trade and Economic Cooperation Wun-Yi, in association with the EXIM Bank (Nowak, 2015).

Dubosse (2010) further points out that China’s economic developmental assistance to Africa changed in 2006 with the formulation of China African Policy Paper. Economically, issues of trade, investment, finance, agriculture, infrastructure, natural resources, tourism, debt reduction, debt relief, investment and multilateral cooperation were the core focused on China’s economic aid to Africa (Dubbose, 2010). Economically in trade, China has vowed to open its market which was ranging at 190 to over 440 zero-rated products from African countries, by so doing it will establish cooperation, and funding ten special agriculture skills centers (Dubosse, 2010).

In reaction to this Bankole & Adewunyi (2008) affirms this by pointing out that China-Nigeria trade volumes have tripled in the period of five years (2002-2007) ranging from US$1.1 to US$4.3 billion, as at 2008 it was total at US$7.3 billion (Munyi, 2009: 8). Further to this, China has double aid assistance as earlier mentioned with statistics showing that as at 2009 US$3 billion was given to African countries as preferential loans, and US$2 billion was again given out as preferential buyers; US$5 billion was rated to Forester African China development Fund, and cancellation of debt owed (Dubosse, 2010). This financial investment has been accompanied by a deepening of diplomatic and political relationships.
with various African countries as Kossi Ayengbo (2015) try to explain China strategic relationship five years before independence to be little, at Independence increasing and five years after Independence increased in Africa countries.

Specifically, Bankole & Adewunyi (2008) observes that: traditional development partners and aid donors of Nigeria are mainly from Europe and Americas (U.S.A. and Canada) which have long dominated trade, investment regarding FDI and grants such as financial and technical aid to Nigeria. This relationship tends to be debatable if such has in any significant assist the country in its quest for development. To many, the relationship is exploitative with facts showing the pattern of trade and FDI flow and inflow into the country since oil and gas sector dominates Nigeria exports tune of about 98% and FDI inflows to the oil and gas industry accounted for just 40% (Bankole & Adewunyi, 2008).

China-Nigeria relationship thou date back to as far back as three decades, however, with emerging contemporary trends of development there is a need for a careful and detailed analysis of this growing Chinas relationship to Nigeria by looking at the investment and trade that are aid motivated. Moreover, to what extent is Chinese aid and trade deals not exploitative to Nigeria for natural resources.

Bankole & Adewunyi (2008) further notes that every diplomatic trip since 2002 between Nigeria and China was followed by the signing of agreements and MOU to promote cordial relationship. Technical assistance in the military, education, and health, and technological sectors of Nigeria have been received. For example, an aid of 46 million Yuan to Nigeria for purchases of anti-malaria medicines and training of Nigerian health personnel on malaria control and prevention was granted by China (Bankole & Adewunyi, 2008).

2.6. China’s technological and infrastructural aid to Nigeria

Sino-Nigeria relationship continue to grow as a broad aspect of technical and infrastructural development projects are over time contracted to Chinese, especially from the
era of Olusegun Obasanjo administration which ended military rule in Nigeria and began
democratic governance in the country (Utomi, 2008). Still, in the context of China’s
technological and infrastructural aid to Nigeria, Pat Utomi (2008) further relates Chinese
developmental aid to Nigeria to be linked with interest in Nigeria petroleum sector.
Nevertheless, Sino developmental assistance to Nigeria has strengthened infrastructural
growth and revive several infrastructural sectors in Nigeria.

In 2005, as explained by Utomi (2008), China was involved in a tripartite agreement
with FAO in line to fight hunger and poverty in developing countries. The agreement signed
was estimating about 50 million dollars (FAO REPORT, 2013) which will support countries
in creating a food system and a strong agricultural growth chain of which Nigeria is already
benefiting. About 400 Chinese experts to help with food production and water conservation
in the country has been deployed to the country after the agreement was signed (Utomi,
2008).

Notwithstanding the advancement of the agricultural part, a few MOU in the most
recent couple of years has brought about a few Chinese organizations, in such sectors such as
power, street and rail transportation, and media communications. The organizations that have
entered the Nigerian market to take a shot at these important activities incorporate ZTE
Company, Alcatel-Shangai-Bell, China Putian and well known Chinese civil engineering
construction company (CCECC).

Against the historical backdrop of technological backwardness in Nigeria and Africa at
large, Chukwu Oknokwo (2015) observed the significant role of space technology to rapid
and sustainable socio-economic development. Okonkwo (2015) has gone further to outline
the satellite program in Nigeria of which the NigComSat-1 which was launch in 2004 was led
by Chinese Engineer and qualified Nigerian Engineers. Moreover, to date, China has assisted
in building and launching several other satellites for Nigeria. In examining this, it is to state
that China’s space program and technological assistance is utter to pursue national security, economic and diplomatic interest and relationship. However, it has recorded little success technologically and more economically.

2.7. Theoretical Framework

Several theories can be linked to the objectives of this research and the effectiveness of aid in interstates relation. Ranging from classical realism, dependency, constructivism, idealism and Geopolitics. This study applies interdependence theory, as advanced by Keohane and Nye (2001) are renowned for their support towards interdependence theory.

2.7.1 Interdependence Theory

Interdependence theory was first propounded by Thibaut and Kelly (1959) to analyze how states or people represent and consider situations of interdependence in respect to choosing among potential courses of action. Keohane and Nye (2001) argue that we live in an era that is dominated by interdependence since interdependence theory considers foreign aid as a significant fact of human activity which is as result of globalization. The fact that this work assumes that China’s foreign aid to Africa is increasingly causing an interdependence and influence in China-Nigeria relations. Interdependence as a theory is broad and complex and postulated in the early 1970s. Interdependence is defined as a “mutual dependence” between two beings. The core assumptions of interdependence theory are

I. It is considering states interdependence on outcomes namely nature and extent to which co-acting countries or groups are dependent on each other to attain the desired results.

II. Relationships in interdependence theory are not always balanced. Hence it is most likely to be asymmetrical relationship.

This study will adopt Keohane and Nye (1997) depiction of interdependence theory as a situation whereby states or international actors are conditions by external events in a mutual
relation with another state. This was adopted because it is linked to the objectives of the study. Interdependence theory is very broad with many assumptions that are likely to underlie the variants (Clarke, 2006) and related to the objectives of the research work.

The theory is also associated with scholars such as Grieco & Gelpi (2001), Hagre, et al. (2009) and Masterson (2009). As a concept that can be used as a general theoretical perspective on International Relations and analyze an economic aspect and political relations of a given principal international actor to a less dominant actor in international relations. Paul Clark (2006) equates that interdependence theory is necessary to explain international relations research to understand both economic relationships as a means of formulating States foreign policy relations. Hence, since Chinese Aid relations to Nigeria involve economic and international relations as explained by the paper, this study takes the interdependence theory as a theoretical framework to analyze China-Nigeria aid relations.

Keohane and Nye’s (2001) general ideology of independence theory is well applicable to the aid situation of China-Nigeria relations as an interdependent relation, in that this concept assumes that people, states, and institutions depend on each other to survive and achieve their foreign policy objectives. In the study of international relations interdependence as an analytical concept refers to situations characterized by reciprocal effects between countries or actors in different states.

Keohane and Nye’s (2001) argues that the term interdependence cannot be limited to only a situation of mutual benefit since they intend to avoid the sterile argument that limited usefulness of the terms to some specific school of thoughts such as modernist. In this context, refereeering to China-Nigeria relations, Enuka (2011) points out that the two relating actors possess what each other desperately needs. This “desperation for what each other needs” creates the core assumptions and imperative for interdependence. This means both China and Nigeria has something necessary and desired by one another, hence China as an emerging
and growing aid donor-initiated a fast-growing aid relationship with states in Africa which in 
turns paybacks regarding resources and favors in the international system especially at United 
Nations.

To further clarify this argument, economically, China and Nigeria relations over time 
show that both states put in whatever is necessary for terms of resources and funds as a 
driving force of their dealings hence supporting the argument of interdependence theory. 
With the fact that both Nigeria and China have resources needed and ready to offer one 
another as a concession to Forester relationship has shown the relevance and applicability of 
interdependence theory in analyzing China’s aid vice a visa its relationship with Nigeria.

