

Ευρώπη στον Κόσμο
Γεωστρατηγικές και Γεωοικονομικές Διαστάσεις
(Ευρωπαϊκές Σπουδές)

Ευρώπη-Αφρική Δυναμικές, Προκλήσεις και Προοπτικές

Δρ. Χρύσανθος Βλάμης
Εντεταλμένος Διδάσκων

chrysanthos.vlamis@gmail.com, chrysanthos.vlamis@unipi.gr

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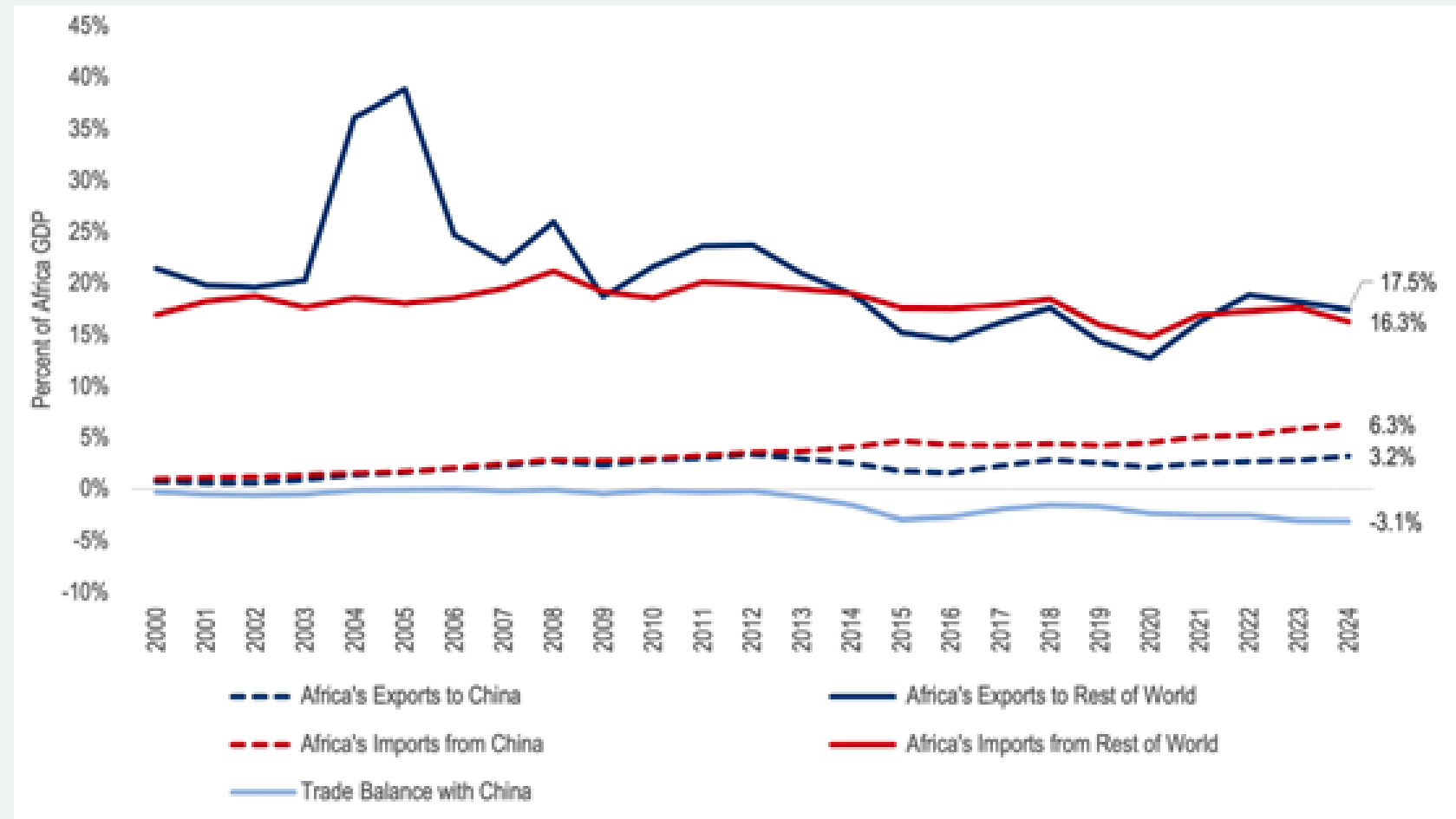
China in Africa – Historic Background

- Bandung Conference (1955 Indonesia): anti-colonialism – South-South cooperation (Non-Aligned Movement) – post colonialism - African nationalism - Asian anti-imperialism - Third World presence in international relations
- 1970s: Support for liberation movements in Angola, Mozambique, Zimbabwe and Namibia (often competing with former Soviet Union)
- 1980s: low level cooperation
- 1990s: commercial expansion, **non-interference, sovereignty, mutual benefit**, rapid growth in **trade, construction contracts, resource diplomacy**, especially in oil- and mineral-rich states like Angola, Sudan and Nigeria
- 2000s: infrastructure & resources
- Now: geopolitical & technological competition

China in Africa – Key points

- Trade booms since 2000 – **China is Africa's largest trading partner (bilateral)**
 - \$148 bil. in 2017 - \$275 in 2024, \$348 bil. in 2025 - EU: approx. \$390 bil. - US: approx. \$75 bil.
- **Belt & Road Initiative (BRI) (Πρωτοβουλία Ζώνη και Δρόμος) – Forum on China-Africa Cooperation (FOCAC)**
- **Infrastructure expansion** (roads, railways, ports, dams, industrial parks) – Infrastructure Diplomacy
- **Technology & Digitalization** (Huawei, ZTE, Transsion - more than 50% of the African market, estimated IPO in 2019 at \$7 bil.)
- **Minerals and Energy**
- **Geopolitical Competition** with the West (no-conditionality approach)
- **Debt & Finance** (debt-trap diplomacy, loans, debt sustainability, collateralized lending)
- **Largest arms-supplier** to Sub-Saharan Africa

China accounted for **28%** of Africa's total imports and **16%** of total exports — and was the leading export destination for **19 of 54** African countries.



Source: MENGDI YUE, TERRENCE KAIRIZA, YIYUAN QI & ABBI KEDIR) May 2026.China–Africa trade, investment & lending: what the data says. (. Boston University Global Development Policy Center & AERC ·

Africa exports raw materials.

Africa imports finished goods.

Extractives consistently make up **87–91%** of Africa's exports to China. Agriculture and manufacturing together stay below 13%.

