

# China and the Politics of South-South Development in Africa

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**Department:** School of Public Policy, Central European University

**Number of credits:** 2

**Teaching format:** Short lectures and seminar discussions

**Semester:** Winter 2019.

**Course status:** Elective

**Office Hours:** TBC, October 6 u. 7, 2<sup>nd</sup> floor, Office 241.

## Description

This course offers an introduction to China and the politics of South-South development in Africa. It uses a thematic approach, combined with a case-study method, to examine key trends. In this way, it explores the direct and less direct, tangible and less tangible ways in which China is increasingly significant to a variety of development policy concerns, and especially politics, in the continent. Emphasizing active participation, the course requires students to think about applying knowledge to current policy challenges. As well as providing an academic orientation, it is thus designed both to actively engage current and anticipate future policy challenges.

## Learning Goals and Outcomes

The course aims to provide an intensive introduction to China and the politics of South-South development in Africa, using a framework designed to enable deeper engagement with both academic debates and policy questions. In addition, it seeks to stimulate and promote self-directed learning, encouraging ownership, initiative and active participation on an individual and group basis. The class has several, more targeted goals:

- To explore the principles, practices and changing politics of China's South-South development in Sub-Saharan Africa;
- To understand enduring questions of agency and constraints in the political economy of African development, with particular reference to China;
- To apply the knowledge and conceptual insights gained to policy debates and choices.

By the end of the course, students should be able to:

- Understand key debates about the politics of China in Africa;
- Ground these in a chosen country case context;
- Engage with and contribute to debates about policy and practice;
- Build upon the conceptual and empirical knowledge gained to undertake more advanced study and/or engage with this area as a field of practice.

## Course Overview

1. Introduction (9 January)
2. Developing Africa (16 January)
3. South-South Development: Theories and Practices (23 January)
4. Economics in Command: Development as Growth? (30 January)
5. Modernization Redux: Back to a Developed Future? (6 February)

### *Reading Week*

6. The Politics of Models (20 February)
7. Micro-Politics: Informal Sector, Migration and Global Networks (27 February)

### *Optional Course and Final Paper Consultation*

8. Security, Development and Fragile States (6 March)
9. The North and/in South-South Development: Empires Strike Back? (13 March)
10. Practical Exercise: Case-Study Evidence (20 March)
11. Conclusion (27 March)

## Assessment

*Participation*: 15%

*Final exercise*, with accompanying speaking notes (one page): 15%

*Final research paper* (3000 words): 70%. Questions can be chosen from a list provided OR you can define your own, in consultation with me. The strict deadline for final submission of this via the course Moodle site is 5pm on 24 April 2019.

## Organization and Approach of the Course

This course introduces a rich, complex and dynamic subject. It is sequenced to build towards an applied union of background information and academic debates with policy challenges in a given case study. Ideally, the course requires you to actively engage with both academic and practitioner questions, and connect these. By the 4th class, at the latest, you will need to choose a country as your running case study.

You may be familiar with some of the subjects covered already. If so, you are encouraged to go into more depth and, if the readings are already familiar or not challenging enough, find alternatives or ask me for suggestions. I expect you to follow and engage with the course syllabus but encourage you to concurrently define and pursue your own, more individual and focused interests.

## Learning Pathways

This course provides a structured framework but also encourages individual learning pathways. The extent to which this is realized in practice will depend on how you approach the course and what you want to get out of it. In this way, you may consider deciding on and pursuing a pathway you might find most interesting and rewarding. As well as your chosen African country case study, you might, for example, want to engage China or India respectively in more depth, or explore some of the more conceptual and normative themes in more depth or systematically engage with policy debates.

## A Note on Reading

Each session has required core readings, supplemented by a selection of supplementary readings from diverse perspectives. Some are background, both academic or policy and primary documents. Some have

been chosen to stimulate debate. The point is to critically consider a range of views and, in the process, for you to develop and defend your own views.

Try to read in to, and around, each topic, and pursue questions and subjects that interest you in greater depth, especially since the course can only provide an introduction.

Background texts you might consult for this course are:

- Nic Cheeseman, David M. Anderson, and Andrea Scheibler eds., *Routledge Handbook of African Politics* (London: Routledge, 2015).
- Sachin Chaturvedi, Thomas Fues and Elizabeth Sidiropoulos eds., *Development Cooperation and Emerging Powers: new partners or old patterns* (London: Zed, 2012).
- Deborah Bräutigam, *The Dragon's Gift: The Real Story of China in Africa* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2009).

