

# The Politics of South-South Development in Africa

**Instructor:** Daniel Large

**Instructor Contact:** [larged@ceu.edu](mailto:larged@ceu.edu)

**Department:** Department of Public Policy

**Number of credits:** 2

**Teaching format:** in person (please be prepared to be online, if necessary)

**Semester:** Fall 2022

**Course status:** Elective

**Class Times:** Thursdays 15.40-17.20 (C201)

**Office Hours:** Wednesdays 15.00-16.00 (B419).

## Description

This course is an introduction to the politics of South-South development in Africa. This Fall 2022 iteration will focus on China. It uses a thematic approach, combined with an African case-study method, to examine key trends and open up the subject as an area of academic research and policy engagement. 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 African 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 the politics of South-South development in Africa, using a framework designed to enable deeper engagement with both academic debates and policy questions. This version will focus on China. The class has several, more targeted goals:

- To explore the principles, practices and changing politics of China's South-South development in 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 and contribute to key debates about the politics of China in African development;
- Ground these in an African country case;
- 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 (22 September)
2. Developing Africa (29 September)
3. Principles, Actors, Practices (and Politics) (I) (6 October)
4. (Principles, Actors and Practices and) Politics (II) (13 October)
5. Modernization Redux and Infrastructure: Debt and the Politics of Economics (20 October)
6. Structural Transformation or Diversifying Dependency? (27 October)
7. The Politics of Models (3 November)
8. Beyond States? Migration, informal dynamics and micro-politics (10 November)
9. Security and Development (17 November)
10. 'East Rising, West Declining': Global Politics (24 November)
11. Final Presentations (1 December)
12. Conclusion (TBC)

## Assessment

- Participation: 10%
- Presentation: 20%
- Final research paper (3,000 words): 70% (deadline: noon, 19 December via Moodle). For this, you can choose your own question or one from a set list.

Grading: CEU uses a letter grade system. Please consult the DPP Handbook 2021/22 about penalties for late submission of your final paper. Please email me in advance if you anticipate or have any difficulty.

## Course Requirements

Attendance is expected. If you need to attend online (such as if sick), please notify me in advance if possible. 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 widely, especially concerning questions and subjects that particularly interest you.

## African Country Case

You will be asked to choose an African country case as a running case study after our second class (and ***confirm this in writing with me via email by 13 October***). You can choose from 53(4) countries but may want to decide according to your thematic interest interests and which countries provide the best cases for these. Depending on your thematic interests, I recommend, Ethiopia, Uganda, Kenya, Tanzania, DRC, Zambia, Angola, Nigeria, Ghana, Senegal, Sudan, South Sudan, Zimbabwe, or South Africa.

## Good Academic Practices

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

## 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, please consider deciding on and pursuing a pathway you might find most interesting and rewarding.

### **A Note on Reading**

Background texts you might consult for this course are:

- Yijia Jing, Alvaro Mendez, and Yu Zheng eds., *New Development Assistance: Governing China in the 21st Century* (Palgrave Macmillan, 2020).
- Philani Mthembu and Faith Mabera eds., *Africa-China Cooperation: Towards an African Policy on China?* (Palgrave Macmillan 2021).
- Daniel Large, *China and Africa: The New Era* (Polity, 2021).

Each session has required readings, supplemented by a selection of additional 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.

### **Journals**

The best source of analysis and up to date news for this course is *Africa Confidential*, which is also useful for researching your country case study (unfortunately CEU no longer subscribes). You should also browse some of the leading journals about Africa (such as *African Affairs*, *Journal of Modern African Studies* or *Review of African Political Economy*), as well as China (such as the *China Quarterly* or the *Journal of Contemporary China*).

### **Internet Sources**

There are a considerable and proliferating number of websites and blogs or podcasts, and vigorous online discussion about the topics covered in this course. You are encouraged to search for fresh material and sources about subjects that interest you – and share any interesting findings with other course participants. Examples to consult include: [AllAfrica.com](http://AllAfrica.com); [African Arguments](http://AfricanArguments.com); [Africasacountry.com](http://Africasacountry.com); [China Digital Times](http://ChinaDigitalTimes.com); [International Poverty Reduction Centre in China](http://InternationalPovertyReductionCentre.org); [Forum on China-Africa Cooperation](http://ForumOnChinaAfrica.org); [BRICS Policy Centre](http://BRICSPolicyCentre.org); [South African Institute of International Affairs](http://SouthAfricanInstitute.org); [OECD Development Co-operation Directorate](http://OECDDevelopmentCo-operationDirectorate.org); [Africa Union partnerships](http://AfricaUnionPartnerships.org); [Export-Import Bank of China](http://ExportImportBankOfChina.com); [China Development Bank](http://ChinaDevelopmentBank.com); [Africa Development Bank Africa Development Reports](http://AfricaDevelopmentBank.org); [World Bank World Development Reports](http://WorldBankWorldDevelopmentReports.org); [Human Development Reports](http://HumanDevelopmentReports.org); [UNCTAD](http://UNCTAD.org); [UNDP China South-South Cooperation](http://UNDPChina.org); [China-Africa Research Initiative](http://ChinaAfricaResearchInitiative.org); [BU Global Development Policy Center](http://BUGlobalDevelopmentPolicyCenter.org); [Chinese in Africa](http://ChineseInAfrica.org), [Africans in China Research Network](http://AfricansInChinaResearchNetwork.org); [Africans in China](http://AfricansInChina.org).