Copper

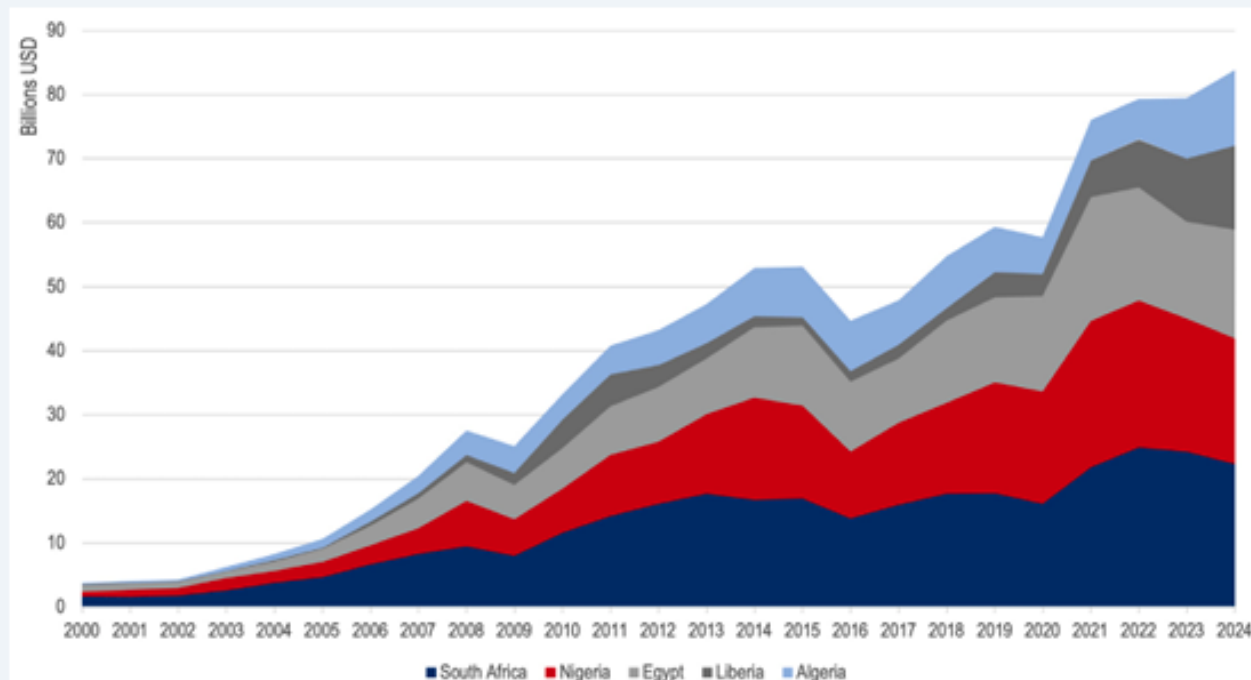
Bauxite & aluminium

Chromium

Manganese

Cobalt

Africa's imports from China: **94–95% manufactured goods** — telecoms equipment, electrical machinery, textiles.

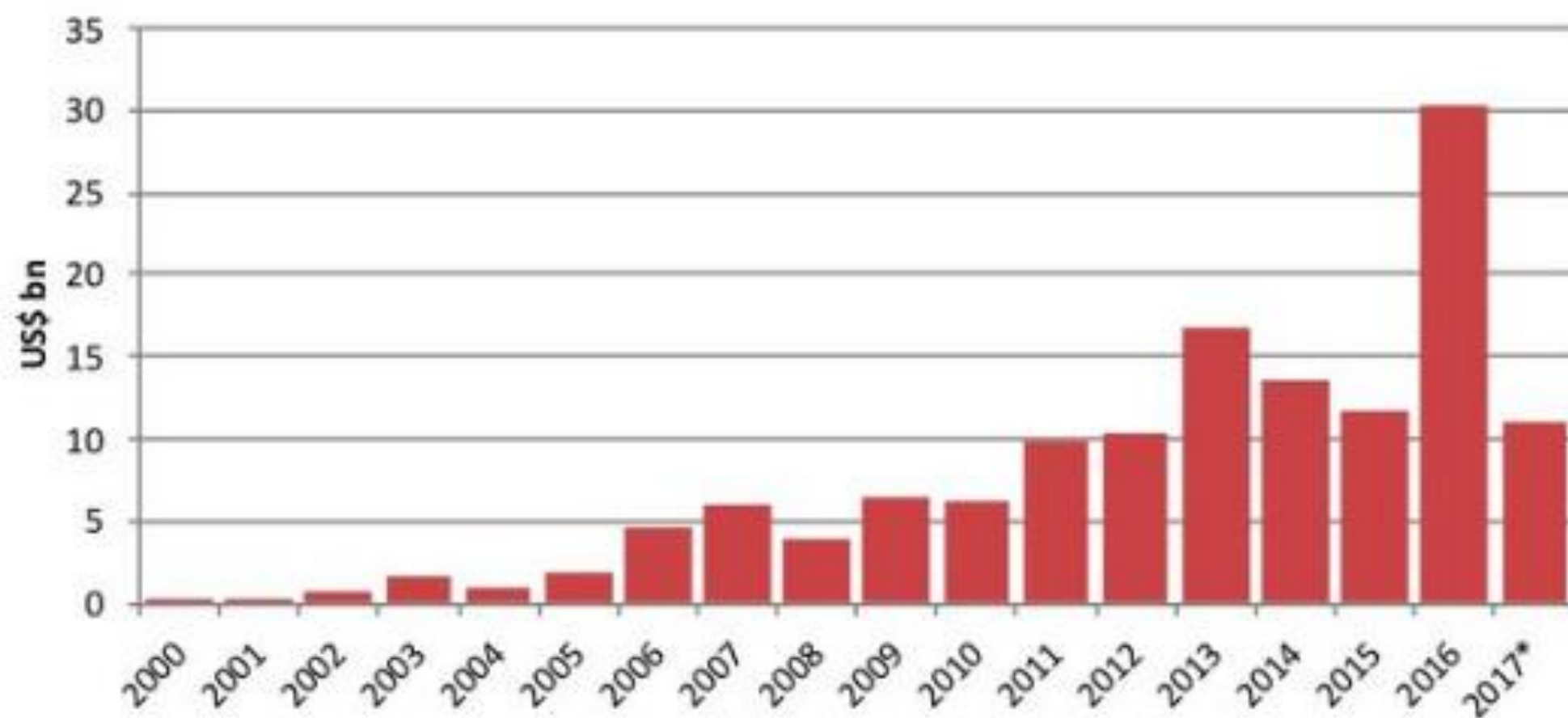


Source: MENGDI YUE, TERRENCE KAIRIZA, YIYUAN QI & ABBI KEDIR) May 2026.China–Africa trade, investment & lending: what the data says. (. Boston University Global Development Policy Center & AERC ·

Key Infrastructure Cases

- **Tanzania - Zambia** Tazara historical railway (completed 1976), a flagship Chinese project linking Tanzania and Zambia to the Indian Ocean
- **Kenya:** Standard Gauge Railway (SGR), \$4 bil. (2016-18) Exim Bank of China
- **Ethiopia:** Industrial Parks – Addis-Djibouti railway (2018), \$3,4 bil.
- **Angola: Oil-backed infrastructure financing (resources for infrastructure)**
 - China Exim Bank signs \$2 bil. (2004) secured by oil exports, purpose: roads, railways, hospitals, schools, electricity, water infrastructure
 - \$3 bil. (2007), \$3 bil. (2011)
 - **Total Between 2000–2024: \$49 bil. in Chinese loan commitments**
 - **Angola is China's largest African borrower**