### **Other Background Sources**

You are encouraged, where possible, to go beyond academic or policy sources by reading relevant fiction. This can enhance your appreciation of the context, background and actual flavor of many of these issues from different, complementary vantage points. This recommendation extends to watching background documentaries and films to support your study for this course. Try to freely explore primary film footage, documentaries and other visual sources (such as the multiplying range of videos concerning (indirectly, or more directly) South-South development). And share any recommendations of those that might be added to the Moodle course site.

### **Journals**

The best source of analysis and up to date news for this course is *Africa Confidential*. You should also browse some of the leading journals about Africa, such as *African Affairs* and the *Journal of Modern African Studies*.

### **Internet Sources**

There are a considerable and proliferating number of websites and blogs, and vigorous online discussion about the topics covered in this course. You are encouraged to pro-actively search for fresh material and sources about subjects that particularly interest you – and share any interesting findings with other course participants. Examples of websites to consult include:

[AllAfrica.com](#); [African Arguments](#); [Africaisacountry.com](#); [China Digital Times](#); [International Poverty Reduction Centre in China](#); [Forum on China-Africa Cooperation](#); [India-Africa Forum Summit](#); [Tokyo Conference on African Development](#); [BRICS Policy Centre](#); [South African Institute of International Affairs](#); [India-Africa Connect](#); [OECD Development Co-operation Directorate](#); [China-DAC Study Group](#); [Africa Union partnerships](#); [Export-Import Bank of China](#); [China Development Bank](#); [Africa Development Bank Africa Development Reports](#); [World Bank World Development Reports](#); [IDS Rising Powers and International Development](#) and [resource guide](#); [Centre for Chinese Studies, Stellenbosch University](#) [UNCTAD](#); [Africa Progress Panel](#); [UNDP China South-South Cooperation](#)

### **Blogs and Multimedia Resources**

\*[China-Africa Project](#) (weekly podcasts and news); [Financial Times Beyond Brics](#); [China-Africa Real Story](#); [Post-Western World David Shinn](#); [Cowries and Rice](#); [Africans in China](#)

### **Keeping Up To Date: Tracking Change**

This subject is evolving rapidly in terms of practice, policy and politics. You are advised to regularly monitor developments, to connect the issues we will discuss in the classroom with how these play out in actually-existing ways today.

### **Course Requirements, Expectations and Classroom Policy**

Attendance is expected. *Please arrive in time for classes to begin on time.* You are required to complete assigned readings prior to class. Given the richness and complexity of the subject, as well as challenging policy dimensions, you are also encouraged to read more than these, especially concerning questions and subjects that particularly interest you. Please ask for suggestions if you are unsure or would like to pursue particular lines of inquiry.

*Use of phones, laptops or other electronic devices is strictly **not permitted** during class* (unless by special circumstances and permission).

### **Good Academic Practices**

Students are expected to abide by standards of academic integrity. Academic dishonesty – plagiarism, cheating or breaking other norms stipulated by the CEU Code of Ethics – will result in a failing grade. For detailed information about what constitutes plagiarism and its consequences, please consult the CEU Code of Ethics.

### **Feedback**

Feedback and suggestions of readings and new sources to incorporate are welcome.

*Please note: The seminar schedule below is accurate at the time of publication. Amendments may be made prior to the start and during the course.*

## 1. Introduction (9 January)

This introduces the content, approach and organization of the course. It will also seek to understand your own interests and objectives, and the learning pathway you want to take to maximize the benefits of this course. We will also introduce histories of South-South development in Africa. How do different histories matter today?

### **Recommended**

- Binyavanga Wainaina, [‘How to write about Africa’](#), *Granta* 92 (2005).
- Francis Galton, [‘Africa for the Chinese’](#), Letter to the Editor of *The Times*, 5 June 1873.
- Xiaochen Su, ‘Why Chinese Infrastructure Loans in Africa Represent a Brand-New Type of Neocolonialism’, *The Diplomat* 9 June 2017.
- Video: Xi Jinping’s opening address at FOCAC 7, September 2018.

## 2. Developing Africa (16 January)

This background class historicizes South-South engagements in Africa, exploring the changing meanings of ‘development’ across time. A short lecture will provide an overview of these. The readings set out background to meanings of, debates on - and the context of - development politics in the continent.

