

## **Sino-American Economic Competition on the African Continent (Motives and Strategies)**

**التنافس الاقتصادي الصيني الأمريكي على القارة الافريقية  
(الدوافع والاستراتيجيات)**



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### **Abstract:**

The economic competition between China and the United States over Africa reflects significant shifts in global dynamics. The pace of Chinese economic presence in the region has rapidly increased. China has been focusing on providing financial assistance for infrastructure. Roads, bridges, and ports, thereby enhance economic integration and promote trade exchange. In contrast, the United States focuses on enhancing economic cooperation by promoting free trade, private investment, developmental projects, and improving infrastructure in Africa.

**Keywords:** Economic Competition, China, America, Motives, Strategies

**ملخص:**

التنافس الاقتصادي بين الصين والولايات المتحدة في إفريقيا يعكس تحولات كبيرة في الديناميات العالمية، حيث تزايدت وتيرة التواجد الاقتصادي الصيني في المنطقة بسرعة متزايدة، حيث تركز الصين على تقديم التمويل والمساعدة للبنية التحتية، مثل الطرق والجسور والموانئ، مما يعزز التكامل الاقتصادي ويعمل على تعزيز التبادل التجاري. بالمقابل، تركز الولايات المتحدة على تعزيز التعاون الاقتصادي من خلال تعزيز التجارة الحرة والاستثمار الخاص، ودعم المشاريع التنموية وتحسين البنية التحتية في إفريقيا. **كلمات مفتاحية:** التنافس الاقتصادي، الصين، أمريكا، الدوافع، الاستراتيجيات

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## INTRODUCTION

In recent years, China and the United States have fiercely competed over economic hegemony in African territory. The latter's strategic importance has grown significantly especially after the Cold War. The importance of this competition is not only limited to the continent's geographical location and vital straits such as the Strait of Gibraltar and the Bab el Mandeb. It rather extends to international shipping routes and global trade. Africa covers an area of 30 million square kilometers, constituting 20% of the world's land area, with a population of approximately 800 million people, nearly 15% of the world's total population. Furthermore, it comprises 53 independent countries. These factors have made Africa a point of international competition between the United States and China, especially after the Cold War. Mainly

due to the collapse of the Soviet Union and the respective political systems in Africa that tended towards the Soviet Union.

China and the United States are among the most important powers in economy and trade. However, they have different strategies in dealing with developing countries. The Chinese approach has increasingly focused on expanding into the African market by investing in: infrastructure, crafts industries, and raw materials. On the other hand, the United States has focused on humanitarian aid and democratic development on the continent. China is now the largest investor in infrastructure in Africa and the continent's largest trading partner. The United States takes lead in humanitarian aid.

In light of these multifaceted contents, we raise the following problematic: What are the strategies pursued by China and the United States of America to develop investment in Africa? Seeking to cover various aspects of the topic, an introduction, two main axes, and a conclusion were adopted.

### Introduction

First: Motives for Sino-American economic competition in the African continent.

Second: China and America's strategies to develop investment in Africa.

### Conclusion

## **1. Motives behind the economic competition between China and the United States in the African continent**

The importance of the African continent lies in its possession of a strategic and vital reserve of diverse resources, including energy sources and minerals. Additionally, the continent serves as a stimulating consumer market for international powers. The political and security weaknesses across the African continent further explain the reasons and motivations for major powers to compete for the vast wealth available. Hence, the conflict in Africa has taken on more of an economic dimension than a military or political one.

### **1.1 China's Economic Motivation for Engaging with Africa**

The Sino-African relations date back to pre-World War II era. China's support for anti-colonial and political independence movements in Africa has strengthened these relations. Additionally, the common goals shared between China and many African countries under the umbrella of the Non-biased Movement during the Cold War further solidified these ties. Contemporary Sino-African relations remain distinctive due to their breadth, depth, diverse sectors of cooperation, and the levels of relationships characterized by a robust structure. Hence, it is natural to refer to these relations as a "strategic partnership". The trajectories of Sino-African relations continue to advance driven by global economic and geopolitical currents, particularly China's aspirations and rise in international politics.

In 2000, to strengthen Sino-African cooperation and promote a new international political and economic order, China and Africa launched the Forum on China-Africa Cooperation.

Egypt was among the first African countries to consult with China to establish the Forum. The Forum convenes every three years in China and an African country alternately, serving as a mechanism for collective consultation and dialogue between China and African nations, the first of its kind in the history of Sino-African relations. As a major step towards the future, both sides undertake within the context of South-South cooperation to pursue common development.