Chinese Loans to Africa



Version 1.1. August 2018

CHINA★AFRICA
RESEARCH INITIATIVE


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Top 10 African Countries with the Highest Chinese Loans in the Last 24 Years

1.  Angola - Amount: \$49.2 billion -- Number of Chinese Loans: 271
2.  Ethiopia - Amount: \$14.0 billion -- Number of Chinese Loans: 64
3.  Kenya - Amount: \$10.0 billion -- Number of Chinese Loans: 62
4.  Zambia - Amount: \$9.5 billion -- Number of Chinese Loans: 82
5.  Nigeria - Amount: \$8.9 billion -- Number of Chinese Loans: 25
6.  Egypt - Amount: \$7.7 billion -- Number of Chinese Loans: 19
7.  Sudan - Amount: \$6.3 billion -- Number of Chinese Loans: 66
8.  Cameroon - Amount: \$5.9 billion -- Number of Chinese Loans: 49
9.  Ghana - Amount: \$5.8 billion -- Number of Chinese Loans: 54
10.  Côte d'Ivoire - Amount: \$5.7 billion -- Number of Chinese Loans: 42

Source: Boston University Global Development Policy Center

Chinese loans to Africa have declined sharply since 2020.

<\$5B

Annual commitments
since 2020

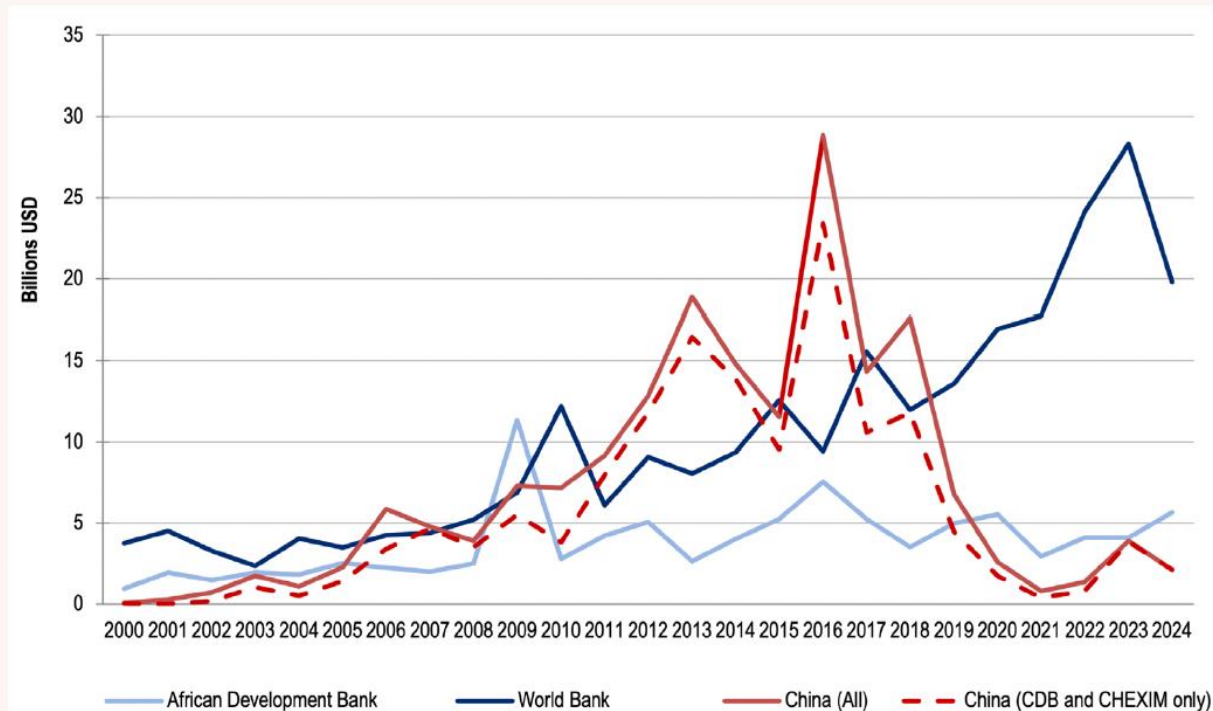
\$0

New fossil fuel
loans since 2019

\$1.7B

Non-hydro renewables
total 2000–2024

Commitments fell below \$5B — after exceeding World Bank levels during the 2010s. Just **6 loans worth \$2.1B** in 2024. The financial sector overtook energy & transport as the largest recipient.



Source: MENGDI YUE, TERRENCE KAIRIZA, YIYUAN QI & ABBI KEDIR) May 2026.China–Africa trade, investment & lending: what the data says. (. Boston University Global Development Policy Center & AERC ·

China's Financial Influence in Africa

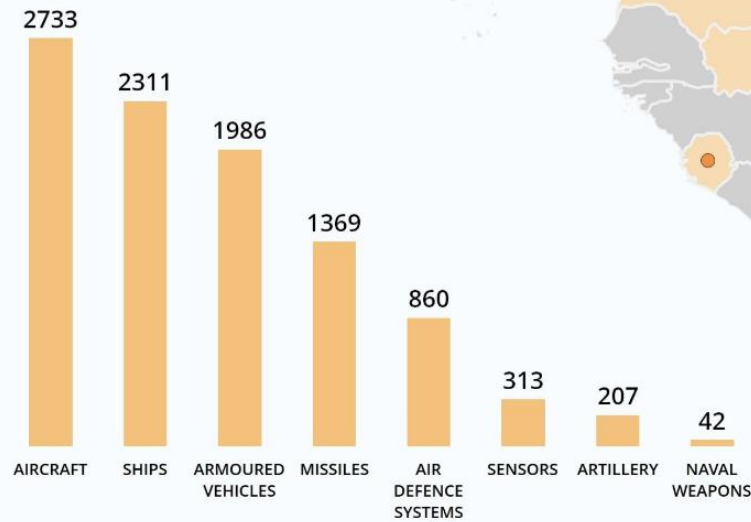
- State banks, concessional loans, policy banks, infrastructure finance
- Key institutions: Export-Import Bank of China (EXIM), China Development Bank
- Key African partners: Angola, Ethiopia, Kenya, Zambia
- Chinese lending has slowed due to:
 - debt crises
 - repayment problems
 - domestic economic pressures

Smart Cities & Digital Governance

- **Kenya** (Nairobi): cameras, traffic monitoring, surveillance integration
- **Ethiopia: Digital Governance & Telecommunications expansion (AU Headquarters)**
- **Nigeria: Huawei** smart-city technologies & data systems – **Huawei has reportedly built 75% of Africa's 4G telecom infrastructure.**
- **Surveillance Systems** (facial recognition, CCTV networks, digital monitoring) in **Uganda, Zimbabwe, Kenya, Zambia**
- **Cloud & Data Infrastructure** ex. cloud services, data centers, AI in **South Africa, Egypt, Nigeria**
- **Undersea cables & Internet Infrastructure** (fiber, broadband) in **Djibouti, South Africa, Kenya, Egypt**