### **Required Reading**

- Paul Nugent, ‘Invasion of the Acronyms: SAPs, AIDS and the NGO Takeover’, in *Africa since Independence: a comparative history* (Houndmills: Palgrave, 2004): 330-363.
- Ha-Joon Chang, ‘Hamlet without the Prince of Denmark: How development has disappeared from today’s ‘development’ discourse’, in Shahrukh Khan and Jens Christiansen eds., *Towards New Developmentalism* (Abingdon: Routledge, 2011): 47-58.
- ‘Agenda 2063: The Africa We Want’ (African Union, August 2014).

## 3. South-South Development: Theories and Practices (23 January)

This class explores principles and theories of China and India’s South-South development engagements, and how these relate to policy practices and politics. What, if anything, is distinctively ‘Southern’ about these engagements?

### **Required Reading**

- Denghua Zhang and Graeme Smith, ‘China’s foreign aid system: structure, agencies, and identities,’ *Third World Quarterly*, 38, 10 (2017): 2330-2346.
- Emma Mawdsley, ‘The changing geographies of foreign aid and development cooperation: contributions from gift theory’, *Transactions* 37, 2 (2012): 256-272.

A major area of debate and policy engagement in recent years concerns the emergence of ‘post-colonial’ donors outside the OECD-DAC framework. Is it time to consider development after aid? Are – and if so how - China and India different to DAC donors?

### **Required Reading**

- Dambisa Moyo, ‘Introduction’, in *Dead Aid: Why Aid is Not Working and how there is a better way forward for Africa* (London: Allen Lane, 2009): xviii-xx.
- Moises Naim, ‘Rogue Aid’, *Foreign Policy* 1 March 2007.

- Emma Mawdsley, Laura Savage and Sung-Mi Kim, 'A 'post-aid world'? Paradigm shift in foreign aid and development cooperation at the 2011 Busan High Level Forum', *The Geographical Journal* 180, 1 (2013): 27-38.
- Xiaoyun Li, 'Should China join the CPEDC? The prospects for China and the Global Partnership for Effective Development Cooperation', German Development Institute Discussion Paper 17/2017.

#### 4. Economics in Command: Development as Growth? (30 January)

Africa has seen a reorientation in the *direction* but not the composition of its external trade. Do such policy efforts as manufacturing engagement or special economic zones offer the prospect of breaking Africa's historic patterns for commodity-dependent economies?

##### **Required Reading**

- Ian Taylor, 'Dependency Redux: why Africa is not rising', *Review of African Political Economy* (2015): 8-25.
- Carol Newman, John Page, John Rand, Abebe Shimeles, Mans Soderbom, and Finn Tarp, 'Can Africa Industrialize?', in Newman et al eds., *Manufacturing Transformation: Comparative Studies of Industrial Development in Africa and Emerging Asia* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2016): 257-276.

#### 5. Modernization Redux: Back to a Developed Future? (6 February)

Does current South-South development reprise the spirit and efforts of previous eras of modernization in Africa? What are the prospects that this high modernist redux can, unlike previous efforts, be made to make a lasting difference?

##### **Required Reading**

- Ching Kuan Lee, 'The Spectre of Global China', *New Left Review* 89 (2014): 29-65.
- Justin Yifu Lin, 'How to jumpstart industrialisation and economic transformation in Africa', in *China-Africa: A Maturing Relationship?* (IDS, 2016): 8-12 [NB: this is a short summary of his other work; see Annex for further references].
- Deborah Bräutigam and Tang Xiaoyang, 'Economic statecraft in China's new overseas special economic zones: soft power, business or resource security?' *International Affairs* 88, 4 (2012): 799-816.

##### **Reading Week**

#### 6. The Politics of Models (20 February)

The idea of a 'China model' has been prominent and controversial. This session explores the less visible but potentially more consequential set of direct and indirect interactions involved in governance relations.

##### **Required Reading**

- Elsje Fourie, 'China's example for Meles' Ethiopia: when development 'models' land', *The Journal of Modern African Studies* 53, 3 (2015): 289-316.

- Peter Kragelund, 'Towards convergence and cooperation in the global development finance regime: closing Africa's policy space?', *Cambridge Review of International Affairs* 28, 2 (2015): 246-262.

## 7. Micro-Politics: Informal Sector, Migration and Global Networks (27 February)

This session moves from macro themes to more micro, grounded, and social concerns in the context of the globally connected informal economy, migration and associated politics. Please look for evidence from your chosen case about the role of migration in local development, and the politics arising from this.