In Contrast, it is necessary to note that, the reciprocal relationship must not be 
balanced. Though described as mutually dependent on each other, this paper does not 
conclude or assume that interdependence theory is an evenly balanced relationship. Keohane 
and Nye (1997) used a logical example to explain a likely unbalanced situation; whereby for 
example China may be dependent on Nigeria with interest on oil and Nigeria maybe 
depending on China on funding and soft loans.

In other to make a clear understanding and in-depth analysis in the theoretical analysis of 
Chinese aid relations to Nigeria, one theory cannot perfectly explain the findings and debates 
surrounding this concept. However, this study adopts interdependence theory because it 
explains the objectives of the research.

2.8. Summary

This aspect of the thesis has review relevant literature so far that sheds light on 
China’s aid and Nigeria-China relations. Most of the literature examine the general role and 
reasons of China’s aid to Africa. Which has to try to fill in the gap of this research on how 
China’s aid has influence Africa; foreign policy behavior or states trade relation towards each 
other. In the Nigeria context, there are several reasons which to show that China’s aid is an
involving participatory or influence of Nigeria ties with China, of which some few examples were in the literature review to explore to prove this point. The role of China’s aid as an influencing factor in Nigeria-China relations will be outlined in the analytical aspect of this paper.
CHAPTER THREE

METHODOLOGY

3.0 Introduction

This chapter discusses the research methods adopted in this study. It discusses the research design, study area and population, sampling techniques, data collection, and data analysis techniques. There are various methods of collecting data geared towards assessing Chinas Aid and its relationship with Nigeria for the past fifteen years.

3.1. Research Design

For this study, a qualitative and quantitative method of data collection is used. Hence, the research design will be a mixed design. Qualitative data were obtained from secondary sources linked to Chinese aid and Nigeria-China relations within 1999-2015. This involved reviewing of among other studies and materials that will include China’s aid to Africa, Memorandum of Understanding, Trade deals and documents, Chinese white paper and Chinese paper on African policy.

3.2. Study Area and Population

The study will be conducted in Nairobi, Kenya and will focus on Nigeria from the period of 1999-2015. The work used Secondary data collection hence the study population include Journal articles, books, media reports and statistics derived from studies conducted by authors on China’s aid such as Deborah Brautighan, And data from the Official Chinese white paper and the website of some ministry and institution such as Nigeria Ministry of Finance, Central Bank of Nigeria (CBN) and Ministry of foreign affairs.

3.3. Data Collection

The thesis is dependent on secondary data to answer the research questions. On one end of the continuum are the official Chinese government publications, which are highly promotional in nature and use grand narratives to describe Chinese international engagement.
The Chinese government’s white paper on Chinese Africa Policy, for example, reads as follows: “China and Africa have all along sympathized with and supported each other in the struggle for national liberation and forged a profound friendship” (People’s Republic of China, 2006: Part II). Other sources of secondary data include; journal articles, books, published materials on governments reports, memorandum of understanding, budgets, loan and aid reports, trade deals and book chapters.

3.4. Data Analysis.

This study relies on descriptive statistics by using direct and organized analyses for data collected. This includes correlations graphs, aid figures, loans, trade graphs and finance reports. This technique is mostly used in case analysis where the researcher seeks collection data in hope to construct proper meaning from the data. Hence, the study used descriptive statistics in providing linear and organized analyses for data collected.

3.5. Chapter Summary

This is the research methodology chapter of the study. The study uses a mixed research design of both quantitative and qualitative methods. The study is conducted in Nairobi, Kenya. Study population shall include academic journal articles, publications, books, media reports and statistics derived from studies conducted by respected authors in the field of international relations. Secondary data has been collected from relevant sources and the data obtained analysed through content analysis and descriptive statistics.
CHAPTER FOUR

FINDINGS AND ANALYTICAL DISCUSSION

4.0. Introduction

This section is about empirical analysis and assessment of the impact of China’s aid towards foreign relations in the lights of trade, foreign policy behaviors, and developmental sectors. The section first will address and present the various findings and data’s by the objectives and questions of the study, the general concerns and perceptions raised are in relations to objectives one and two as regards the increased and nature of Chinese aid to Africa and Nigeria. Moreover, that of objective three and four as relating to the impact of Chinese aid on Nigeria China relations and other factors that explain Nigeria China relations.

4.1 Findings

Zeleza (2014: 3) depicts China-Africa relations as one of the fastest growing and exciting relationship in the 21st century. He further states that the relationship between China and Africa has been received with debate and enthusiasm of which some scholars and policy makers either condemn or celebrate (Zeleza, 2008, 15; 2014; 3). To this point, China-Africa relations and policies have sparked a lot of controversial debates and especially on economic, trade and foreign direct Investment (FDI) in Africa which has been increasingly causing much to be said about it not being transparent and efficient.

Because Chinese aid to Africa is said not to be in line with the rules of aid giving and data are not released. Nevertheless, Sub-Saharan Africa (SSA) alone as a region receives one of the highest shares of Aid and Official Development Assistance (ODA) within the period of 2000-2007 (Carlos and Nicolas, 2010). Foreign assistance in Africa has had several multiple and contrary effects. It has either shaped or de-shaped state formation and state-society relations, contribute to regional geopolitics, infrastructure and molded and driven policies.
This chapter will give a critical analysis of Chinese foreign policy on aid towards Africa, by exploring first the context of the Chinese white paper which is a critical working document in China’s aid policy; and understanding the roles of Various multilateral and bilateral Chinese Institutions to promote Aid and Foreign Policy relations in Africa.

In as much as Chinese aid is growing, its growing foreign relations with developing countries most especially Africa is also an important pillar of China-Africa relations. Chinese aid has been described to be based on the principle of mutuality (Xinghui, 2011). Moreover, like other countries, China uses foreign aid as a tool to serve its foreign policy goals and domestic demands. Moreover, as Xinghui Zhang (2011) argues that china’s foreign aid is more than a part of its foreign policy goals but also a means to facilitate relationship to suit its internal affairs.

4.2. Chinese Foreign Policy on aid towards Africa

In a period of six decades’ history of PRC, China-Africa relations has experienced a progressive stance from war to revolution to peace and development. China-Africa Policy has been changing within the period of the 1960s to contemporary times focusing on political relations, backed by generous economic assistance to emphasize both political and economic cooperation. Hence, changes from its economic and reforms policies, no emphasis on communist ideology, revision of foreign policy towards rationality, and rapid economic growth and increasing energy dependence all characterized the phase of China-Africa relations.

Suisheng Zhao (2013) depicts China phenomenal growth in global politics to its foreign policy behavior. China Foreign Policy towards Africa has been an evolutionary process from the formation of new China to contemporary China. Contemporary China-Africa Policy began in 1955 (Looy,2006.5). The beginning of China-Africa Policy began with the Bandung Conference of 1955 (Looy,2006.2). As posited by Jing Men and Benjamin
Barton (2011) the conference was held to enhance economic and cultural operation and promote anti-imperialist and anti-colonial struggle.

The Bandung Conference of 1955 was described to be a success. The Premier of China in 1963; Premier Zhou embark on his first visit to about ten nation tour in Africa. The visit was to pursue key eight principles that will guide China-Africa relations (Jing and Benjamin, 2011). This principle was based on Economic and Technical aid, which in 1970 this motive prompt an increase of Chinese Aid project in Africa (Jing and Benjamin, 2011). This principle became the driving force to China relations with African countries as some African aid recipients increased after the premier visit to Africa in 1963; See the table 1 and 2 below.