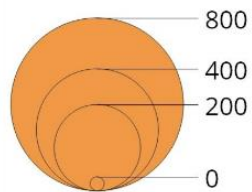


Chinese military exports of major conventional weapons in Africa, 2010 - 2017

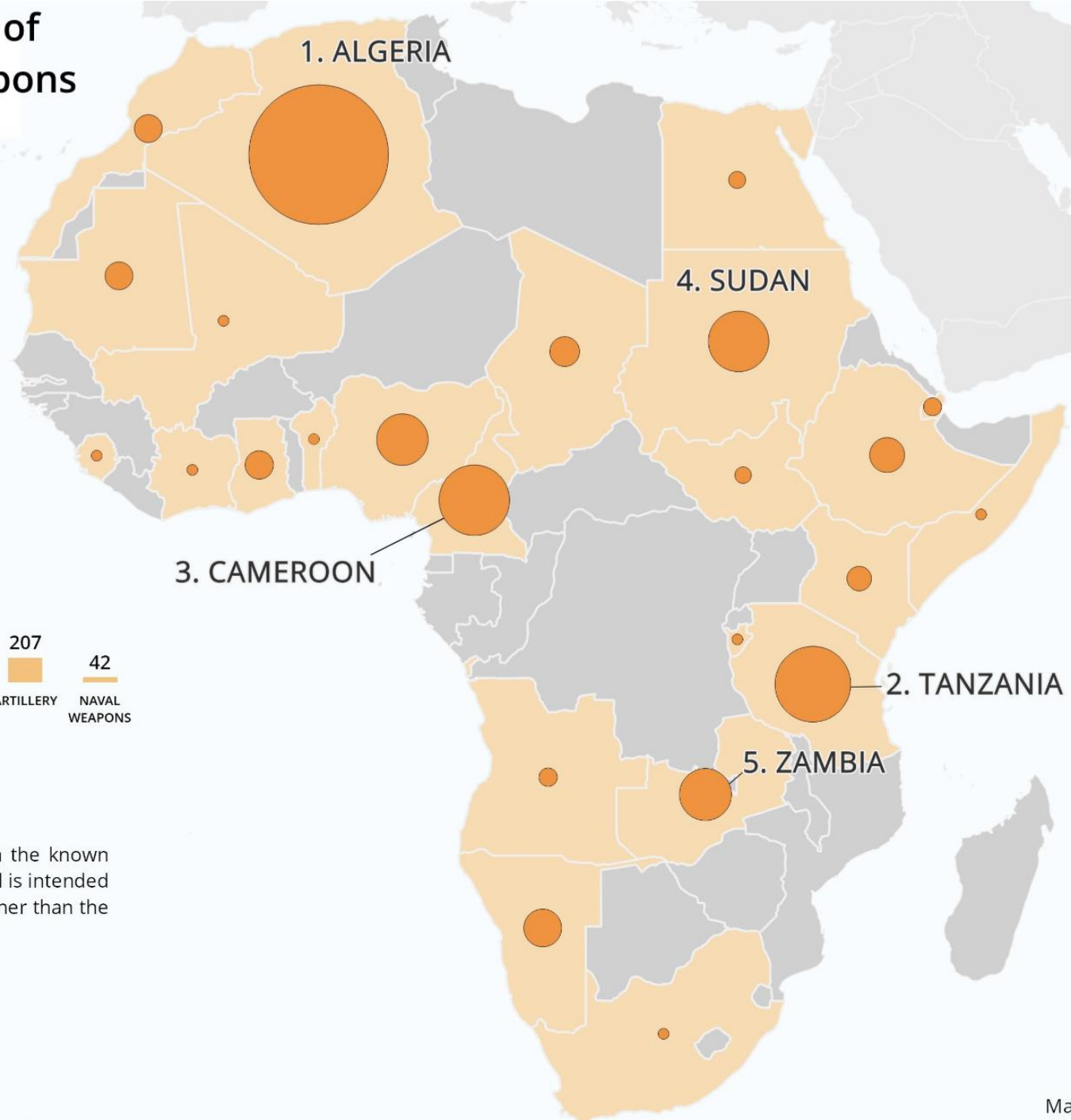


Major conventional weapons imported from China (Trend-Indicator Value)

The SIPRI Trend-Indicator Value (TIV) is based on the known unit production costs of a core set of weapons and is intended to represent the transfer of military resources rather than the financial value of the transfer.



Source: Stockholm International Peace Research Institute



Minerals and Battery Value Chains

- **Cobalt:** DRC (mining ownership, processing, refining, battery supply chains)
- **Lithium:** Zimbabwe, Namibia, Mali (mining, processing, battery mineral exports)
- **Copper:** Zambia, DRC (mining, smelting, infrastructure links to exports)
- **Rare earths:** Madagascar, South Africa, Tanzania (exploration, extraction, early-stage processing)
- **Manganese:** South Africa, Gabon (mining, steel/battery supply chains)
- **Graphite:** Mozambique, Madagascar (mining, battery anode supply chains)
- **Nickel:** Madagascar, South Africa (extraction, battery-related investments)

China's Geopolitical - Geoeconomic impact in Africa vs EU & US

- EU dependence on China
- US concerns over supply chains
- Growing competition for African resources
- South-South cooperation
- Empowerment of African sovereignty/agency
- No-conditionality approach – Business as usual
- Strategic Diversification

From traditional geopolitics to digital geopolitics/geoeconomics

China's role in Africa:

- Sovereignty
- Digital governance
- External influence
- Infrastructure diplomacy
- Geoeconomics

Does infrastructure financing create:

- technological dependence?
- strategic vulnerability?
- external influence over sovereignty?

Climate Change, ecological degradation, mobility

- **Climate change/climate risks/climate stress:**
 - **affect incomes of households, companies' revenues & government spending**
 - **contributes to rural displacement, urban migration, cross-border movement**
- **Mobility and migration from the global South to North is unequivocal**
- **Conflict minerals and resource extractivism are often accused for forced and child labor and abuse of human rights**
- **Gap in the availability of capital and support for climate tech start-ups**
- **Food insecurity is rising**
- **Emerging economies' support on climate adaptation is essential**

Climate Change impacts in Africa

Climate crisis is transforming:

- **Energy systems**
- **Food systems**
- **Migration politics**
- **Resource competition**

Securing physical risks is necessary

such as:

- **Floods (West and Central Africa)**
- **Water shortages (Nile, Niger rivers),**
- **Desertification, droughts, extreme heat (ex. Horn of Africa, Sahel, Southern Africa),**
- **Cyclones (Mozambique, Madagascar)**

Climate effects:

- **Declining crop yields**
- **Food insecurity**
- **Livestock/farmer-herder conflicts**