### **Literature**

A good starting selection of relevant fiction to complement our academic and policy sources includes: Chinua Achebe, *Things Fall Apart* (1958); Wole Soyinka, *The Interpreters* (1965); Tayeb Salih, *Season of Migration to the North* (1966); Kwei Amah, *The Beautiful Ones are not yet Born* (1968); Ngugi wa Thiongo, *Petals of Blood* (1977); Dominic Mulaiso, *The Smoke that Thunders* (1979); VS Naipaul, *A Bend in the River* (1979); Hama Tuma, *The Case of the Socialist Witchdoctor and Other Stories* (Heinemann, 1993); Henning Mankell, *The Man from Beijing* (2008); Ken N. Kamoche, *Black Ghosts* (2013); Koli Jean

Bofane, *Congo Inc* (2014); Mukuka Chipanta, *A Casualty of Power* (2016); Yvonne Adhiambo Owuor, *The Dragonfly Sea* (2019); Namwali Serpell, *The Old Drift* (2019).

### **Background Films and Documentaries**

For background context, various films and documentaries might help provide orientation, including amongst others *Our Friends at the Bank* (dir. Peter Chappell 1998); *Black Gold* (dir. Nick Francis 2006); *Stealing Africa* (dir. Christopher Guldbrandsen 2012); *Land Rush* (dir. Hugo Berkeley and Osvalde Lewat 2012); *Big Men* (dir. Rachel Boynton 2013); *Virunga* (dir. Orlando van Einsiedel 2014); *When China Met Africa* (Francis brothers 2010); *Empire of Dust* (Bram Van Langendonck 2011); *Let's Get Married* (Jiang Lu, 2015); *China Remix* (Melissa Lefkowitz 2015); *Laisuo tuo* (Carl Houston McMillan 2016); *Wolf Warrior II* (Wu Jing 2017); *China Peacekeeping Forces* (Ning Haiqiang, 2018); *Tazara Stories* (Jamie Monson 2020). To understand domestic China's current political context better via a development lens, and how this can be externalized, try watching a poverty-alleviation drama (*fupinju*), like the highly popular *Mining Town* (2021).

### **Podcasts**

[China-Africa Project](#) (weekly podcasts and news; subscription but has a free weekly email edition you can sign up for and podcasts; [Not Your African Cliché](#); [Talking Heads](#); [China in Africa Project Podcast](#); [ufahamu Africa](#); Oxford Centre for African Studies [podcasts](#); or, more historical ones like [Africa Past and Present](#); University of Exeter Imperial and Global History 'Talking Empire' series; [Cold War in Africa](#) series; CFR [Africa in Transition](#)

### **News**

The best single news source is [Africa Confidential](#) (CEU dropped its subscription due to lack of use). Other news sources include [Pambazuka News](#), [AllAfrica.com](#), [africanews](#), [BBC World Service Focus on Africa](#), [IRIN news](#), [Africa is a Country](#). A good way to follow events in general and your particular African country cases is the [Africa Research Bulletin](#). And for a useful weekly email on related topics, from news to academic research on development related issues, try <https://thisweekinafrica.substack.com>.

***Please note: The schedule below is accurate at the time of publication. Amendments will be made during the course via the Moodle course site. This should be regarded as the main reference point for the course. If in doubt, please contact me.***

## 1. Introduction

This introduces the content, organization and approach of the course. It will set the scene and seek to understand your own interests and objectives.

### *Recommended*

- Binyavanga Wainaina, 'How not to write about Africa in 2012', *The Guardian*, 3 June 2012.
- Video 2018 CCTV New Year Spring Gala [Africa sketch](#) [NB: you can get automatic sub-titles].
- Francis Galton, 'Africa for the Chinese', Letter to the Editor of *The Times*, 5 June 1873.
- Video: Chimamanda Ngozi Adichie, '[The danger of a single story](#)' (18.46 mins).
- Song: King Kaka, '[Wajinga Nyinyi](#) [You Fools]', English translation
- Paul Nantulya, '[Reshaping African Agency in China-Africa Relations](#)', Africa Center for Strategic Studies, 2 March 2021.