However, the primary motivation for China's engagement with Africa is economic. Thus, China views Africa as a central element in its project for sustaining and developing its economy in the long term. Africa is a significant source of raw materials for China, possessing some of the largest reserves globally. Moreover, it is a primary source of natural resources. Due to Africa's growing population, its purchasing power is increasing. It urgently needs social and economic infrastructure. These factors offer many opportunities for Chinese trade and investment. Since 2000, African countries have continued to strengthen their ties with China. This relationship is evident in the increase of Chinese trade across Africa and many joint activities. The Forum on China-Africa Cooperation, the largest gathering of African and Chinese leaders after the African Union, highlights this strong connection the African Union.<sup>1</sup>

China's imports from Africa of all raw materials, with the exception of iron, continued to increase at a greater rate than its imports from the rest of the world. China has sought to sign

monopoly contracts for the extraction and exploitation of cobalt and tantalum ores, which are used in the manufacturing of mobile phones and computers, coal, uranium, gold, manganese, diamonds, and zinc, with the governments of Congo, Nigeria, Zambia, Kenya, Senegal, Egypt, Algeria, Chad, and Ethiopia. The value of these contracts was estimated at approximately \$29 billion.<sup>2</sup>

In 2000, China was the primary source of imports for a few African countries, namely Sudan, Gambia, Benin, and Djibouti. However, after 20 years, it became the largest supplier of goods to more than 30 countries on the continent. This shift followed the intensification of Sino-African relations, with Chinese exports to African countries jumping from \$5 billion to \$110 billion. African exports to China also increased but at a slower pace. In 2019, the total value of African exports to China reached approximately \$80 billion, driven by increased Chinese demand for raw materials which amounted to around \$17.5 billion in 2019 alone. By 2021, the value of trade between Africa and China had increased by 35% to reach \$254 billion, primarily due to the rise in Chinese exports to the continent.<sup>3</sup>

Based on the foregoing, it can be said that the most important economic motivations for China in Africa are:

- Natural resource needs: Africa possesses vast natural resources, including oil, natural gas, and minerals. China requires these resources to meet its growing needs as its economy expands and

its population grows.

- Opening new markets: Africa constitutes an important market for China to export its products and expand its economic presence. Chinese companies are seeking opportunities to promote their products and services in African markets.

- Investments in infrastructure: China is heavily investing in infrastructure projects in Africa, such as roads, railways, and ports. These projects enhance China's commercial and logistical capabilities in the region.

- Economic cooperation: China seeks to enhance economic cooperation with African countries through the signing of trade and economic agreements. This strengthens bilateral relations and opens opportunities for mutually beneficial trade.

- Diversifying supply lines: By presence in Africa, China aims to diversify its supply lines and reduce reliance on single sources and routes.

## **1.2 The American economic motive for interest in the African continent**

The economic interests of the United States in Africa represent a significant determinant of its policy towards the continent. The United States is the largest industrialized nation and economy in the world. Its industry needs many minerals and a lot of energy, but not all of these are available in the US. Therefore, it must import what it lacks. Additionally, the US looks for markets to export its products due to intense international competition. It aims to grow its business sector and investments

abroad. Africa is a promising region for these interests. The objectives of US economic maneuvering in Africa can be discerned from a report issued by the Council on Foreign Relations in mid-1997 titled "Enhancing US Economic Relations with Africa" which recommended that the United States be at the forefront of major industrialized nations benefiting from new opportunities in Africa.

Based on this, the previous US administration under President Clinton worked on developing African trade and economic development programs. This was evidenced by several indicators, including President Clinton's visit to the African continent in 1997, during which he launched the principle or slogan: "Trade, not Aid" as a means to the continent's prosperity. This slogan was announced as part of the former US administration's efforts to establish a new US-Africa partnership, which was further solidified with the new US administration after congressional approval.<sup>4</sup>

The African Growth and Opportunity Act (AGOA) was signed on May 18, 2000. It is a trade program to build strong trade relations between the United States and Sub-Saharan Africa. AGOA creates a preferential trade agreement with selected countries in the region. Its main goal is to remove trade barriers and reduce or eliminate customs tariffs between the US and these countries. To benefit from AGOA, countries must meet certain conditions related to democracy and economic liberalization.<sup>5</sup>

## **2. China and America's strategies to develop investment in Africa**

The African continent possesses diverse capabilities and resources, prompting both China and the United States to envision leveraging these diversities and asserting their influence in the region. The Chinese side aims to secure access to resources and markets, safeguarding these acquisitions. Conversely, the United States primarily seeks to maintain its strategic access to the continent, enhance investments, and safeguard its facilities and interests therein.