### **Required Reading**

- Heidi Ostbo haugen, 'Petty commodities, serious business: the governance of fashion jewellery chains between China and Ghana', *Global Networks* 18, 2 (2018): 307-325.
- TBC

## 8. Security, Development and Fragile States (6 March)

As the Chinese and Indian engagements expand and deepen in Africa, the issue of security has become more prominent. How is the relationship between development and security being negotiated on the ground? How are African state and non-state actors and the African Union responding?

### **Required Reading**

- Wang Xuejun, 'Developmental Peace: Understanding China's Africa Policy in Peace and Security', in Chris Alden, Abiodun Alao, Zhang Chun and Laura Barber eds., *China and Africa: Building Peace and Security Cooperation on the Continent* (Palgrave, 2017): 67-82.
- Jonathan Fisher and David M. Anderson, 'Authoritarianism and the securitization of development in Africa', *International Affairs* 91, 1 (2015): 131-151.

## 9. Empires Strike Back? The North and/in South-South African Development (13 March)

How have Northern donors responded to the rise of South-South development? And, how have Southern development actors been influencing their Northern counterparts? Is trilateral development cooperation a good idea, and for whom?

### **Required Reading**

- Cheryl McEwan and Emma Mawdsley, 'Trilateral Development Cooperation: Power and Politics in Emerging Aid Relations', *Development and Change*, 43, 6 (2012): 1185-1209.
- Adriana Erthal Abdenur and Joao Moura Estevao Marques Da Fonseca, 'The North's Growing Role in South-South Cooperation: keeping the foothold', *Third World Quarterly* 34, 8 (2013): 1475-1491.
- Haley J. Swedlund, 'Is China eroding the bargaining power of traditional donors in Africa?', *International Affairs* 93, 2 (2017): 389-408.

## 10. Practical Exercise: Case-Study Evidence (20 March)

Can – and if so *how* can - assorted African politicians and policymakers make the most of the development opportunities presented by China's and India's engagements? This session will ask you to present key findings, answer questions about your case-study and ask others about theirs, thereby drawing together core themes of the course.

## **11. Conclusions (27 March)**

This final session will review key themes arising from the course as a whole, and provide a space for open discussion. We will also look forwards, using histories of the future. How will South-South development advance, given the growing differences and challenges between its historic aims, ideals and practices and the new circumstances in which it is increasingly consequential?

Draft



## Annex: Supplementary Reading

This provides a selection of additional readings that complement each class.

### 1. Introduction

- ‘The Road to Dignity by 2030: Ending Poverty, Transforming All Lives and Protecting the Planet’, Synthesis Report of the Secretary-General on the Post-2015 Agenda (New York: December 2014).
- Final Communiqué of the Asian-African conference of Bandung (24 April 1955).
- The South Commission, *The Challenge to the South, The Report of the South Commission* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1990).
- Fantu Cheru and Cyril Obi, ‘Africa in the twenty-first century: strategic and development challenges’, in Fantu Cheru and Cyril Obi eds., *The Rise of China and India in Africa* (London: Zed, 2010): 1-6
- B. R. Tomlinson, ‘What was the Third World?’, *Journal of Contemporary History* 38, 2 (2003): 307–321.
- UNDP Human Development Report 2013, ‘The Rise of the South: Human Progress in a Diverse World’, [Executive Summary](#).
- Vijay Prashad, *The Darker Nations: A People's History of the Third World* (New York: New Press, 2007).
- Christopher Clapham, *Africa and the International System: the politics of state survival* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1996).
- Tony Addison, ‘Thirty Years in Africa’s development: from structural adjustment to structural transformation?’ (UNU WIDER Working Paper 119, 2015) [useful overview].
- Sophie Harman and David Williams, ‘International development in transition’, *International Affairs* 90, 4 (2014): 925-941.
- Alison J. Ayers, ‘Beyond Myths, Lies and Stereotypes: The Political Economy of a ‘New Scramble for Africa’’, *New Political Economy* 18, 2 (2013): 227-257.
- Morten Jerven, *Africa: Why Economists Get It Wrong* (London: Zed, 2015).
- Miwa Hirono and Shogo Suzuki, ‘Why Do We Need ‘Myth-Busting’ in the Study of Sino–African Relations?’ *Journal of Contemporary China* 23, 87 (2014): 443-461.