**Table 1: The first 13 Africa countries to have received Chinese Aid after the Bandung Conference**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>COUNTRIES</th>
<th>DATE OF FIRST AID</th>
<th>AMOUNT (US MILLION DOLLARS)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Algeria</td>
<td>1958</td>
<td>105</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Egypt</td>
<td>1958</td>
<td>193</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ghana</td>
<td>1961</td>
<td>81</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mali</td>
<td>1961</td>
<td>148</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Somalia</td>
<td>1963</td>
<td>220</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tanzania</td>
<td>1964</td>
<td>534</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kenya</td>
<td>1964</td>
<td>91</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Burundi</td>
<td>1964</td>
<td>125</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CAR</td>
<td>1964</td>
<td>56</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Congo</td>
<td>1964</td>
<td>203</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Uganda</td>
<td>1965</td>
<td>77</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mauritania</td>
<td>1967</td>
<td>239</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Zambia</td>
<td>1967</td>
<td>372</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 2: List of Countries receiving Chinese Aid After 1970 visit of Chinese Premier Zhong.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Countries</th>
<th>Date of first aid agreement</th>
<th>Amount (US$ million)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Sudan</td>
<td>1970</td>
<td>230</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Equatorial Guinea</td>
<td>1971</td>
<td>18.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ethiopia</td>
<td>1971</td>
<td>155</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Guinea</td>
<td>1971</td>
<td>161</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sierra Leone</td>
<td>1971</td>
<td>94</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Togo</td>
<td>1972</td>
<td>77</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tunisia</td>
<td>1972</td>
<td>97</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Benin</td>
<td>1972</td>
<td>72</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mauritius</td>
<td>1972</td>
<td>48</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nigeria</td>
<td>1972</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rwanda</td>
<td>1972</td>
<td>56</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Burkina Faso</td>
<td>1973</td>
<td>92</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cameroon</td>
<td>1973</td>
<td>124</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Chad</td>
<td>1973</td>
<td>77</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Senegal</td>
<td>1973</td>
<td>108</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Niger</td>
<td>1974</td>
<td>64.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gabon</td>
<td>1975</td>
<td>26</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The Gambia</td>
<td>1975</td>
<td>36</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Guinea-Bissau</td>
<td>1975</td>
<td>18</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mozambique</td>
<td>1975</td>
<td>116</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sao Tome</td>
<td>1975</td>
<td>12</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Botswana</td>
<td>1976</td>
<td>19.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Comoros</td>
<td>1976</td>
<td>10.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Morocco</td>
<td>1976</td>
<td>32</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cape Verde</td>
<td>1977</td>
<td>17.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Liberia</td>
<td>1977</td>
<td>37.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Seychelles</td>
<td>1978</td>
<td>8.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Djibouti</td>
<td>1979</td>
<td>12.9</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

1982 mark an end to the Premier Zhou Enlai led China-Africa policy, Zhao Ziyang Second Chinese Premier visit Africa, giving an endorsement on China-Africa relations and the importance of Africa-China relationship at the center of global politics. New principles were announced with the coming of a new Chinese Premier; this principle was based on “equality and mutual benefit, practical result, and joint development.” In the wakes of 1990s as China economic growth continue its demand for raw materials and energy, economic and trade relations with Africa became strengthen and necessary. Hence, China-Africa relations move from the sector of political partnership to economic and trade relations (Jing and Benjamin, 2011).

In 2000, the Forum on China-Africa Cooperation (FOCAC) marked a new beginning for Beijing and Africa. As it focuses on the issue of assistance, economic development, trade, investment and political partnerships. Moreover, Under this network, China and African representatives meet once every three years to renew and explore various means to improve China-Africa relations.

**Table 3: China’s imported crude oil by region 1995-2006(%)**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Middle East</td>
<td>46</td>
<td>53.6</td>
<td>51.3</td>
<td>45</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Africa</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>24.0</td>
<td>24.4</td>
<td>32</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Asia-Pacific</td>
<td>41</td>
<td>15.0</td>
<td>15.3</td>
<td>8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Others</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>6.7</td>
<td>9.4</td>
<td>15</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>


In understanding China-Africa relations, it has become a very noticeable and important feature of high-profile visits to Chinese Premier and Africa head of states. Jing and
Benjamin (2011) narratively highlight the visit of Chinese Premier to Africa from the time of Premier Zhou Enlai to President Ping contemporary times. See Table 4.

**Table 4: Analysis of Chinese official visits to Africa: From 1980s-2010**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>VISIT TYPES</th>
<th>PRESIDENTS</th>
<th>PREMIERS</th>
<th>FOREIGN MINISTER</th>
<th>COMMERCE MINISTER</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>STATE</td>
<td>21</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>18</td>
<td>19</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>WORKING</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>OFFICIAL</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>44</td>
<td>11</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>OTHER</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>


The Table above clearly indicates that China attaches immense importance in pursuing good relations with the African continent. Nevertheless, Chinese Visits to Africa over the years has been reciprocal by African Leaders. As Jing and Benjamin (2011) that from the period of the late 1950s, not less than fifty African heads of States and about twenty heads of government have visited China. Statistically, not less than two hundred times has Africa heads of States and government visited China (Jing and Benjamin, 2011; Tian, 2005). As China-Africa relations continue to grow and state visits increased, trade relations also grew rapidly.

**4.3. China-Nigeria trade relations**

Economic and trade ties between China and Nigeria has seen China adopting active measures to expand bilateral trade relations. Chinese companies over the years have been encouraged by Chinese government to invest in Africa and developed cooperation with African development sectors in areas such as finance, agriculture, infrastructure, energy and
tourism (Zhiyue, 2011). The increase in trade relations is another Sector that showed the growth in China-Nigeria relations. Although this increase is not a balanced increased as depicted by the theory used in this research. From Table 5 and the figure 1 below it shows how China trade import to Nigeria has been increasing and Nigeria export to China has been unstable hence causing an imbalance in trade despite increased.

**Table 5: Export and Import Trade Between Nigeria and China in USD millions**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Exports to China</th>
<th>China Exports to Nigeria</th>
<th>Trade volume</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>2000</td>
<td>292.9</td>
<td>563.3</td>
<td>860</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2001</td>
<td>227.4</td>
<td>917.2</td>
<td>1,114.60</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2002</td>
<td>121.3</td>
<td>1,047.10</td>
<td>1,168.40</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2003</td>
<td>71.1</td>
<td>1,787.50</td>
<td>1,859.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2004</td>
<td>462.6</td>
<td>1,719.30</td>
<td>2,181.90</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2005</td>
<td>527.1</td>
<td>2,305.30</td>
<td>2,832.40</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2006</td>
<td>280</td>
<td>2,855.70</td>
<td>3,133.50</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2008</td>
<td>509.9</td>
<td>6,758.10</td>
<td>7,268.00</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2009</td>
<td>897</td>
<td>5,476.00</td>
<td>6,373.50</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2010</td>
<td>962.5</td>
<td>6,737.50</td>
<td>7,700</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The above table depicts the trade surplus and imbalances as describe by Munyi (2015) between China and Nigeria to have been in more favorable terms towards China having an increasing proportion. This unbalanced export and import trade has existed for a long time till date. As depicted by Jing and Benjamin (2011), China-Africa relations has been growing rapidly during the reform era of 1979 in China. They further prove this by stating further that from 1979 trade relations between China and Africa was at US$817 million, and as at 1989, it grew to US$1,166.6 million to reach a US$6,480 million in 1999. On getting to the twentieth century, it ascended to US$10 billion in 2000 alone, as at 2005 and 2008 it increased to a significant figure of US$40 billion and US$106.8 billion respectively (Jing and Benjamin, 2011)
Zeleza.(2015) argued that Africa trade with China has increased despite global stagnation for a decade. He further states with the fact that China-Africa trade relations regarding growth are staggering. Giving the statistics from 1992 he states that China trade with Africa grows from US$ 2.4 billion in 1992 to US$ 10 billion in 2000, Trae further grew to US$ 41 billion in 2005 and as at 2010, it was at US$ 128.5 billion and almost US$ 200 billion dollars. With this figure, as at 2010, China overtook U.S as Africa largest trading partner in 2009, and in 2015 it was projected that China would overtake the European Union as Africa’s largest trading bloc and with trade expected to reach a staggering 385 billion dollars (Zeleza, 2015).