### **2.1 Chinese strategies to develop investment in Africa**

#### **- Direct government investment in all fields**

African countries welcome Chinese investment because they admire China's rapid developmental success, which they hope to emulate. China has nearly 3 trillion dollars in cash reserves, much of which is invested abroad in sectors like energy, agriculture, mining, construction, trade, services, resource processing, manufacturing, and logistics support. The Export-Import Bank, a state-owned institution that provides loans to African governments on preferential terms, manages these investments. China is negotiating public works contracts, with energy and minerals as top priorities. To expand its economic presence in Africa, China relies on several state-owned enterprises. For example, China Energy Corporation exploits petroleum fields in Africa under favorable conditions to ensure a steady supply for China's

economy.<sup>6</sup>

The African Development Bank (AFDB) suggesting a need of around \$170 billion annually for infrastructure development and sustaining economic growth has bolstered China's centrality in Africa's development, with recent estimates. Africa ranks as the third-largest destination for Chinese investment, following Asia and Europe. Chinese foreign direct investment (FDI) in Africa has surged from \$20 million in the early 1990s to nearly \$100 million in 2000, surpassing \$1 billion in 2004. Since 2006, Chinese investment in Africa has steadily increased, reaching approximately \$110 million in 2017, following the 2015 Forum on China-Africa Cooperation where China committed \$60 billion to the continent. Despite downward trends in global trade and economy due to the effects of the COVID-19 pandemic, Chinese investment in Africa has expanded significantly. In 2020, Chinese investment inflows to the continent reached about \$5.2 billion, marking a 9.5% increase from 2019. By the end of July 2021, Chinese FDI totaled \$2 billion, surpassing pre-pandemic levels recorded in 2019. The majority of these investments are distributed across 52 African countries. A report by the China-Africa Business Council revealed that the cumulative direct investment of Chinese companies in Africa amounted to \$56 billion by the end of 2020. Total cumulative Chinese FDI in Africa increased nearly 100-fold over a 17-year period from 2003 to 2020, peaking at \$46.1 billion in 2018.<sup>7</sup>

### **- Granting preferential loans without political conditionality**

China's strategy in Africa focuses on respecting state sovereignty and not interfering in internal affairs, which prevents disruptions for African leaders. The Sierra Leonean ambassador in Beijing notes that China completes its projects without strict standards like environmental impact assessments or human rights considerations, which makes their investments successful. Senegalese President Abdoulaye Wade highlights that China understands African needs better than European investors and organizations, suggesting that both Africa and the West could learn from China's approach. Consequently, African Development Bank President Donald Kaberuka views China as a model for African progress.<sup>8</sup>

In fact, Africa has been the largest recipient of Chinese funds since 2009, with China providing \$10 billion in financing to Africa in the form of 'soft loans'. This commitment doubled to \$20 billion between 2013 and 2015. Chinese loans to Africa - estimated at around \$153 billion during the period (2000-2019) - represent the top 10 recipients of loans, accounting for 68% of the total, including diverse countries such as Angola, Ethiopia, Zambia, and Cameroon. In 2019, about 24% of total African debt was owed to China, while 32% was owed to international institutions, and 4% of government external debt was owed to private sector lenders. It is assumed that by 2025, China will provide Africa with around one trillion US dollars in funding,

including direct investment, soft loans, and commercial loans, especially after the negative economic fallout of the coronavirus pandemic.

China has provided a large number of soft loans to improve agricultural production capacity in Africa, product quality, and training of agricultural technicians. In addition, it has established a large number of agricultural technology testing stations, advisory stations, and water conservation projects, leading to improved agricultural production capacity and food security for some African countries. Chinese loans and grants have also helped some African countries to build infrastructure projects related to transportation, communications, and electricity.