Climate change – Ecological Threat

- Sub-Saharan Africa (SSA) is **one of the most climate-change affected areas in the world.**
- Sub-Saharan Africa has the **highest average level of ecological threat**
- **2/3 of hotspot countries with the highest risk are in SSA**

Examples:

- **Niger**, the most threatened country worldwide (high population growth)
- **Burundi** (high population growth)
- **Central African Republic**
- **Chad**
- **Republic of the Congo** (high population growth)
- **Somalia**
- **South Sudan**
- **Uganda** (high population growth)

Climate change – Displacement - Gender Inequality

- In 2020, an estimated **1.2 million people** in East Africa were displaced due to natural disasters, representing nearly **10% of global displacements** (WMO, 2020)
- Around **85 million people** (4 out of 10 globally) will be displaced in **Africa by 2050** due to the effects of climate change on the liveability of current areas of human settlement (World Bank, 2021 a)

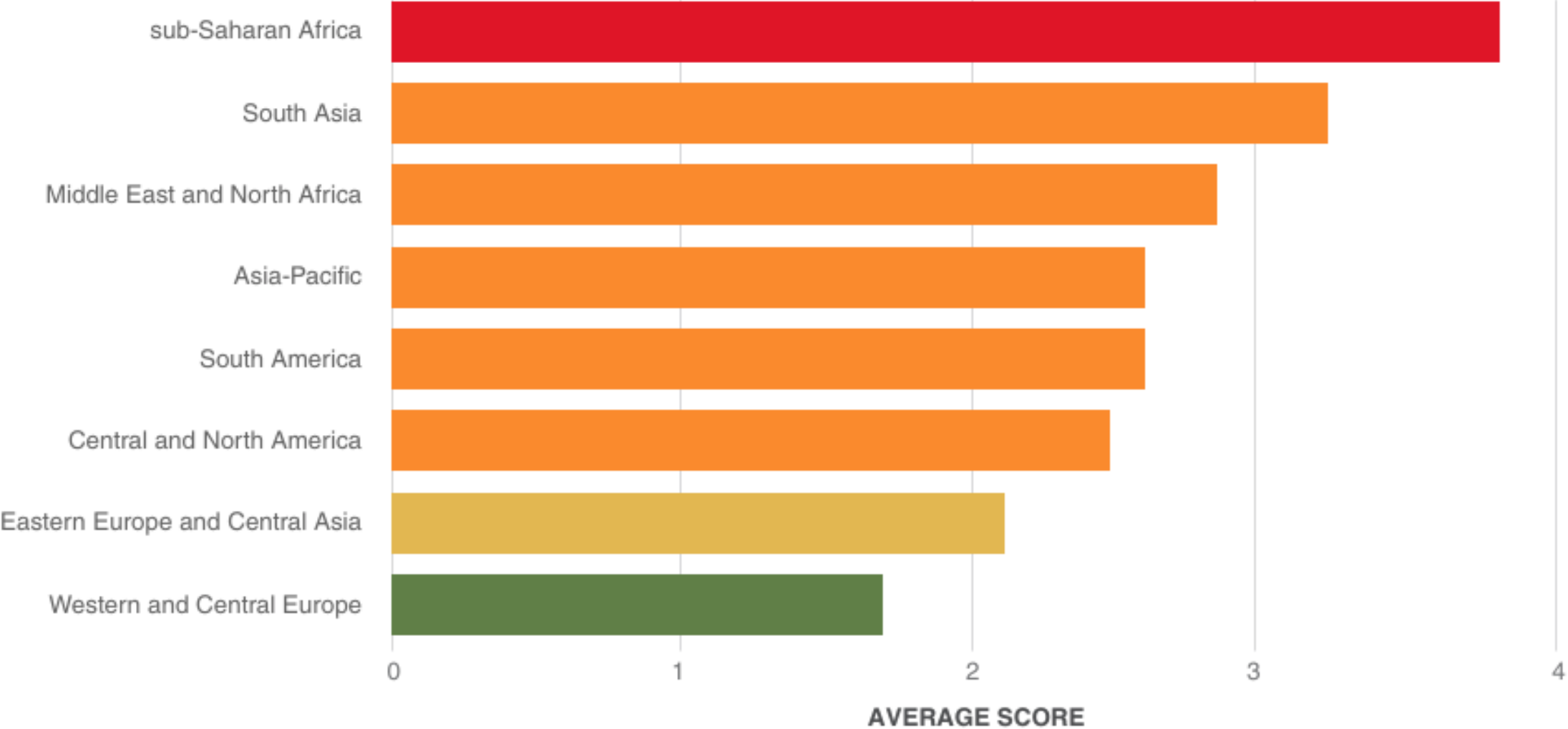
WOMEN:

- commonly face higher risks and greater burdens from the impacts of climate change in situations of poverty.
- They are most reliant on natural resources for their livelihoods
- And/or have the least capacity to respond to natural hazards.
- Women typically have unequal participation in decision-making processes.
- Labour markets compound inequalities and often prevent women from fully contributing to climate-related planning, policy making and implementation.

Source: Institute for Economics and Peace, 2022. Ecological Threat Report 2022: Analysing ecological threats, resilience and peace. Sydney: Institute for Economics and Peace

Average ETR score by region, 2024 (Ecological Threat Report)

Countries in sub-Saharan Africa and South Asia face the highest level of ecological threat on average.



Source: IEP

Source: Institute for Economics and Peace, 2025. Ecological Threat Report 2025: Analysing ecological threats, resilience and peace.