### 2. Developing Africa: Background

#### *African history and politics*

- Frederick Cooper, *Africa Since 1940: The Past of the Present* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2002).
- Jean-Francois Bayart, ‘Africa in the World: A History of Extraversion’, *African Affairs* 99 (2000): 217-267.
- Adekeye Adebajo, *The Curse of Berlin: Africa After the Cold War* (London: Hurst, 2010).
- James Ferguson, *Global Shadows: Africa in the Neoliberal World Order* (Durham: Duke University Press, 2006).
- Giovanni Arrighi, ‘The African Crisis’, *New Left Review* 15 (2002): 5-36.
- Lindsay Whitfield ed., *The Politics of Aid: African Strategies for Dealing with Donors* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2009).
- Walter Rodney, *How Europe Underdeveloped Africa* (Oxford: Pambazuka Press, 2012).

- John Lonsdale, 'Have tropical Africa's nationalisms continued imperialism's world revolution by other means?', *Nations and Nationalism* 21, 4 (2015): 609-629.
- Joseph Hodge, Gerald Hodl and Martina Kopf (eds.), *Developing Africa: concepts and practices in twentieth century colonialism* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2017).
- For further background on 'policy space', try Martin Williams, 'Aid, Trade, Investment and Dependency', in Nic Cheeseman, David M. Anderson, and Andrea Scheibler eds., *Routledge Handbook of African Politics* (London: Routledge, 2015): 295-308.

### **Development**

- James D. Sidaway, 'Geographies of Development: New Maps, New Visions?', *The Professional Geographer* 64, 1 (2012): 49-62.
- Thandika Mkandawire, 'Social Sciences and the Next Development Agenda', speech delivered at the IDEAS Workshop in Nairobi, 25 January 2007.
- Jean Comaroff and John L. Comaroff, 'Theory from the South: Or, how Euro-America is Evolving Toward Africa', *Anthropological Forum* 22, 2 (2012): 113-131.
- Arturo Escobar, *Encountering Development: The Making and Unmaking of the Third World* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1995).
- Ankie Hoogvelt, *Globalization and the Postcolonial World: the New Political Economy of Development* (Houndmills: Palgrave, 2<sup>nd</sup> edn, 2001).
- Christine Sylvester, 'Development studies and postcolonial studies: disparate tales of the 'Third World'', *Third World Quarterly* 20, 4 (1999): 703-721.
- Tim Kelsall, 'Going with the Grain in African Development?', *Development Policy Review* 26, 6 (2008): 627-655.
- Colin Leys, *The Rise and Fall of Development Theory* (Oxford: James Currey, 1996 edn).

### **China-Africa**

- Philip Snow, *The Star Raft: China's Encounter with Africa* (London: Weidenfeld & Nicolson, 1988).
- Jamie Monson, *Africa's Freedom Railway* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 2009).
- Deborah Bräutigam, *Chinese Aid and African Development: Exporting Green Revolution* (London: Macmillan Press Ltd, 1998).
- Anshan Li, 'African Studies in China in the Twentieth Century: A Historiographical Survey', *African Studies Review* 48, 1 (2005): 59-87.
- Giles Mohan and Ben Lampert, 'Negotiating China: Reinserting African Agency into China-Africa Relations', *African Affairs* 112, 446 (2012): 92-110.
- Merriden Varrall, 'Chinese Views on China's Role in International Development Assistance', *Pacific Affairs* 86, 2 (2013): 233- 255.
- Suisheng Zhao, 'A Neo-Colonialist Predator or Development Partner? China's engagement and rebalance in Africa', *Journal of Contemporary China* 23, 90 (2014): 1033-1052.
- Hany Besada and Ben O'Bright, 'Maturing Sino-Africa relations', *Third World Quarterly* 38, 3 (2017): 655-677.

### **India-Africa**

- Ajay K Dubey, 'India-Africa relations: historical connections and recent trends,' in Ajay Dubey ed., *Trends in Indo-African Relations* (New Delhi: Manas Publications, 2010).