China often provides low-interest loans to countries that rely on commodities such as oil or mineral resources. The closest example of this is the 'Angola model' adopted by China in providing aid to Africa. China helped rebuild Angola after the two countries agreed that Angola would repay Chinese debts using its future oil revenues. This type of aid, described in a report by the World Bank as the Angola model, has raised doubts as it focuses on exchanging infrastructure for resources and lacks clarity in distinguishing between aid, trade, and investment. In reality, the Angola model consists of agreements and contracts signed between Chinese and Angolan institutions with the support of both countries' governments based on mutual respect for sovereignty and non-interference in internal affairs. The Chinese government has also granted preferential loans to encourage Chinese

institutions to invest in infrastructure, energy, and resources, and this model has not only contributed to economic development in Angola but also helped Chinese institutions to expand abroad, achieving mutual benefits for China and Angola through this model.<sup>9</sup>

### **- Providing grants and assistance without charge**

Official Chinese aid forms a suitable and good model for African economies for several reasons: Firstly, China possesses extensive experience in development. Secondly, its projects are characterized by relative quality and low costs, which suits African countries that cannot afford high developmental expenses.<sup>10</sup>

Most of the Chinese foreign aid provided without charge is categorized as infrastructure, social, and health assistance. China supports recipient countries in improving medical conditions and healthcare, enhancing disease control and prevention, and strengthening public health capacities by building hospitals, providing medicines and medical equipment, dispatching medical teams, and training medical personnel. By the end of 2018, China had over 200 infrastructure projects in Africa, making it the largest donor in this field. Examples include assistance for the construction of the Tanzania-Zambia Railway, the Cairo International Conference Center in Egypt, the Friendship Port in Mauritania, projects in Ghana, the Mauritius Airport, and the Buvi Hydropower Station in Ghana.<sup>11</sup>

During the COVID-19 pandemic, Beijing continued its policy of providing healthcare assistance to African countries by offering an additional billion doses of COVID-19 vaccines, engaging in joint projects for vaccine production on the African continent, and aiding those nations in developing local vaccine manufacturing capabilities.<sup>12</sup>

### **- Encouraging African exports to China**

China has worked on encouraging African exports to the Chinese market and for export to other regions in the world by establishing a permanent exhibition for African goods in the city of Yiwu in Zhejiang Province. More than 1000 Africans reside permanently in the city with the aim of promoting the marketing of African products and assisting African companies and traders to benefit from the Chinese market, as well as enhancing transit trade and raising the reputation of African products in China.<sup>13</sup>

## **2.2 America's strategies to develop investment in Africa**

### **- Relying on the private sector for investment**

The United States enacted the African Growth and Opportunity Act (AGOA) in 2000. This law encouraged American companies to expand into Africa. It was extended in 2015 for another ten years. The law focuses on trade preferences. It requires the president to report to Congress on U.S.-Africa trade relations every year and every two years after that. The report describes trade and investment with sub-Saharan Africa, changes in AGOA eligibility, and efforts to build trade capacity between

Africa and the U.S. It also promotes American private sector involvement in various industries such as scientific and technological services, computing, and data storage.

According to data from the White House, the United States concluded over 800 bilateral trade and investment deals with 47 African countries in 2021, with total U.S. goods and services traded with Africa amounting to \$83.6 billion in 2021. American investment areas included sustainable energy, healthcare systems, agriculture, digital communication, infrastructure, and finance.

According to the latest statistics from the U.S. Census Bureau, total two-way trade in goods with sub-Saharan Africa alone reached \$44.8 billion in 2021, up 21.8% from \$36.7 billion in 2019. U.S. exports to Africa amounted to \$16.5 billion in 2021, up from \$15.8 billion in 2019 (partly due to increased sales of natural gas and vehicles and parts), while U.S. imports of goods from Africa totaled \$28.2 billion in 2021, up from \$21 billion in 2019 (primarily due to sharp increases in purchases of precious metals). The largest U.S. exports by product in 2021 were vehicles (\$3.2 billion), machinery (\$2 billion), mineral fuels (\$1.8 billion), grains (\$918 million), and aircraft (\$841 million). The top U.S. export markets in 2021 were South Africa (\$5.5 billion), Nigeria (\$3.9 billion), Ghana (\$983 million), Ethiopia (\$585 million), and Kenya (\$551 million). The most significant U.S. imports in 2021 were precious metals and stones (platinum and diamonds) (\$11.1 billion), fossil fuels (\$6 billion), apparel (\$1.4 billion), cocoa (\$1.3 billion), and vehicles (\$868 million).