Water risk scores by region, 2024

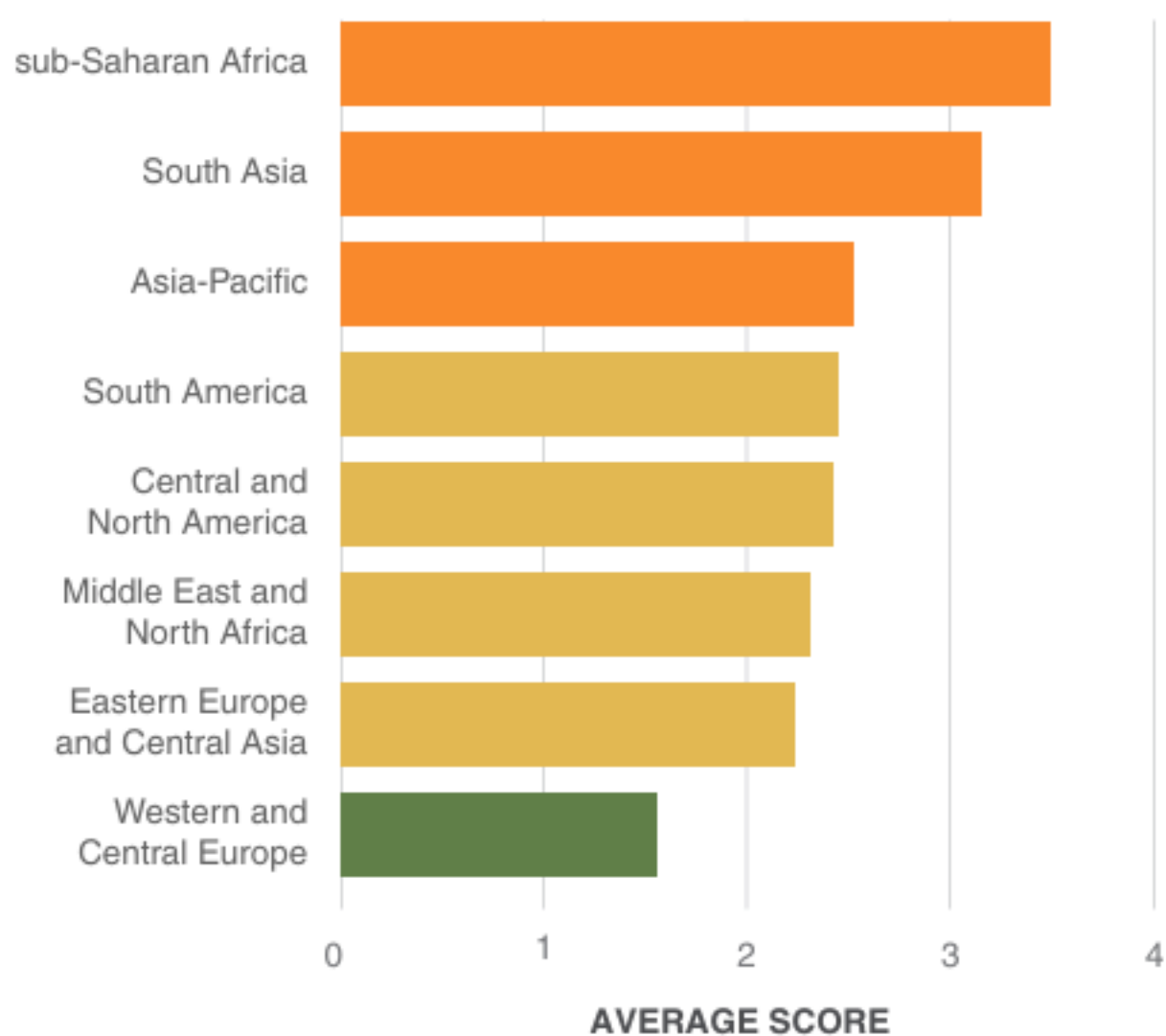
Sub-Saharan Africa is the only region that on average faces a high threat level in relation to water risk. In contrast, Western and Central Europe recorded low overall risk levels.



Source: IEP

Food insecurity scores by region, 2024

Since 2022, no regions have registered severe threat levels for food insecurity.



Source: IEP

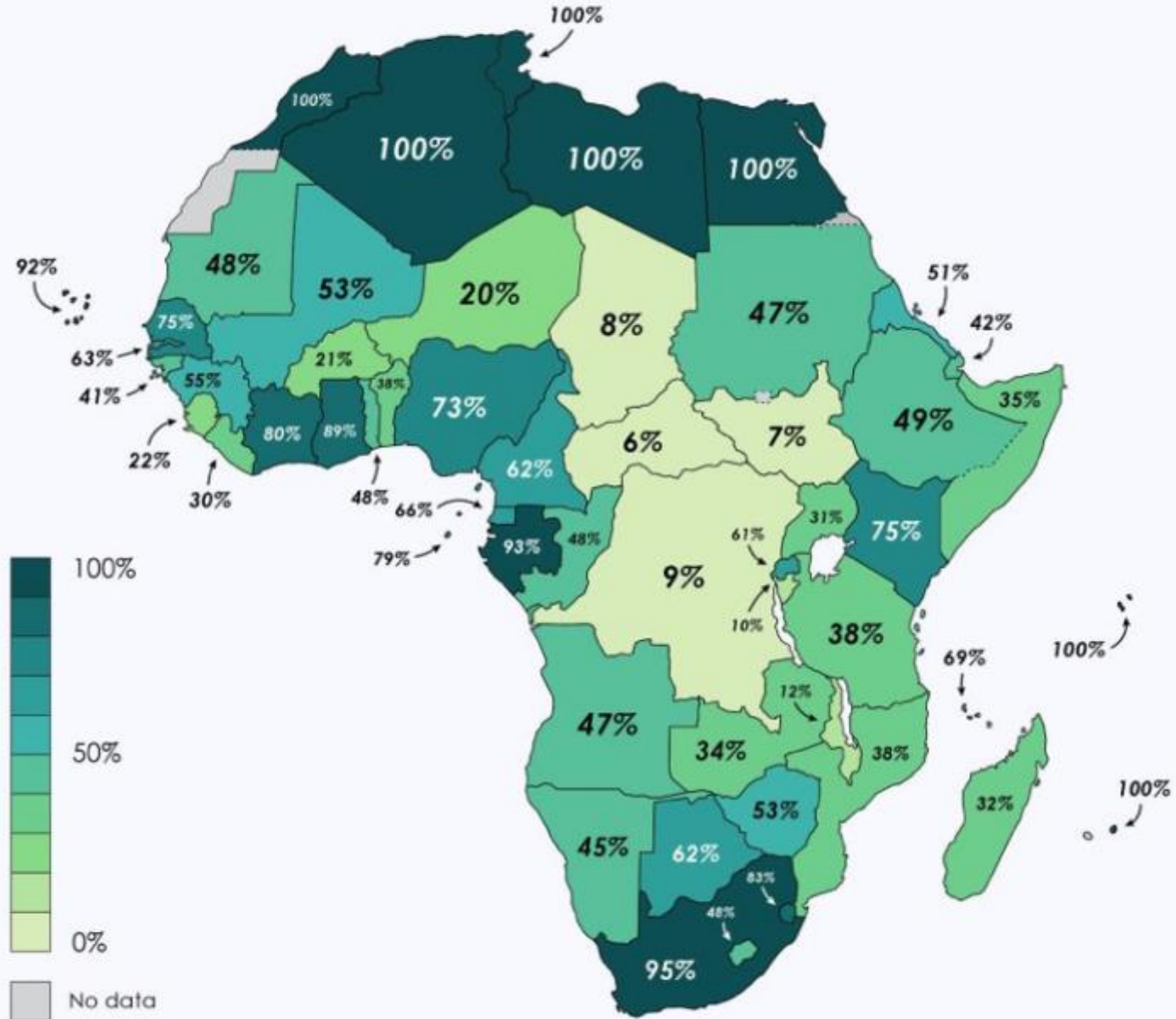
Countries projected to grow and shrink the most in population by 2050

The countries with the highest projected population growth are concentrated in sub-Saharan Africa, while those projected to contract the most are predominantly in Eastern Europe and Central Asia.