### *Supplementary Reading/Watching*

- Philip Snow, *The Star Raft: China's Encounter with Africa* (London: Weidenfeld & Nicolson, 1988).
- Deborah Bräutigam, *The Dragon's Gift: The Real Story of China in Africa* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2009).
- Chris Alden and Daniel Large eds., *New Directions in the Study of Africa-China Relations* (London: Routledge, 2018).
- Julia C. Strauss, 'The Past in the Present: Historical and Rhetorical Lineages in China's Relations with Africa', *China Quarterly* 199 (2009): 777-795.
- 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.
- Chris Allen, 'Understanding African Politics', *Review of African Political Economy* 22, 65 (1995): 301-320.
- Dambisa Moyo, *Dead Aid: Why Aid is Not Working and how there is a better way forward for Africa* (London: Allen Lane, 2009).
- Victor Mlambo, 'Exploitation dressed in a suit, shining shoes, and carrying a suitcase full of dollars: What does China want in Africa?.' *Journal of Public Affairs* 19, 1 (2019): e1892
- Abel Kinyondo, 'Is China Recolonizing Africa? Some Views from Tanzania.' *World Affairs* 182, 2 (2019): 128-164.
- Stella Kwasi, 'High cost of having China as Africa's partner of choice', ISS 13 March 2019.
- Justin Yifu Lin and Yan Wang, 'Opinion: China offers a better way to do development aid', 2 January 2020.
- Video: [Xi Jinping's opening address at FOCAC 7](#), September 2018.
- CGTN, '[A New Era in China-Africa Cooperation Ep. 1: Shared Dreams](#)', 26 August 2018.
- Yu Qiu, 'Cleavage: Guangzhou, Covid-19 and China-Africa Friendship Politics,' *Journal of African Cultural Studies*, 33, 2 (2021): 184-193.
- Ilaria Carrozza and Lina Benabdallah, 'South-South Knowledge Production and Hegemony: Searching for Africa in Chinese Theories of IR', *International Studies Review* 24, 1 (2022).
- Emma Mawdsley, Elsje Fourie, and Wiebe Nauta, eds. *Researching South-South development cooperation: The politics of knowledge production* (Routledge, 2019).
- Dilip M Menon ed., *Changing Theory: Concepts from the Global South* (Routledge, 2022).

## 2. Developing Africa

This background class historicizes China and South-South engagements in Africa, exploring the changing meanings of ‘development’ across time. A short presentation will provide an overview. The readings set out some basic background to the meanings of, debates on - and the context of - development politics in the continent. What IS ‘development’? What can or should it mean, and how can this be achieved?

### 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 Shahrugh Khan and Jens Christiansen eds., *Towards New Developmentalism* (Abingdon: Routledge, 2011): 47-58.
- African Union, ‘Agenda 2063: The Africa We Want’ (African Union, August 2014).
- Austin Strange, ‘Seven decades of Chinese state financing in Africa: Tempering current debates,’ *Economic History of Developing Regions* 34, 3 (2019): 259-279.

### Supplementary Reading

- Frederick Cooper, *Africa Since 1940: The Past of the Present* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2002).
- Final Communiqué of the Asian-African conference of Bandung (24 April 1955).
- Joseph Hongoh, ‘The Asian-African Conference (Bandung) and Pan-Africanism: the challenge of reconciling continental solidarity with national sovereignty’, *Australian Journal of International Affairs* 70, 4 (2016): 374-390.
- Kwame Nkrumah, *Neo-colonialism: The last stage of imperialism* (London: Heinemann, 1968).
- Walter Rodney, *How Europe Underdeveloped Africa* (Oxford: Pambazuka Press, 2012).
- Jean-Francois Bayart, ‘Africa in the World: A History of Extraversion’, *African Affairs* 99 (2000): 217-267.
- Philip Snow, *The Star Raft: China’s Encounter with Africa* (London: Weidenfeld & Nicolson, 1988).
- Tony Addison, ‘Thirty Years in Africa’s development: from structural adjustment to structural transformation?’ (UNU WIDER Working Paper 119, 2015) [useful overview].
- 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).
- Meles Zenawi, ‘States and Markets: Neoliberal limitations and the case for a developmental state’, in A. Norman, K. Botchway, H. Skin and J. E. Stiglitz eds., *Good Growth and Governance in Africa: Rethinking development strategies* (Oxford University Press, 2012).
- Pippa Morgan and Yu Zheng, ‘Old bottle new wine? The evolution of China’s aid in Africa 1956–2014’, *Third World Quarterly* (2019): 1283-1303.
- Chris Alden, Alvaro Mendez and Daniel Large, ‘The Western Way of Development: A Critical Review,’ in Yijia Jing, Alvaro Mendez and Yu Zheng, eds., *New Development Assistance* (Singapore: Palgrave Macmillan, 2020): 19-38.

### 3. South-South Development: Principles, Actors, Practices (and Politics) (I)

This class explores principles, theories and practices of China's South-South development in Africa, framing this in terms of its domestic politics, changing institutional basis and evolving role in global development. How do classical and more recent South-South principles of development cooperation relate to policy practices and politics? What, if anything today, is distinctively 'Southern' about China's engagement? What are the main modalities of China's development cooperation?