South Africa (\$15.7 billion), Nigeria (\$3.5 billion), Ghana (\$1.7 billion), Ivory Coast (\$1.2 billion), and Angola (\$1.1 billion) were the largest suppliers from sub-Saharan Africa to the United States in 2021.

American investment in Africa amounted to \$33.3 billion in 2020, a slight increase from \$32.6 billion in 2018, with major U.S. investments focusing on sectors such as electricity, transportation manufacturing, technology/digital economy, retail trade, and tourism. The top three destinations for U.S. investment in sub-Saharan African countries in 2020 were South Africa (\$10 billion), Mauritius (\$8.3 billion), and Nigeria (\$6.8 billion), with African investments in the United States experiencing a sharp increase from \$5.1 billion in 2018 to \$9.3 billion in 2020, according to the latest data from the U.S. Census Bureau.<sup>14</sup>

### **- Linking investment to political conditionality**

In the early 1990s, US-Africa relations shifted as the United States linked its aid to African countries' commitment to democracy and human rights, a concept known as "political conditionality." However, this approach faded when international competition for investment in Africa increased. In the mid-1990s, the US refocused on Africa's economic potential. Some American strategic thinkers believed neglecting Africa's strategic opportunities would be a mistake and advocated for tapping into its growing economic prospects. A key element of the US strategy was the pursuit of new energy resources.

In September 1993, the United States announced a new strategy for Africa called the "Expansion Policy," replacing George Kennan's "Containment Policy." The "Expansion Policy" aimed to spread democracy and a free-market economy across Africa, moving away from a directed economy. Unlike the defensive, military-oriented "Containment Policy," this new approach was offensive and economic-oriented. It sought to expand Africa's involvement in the market economy and liberalism, and to eliminate remnants of despotism and directed economy. However, threats such as conflicts and civil wars persisted.

Despite the prevalent belief that US aid policy and future economic assistance are strictly subject to political performance standards in Africa, America has not ceased its conditionally-attached aids to political liberation. The latter was making it difficult to realistically gauge the linkage between aid and condition implementation.

Since the end of the Cold War, Washington has identified several conditions that must be met in the economies of developing countries, including African ones, to receive grants, assistance, and economic preferences. In the same context, the AGOA reinforced the idea of economic and trade conditions. Annually, the US Congress requests the President to designate a list of sub-Saharan African countries eligible for AGOA privileges, and the law sets several economic criteria that African economies must meet to qualify for AGOA benefits, including:

- \* Economic orientation of those countries towards market economy.
- \* Rule of law.
- \* State efforts to combat poverty.
- \* Protection of workers' rights in all economic activities in the country.
- \* Enhancement of efforts and initiatives to combat corruption.

Nearly two decades after the enactment of AGOA, there are approximately 39 sub-Saharan African countries enjoying AGOA privileges as of 2019. US estimates indicate that the law has helped increase trade between the two sides, with US imports increasing by 68% from 2001 to 2017. Non-oil AGOA imports in 2018 amounted to about \$4.3 billion, more than three times what they were in 2001, including non-oil US imports of vehicles, parts, gold, cocoa, and fruits.<sup>15</sup>

### **- Strategy to eliminate competitors**

By the late 1990s, the United States saw that China was filling the gap it had left in sub-Saharan Africa. In mid-1998, the US Secretary of Commerce toured Africa and said that Africa was the final frontier for American exporters and investors, offering significant potential. He noted that American businesspeople had long left African markets to competitors from Europe and Asia. China's strategy in Africa focused on emerging markets and was very different from European and American approaches. This helped China become Africa's largest trading partner, followed by

the European Union and then the United States.

Former US Secretary of State Madeleine Albright's "wise saying" might explain American apprehension, as she stated, "Economic alliances with other countries will be a priority of US foreign policy, and new economic blocs will be the military alliances of the next century," a wisdom she gained after an extensive tour of several African countries from October 17 to 23, 1999.

This period marked the beginning of Chinese economic influence in Africa. Trade between the African continent and China multiplied many times over since the launch of the China-Africa Cooperation Forum in 2000, rising from \$10 billion to \$220 billion over 15 years. The percentage of Chinese-African trade in the total African foreign trade volume increased from 3.82% to 20.5%, and total Chinese investment in Africa increased from \$500 million to \$30 billion.

In contrast, on February 6, 2007, during President George W. Bush's administration, the US announced a new military command called "Africa Command" or AFRICOM. This was to support US security goals in Africa and nearby waters. Later, in late 2014, the Obama administration established a US-Africa summit focused on economic affairs in Africa, similar to the China-Africa Cooperation Forum and the India-Africa Forum.