Greatest projected growth					
Country	Region	2024 Score	Population 2025	Projected 2050 Population	Population Change (%)
Niger	Sub-Saharan Africa	4.979	25,835,933	50,812,311	97%
Uganda	Sub-Saharan Africa	4.535	52,288,952	92,324,420	77%
Malawi	Sub-Saharan Africa	4.512	22,670,320	39,612,170	75%
Liberia	Sub-Saharan Africa	4.311	6,396,520	10,600,294	66%
Nigeria	Sub-Saharan Africa	4.252	224,971,672	368,395,672	64%
Afghanistan	South Asia	4.179	46,403,108	75,294,615	62%
Burkina Faso	Sub-Saharan Africa	4.05	24,359,092	38,470,660	58%
Zambia	Sub-Saharan Africa	4.019	19,113,469	30,034,440	57%
Yemen	Middle East and North Africa	4.007	35,521,135	55,735,938	57%
Tanzania	Sub-Saharan Africa	3.962	63,992,319	99,674,768	56%

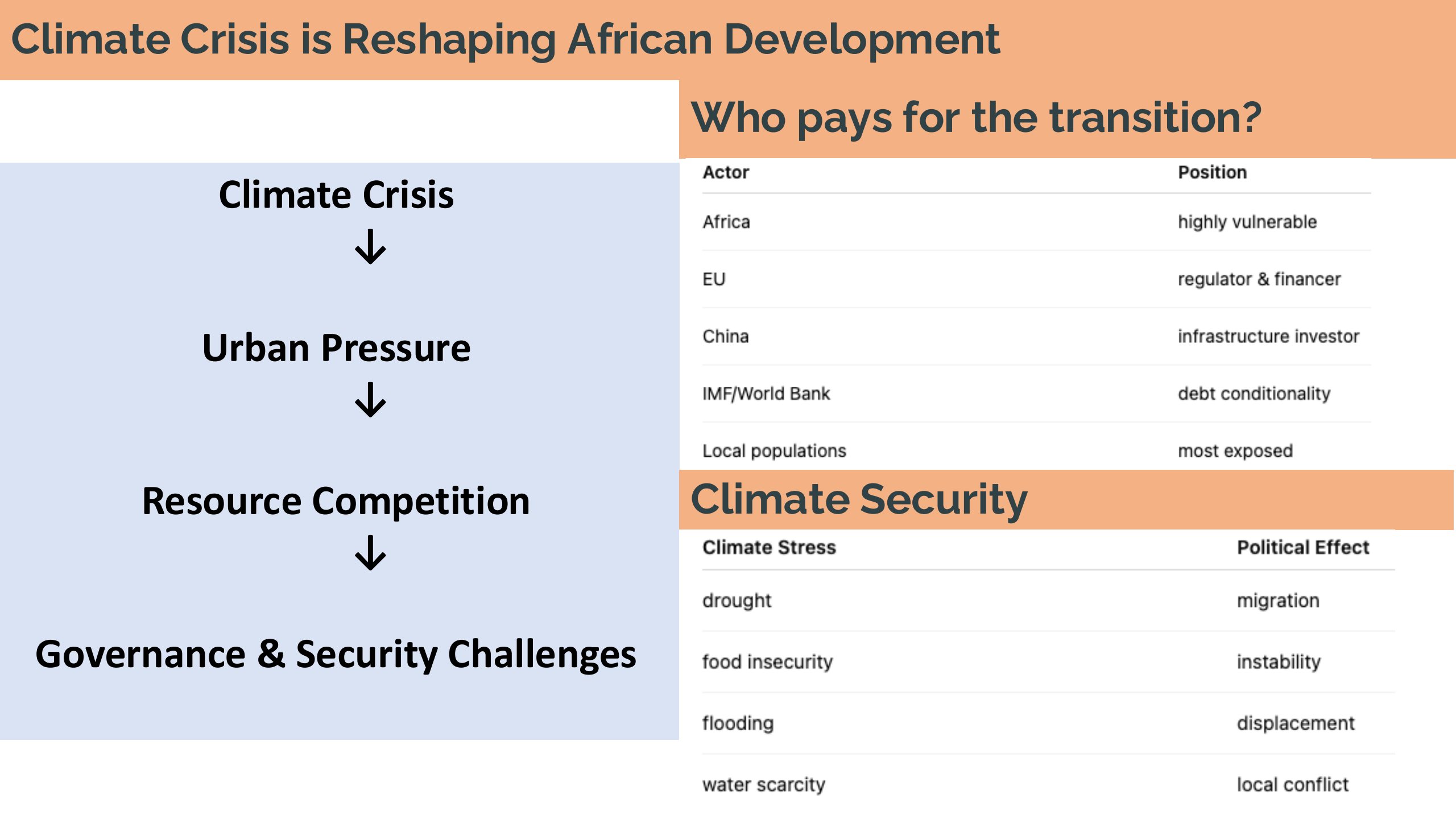
Access to electricity in Africa

By the proportion of the population, 2022 data



Source: International Energy Agency

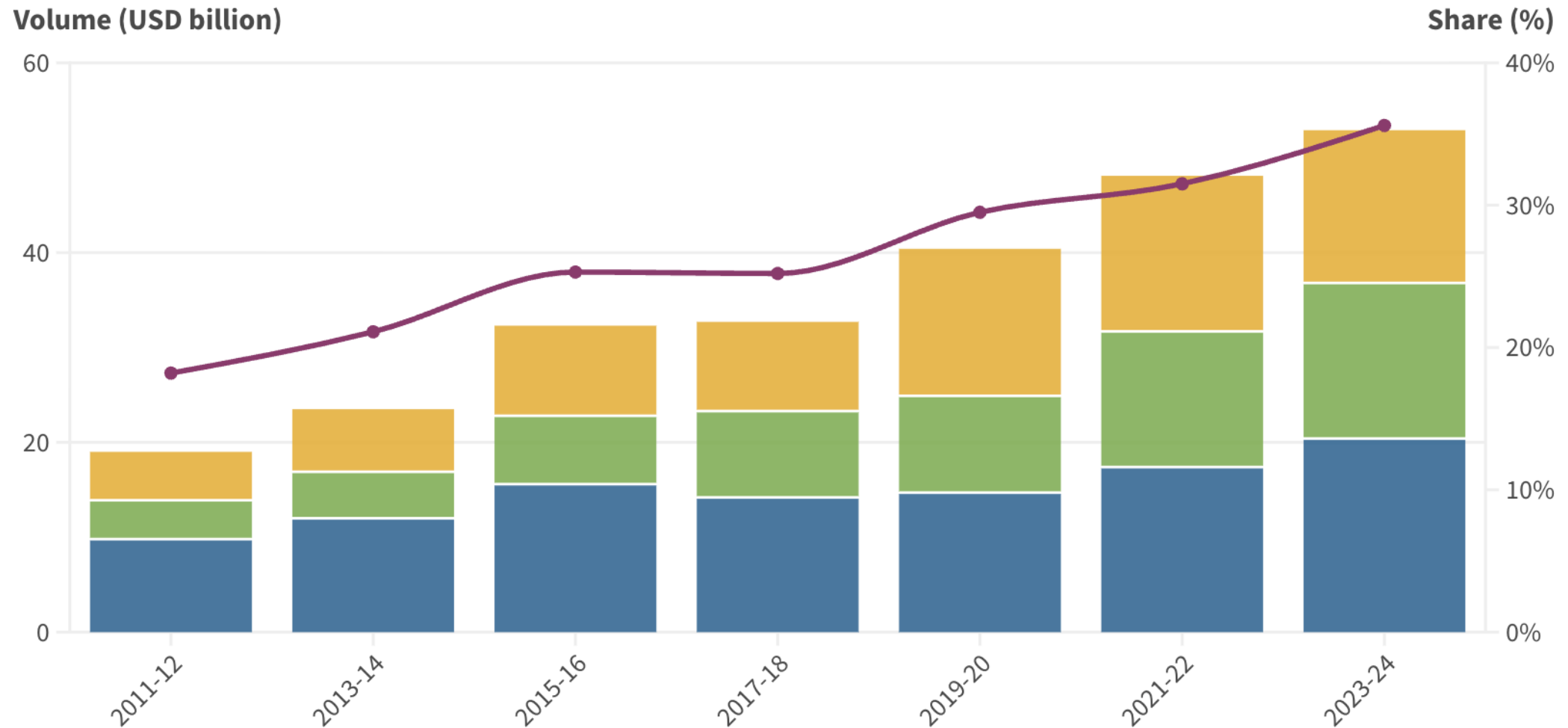
efisha.com



DAC members' bilateral allocable ODA for climate change adaptation and/or mitigation over the years

USD billion, constant 2023 prices, 2-year block averages

■ Share of bilateral allocable ODA ■ Mitigation only ■ Both mitigation and adaptation ■ Adaptation only



Source: [OECD \(2026\)](#), [Aid activities targeting Global Environmental Objectives \(dataset\)](#).

**The
Economist**

Winter for Chinese tech startups

Kinder, gentler Republicans in Texas

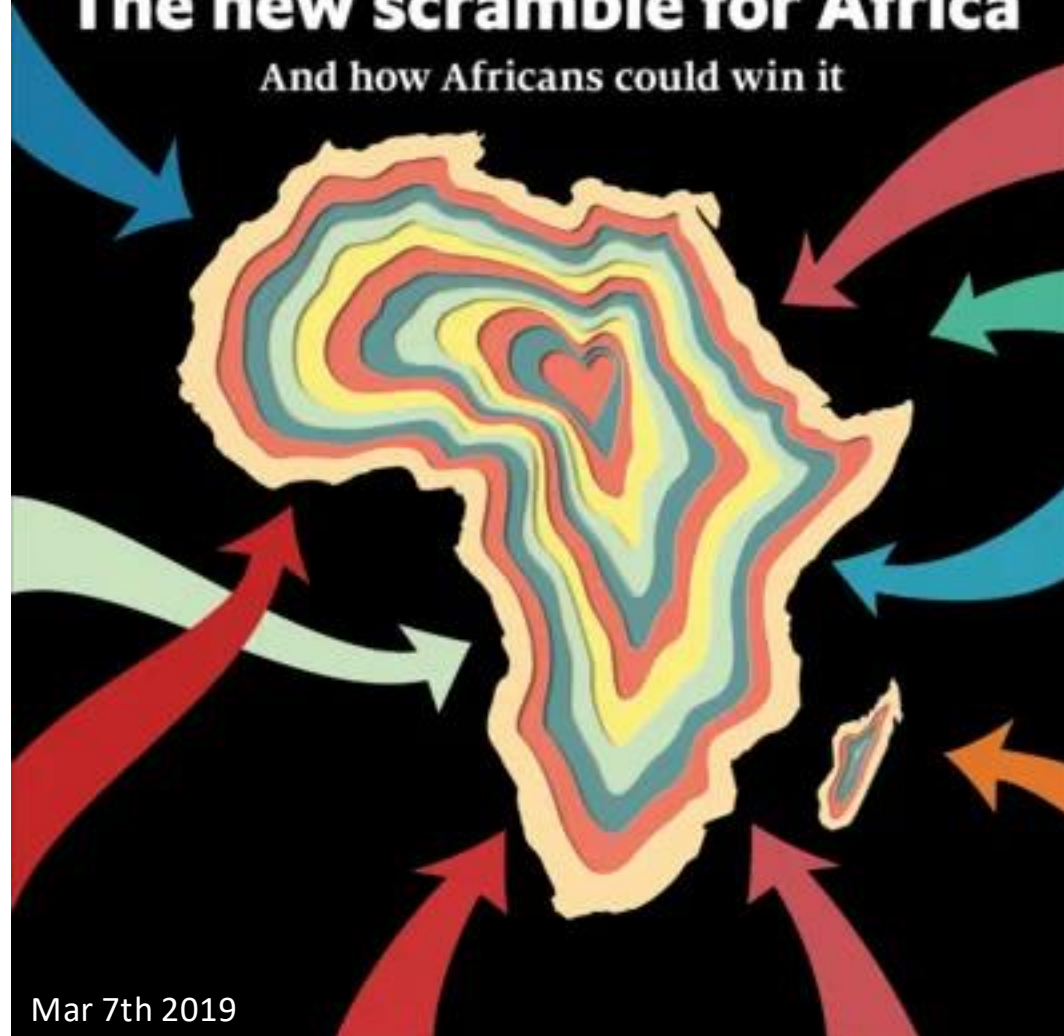