#### *Required Reading*

- Julia Strauss, 'Layered rhetorics and multiple realities', in Christof Hartmann and Nele Noesselt eds., *China's new role in African politics* (Routledge, London, 2019): 32-47.
- Ian Taylor, 'The Institutional Framework of Sino-African Relations', in Arkebe Oqubay and Justin Yifu Lin eds., *China-Africa and an Economic Transformation* (Oxford University Press, 2019): 98-126.

#### *Supplementary Reading*

- China's Africa Policy (December 2015).
- China's 'Eight Principles for Economic Aid and Technical Assistance to other countries,' 15 January 1964.
- 'China's International Development Cooperation in the New Era', White Paper (2021): 4-10.
- Jing Gu and Richard Carey, 'China's Development Finance and African Infrastructure Development', in *China-Africa and an Economic Transformation* (2019).
- Nis Grunberg and Katja Drinhausen, 'The party leads on everything', *MERICS China Monitor*, September 24, 2019 [short overview].
- Denghua Zhang, 'Chinese Foreign Aid and Financing: An example of New Development Assistance?' In Yijia Jing, Alvaro Mendez and Yu Zheng eds., *New Development Assistance. Governing China in the 21st Century* (Palgrave Macmillan, Singapore): 167-180.
- 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).
- Emma Mawdsley, 'The changing geographies of foreign aid and development cooperation: contributions from gift theory', *Transactions* 37, 2 (2012): 256-272.
- Mzukisi Qobo and Nceku Nyathi, 'Ubuntu, public policy ethics and tensions in South Africa's foreign policy,' *South African Journal of International Affairs*, 23, 4 (2016): 421-436.
- Marina Rudyak, 'Who is Who in the Chinese lending institutional landscape' (urgewald, 2020).
- Scott Wingo, 'The Rise and Fall of the Resource-backed Loan' CACR, 18 February 2020 (Parts 1 & 2).
- Maria Adele Carrai, 'Adaptive governance along Chinese-financed BRI railroad megaprojects in East Africa.' *World Development* 141 (2021).
- Chris Alden and N. Ocquaye, 'Relocating African Agency: Assessing the Role of 'Local Patrons' and Chinese Enterprises in the Construction Sector in Ghana', *Leadership and Developing Societies*, 6, 1 (2021): 1-9.

#### 4. South-South Development: (Principles, Actors, Practices) and Politics (II)

This class turns to general themes concerning the politics of China's South-South development in Africa today, examining the context of this, debates around African agency and power dynamics. It complements our previous session by introducing key actors in African engagements with China, using a case-study.

##### *Required Reading*

- Emma Mawdsley, 'South-South Cooperation 3.0? Managing the consequences of success in the decade ahead,' *Oxford Development Studies*, 47, 3 (2019): 259-274.
- Christof Hartmann, 'China's contribution to African governance: some conceptual thoughts', in Christof Hartmann and Nele Noesselt eds., *China's New Role in African Politics: From Non-Intervention towards Stabilization?* (2019): 83-97.
- Folashade Soule, 'Africa+1' Summit Diplomacy and the 'New Scramble' Narrative: Recentering African Agency,' *African Affairs* 119, 477 (2020): 633-646.

##### *Supplementary*

- 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.
- Jon Phillips, 'Who's in charge of Sino-African resource politics? Situating African state agency in Ghana', *African Affairs* 118, 470 (2019): 101-124.
- Cobus Van Staden, Chris Alden and Yu-Shan Wu, 'In the drivers seat? African agency and Chinese power at FOCAC, the AU and the BRI,' SAIIA Occasional Paper 286, 2018.
- Giles Mohan and Ben Lampert, 'Negotiating China: Reinserting African Agency into China-Africa Relations', *African Affairs* 112, 446 (2012): 92-110.
- 'The Imperative to Strengthen Our Union: Report on the Proposed Recommendations for the Institutional Report of the African Union', 29 January 2017.
- Bob Wekesa, 'A Call for an African Policy Framework Towards China,' in Philani Mthembu and Faith Mabera eds., *Africa-China Cooperation: Towards an African Policy on China?* (Palgrave MacMillan 2021).
- Francis A. Kornegay Jr., 'Regionalizing Sino-African Diplomatic Engagement: Kagame and Overcoming the 'One and the Many' Paradigm'', in Mthembu and Mabera eds., *Africa-China Cooperation*
- Johanna Malm, 'China-powered' African Agency and its limits: The case of the DRC 2007-2019', SAIIA Policy Insights 96, November 2020.
- Ana Cristina Alves, and Sérgio Chichava. 'Neo-patrimonialism and extraversion in China's relations with Angola and Mozambique: Is Beijing making a difference?' In Alden and Large eds., *New Directions in Africa-China Studies* (Routledge, 2018): 242-259.
- Jyhjong Hwang, 'An Offer You Can Refuse: A Host Country's Strategic Allocation of Development Financing', *Daedalus*, 150, 4 (2021): 193-219.
- Alexander Caramento, 'The curse of being born with a copper spoon in our mouths': an examination of the changing forms of Zambian resource nationalism', in Nathan Andrews, Andrew Grant, and Jesse Salah Ovidia, eds. *Natural Resource-Based Development in Africa: Panacea or Pandora's Box?* (University of Toronto Press, 2022).
- Patricia Rinck, 'We are black Chinese' – Making sense of APC's pro-China campaign in Sierra Leone's 2018 elections', in *China's New Role in African Politics: From Non-Intervention towards Stabilization?* (2019).