**Table 6 Sectoral distribution of Chinese aid**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>NO</th>
<th>Sector</th>
<th>ODA LIKE</th>
<th>Sector</th>
<th>FDI</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>Health</td>
<td>25.0%</td>
<td>Manufacturing</td>
<td>26.8%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>Unallocated/ Unspecified</td>
<td>13.0%</td>
<td>Construction</td>
<td>18.0%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>Government and Civil Society</td>
<td>12.1%</td>
<td>Wholesale and retail</td>
<td>17.1%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>Education</td>
<td>10.0%</td>
<td>Mining and Quarrying</td>
<td>12.0%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5</td>
<td>Agriculture, Forestry, and Fishing</td>
<td>6.5%</td>
<td>Professional Scientific and Technical Activities</td>
<td>7.7%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6</td>
<td>Transport and storage</td>
<td>5.1%</td>
<td>Agriculture, forestry, and fishing</td>
<td>6.6 %</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7</td>
<td>Emergency response</td>
<td>4.3%</td>
<td>Real Estate Activities</td>
<td>3.0%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8</td>
<td>Other social infrastructure and services</td>
<td>4.0%</td>
<td>Electricity, gas, steam and air conditioning</td>
<td>2.0%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9</td>
<td>Action relating debt</td>
<td>3.6%</td>
<td>Administrative and support services activities</td>
<td>1.7%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10</td>
<td>Communications</td>
<td>3.6%</td>
<td>Transportation and Storage</td>
<td>1.6%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: Information of FDI projects is from MOFCOM. Information of ODA-like projects is from Aid Data
Furthermore, China trade relationship with Africa is rapidly leading to expanded activities and influence in Africa natural resources (Li and Abdulkadir, 2013; Cyril, 2008). China’s rapid influence economic influence and penetration into Africa’s economic market and mineral fields are mostly related to old and growing trade, energy, aid, and strategic interests in Africa (Cyril, 2000; Wenping, 2006; Taylor, 2006; Alden, 2007). This influences in Africa mineral resources has been faced with many reproaches and raises many questions on the nexus between China’s increasing aid, trade and bilateral relations and Africa mineral resources.

Zelleza (2008, 8) argues that China’s policy to Africa is not only driven by oil and other resources but also the strategic importance of the African continent, which lies in three considerations, with economic factors and diplomatic issues standing alongside the resource imperative. He furthers argues that since China and African countries are still developing areas, political cooperation in international affairs is necessary as well as important to secure their shared interests (Zelleza, 2008, 13), Brooks and Shin (2006:1) argues in agreement to Paul Zelleza (2008:8) that the growing influence of China in Africa mineral resources is to dominate Western political and economic influence; and positioning China at same time.

Deborah Brautigam (2011:110), states that despite criticism faced by China involvement in Africa natural resources and growing trade and commerce relations, it goes through coordination and approval from Ministry of Commerce as the interest of China is also in mind, also considering various diplomatic and foreign policy views as aid and every other that follows such as trade and mineral imports is for policy objectives, and not just to make money.

China is not a newcomer in Africa and its relations with Africa has been growing, and as many Scholars have claimed that recent Chinese activities are because of China’s interest
in Africa natural resources, however, it tends to be different if one follows the evolution that has helped us understand the growing relationship between China and Africa. Elijah Nyanga Munyi (2011:5) outline a pragmatic policy on dealing with China beyond praise or criticism; he further argues that quite some several African countries suffer huge trade surplus and deficits while engaging with China as shown in table 7 below.

Regarding the case of Trade surplus with Nigeria, this is due to economic differences in structures of Nigeria and China. For China, its economy is a manufacturing-dependent economy while Nigeria economy is oil and aid dependent economy.

Table 7: Africa-China trade deficit in USD

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Country</th>
<th>Trade deficit with China</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Egypt</td>
<td>US$4.5 billion</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>South Africa</td>
<td>US$2.1 billion</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kenya</td>
<td>US$892.5 billion</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cameroon</td>
<td>US$75 million</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nigeria</td>
<td>US$52 million</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mauritius</td>
<td>US$34 million</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Zimbabwe</td>
<td>US$189 million</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>


4.4. The Forum on China-Africa Relations

Forum on China-Africa Cooperation (FOCAC) was proposed in October 1999 at the request of African countries and jointly set up the following year 2000 around October. Through this forum, China-Africa has built a strong relationship over the years. The forum has served to cancel the debt, facilitate an expansion of the market for the participant and a create a channel for positive engagement (Gart and Farhana, 2008). The objective of this section is to understand the FOCAC and analyze how it has contributed to trade, aid, Sino-African relations and building joint development.
From the formation of FOCAC, there have been four different forums which were held after every three years, from 2000 FOCAC held in Beijing to the 2003 FOCAC conference in Addis-Ababa and 2006 FOCAC conference in Beijing with the last FOCAC conference held in Cairo in 2009. From each one of this conference held in Africa or China has ended up with resolutions, commitment towards trade and bilateral relations, and policies adopted. It should be noted that the FOCAC forum is a new element in China’s African diplomacy. Hence, Sino-African Interaction has a long and intricate history.

As explained by Garth Shelton and Farhana Park (2008) Chines President Jiang Jemin visits Africa in 1996 paved the way for FOCAC forum. The May 1996 visit to six African countries had a “five-point proposal” to serve as a medium to foster a long-term and stable China-Africa relationship which is built on cooperation and interaction. Subsequently, this severed as the key points in the first FOCAC conference in Beijing and second FOCAC conference in Addis-Ababa. Linked to this research thesis, it is to state that Jiang 1996 visit to Africa is the framework that led to the evolution of a new diplomatic relationship with Nigeria.

4.5. FOCAC and Aid to Africa

With regards to the fact that the 2000 FOCAC meeting showed China as an attractive partner for Africa in the sectors of trade and development. Garth and Farahana (2008) argues that FOCAC thou clearly showed China as a collaborative external actor but not an interventionist actor, it supports the fact that the FOCAC paved the way for a new wave and levels of Chinese aid to Africa. The Center for Chinese Studies policy briefing of 2012, clearly explains in agreement to Garth Shelton and Farhana Park (2008) that the FOCAC meeting in 2000 was agreed on a three-year action plan.

Which is to boost trade and Investment between China and Africa, canceling African countries debts to China; and increasing developmental aid to invest in Africa (Center for
Chinese Studies, 2012). China’s aid to Africa increased to an estimate US$ 5.5 billion dollars within the period of 2000 to 2007; after the first and second FOCAC conference in Beijing and Addis-Ababa respectively (Garth and Farhana, 2008).

The provision of Aid to Africa has produced positive development and diplomatic results in several Africa countries. In Nigeria for example, China has been involved in road construction; construction key federal and states government roads. Nigeria government to an extent consider China to be highly responsive as Chinese construction companies such as China civil engineering construction company (CCEC) is preferred and took over building works from famous Julius Berger German Nigeria base company. Also, in other countries such as Ethiopia China has been actively involved in construction and developmental needs.

**Figure 2: Chinese aid and investment in Africa**

Source: Information of FDI projects is from MOFCOM. Information of ODA-like projects are from AidData

Regarding China’s influence in mineral resources, after the emergence of FOCAC forum, Chinese oil companies have in the last decade become a competitive actor in African
oil sector, putting up a market competition for longtime western oil companies. As Cyril Obi (2008) note from Patey (2007:997-1016), that China’s strategies for winning oil in Africa include: investing in countries where western companies have lost ground, or have been forced to withdraw because of the domestic policies of either their host government or from their home government, Sudan justify this statement, where the exit of western oil companies and sanctions from Western government paved the way for the China National Petroleum Corporation (CNPC) to buy about 40% of Sudan’s oil, notably Sudan Africa’s third largest oil producer.

**Table 8: some commercial deals of China’s three largest oil companies in Africa: Nigeria**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Company</th>
<th>Deals</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>CNPC</td>
<td>Since 1996, CNPC has controlled a 40% stake in the Greater Nile Petroleum Operating Company in Sudan; in 2003, CNPC purchased oil refineries in Algeria for 350 million USD and signed an exploration deal for oil in two blocks; in 2004, CNPC invested 1 million USD in an oil and gas exploration project in Mauritania; in 2006, CNPC and Sinopec teamed up to exploit newly discovered drilling rights to an oil field in Sudan in a deal worth about 600 million USD.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sinopec</td>
<td>In 2002, Sinopec signed a contract for 525 million USD to develop oil field in Algeria; in 2004, Sinopec signed a technical evaluation deal for three onshore oilfields in Gabon to supply China with crude oil; in 2005, Sinopec purchased a 27% stake in an oil field off the coast of Nigeria; in 2006, Sinopec entered into a joint venture partnership with a local oil company to build an oil refinery in Angola; in 2006, Sinopec was constructing a 1,500km pipeline to Port Sudan.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CNOOC</td>
<td>In 2005, CNOOC paid 2.3 billion dollars for a stake in the Akpo offshore oil and gas field in Nigeria; In 2006, CNOOC signed a production-sharing contract in Equatorial Guinea; and bought a 45% stake in a Nigeria oil and gas field for 2.3 billion USD; also in 2006, CNOOC was allowed to explore in six blocks covering 44500 square miles in Kenya;</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>


Regarding oil investment in Nigeria and China as an actor in Nigeria oil fields, Cyril (2008: 5) and Taylor (2007:63) depicts that in late 2004, China’s oil company (SINOPEC)
signed two key agreement with Nigeria oil sector; Nigerian National Petroleum Corporation (NNPC). The first agreement was to assist in the development of five exploration wells, the second to develop some major oil fields (specifically Okono and Okpoho oil fields).