Make Europe's companies great again

The death of the first-class cabin

MARCH 9TH–15TH 2019

The new scramble for Africa

And how Africans could win it



Mar 7th 2019

Major Gulf states investments in the Horn of Africa, 2000-2017

		National alignment of investor			
					
		Saudi Arabia	United Arab Emirates	Qatar	Kuwait
Recipient		233	104	12	16
		16	19	4	13
		1	2	2	1
		1	5	-	-
		1	3	-	1

Somaliland is included in Somalia.

NEW FOREIGN EMBASSIES IN SUB SAHARAN AFRICA (2010-2015)



The following countries have established 2 new embassies in sub-Saharan Africa between 2010 and 2015:
Algeria, Argentina, Australia, Belarus, Egypt, Georgia, Iraq, Ireland, Israel, Kuwait, Mexico, Morocco, Netherlands, Ukraine, Vatican City

The following countries have established 1 new embassy in sub-Saharan Africa between 2010 and 2015:
Azerbaijan, Bangladesh, Colombia, Democratic Peoples Republic of Korea, Denmark, Fiji, Guyana, Kazakhstan, Malaysia, Nepal, Norway, Oman, Pakistan, Portugal, Russian Federation, Serbia, Slovak Republic, Sri Lanka, United States

Actor	Main Strategy
China	infrastructure & value chains
EU	regulation & development
Russia	security & anti-Western positioning
Turkey	flexible diplomacy + drones
UAE/Gulf	ports, food security, logistics
India	trade, IT, pharmaceuticals

The cross-continental threat of global jihadism threatens Africa like no other region on earth



Extent of Islamist violence in Africa in 2025