## 5. Modernization Redux and Infrastructure: Debt and the Politics of Economics

After surveying key general trends in economic relations, this class will explore the politics of the economics of China's engagement in Africa with particular interest in infrastructure and debt. What are the key trends in economic relations (trade, investment) and how far are these 'developmental'? Has China been pursuing debt trap diplomacy and why is this so controversial within many African countries?

### Required Reading/Research

- Chris Alden and Lu Jiang, 'Brave new world: debt, industrialization and security in China–Africa relations.' *International Affairs* 95, 3 (2019): 641-657.
- Pádraig Carmody, Peter Kragelund and Ricardo Reborado, 'Debt trap diplomacy or structural transformation? The Belt and Road Initiative in Africa', in *Africa's Shadow Rise* (Zed: 2020): 176-194.
- Deborah Brautigam, 'A critical look at Chinese 'debt-trap diplomacy': the rise of a meme.' *Area Development and Policy* 5, 1 (2019): 1-14.
- Please research an example of a Chinese infrastructure project in your case study, including financing, and the intended/actual role of this in development, and the issue of debt.

### Supplementary Reading

- Deborah Brautigam, 'Chinese loans and African structural transformation.' *China–Africa and an economic transformation* (2019): 129-146.
- Paul Nugent, 'Africa's re-enchantment with big infrastructure: White elephants dancing in virtuous circles?' In Jon Schubert et al eds., *Extractive Industries and Changing State Dynamics in Africa: Beyond the Resource Curse* (Routledge, 2018): 22-40.
- Ana Cristina Alves, 'China's 'win-win' cooperation: Unpacking the impact of infrastructure-for-resources deals in Africa', *South African Journal of International Affairs* 20, 2 (2013): 207-226.
- Yuan Wang, 'Executive Agency and State Capacity in Development: Comparing Sino-African Railways in Kenya and Ethiopia.' *Comparative Politics* 54, no. 2 (2022): 349-377.
- Ching Kuan Lee, 'The Spectre of Global China', *New Left Review* 89 (2014): 29-65.
- David Dollar, "Understanding China's Belt and Road Infrastructure projects in Africa" (Brookings: September 2019).
- World Commission on Dams, *Dams and Development: A new framework for decision-making* (Earthscan, London, 2000).
- James C. Scott, *Seeing like a State: How Certain Schemes to Improve the Human Condition Have Failed* (London: Yale University Press, 1998).
- Heidi Østbø Haugen, 'Chinese Exports to Africa: Competition, Complementarity and Cooperation between Micro-Level Actors', *Forum for Development Studies* 38, 2 (2011): 157-76
- Yuan Wang and Uwe Wissenbach, 'Clientelism at work? A case study of Kenyan Standard Gauge Railway project,' *Economic History of Developing Regions*, 34(3) (2019): 280-299.
- Ian Taylor, 'Kenya's New Lunatic Express: The Standard Gauge Railway', *African Studies Quarterly* 19 (2020): 29-52.
- Kevin Acker, Deborah Brautigam and Yufan Huang, 'Debt Relief with Chinese Characteristics', CARI Working Paper 39, June 2020.
- Nelson Oppong, Luke Patey, and Ricardo Soares de Oliveira. 'Governing African oil and gas: Boom-era political and institutional innovation', *The Extractive Industries and Society* (2020): 1165.

## 6. Structural Transformation or Diversifying Dependency?

Building on the last class, this class will examine a leading debate, policy framework and associated controversy about structural transformation in Africa, with a particular interest in the centrality of politics to the prospects for advancing this or, as an alternative argument contends, diversifying dependency. What is the theory of structural transformation? Does this, and associated policy efforts like special economic zones or industrialisation more generally, offer the prospect of breaking the historic constraints faced by commodity-dependent African economies? The aim is for you, drawing on your African country case, to compare the ideal of structural transformation with available evidence, and come to your own conclusions.

### *Required Reading*

- Carlos Lopez, 'Structural Transformation Through Industrialisation', in *Africa in Transformation: Economic Development in the Age of Doubt* (Palgrave Macmillan, 2018): 65-80.
- Thandika Mkandawire, 'Can Africa turn from Recovery to Development', *Current History* 113, 763 (2014): 171-177.
- Video: '[Can Africa become the next China?](#)' CGTN 30 June 2019.
- Please consider where you stand on structural transformation, and compile evidence from your case about its progress, if any, to date and prospects going forward.