In addition to this Cyril Obi (2008) notes that in same year petrol China signed an agreement with the NNPC for petroleum supply of 30,000 barrels of oil to China daily for the next five years. As china-Nigeria relations improved, two years after the first signing China had a “big break” with the China National Offshore Corporation (CNOOC) signed a US$ 2.27 billion deal that secure 45 percent of Nigerian oil and gas field, and US$60 million deal that gave China a license to explore in the oil-rich Niger Delta (Cyril, 2008: 424).

With these findings, it suggests that China is not just a catalyst in the scramble for Africa mineral resources but rather positioning itself strategically and competing with western companies for mineral resources and trade partnership in Africa. China is seen to be only in Africa to extract resources; Thou resources might be the main aim or objective of China in Africa and its relationship with Africa this, however, might be true, but it makes no difference as Deborah Brautighan states in her Chautauqua Institution public lecture titled “China in Africa Think Again” states that the Chinese didn’t create this situation it was what they met when their relationship as their relationship with Africa grew.

4.6. The Forum on China-Africa Cooperation (FOCAC) I and Aid to Africa

In October 2000, President Jiang Zemin addressed the opening ceremony of the ministerial conference of the China–Africa Cooperation Forum held in Beijing. He suggested that China and Africa should make a concerted effort to establish a new international political and economic order. This would be advanced by:

I. Strengthening solidarity and actively promoting South-South cooperation.

II. Enhancing dialogue and improving North-South relations.

III. Taking part in international affairs based on equality and in an enterprising spirit.
IV. Establishing a new long-term stable partnership of equality and mutual benefit.

Thus, from its inception, FOCAC was grounded in a broader South-South cooperation framework, offering Africa a new avenue for a pursuit of its political and economic objectives. FOCAC was designed as a platform to strengthen and consolidate Sino-African relations. By the end of the first FOCAC forum, China had provided economic and developmental aid in one form or another to almost every African country and was involved in over 800 development construction projects.

The first FOCAC meeting was focused on developing a common perspective for dealing with post-war international system and solidification of China-Africa trade and investments links. Four workshops were held along with the conference that addresses China-Africa trade investment, reform experiences of China and Africa, poverty eradication and sustainable development, and cooperation on education, science, technology and health (Garth Shelton and Farhana Park 2008).

4.7. Chinese Foreign Policy on Aid.

With the increase in China-Africa relations, and especially with the growth in development assistance, trade and economic assistance Chinese government has granted to Africa countries. There is also an increasing interest and international concerns about China foreign policy on aid, especially towards Africa. China's foreign policy on aid and developmental assistance has always placed emphasis on infrastructure something many aid Africa countries lack and also non-interference (Hu, 2010). According to the Chinese white paper Chinas, foreign policy on aid is characteristically different to suit both China and recipient’s countries (China White paper, 2011:44).

Nevertheless, China’s foreign policy on aid has been evolving from the 1960s and is based on eight guiding principles. Also, the Asian-African Conference of the Non-Aligned Movement (NMA) in Bandung set the pace for Chinese relations with other developing
countries. The core five principle principles according to the Chinese White Paper (2011) and Schuller & Jari (2011) to be on peaceful co-existence are presented as follows.

I. Infrastructural development: As described by Hu Wenping (2010) that Chinese aid placed emphasis on Infrastructure, The Chinese White Paper on foreign policy on aid confirms this statement by stating that Chinese aid unremittingly assists developing countries in building up their development capacity. Hence China has made developmental boost such as local personnel and technical forces as part of its aid to recipient countries; this is to lay a foundation for development in future terms and embarked on the road to self-reliance and independent development (Chinese White Paper, 2011).

II. Equality. Mutual respect and Common Development: Adhering to equality, mutual benefit and joint development has been a key policy of China’s foreign policy on aid. China maintains stands that foreign policy is a mutual assistance to recipient countries.

III. No Political Conditions: Hu Wenping (2010) clearly states that Chinese aid does maintain the principles of non-interference, and China’s White Paper (2011) clearly explains that China does not impose political conditions and upholds the concept and five principles of peaceful coexistence while giving aid (Chinese White Paper, 2011). This is in respect to the fact that despite growing Chinese aid, PRC respects recipient’s countries right to choose their developmental models that are suitable to its actual conditions

IV. Realistic Conditions: Chinese Foreign Policy and white paper on Foreign Aid emphasize on being realistic for the best. China foreign aid is provided by being at the reach of its abilities and national conditions and channel aid to recipient countries needs and development (Chinese White Paper, 2011).
Attention to reforms and Innovation: Foreign policy on aid in PRC is to provide development to both domestic and international situations. The idea behind this according to Deborah Brautighan (2011) and Chines White paper (2011) is to facilitate innovations in the field of foreign aid, and reforms several management mechanisms so as to improve its foreign aid work to recipient’s countries.

Andrei R. Deleanu (2015:3) states that the main trait of Chinese aid is that economic assistance and cooperation from China is linked to development assistance, he further states that to understand Chinese foreign aid policies and evolution it is necessary to understand the institutional framework of Chinese aid and how China achieve foreign aid goals (Andrei, 2015:3). As explained by Andrei R. Deleanu (2015:3-12) in understanding the principles and financial means of China’s foreign aid it is necessary to analyze the foreign aid system and its institutional structures of China’s foreign aid system.

The organizational structure of China’s foreign aid is complex and different from OECD members, Chinese foreign aid is structured in a top-down management system that involves various ministries and institutions (Andrei, 2015:8). The organizational structure of Chinese aid is different from that of many aid giving countries especially OECD members. The functions of the Chinese foreign aid institutional framework are to provide an official duty breakdown and analysis on the flow of aid to recipient’s countries. See the figure below to understand the institutional hierarchy of Chinese aid.

The chart of Chinese aid depicts the state council at the top of decision making. Zhang and Song (2012:8) further analyses the role of state council to be very crucial in the decision making of aid disbursement stating that budgets, cash grants, above US$ 1.5 billion and aid project above US$12.5 million are subject to political sensitization and approval by the state council. The Ministry of Commerce (MOFCOM), Ministry of Finance (MOF) and the
Ministry of Foreign Affairs (MFA) China Export-Import Bank (Exim Bank) and Department of Foreign Aid (DFA) reports directly to the state’s Council. Although, every ministry is under the jurisdictions and reports to the Ministry of Commerce.

Deborah Brautigam (2009, 2010:5) debunks the idea that China aid system does not have a central agency, she claims that it is an organized system run by the department of foreign Aid (DFA) under the Ministry of Commerce (MOFCOM), and in cooperation with the Ministry of Foreign Affairs (MFA). She further depicts that the Department of Foreign Aid operates China’s program on grant, zero interest loans on aid, Youth Volunteer program and technical assistance. China’s export and Import Bank (Exim bank) administers China’s concessional foreign aid loan program using subsidies from the foreign aid budget to soften terms on concessional loans from Beijing (Brautighan, 2010).

**Figure 3: Organizational Chart of Chinese foreign aid management**

Zhang Qingmin and Song Wei (2012:2-8) asserts that Beijing has made a concerted effort to expand its foreign policy towards developing countries in general and focusing more towards Africa. The foundation of China’s policy towards Africa, in general, began with Premier Zhou Enlai China’s first premier and foreign affair minister at the Asian-African Conference in Bandung 1955 (Zhang and Song, 2012:2). After the Bandung Conference, the rules of foreign aid which is also known as the Eight Principles for Economic Aid and Technical Cooperation was introduced, and they are still essential in China’s foreign aid policy today. In ephemeral, they are.

I. Equality and mutual benefit of donor and recipient country must be ensured.

II. non-Interference in internal affairs and respect for the state sovereignty of the recipient country by not attaching any conditions to aid.