Comparing American and Chinese investments in Africa, American companies are expected to invest about \$14 billion in African projects, as stated by President Barack Obama at the

Washington African Summit in August 2014. This amount is very small compared to China's aid to Africa, estimated at around \$75 billion. Over the past decade, China's role in Africa's investment, economy, and trade has been significant compared to the American role. However, the American role is growing. Through the summit mechanism, the United States aims to catch up with other industrial powers, especially China, which have increased their trade and investments in Africa.<sup>16</sup>

## **CONCLUSION**

Despite China's significant progress in Africa over the past two decades, the American presence remains strong and capable of competing, especially in investment and business. However, this requires a new political vision different from the one currently used. China has strategically positioned itself in Africa, achieving gains through investments in infrastructure and mining, thanks to its clear developmental vision. Economic relations between China and Africa are more about integration than competition, with trade being complementary. Chinese initiatives in improving infrastructure, such as roads, railways, and communication systems, greatly enhance Africa's manufacturing sectors. China also helps African countries overcome development challenges in various fields. As a result, economic relations between China and Africa are mutually beneficial, while American policies lack a unified developmental vision.

China invests in Africa mainly through government funding, offering loans without political conditions. In contrast,

the United States relies on private investment and supports commercial projects. China focuses on exploiting Africa's natural resources, investing heavily in mining and petroleum. The United States, however, supports democracy, humanitarian projects, and various commercial ventures. China's strategy involves long-term contracts for infrastructure projects that take a long time to complete. Meanwhile, the United States focuses on small and medium-sized projects that produce quicker results.

**Footnotes:**

<sup>1</sup> Jihan Abdel Salam Abbas,(2022) **“China-Africa Economic Relations: An Analytical Study”** Journal of the College of Politics and Economics, Volume 16, Issue 15, pp. 174-175.

<sup>2</sup> Boukhalfa Zuhair, **“Chinese-African relations - the cases of Algeria and South Africa -”**, (PhD thesis, Faculty of Political Science and International Relations, University of Algiers 3), 2022/2023, p. 124.

<sup>3</sup> Shadi Ibrahim, **The Future of the American-Chinese Competition on the African Continent**, Al Jazeera Center for Studies, 2023, p. 6.

<sup>4</sup> Tawfiq Rawiya, **“International Competition in the African Continent”** access date: 11/20/2023, at the link: <https://ketabonline.com/ar/books>

<sup>5</sup> Muhammad Zakaria Fadl, (2022) **“Trade and Investment Relations between the United States of America and East African Countries”** African Follow-up Magazine, Issue 23, p. 40.

<sup>6</sup> Qazi Muhammad and Somaya Shehnaz, (2023), **“China-Africa Relations under the Belt and Road Initiative”** Dafatir Magazine, Volume 19, Issue 1, p. 598.

<sup>7</sup> Jihan Abdel Salam Abbas,Op.Cit., pp. 138-184.

<sup>8</sup> Naji Malaeb, **Africa between American Militarism and Chinese Indebtedness**, date of access: 11/20/2023, at the link: <https://sitainstitute.com/?p=10081>

<sup>9</sup>Jihan Abdel Salam Abbas,op. cit., pp.188-189.

<sup>10</sup> Ibtisam Muhammad Al-Amiri, **The Chinese Role in Africa: A Study in Soft Power Diplomacy**, Center for Strategic and International Studies, University of Baghdad, date of access: 11/20/2023, at the link: <https://platform.almanhal.com/Files/2/111705>

<sup>11</sup> Jihan Abdel Salam Abbas,op. cit., p. 187.

<sup>12</sup> Qazi Muhammad and Sumaya Shehnaz, op. cit., p. 600.

<sup>13</sup> Ibid., p. 598.

<sup>14</sup> Asmaa Fahmy, **America and China... compete for presence in Africa**, date of access: 11/21/2023, at the link: <https://ecss.com.eg/33044/>

<sup>15</sup> Muhammad Al-Dabouli, **Transformations in American Foreign Policy towards Africa**, date of access: 11/21/2023, at the link: <https://pharostudies.com/?p=2706>

<sup>16</sup> Walid Al-Tayeb,(2015) **“The Chinese-American Competition over Africa,”** Turkish Vision, Issue 4, pp. 188-189.

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