### *Supplementary*

- Tim Zajontz, 'Debt, distress, dispossession: towards a critical political economy of Africa's financial dependency', *Review of African Political Economy* (2021): 1-11.
- Linda Calabrese and Xiaoyang Tang, 'Africa's economic transformation: the role of Chinese investment', ODI DEGRP Synthesis Report June 2020.
- Ewout Frankema and Marlous van Waijenburg, 'Africa rising? A historical perspective', *African Affairs*, 117, 469 (2018): 543-568.
- Ian Taylor, 'Dependency redux: Why Africa is not rising.' *Review of African Political Economy* 43, 147 (2016): 8-25.
- Edward Friedman, 'How economic superpower China could transform Africa', *Journal of Chinese Political Science* 14, 1 (2009):
- Morten Jerven, 'African Growth Recurring: An Economic History Perspective on African Growth Episodes, 1690-2010', *Economic History of Developing Regions* 25, 2 (2010): 127-154.
- China-DAC Study Group, *Economic Transformation and Poverty Reduction: how it happened in China, helping it happen in Africa* (IPRCC/OECD, 2011).
- Africa Progress Panel, 'Africa Progress Report 2013: Equity in Extractives: Stewarding Africa's Natural Resources for All' (Geneva: Africa Progress Panel Foundation, 2013).
- Irene Yuan Sun, *The Next Factory of the World: How Chinese Investment is Reshaping Africa* (Harvard Business Review Press, 2017).
- Nanjala Nyabola, '[View from Africa: Progress without people](#)', *New Internationalist*, 1 September 2018.
- Justin Yifu Lin and Wang Yan, *Going Beyond Aid: Development Cooperation for Structural Transformation* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2016).
- Mzukisi Qobo and Garth le Pere, "Between resource extraction and industrializing Africa," in Alden and Large, eds., *New Directions in Africa-China Studies*: 260-278.
- Arkebe Oqubay and Justin Yifu Lin, eds. *China-Africa and an Economic Transformation* (Oxford University Press, 2019).

## 7. The Politics of Models

The idea of a ‘China model’ has been controversial and has become even more so in the past few years. This session explores the less visible but potentially more consequential set of direct and indirect interactions involved in ‘governance’ relations. What is ‘the China model’ and is it of any importance and use in understanding China’s South-South development in Africa? This involves understanding different incarnations of ‘the China model’, in which that of Xi Jinping is most important today. And, in what ways and how far does the ‘China Model’ actually matter in African countries? This involves not just questions about policy transfer but the politics of African political elites and states. To prepare, please research whether the ‘China model’ matters in your African country case.

### Required Reading

- Obert Hodzi, ‘African Political Elites and the Making (s) of the China Model in Africa’, *Politics & Policy* 48, 5 (2020): 887-907.
- Chris Alden, ‘A Chinese model for Africa: Problem solving, learning and limits’, in Chris Alden and Daniel Large eds., *New Directions in the Study of Africa-China Relations* (London: Routledge, 2018): 279-289.

### Supplementary Reading

- Nadege Rolland ed., *Political Front Lines: China’s Pursuit of Influence in Africa* (NBR June 2022).
- 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.
- 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.
- Mark Beeson and Fujian Li, ‘What Consensus? Geopolitics and policy paradigms in China and the United States’, *International Affairs* 91, 1 (2015): 93–109.
- Elsje Fourie, ‘China’s example for Meles’ Ethiopia: when development ‘models’ land’, *The Journal of Modern African Studies* 53, 3 (2015): 289-316.
- Daniel Bell, *The China Model: Political Meritocracy and the Limits of Democracy* (Princeton University Press, 2015).
- Yuen Yuen Ang, ‘Autocracy With Chinese Characteristics’, *Foreign Affairs*, 97, 3 (2018): 39-46.
- Iginio Gagliardone, *China, Africa, and the Future of the Internet* (London: Zed Books, 2019).
- Christine Hackenesch and Julia Bader, ‘The Struggle for Minds and Influence: the Chinese Communist Party’s Global Outreach’, *International Studies Quarterly* 64, 3 (2020): 723-722.
- Lina Benabdallah, *Shaping the Future of Power: Knowledge Production and Network-Building in China-Africa Relations* (University of Michigan Press, 2020).
- Lina Benabdallah, ‘Power or Influence? Making Sense of China’s Evolving Party-to-party Diplomacy in Africa’, *African Studies Quarterly* 19, 3/4 (2020): 94-114.
- Jinpu Wang and Ning Zhan, ‘Nationalism, overseas Chinese state and the construction of ‘Chineseness’ among Chinese migrant entrepreneurs in Ghana,’ *Asian Ethnicity*, 20, 1 (2019): 8-29.
- Luke Patey, *How China Loses: The pushback against Chinese global ambitions* (Oxford University Press, 2021).

## 8. Beyond states? Migration, informal dynamics and micro-politics

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, and Chinese participation in the informal sector. Does the Covid-19 pandemic and other shifts in global politics herald the end of globalisation from below?