III. Interest-free or low-interest loans dispensed.

IV. Self-reliance of the recipient country.

V. Support projects that yield results and increase the capital revenue of recipient’s countries.

VI. Development projects are carried out with Chinese Equipment.

VII. Technological assistance and training of workers locally are provided.

VIII. Chinese aid implementers to submit to local standard of living of recipient’s countries.

Shuaihua Cheng (2012:1-5) states that China economic system or foreign aid policy was first only focused on DPRK, Vietnam and several African countries who shared identical political stands. Moreover, its aid was mainly material assistance and was limited. The second stage of China’s policy concentrated on reforms and the opening of campaigns, hence the economy was liberalized and new market mechanisms introduced. Assistance was
strengthened to least developed countries (LDC), and the long-term effects of aid were focused on partnership and diplomatic relationship (Shuaihua, 2012: 8).

Furthermore, Shuaihua Cheng (2012: 1-5) further explains that Chinese aid in its third stage focused on a pattern, the first pattern was diversification of the sources and means of funding which was used as a market-based funding to activate economic collaboration between China and recipient Countries. This action was a means to utilize joint ventures and cooperative projects and issued low-interest loans using the Export-Import Bank of China (Exim Bank). Also, greater importance was attached to capacity building through the increased on technical training and increased aid using the FOCAC

Table 9: Donor spending on Africa as a percentage of total international aid

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Estimated aid to Africa</th>
<th>Estimated aid to Africa as a percentage of total international aid</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>2005</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>China</td>
<td>$2.7 billion</td>
<td>26%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Japan</td>
<td>$2.01 billion</td>
<td>15.3%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>United Kingdom</td>
<td>$3.05 billion</td>
<td>28.4%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>United States</td>
<td>$3.90 billion</td>
<td>14%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>PERIOD</th>
<th>DOMESTIC POLITICAL ECONOMY</th>
<th>FEATURES OF CHINA AID POLICY</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>First stage (1950-1977)</td>
<td>Headstrong communist political-economic system; Own difficulties of political isolation and economic shortage</td>
<td>Vietnam, DPRK, Africa Material assistance</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Second stage (1978-1991)</td>
<td>Reform and opening-up</td>
<td>Strengthened assistance to LDCs; Paid more attention to economic and long-term effects of aid projects; Provided aid in more diversified and flexible ways (such as managing aid projects on behalf of recipient countries, lease management, and joint ventures).</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Third stage (1992-2003)</td>
<td>The transition from planned economy to the socialist market economy.</td>
<td>1, Diversified the sources and means of funding. (Foreign Aid Fund for Joint Ventures and Cooperative Projects; and low-interest loans via the Export-Import Bank of China).&lt;br&gt;2, Attached greater importance to the capacity building via scaling up technical training. (Forum on China-Africa Cooperation, FOCAC)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Current stage (2004-DATE)</td>
<td>Rapid economic growth and enhanced national economic strength.</td>
<td>1, increased financial resources for international aid, with average 29.4% annual growth;2, arranged aid projects through multilateral and regional levels in addition to traditional bilateral.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

SOURCE: Shuaihua Cheng (2012) China’s International Aid Policy
4.8 China-Africa Policy Objectives

Beijing foreign policy objectives have been focused on strengthening and developing a friendly partnership with all developing countries, most especially with African nations after it was admitted into United Nations Security Council (UNSC). Garth Shelton and Fahana Paruk (2012) argues that the core guiding factors of China’s relationship with Africa were laid in the foundation of the late premier Zhou Enlai 1960s visit and the 1980s propose four principles on economic and mutual benefit. These principles which have always encompass foreign aid has been guiding Chinas Sino-African relationship.

In all of this growing relationship and increasing aid to Africa from Beijing, many have argued that Chinese government has made enormous contributions on aid to Africa and its policy towards China has been an evolving process. Deborah Brautighan and Jyhjong Hwang (2016:8-13) explains this by stating that the Christian Science Monitor depicts China’s aid to Africa as at 2006 to be three times the total development aid given by rich countries. This would have made it $90 billion in just that year.

In 2015, the Economist’s corporate network highlighted that Chinese policy banks had pledged to provide about US$1 trillion over the next decade or so in Africa. Both were clearly off track by order of magnitude, but it is significant that neither the authors nor the editors questioned these sums (Brautighan and Jyhjong,2016:8-13). Chines aid to Africa is difficult to be measure, but the fact that it is increasing is what cannot be denied. See appendix I.

4.9 Nigeria-China Foreign Policy Relations (1999-2015)

Abiodun Alao (2010:3) discuss the central determinants of Nigeria foreign policy on return to democracy, he states that the civilian government that assumed power In May 1999 recognised the necessity to redirect Nigeria’s foreign policy. Its first step in achieving this was to aggressively search for friends, especially among Countries responsible for
influencing global affairs and shaping international economic diplomacy. Nigeria realized that its primary influence lay in the West African sub-region, where it had been the dominant actor, and in the rest of Africa where, alongside South Africa, it had become a major player. However, Nigeria also recognized that its ability to play this regional and continental role was largely dependent on its relations with the global powers.

Discussions on the effectiveness of Chinese aid on policy implementation and foreign policy relations has focused on Africa because it has received one of the greatest amounts of aid globally on per capita basis of any world region and, one of the most constant receivers of China’s aid for the past two decades. Following the establishment of diplomatic ties in 1971 (Utomi, 2008; Rindap, 2012: 18-30), Jeffrey Herbst and Charles Soludo (2000) argued that aid is not a vital component of Nigeria’s political economy because of three reasons. First, the fact that donors have been biased against countries with large populations has been a scenario working against getting aid in Nigeria as the most populous African country, secondly; the idea that Nigeria has an extravagant oil wealth cause aid donors to assume that Nigeria do not need aid. Moreover, due to the rate of corruption and utter difficult in working in Nigeria has discouraged many aid donors and agencies in working in Nigeria.

Pat Utomi (2008) classify Nigeria relations with China to have grown in the last decade from a limited ground to an intermittent contact, this has marked the immediate post-independence era to an increasingly complex and expensive engagement. Gregor Muthembu Salter (2009:4) correlate Utomi idea on the complexity of China-Nigeria relations. He argues that the relationship between Nigeria and China is paradoxical and complex and not straightforward. The relationship is what former Nigeria diplomat and scholar Alaba Ogunsanwo describes as a tale of two giants. Nigeria relationship with China began with a six-man economic delegation led by Adebayo Adedeji in 1972 August (Rindap, 2012: 18-30), this delegation led to the signing of economic and technical cooperation which includes trade,

Nevertheless, the relationship varied in several sectors and dimensions, and the main focus was on trade from China’s perspectives and infrastructural development from a Nigerian perspective. This relationship grew as Gregory Muthemb (2009:4) depicted that Nigeria as at 2009 became one of the China’s top trading partners alongside Angola and Sudan.

Also in Nigeria, infrastructural construction and contracts increased as major developmental projects on telecommunication, roads, hospitals, schools and Educational centers was contracted to Chinese Companies. Chinese Company presences increased in numbers and size. Nigerian-Chinese Chamber of Commerce was formed in 1994, and this eventually led to China Civil Engineering Construction to win a Construction contract of about US$ 529 million on railway and renovation system, this was during Late president Sanni Abacha era.