- Ruchita Beri, 'India's Africa Policy in the Post-Cold War Era: An Assessment', *Strategic Analysis* 27, 2 (2003): 216-232.
- Emma Mawdsley and Gerard McCann, 'The elephant in the corner? Reviewing India–Africa relations', *New Millennium Geography Compass* 4, 2 (2010): 81–93.
- Emma Mawdsley and Gerard McCann eds., *India in Africa: changing geographies of power* (Oxford: Fahamu 2011).
- Emma Mawdsley, 'Public Perceptions of India's role as an international development cooperation partner: domestic responses to rising 'donor' visibility', *Third World Quarterly* 35, 6 (2014): 958-979.
- Satchin Chaturvedi et al., 'Indian Development Cooperation: The State of the Debate', (IDS: September 2014).
- Sunil Khilnani et al., 'Nonalignment 2.0: A Foreign and Strategic Policy for India in the Twenty First Century' (2012).
- G.V.C. Naidu, 'India, Africa and the Indian Ocean,' *Journal of the Indian Ocean Region* 9, 2 (2013): 189-207.
- Satchin Chaturvedi and Anthea Mulakala (eds.), *India's Approach to Development Cooperation* (Routledge, 2016).
- Renu Modi, 'India-Africa Forum Summits and Capacity Building: Achievements and Challenges', *Journal of Asian and African Studies* 16 (2017): 139-166.
- Narlikar, Amrita. 2017. 'India's Role in global governance: a Modi-fication?' *International Affairs* 93 (1): 93-111.

### 3. South-South Development: Theories and Practices

- FOCAC 6 Declaration and Action Plan 2016-2018.
- China's Africa Policy (December 2015).
- Meridan Varrall, 'Domestic actors and agendas in Chinese aid policy.' *The Pacific Review* 29, 1 (2016): 21–44.
- India-Africa Framework for Strategic Cooperation, 29 October 2015.
- Rohan Muckerjee, 'India's International Development Programme', in David M. Malone, C. Raja Mohan and Srinath Raghavan eds., *The Oxford Handbook of Indian Foreign Policy* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2015): 173-185.
- Lan Xue, 'China's Foreign Aid Policy and Architecture', *IDS Bulletin* 45, 4 (2014): 36-45.
- Xiaoyan Li, Dan Banik, Lixia Tang and Jin Wu, 'Difference or Indifference: China's Development Assistance Unpacked', *IDS Bulletin* 45, 4 (2014): 22-35.
- Bo Kong and Kevin P. Gallagher, 'Globalizing Chinese Energy Finance: The Role of Policy Banks', *Journal of Contemporary China*, 26, 108 (2017): 834-851.
- Paolo de Renzio and Jurek Seifert, 'South-South cooperation and the future of development assistance: mapping actors and options', *Third World Quarterly* 35, 10 (2014): 1860-1875.
- Lucy Corkin, 'Redefining Foreign Policy Impulses toward Africa: The Roles of the MFA, the MOFCOM and China Exim Bank', *Journal of Current Chinese Affairs* 4 (2011): 61-90.
- Bates Gill and James Reilly, 'The Tenuous Hold of China Inc. in Africa', *The Washington Quarterly* 30, 3 (2007): 37-52.
- Sven Grimm, 'Transparency of Chinese Aid: An analysis of the published information on Chinese external financial flows' (Stellenbosch: Centre for Chinese Studies, 2011).
- Hongyi Lai and Su-Jeong Kang, 'Domestic Bureaucratic Politics and Chinese Foreign Policy', *Journal of Contemporary China*, 23, 86 (2014): 294-313.

- Emma Mawdsley, 'India as a postcolonial donor', in V.Randall, P. Burnell, and L. Rakner, eds., *Politics in the Developing World* (Oxford: Oxford University Press 3rd edition, 2011).
- Supriya Roychoudhury, 'India's External Aid: Lessons and Opportunities', *Economic & Political Weekly* XLVIII, 36 (2013): 22-26.
- Satchin Chatuvedi *The Logic of Sharing: India's Approach to South-South Cooperation* (Delhi: Cambridge University Press, 2016).
- Rohan Muckerjee, 'India's International Development Programme', in David M. Malone, C. Raja Mohan and Srinath Raghavan eds., *The Oxford Handbook of Indian Foreign Policy* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2015): 173-185
- Deepak Malghan and Hema Swaminathan, 'Material and Moral Foundations of India's Africa Policy', *Economic and Political Weekly* 43, 19 (10–16 May 2008): 21-24.
- UNDP, 'Demand-Driven Data: how Partner Countries are gathering Chinese Development Cooperation Information', June 2015.