### Required Readings

- Yoon Jung Park, 'Forever foreign? Is there a future for Chinese people in Africa?', *Journal of Ethnic and Migration Studies* (2021): 1-19.
- Gabriel Botchwey, Gordon Crawford, Nicholas Loubere, and Jixia Lu. 'South-south irregular migration: The impacts of China's informal gold rush in Ghana.' *International Migration* 57, 4 (2019): 310-328.

### Supplementary Readings

- Li Hangwei and Xuefei Shi, 'Home away from home: The social and political roles of contemporary Chinese associations in Zambia', *Journal of Current Chinese Affairs* 48 (2) 2019: 148-170.
- Rirhandu Mageza-Barthel, 'Beyond the state in Sino-African relations?', in Arndt Graf and Azirah Hashim, eds, *African-Asian Encounters: New Cooperations and New Dependencies* (Amsterdam University Press, 2017), pp. 103-31.
- Gregor Dobler, 'China and Namibia, 1990 to 2015: how a new actor changes the dynamics of political economy.' *Review of African Political Economy* 44 (153) 2017: 449-465.
- Chris Alden and Ross Harvey, 'Chinese Transnational Criminal Organisations and the illegal Wildlife Trade in Tanzania', *European Review of Organised Crime* 5, 1 (2021): 10-35.
- UNODC, *World Wildlife Crime Report: Trafficking in protected species*. Vienna. (Vienna, 2020).
- Miriam Driessen, *Tales of Hope, Tastes of Bitterness: Chinese Road Builders in Ethiopia* (Hong Kong University Press, 2019).
- Gordon Mathews, Linessa Dan Lin and Yang Yang, *The World in Guangzhou: Africans and Other Foreigners in South China's Global Marketplace* (University of Chicago Press, 2017)
- Roberto Castillo, *African Transnational Mobility in China: Africans on the Move* (Routledge, 2021).
- Padmore Adusei Amoah, Obert Hodzi and Roberto Castillo (eds), 'Africans in China and Chinese in Africa: identities, inequalities and well-being', Special Issue of *Asian Ethnicity* 21, 4 (2020).
- Yu Qiu, 'Cleavage: Guangzhou, Covid-19 and China-Africa Friendship Politics', *Journal of African Cultural Studies* 33, 2 (2021): 184-193;
- Jinpu Wang and Ning Zhan, 'Nationalism, overseas Chinese state and the construction of 'Chineseness' among Chinese migrant entrepreneurs in Ghana', *Asian Ethnicity*, 20 (1), 2019: 8-29.
- Haifang Liu, 'Coping with security challenges in African society: The role of overseas Chinese associations in protecting new Chinese migrants in Africa', in Christof Hartmann and Nele Noesselt, eds, *China's New Role in African Politics: From Non-Intervention towards Stabilization?* (Routledge, 2019), p. 73.
- Allen Hai Xiao, 'In the Shadow of the States: The Informalities of Chinese Petty Entrepreneurship in Nigeria,' *Journal of Current Chinese Affairs* 44 (1) 2015
- Lesley Nicole Braun and Heidi Østbø Haugen, 'The Weight Women Carry: Research on the Visible and Invisible Baggage in Suitcase Trade between China and Africa', *The Professional Geographer*, September 13 (2021): 1-7.

## 9. Security and Development

As the Chinese engagement expands and deepens in Africa, the issue of security has become more prominent. Why and how has security become a pillar of China's relations with Africa and central to development relations? Does development produce security – and lasting peace? 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 & Laura Barber eds., *China and Africa: Building Peace and Security Cooperation on the Continent* (Palgrave, 2017): 67-82.
- Mira Hirono, Yang Jiang, and Marc Lanteigne, 'China's new roles and behaviour in conflict-affected regions: Reconsidering non-interference and non-intervention', *The China Quarterly* 239 (2019): 573-590.