Trade Volume between Nigeria and China also increased from a US$ 178 million in 1996 to US$ 1.44 billion in 2001. This further increased to US$ 1.169 billion in 2002, US$ 1.86 billion in 200, US$ 2 billion by 2004 and US$ 2.83 billion in 2007. This made China be one of Nigeria top trading partners and with about 30 companies in Nigeria (Abiodun2013:16). These companies are involved in the construction, oil and gas, technology, service and education sectors of the Nigerian economy.
Table 11: Major Chinese Companies in Nigeria

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Companies</th>
<th>Sector of activities</th>
<th>Assets (USD billion)</th>
<th>Employees</th>
<th>Investment in Nigeria</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>Sinopec</strong></td>
<td>Oil and gas</td>
<td>152.80</td>
<td>373375</td>
<td>Blocks OML 64, 66, 29% stake and operating rights to block 2, Nigeria-Sao Tome Joint Development Zone</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>CNPC</strong></td>
<td>Oil and gas</td>
<td>470.80</td>
<td>1.67 million (80 000 foreigners)</td>
<td>Licenses for OPL 471, 721, 732, 298</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>SEPCO</strong></td>
<td>Electric Power Construction</td>
<td>38.60</td>
<td>19756</td>
<td>Papalanto Power Plant</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>CCECC</strong></td>
<td>Construction</td>
<td>2.17</td>
<td>70000</td>
<td>Rehabilitation of Plan to-Lagos expressway, Athlete’s village, Ikit Akpaden-Okoroette road, Lekki Free Trade Zone</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>CSCEC</strong></td>
<td>Construction, real estate</td>
<td>58.90</td>
<td>121500</td>
<td>Refinery</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>CNOON</strong></td>
<td>Offshore oil and gas</td>
<td>13.8</td>
<td>21000</td>
<td>45% interest in offshore exploitation license, OML 130</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Sinoma</strong></td>
<td>Cement Engineering</td>
<td>2.9</td>
<td>9000</td>
<td>In collaboration with Nigeria Dangote Group for cement production line EPC project in 2008</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>CGC</strong></td>
<td>Construction</td>
<td>0.30</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>Kebbi Airport. Water supply project in Gombe, Sakkie Dam</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Huawei</strong></td>
<td>Telecom</td>
<td>25.00</td>
<td>51000</td>
<td>Network, handsets</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>ZTE</strong></td>
<td>Telecom</td>
<td>13.00</td>
<td>85232</td>
<td>CDMA, handsets</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>


The diplomatic ties grew stronger between both countries in 1995 to 1999 when the Sani Abacha government diplomatically took steps to bring Nigeria closer to China in what was describe as “the look east foreign policy” because of sanctions from United Sates and its Western allies as a result of human right abuses (Rindap, 2015:21). The diplomatic tie grew stronger when in 1999 and 2001, former President Olusegun Obasanjo Visited China about four times (Abua, 2004). This visit yield number of trade, economic, technical, scientific, technological and investment agreement and assistance. In the strength of these political bonds has been revealed by deeper China-Nigeria cooperation at the United Nations (UN). In
2015, China endorsed Nigeria’s bid to become a permanent member of the UN Security Council, citing Nigeria’s status as a “leading developing country. (Samuel Ramani, 2016)”

**Table 12: Signed Agreements and Memoir random of Understanding Between China-Nigeria from 2001-2006**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Type of Agreements</th>
<th>Year</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Agreement on Trade, Investments Promotion, and Protection</td>
<td>2001</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Agreement for the avoidance of double taxation and Prevention of Fiscal Evasion on Tax and Income</td>
<td>2002</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Agreement on Consular Affairs</td>
<td>2002</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Agreement on Cooperation on strengthening management of Narcotic Drugs, Psychotropic Substances and diversion precursor chemical</td>
<td>2002</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Agreement on Tourist Cooperation</td>
<td>2002</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Strategic Partnership Agreement</td>
<td>2005</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A Memorandum of Understanding on Investment Cooperation between the Federal Ministry of Commerce of Nigeria and Ministry of Commerce India</td>
<td>2006</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Economic Cooperation Agreement between Nigeria and Xinguan International Group of China</td>
<td>2006</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>


President Hu Jinato visited Nigeria for two days, this two visit Udeala (2010:66) describe as a visit to consolidate bilateral and diplomatic relations between two countries, turns out to be true as at the end of the visit a Memorandum of Understanding (MOU) on petroleum cooperation was signed (see Cyril I, Obi; 2000, 2008). This agreement provided a gateway for Chinese Investment in the Nigerian Oil Industry, as part of the agreements, drilling license was granted to China in exchange for Investment US4billion in oil and infrastructural development project. (Udeala, 2010:66; Cyril, 2000, 2008). Tom Jack Pamela (2016) describes Nigeria-China Policy under President Obasanjo administration as “oil for infrastructure.” This clearly explains the idea of oil for Nigeria’s development. The presidential visit became a means to secure mutual support and developmental assistance between Nigeria and China, within the period of study.
Late President Umaru Musa Yar’Adua visited China ones in February 2008, and eventually both countries agreed to a strategic partnership in power and energy and transport infrastructure, other financial agreement include US$500 million concessional projects loan from China to Nigeria and US$4.2 million for hospital construction in Abuja; Nigeria (Okeke 2008:4-6; Rindap2015:15). The relationship between Nigeria China dwindle under Yar’dua as there was only one state presidential visit and many contracts signed under Obasanjo was cancel and audited.

Former President Goodluck administration revives the relationship between Nigeria and China, as energy contracts worth over US$ 10 billion was invested and contracted to Chinese companies, the contract rejuvenation of the rail system in Nigeria was awarded to Chinese companies in 2010, and it was worth US$ 2 billion. Obasanjo records more foreign policy agreements and relationship than his successors. The late President Yar’Adua, who succeeded Obasanjo in 2007 and Goodluck Jonathan, who in turn succeeded Yar’Adua. In 2010, Did not embark on as many foreign trips as Obasanjo.

4.10 Summary
In this chapter, Foreign aid as a key instrument to pursue a trade, and the diplomatic relationship was address in the context of Africa. In China, foreign policy objectives. An overview of events such as FOCAC and its significance on aid to Africa and increasing
bilateral relations. What has been derived from this chapter by assessing the increasing aid patterns of China to Nigeria; Africa is that Chinas aid is huge to Africa, but it is hard to be measured. Apart from investment, trade and monetary fund from China to Africa and Nigeria if one sticks with the Eurocentric idea of aid, Chinese aid is quite small compared to other countries. All the same, Aid from China to Africa either it is bilateral loans, FDI, and the infrastructural project is posited to be diplomacy and politics, and it is not all about mineral resources.

Also, the chapter contextualized Nigeria relationship with China, and from findings, it is to state that it is to state that the relationship between Nigeria and China has evolved from the different political administration and has become a significance in world politics. An analysis of presidential visits from both countries was carried out to justified the increase in a relationship and foreign aid between both countries. The Sino-Nigerian relationship according to Toyin Falola is laden with both an opportunity and a challenge.
5.0. Summary: Introduction

This study focused on Chinese foreign aid to Nigeria and how it influences Nigeria-China relation from 1999-2015. Moreover, in this study, the research objectives first are to understand how aid from China to various sectors such as economic, trade, education, technology, and security has influence foreign policy behavior between Nigeria and China.

Chapter two of this research gave a historical analysis of Chinese aid to Africa and an overview of the evolution of China- Africa relations broadly. In particular, the essences of this chapter which includes a literature review and theoretical framework was to explain the evolutionary process of Sino-Africa relations and narrowed to Nigeria economic, educational, technological and infrastructural sector, and how it has shaped relations between China and Nigeria.

Chapter four examined data on how foreign aid has increased over the years from China and its impact on China-Nigeria relation. The analysis of data collected was to explain on how foreign aid and interstate relations are tied together. Data analyzed shows that the formation of FOCAC has contributed to this hypothesis to a considerable extent. The core interest of this chapter was to examine Chinese aid and bilateral relations activities as the sole core factor of increasing foreign policy objectives to favor China from an African perspective and to favor Africa from a Chinese viewpoint. Besides this, China has developed an African foreign policy based on aid, development and increased strategic relations since the Bandung Conference.

The aspect of the Chinas relations to Africa that covers both the history of China relations and aid to Africa; Nigeria. Had some key aspect that was identified. First, the end of Colonial rule in Africa and within the period of the 1950s to 1960s was the period China-Africa
relations began to develop. Secondly, Chinese aid to Africa did not start in the 1980s or 1990s as many as accredited that period to be the when Chinese aid started claiming it to be as a solidarity or appreciation after they replace Taiwan in UNSC with the help of African states.

Hence, before this claim aid and economic relations to Africa from China has existed during Colonial struggle and 1960s the year of independence. Although it was limited to a selected few of which Nigeria was not among at this first stage. Nevertheless, aid was used as the core means to developed relationship with Africa and open a wider door for other Africa countries with China. Zheng (2007:5) gave an emphasis on China relations with African Countries. Arguing that China relations with Africa be still the most important and reliable part of China’s foreign relations with developing countries.