#### 4. Southern Donors: Development after Aid?

- OECD-DAC, 'The Paris Declaration on Aid Effectiveness and the Accra Agenda for Action' (2005, 2008); and, 'The Busan Partnership for Effective Development Cooperation' (July 2012).
- Soyeun Kim and Simon Lightfoot, 'Policy Arena: Does DAC-ability really matter? The Emergence of Non-DAC Donors', *Journal of International Development* 23 (2011): 711-721.
- Paulo Esteves and Manaira Assuncao, 'South-South cooperation and the international development battlefield: between the OECD and the UN', *Third World Quarterly* 35, 10 (2014): 1775-1790.
- Rosalind Eyben and Laura Savage, 'Emerging and Submerging Powers: Imagined Geographies in the New Development Partnership at the Busan Fourth High Level Forum', *Journal of Development Studies* 49, 4 (2013): 457-469
- Arjan de Haan, 'Will China Change International Development as we know it?', *Journal of International Development* 23, 7 (2010): 881-908.
- Ngaire Woods, 'Whose Aid? Whose Influence? China, Emerging Donors and the Silent Revolution in Development Assistance,' *International Affairs* 84, 6 (2008): 1-17.
- Dweep Chanana, 'India as an emerging donor', *Economic and Political Weekly*, 44, 12 (2009): 11-14.
- Neissan Alessandro Besharati, 'South African Development Partnership Agency (SADPA): Strategic Aid or Development Packages for Africa?', SAIIA Research Report 12 August 2013.
- Susan Engel, 'The not-so-great aid debate', *Third World Quarterly* 35, 8 (2014): 1374-1389.
- Brendan Vickers, 'Towards a new aid paradigm: South Africa as African development partner', *Cambridge Review of International Affairs* 25, 4 (2012): 535–56.
- UNDP et al., 'International Development Evaluation: Comparing DAC and Non-DAC Approaches', UNDP December 2014.
- Deborah Brautigam and Jyhjong Hwang, 'Eastern Promises: New Data on Chinese loans in Africa, 2000-2014', China-Africa Research Initiative Working Paper 4, April 2016.

#### 5. The Politics of Models

- Christopher Clapham, 'Fitting China in', in Chris Alden et al eds., *China Returns to Africa: A Continent and a Rising Power Embrace* (London: Hurst, 2008): 361-369.
- Joshua Ramo-Cooper, *The Beijing Consensus* (London: The Foreign Policy Centre, 2004).
- Moises Naim, 'Rogue Aid', *Foreign Policy* 1 March 2007.

- Scott Kennedy, 'The Myth of the Beijing Consensus', *Journal of Contemporary China* 19, 65 (2010): 461-477.
- Suisheng Zhao, 'The China Model: can it replace the Western model of modernization?', *Journal of Contemporary China* 19, 65 (2010): 419-436.
- Stefan Halper, *The Beijing Consensus: How China's Authoritarian Model Will Dominate the Twenty-First Century* (New York: Basic Books, 2010).
- Arif Dirlik, 'The idea of a 'Chinese model': a critical discussion', *China Information* 26, 3 (2012): 277-302.
- Mark Beeson and Fujian Li, 'What Consensus? Geopolitics and policy paradigms in China and the United States', *International Affairs* 91, 1 (2015): 93-109.
- Andrew Nathan, 'Beijing Bull: the Bogus China Model', *The National Interest* November-December 2015.
- Johan Lagerkvist, 'Chinese eyes on Africa: authoritarian flexibility versus democratic governance', *Journal of Contemporary African Studies* 27, 2 (2009): 119-134.
- Hongxing Yang and Dingxin Zhao, 'Performance Legitimacy, State Autonomy and China's Economic Miracle', *Journal of Contemporary China* 24, 91 (2015): 64-82.
- Oliver Stuenkel, 'Rising powers and the Future of Democracy Promotion: the case of Brazil and India', *Third World Quarterly* 34, 2 (2013): 339-355.
- Gustavo A. Flores-Macias and Sarah E. Kreps, 'The Foreign Policy Consequences of Trade: China's Commercial Relations with Africa and Latin America, 1992-2006', *The Journal of Politics* 75, 2 (2013): 357-371.
- Ricardo Soares de Oliveira, *Magnificent and Beggar Land: Angola Since the Civil War* (London: Hurst, 2015).
- Nic Cheeseman, *Democracy in Africa* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2015).
- Alex de Waal, 'Review Article: The Theory and Practice of Meles Zenawi', *African Affairs* (2012) (and debate this generated).
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## 6. Modernization Redux: Back to a Developed Future?

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