### Supplementary Watching/Reading

- Ilaria Carrozza, 'Legitimizing China's Growing Engagement in African Security: Change within Continuity of Official Discourse', *The China Quarterly* 248, no. 1 (2021): 1174-1199.
- Chris Alden, Charles Alao, Zhang Chun and Laura Barber, eds., *China and Africa: Building Peace and Security Cooperation on the Continent* (Palgrave Macmillan, 2017).
- Alessandro Arduino, 'The Footprint of Chinese Private Security Companies in Africa', CARI Working Paper 35 (2020).
- Ricardo Soares de Oliveira and Harry Verhoeven, 'Taming Intervention: Sovereignty, Statehood and Political Order in Africa,' *Survival* 60, 2 (2018): 7-32
- Jean-Pierre Cabestan, 'China's Involvement in Africa's Security: The Case of China's Participation in the UN Mission to Stabilize Mali', *The China Quarterly*, 235 (2018): 713-734.
- Jean-Pierre Cabestan, 'China's military base in Djibouti: A microcosm of China's growing competition with the United States and new bipolarity,' *Journal of Contemporary China* 29, 125 (2020): 731-747.
- 'China's National Defense in the New Era' White Paper (Beijing: Foreign Languages Press Co., 2019).
- Paul Nantulya, 'Chinese Security Contractors in Africa', Carnegie-Tsinghua, October 8, 2020.
- Jonathan Fisher and David M. Anderson, 'Authoritarianism and the securitization of development in Africa', *International Affairs* 91, 1 (2015): 131-151.
- Devon Curtis, 'China and the Insecurity of Development in the Democratic Republic of the Congo (DRC),' *International Peacekeeping*, 20, 5 (2013): 551-569.
- Luke Patey, 'Learning in Africa: China's Overseas Oil Investments in Sudan and South Sudan,' *Journal of Contemporary China*, 26, 107 (2017): 756-768.
- Steven Kuo, *Chinese Peace in Africa: From Peacekeeper to Peacemaker* ( (London and New York: Routledge, 2020).
- Rosemary Foot, *China, the UN, and Human Protection: Beliefs, Power, Image* (Oxford University Press, 2020).
- Film: *Wolf Warrior II* (Dir. Jing Wu, 2017).

## 10. 'East Rising, West Declining': Global Politics

This class will examine the global politics of China-led South-South development in Africa and the implications of these going forward. Until recently, trilateral development cooperation was in vogue as a prospect, if not always an applied reality. Strategic competition between China and the US, the return of power politics and uncertainty exacerbated by the COVID-19 pandemic and Russian invasion of Ukraine in February 2022 raises questions about the nature, impact and implications of renewed geopolitical competition in the politics of development in Africa.

### *Required Reading*

- Please select an external power – the US, EU, India, Brazil, Turkey or Russia – and undertake your own reading about its engagement in relation to China and Africa.

### *Supplementary*

- [U.S. Strategy toward Sub-Saharan Africa](#), 8 August 2022.
- [Remarks by National Security Advisor Ambassador John R. Bolton on the Trump Administration's New Africa Strategy](#), John Bolton, 13 December 2018, Heritage Foundation, Washington, D.C.
- Henry Tugendhat and Kamissa Camara. 'Washington Needs a Better Message in Africa Than "Don't Trust China."' *Foreign Policy*, November 29, 2021.
- Podcast: Sam Rani, '[The Ukraine War and Great Power Politics in the Global South](#)', The China in Africa podcast, 1 April 2022.
- Alex Vines, 'Values vs Interests: EU and Russian competition in Africa', EUREN 15 January 2020.
- Danilo Marcondes and Emma Mawdsley, 'South-South in Retreat? The transitions from Lula to Rousseff to Temer and Brazilian development cooperation', *International Affairs* 93, 3 (2017): 681-699.
- UNDP, 'Trilateral Cooperation with China: sharing China's Development Experience through Innovative Partnerships', Discussion Paper February 2017.
- 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.
- EU Commission, 'Communication to the European Parliament and the Council: Towards a comprehensive strategy with Africa', 9 March 2020.
- Anna Katharina Stahl, *EU-China-Africa Trilateral Relations in a Multipolar World: Hic Sunt Dracones* (Palgrave Macmillan 2018).
- Dawn Nagar and Charles Mutasa eds., *Africa and the World: bilateral and Multilateral International Diplomacy* (Palgrave MacMillan, 2018) for different country cases.
- Miwa Hirono, 'Asymmetrical rivalry between China and Japan in Africa: to what extent has Sino-Japan rivalry become a global phenomenon?' *The Pacific Review* 32, 5 (2019): 831-862.
- Tom Bayes, 'China in francophone West Africa: A challenge to Paris,' MERICS, May 28, 2020.
- Prime Minister Modi's [Address at Parliament of Uganda during his State Visit to Uganda, July 25 2018](#).
- Podcast: Veda Vaidyanathan, '[India, Africa, and the US-China Rivalry](#)', 9 April 2021.
- Ruchita Beri, 'Towards India-Japan Development Cooperation in Africa', in Sachin Chaturvedi, Anita Prakash and Priyadarshi Dash eds., *Asia-Africa Growth Corridor* (Springer, 2020): 227-234.
- Pádraig Carmody, Niheer Dasandi, Slava Jankin Mikhaylov, 'Power Plays and Balancing Acts: The Paradoxical Effects of Chinese Trade on African Foreign Policy Positions', *Political Studies* 68, 1 (2020): 224– 246.

## **11. Presentations**

Full details on the Moodle site.

## **12. Conclusions**

This will review key themes arising from the course as a whole and ask you to share your conclusions. We will also look forwards, using histories of the future. How will China's South-South development in Africa advance, given the growing differences and challenges between its historic aims, ideals and practices and the new circumstances in which it is increasingly consequential? How will Africa's engagement with China advance? Can, and if so how can, Africa best use China's engagement for its own development purposes?

DRAFT