Most Significantly, several events and official, unofficial and presidential visits indicated a shift and growth in Chinas foreign policy and an increase in foreign aid as a tool of foreign policy objectives. Regarding events, as at the evolution of FOCAC, from its inception in 2000, the FOCAC meeting with China led to a reaffirmed commitment to maintain the level of ODA and investment flows to Africa in the wake of financial crisis and call for development in Africa. FOCAC has a key influence in creating a means for aid to Africa countries in various sectors and promote states relations.

In line with the trends and debates derived from China’s foreign policy on aid and patterns of aid from 1999-2015. Aid from China has evolved and has been primarily directed to African countries. In the 1960s Chinese aid went to countries such as Algeria, Egypt, Ghana, Mali, Somalia, Tanzania, Kenya, Burundi, Uganda, and Zambia. Moreover, over the years it grows to other countries such as Angola, Nigeria, South Africa, Kenya and South Africa. These countries are not just rich in Mineral resources that are claimed to be vital to China interest and growing aid to Africa but also, they are strategically located countries.
Thou Chinese aid is not transparent, and they insist on not publishing figures on aid country by country, content by content various figures has been put in place by reputable media house and research institutions. Some groups or institutions tend to relate any donation of a fund that connects States government to be called or classified as aid. What some of these figures reflects are figures put together by a media report, and they do not distinguish between different kind of Chinese aid activities. Apart from investments, trade, the commercial fund from China to Africa. If one sticks with Eurocentric idea and concept of aid Chinese aid is then likely to be quite insignificant compared to other countries.

Secondly, Chinese aid is sometimes considered vast because of their Export Agency (Exim-bank). What the Chinese Exim-bank does is to finance projects and look for marketers for goods. Exim bank finance projects of Chines Business and contractors.

5.1 Conclusion
The aim of this study was to analyze the nature of China-Nigeria relationship using foreign aid. The thesis argued that contemporary aid relationship between China and Nigeria be based on enormous opportunities to promote good relationship among both states. Although the study acknowledges its limitation, especially about the size and complexity surrounding Chinese aid and interest in Nigeria, the flexibility of the method used in the analytical procedure and justifying the data, enabled this research to achieve its goals.

There is no doubt that the rise of China as an aid donor has impacted on its relationship with Nigeria both negatively and positively. This thesis rightly observes that China engagement with African countries over the last few years has significantly altered Africa countries dependency on Western aid donors and created a competitive market in Africa. Furthermore, the Chinese aid relation is increasingly impacting Africa’s human resource by providing medical personnel and scholarships. Only during the academic years of 2010 and 2011, China provided 5,710 government scholarships (FOCAC: 2011). As professor Calstous
Juma (2010) points out, in addition to the increasing of the number of African students in Chinese universities, the Chinese government focused on strengthening the continent's scientific infrastructure by launching a postdoctoral programme for Africans who each will return home with scientific equipment worth $22,000 (The Economist: 15 Feb. 2010). Such support in the development of human capital will further accelerate the overall growth of African countries.

Theoretically, according to Keohane & Nye, one aspect of interdependency is that it involves reciprocal effects of the transaction (Enuka: 2011). However, as interdependence is not always regarding situations of evenly balanced mutual dependence, the asymmetries independence will most likely provide sources of influence for actors in their dealings with one another (Keohane & Nye: 2001: 9). Moreover, in the case of foreign aid, being a donor already creates an influence, and this is understood by both the recipients and the donor.

In this case, while some aid recipients are cautious of the cost-benefit of the relationship and strive to seal a beneficial deal, others make less effort for varied reasons; it can be inability, corruption, or may be forced to remain loyal to the donor’s interest, or for some other reasons. Considering the disadvantages in relations in the findings, the theoretical assumptions on Interdependence, which state that mutual balances of interdependency as a theory matters as mutual relations does not necessarily bring a balance in interstates relations. It, therefore, means that China-Nigeria relation is not necessarily balanced and can be easily manipulated by either state most especially the more potent. Hence interdependence relationship with China could cost more even while benefitting.

The fact that China uses foreign aid as an instrumental to support its companies operating in Nigeria. Chinese aid and trade activities intersect, and this has become a challenge to some African countries such as Nigeria. China's foreign aid has economic dimensions, and China
provides a trade-packed aid. Hypothetically, with the findings of this study. China-Nigeria relations goes beyond Chinese aid; it is a relationship that has grown not just because of Chinese aid but trade, FDI, and interest in mineral resources.

5.2 Recommendations

The rise of China as an emerging aid donor regarding loans, trade and commercial investments in Nigeria has continued to shape the political economy and relations between the two countries. With Nigeria interest to attained economic growth, China is one of the countries Nigeria can partner with as a result of Chinese economic growth. This research paper has examined the impact of Chinese aid on Sino-Nigeria relations. Hence, from the literature review the conclusion this paper draws that aid is likely to influence Nigeria relations with China. Nevertheless, the thesis recommends the following.

First, Nigeria should develop a Chinese foreign policy document to have a clear foreign policy objectives towards China and control Chinese trade imbalances between China and Nigeria export and import trade market, it can be emphasize that China exploits the lacuna in policy framework in Nigeria to its advantage. However, it is valid to argue that it is the responsibility of the Nigerian government to evolve policies that will ensure its engagement with China is in line with its national goals and aspiration. Therefore, it becomes evident that China is not the problem but the Nigerian government which is yet to evolve a requisite regulatory framework that will ensure mutuality and a win-win in its engagement with China.

Secondly, from observation of data considering the flow of cash from China into Nigeria economy it could be corruption and lack of accountable institutional framework and bureaucracy is one of the reasons Nigeria depends heavily on aid especially from China. Also, the dire need for development and control dependency from western companies turned Nigeria government towards China. However, Nigeria government should ensure how it can control Chinses goods flooding its market.
Nigeria’s priority lies in developing the capacity to manage its policies toward China's engagement better. Nigeria needs to realize that China’s engagement gives it a unique opportunity to significantly expand its development and articulate a comprehensive strategy that addresses its long-term needs. The Nigerian government should avoid short-term fixes and front-loaded deals with the Chinese and move beyond arrangements that focus solely on the petroleum sector. High commodity prices are only a temporary vehicle that can be utilized to drive Nigeria’s economy into a more economically diversified state, the exact mechanism for sustained growth. Furthermore, The Nigerian government should encourage Chinese MNCs to make more investments in major sectors. This can correct the trade imbalance and create more opportunities in the job market for Nigerians.

Nigeria should focus on how China’s engagement in Africa fits into the broader picture of international engagement. In particular, Nigeria has an opportunity to diversify its development by balancing Western assistance with that of China but needs to understand better how each type of aid can be beneficial, and to what sectors, to implement a successful strategy. For instance, China’s experience as a more disciplined society has the potential to curb corruption in Nigeria, while the United States’ commitment to human rights and transparency restrain an abuse of power. In summary, China is in no doubt a good economic partner for Nigeria, given the fact that they provide aid and have a strategic economic partnership, but it comes at a cost for Nigeria.
## Appendix I: Estimates of Chinese Aid

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Source</th>
<th>Period</th>
<th>Amount</th>
<th>Region</th>
<th>Methods</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>OECD DAC</td>
<td>2010-2012</td>
<td>$8.5 billion</td>
<td>World</td>
<td>Annual Fiscal Yearbooks</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>AidData (Strange et al. 2015)</td>
<td>2000-2011</td>
<td>$73 billion</td>
<td>Africa</td>
<td>Projects based on ODA-like, OOF-like, and vague official finance categories</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>JICA (Kitano and Harada 2015)</td>
<td>2010-2012</td>
<td>$14.2 billion</td>
<td>Africa, Southeast Asia, and Latin America</td>
<td>Foreign aid and government-sponsored investment activities (FAGIA)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rand (Wolf et al. 2009)</td>
<td>2001-2011</td>
<td>$671.1 billion (from $1.7 billion in 2001 to $189.3 billion in 2011)</td>
<td>Africa, Latin America, the Middle East, South Asia, Central Asia, and East Asia</td>
<td>Foreign aid and government-sponsored investment activities (FAGIA)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bräutigam (2009)</td>
<td>2007</td>
<td>$3 billion</td>
<td>Africa</td>
<td>Aggregate foreign aid expenditures, debt relief, and gross disbursement of concessional loans by China Eximbank</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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