

# 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

**Semester:** Spring 2024

**Course status:** Elective

**Class Times:** Tuesdays 1.30-3.10; 3.40-5.20

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

## Description

This course is an introduction to the politics of South-South development in Africa with a particular interest in 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 developmentally premised engagement 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 their chosen 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 (9 April)
2. Developing Africa (9 April)
3. Principles, Actors, Practices and Politics: China (16 April)
4. Principles, Actors, Practices and Politics: Africa (16 April)
5. The Politics of China's Models (23 April)
6. Economics: Modernization Redux? (23 April)
7. Debt and the Politics of Economics (30 April)
8. Security and Development (30 April)
9. 'East Rising, West Declining': (I) (7 May)
10. 'East Rising, West Declining': (II) (7 May)
11. Presentations (14 May)
12. Conclusion (14 May)

## Assessment

- Participation: 10%
- Presentation: 20%
- Final research paper (3,000 words): 70% (deadline: **5pm, 3 June 2024** via Moodle). For this, you can propose your own question or choose one from a set list.

Grading: CEU uses a letter grade system. Please consult the DPP Handbook 2023/24 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 in time for our third class on 16 April***. You can choose from 53(4) countries but may want to decide according to your thematic interest and the African country that provides the best case for these. Depending on your interests, consider 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.

## 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).
- Yaqing Qin, *A relational theory of world politics* (Cambridge University Press, 2018).
- Noo Saro-Wiwa, *Black Ghosts: A Journey into the Lives of Africans in China* (Canongate, 2023).

Each session has required readings, supplemented by select additional readings. 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*), and China (e.g. *China Quarterly*, *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://African Arguments); [Africasacountry.com](http://Africasacountry.com); [China Digital Times](http://China Digital Times); [International Poverty Reduction Centre in China](http://International Poverty Reduction Centre in China); [Forum on China-Africa Cooperation](http://Forum on China-Africa Cooperation); [BRICS Policy Centre](http://BRICS Policy Centre); [South African Institute of International Affairs](http://South African Institute of International Affairs); [OECD Development Co-operation Directorate](http://OECD Development Co-operation Directorate); [Africa Union partnerships](http://Africa Union partnerships); [Export-Import Bank of China](http://Export-Import Bank of China); [China Development Bank](http://China Development Bank); [Africa Development Bank Africa Development Reports](http://Africa Development Bank Africa Development Reports); [World Bank World Development Reports](http://World Bank World Development Reports); [Human Development Reports](http://Human Development Reports); [UNCTAD](http://UNCTAD); [UNDP China South-South Cooperation](http://UNDP China South-South Cooperation); [China-Africa Research Initiative](http://China-Africa Research Initiative); [BU Global Development Policy Center](http://BU Global Development Policy Center); [Chinese in Africa, Africans in China Research Network; Africans in China](http://Chinese in Africa, Africans in China Research Network; Africans in China).

## Literature

A starting selection of relevant fiction to complement our other 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); *Laisuotuo* (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 *Mining Town* (2021).

## Podcasts

[The ChinaGlobalSouthProject](#) (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](#); 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](#)

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 [This Week in Africa](#).

***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.
- 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
- Niall Duggan, 'The Agency Problem in Readings of Sino–Africa Relations.' *African Affairs*, September 15, 2023.

### *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).
- Siba Grovogui, 'Regimes of sovereignty: international morality and the African condition', *European Journal of International Relations*, 8, 3 (2002): 315-338.
- 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
- 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).
- Video 2018 CCTV New Year Spring Gala Africa sketch [NB: you can get automatic sub-titles].
- Haug, Sebastian, and Cynthia M. Kamwengo. 'Africa beyond 'South-South cooperation': A frame with limited resonance./' *Journal of International Development* 35, no. 4 (2023): 549-565.
- Chris Alden and Lu Jiang, 'Brave new world: debt, industrialization and security in China–Africa relations.' *International Affairs* 95, 3 (2019): 641-657.

## 2. Developing Africa

This class historicizes China and South-South engagements in Africa, exploring the changing meanings of ‘development’ across time. The readings set out basic background to the meanings of, debates on - and the context of - development politics in the continent. What IS ‘development’? What has this meant in the past? What can or should it mean? 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).
- Thandika Mkandawire, ‘Running while others walk: Knowledge and the challenge of Africa’s development.’ *Africa Development* 36, 2 (2011): 1-36.
- 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.
- 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.
- Morten Jerven. *The Wealth and Poverty of African States: Economic Growth, Living Standards and Taxation Since the Late Nineteenth Century* (Cambridge University Press, 2022).

### 3. Principles, Actors, Practices and Politics I: China

This class explores principles, theories and practices of China's development engagement in Africa, framing this in terms of China's domestic politics, changing institutional basis and evolving role in global development. How do classical and more recent Southern principles of development cooperation relate to policy practices and politics? What, if anything, is distinctively 'Southern' about China's engagement today? 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.
- Joshua Eisenman, 'Locating Africa in China's community of shared future for mankind: A relational approach.' *Journal of International Development* 35, 1 (2023): 65-78.

#### *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. Principles, Actors, Practices and Politics II: Africa

This class engages African dimensions more, to complement and build on the last class, turns to general themes concerning the politics of China's South-South development in Africa today, exploring the context of this and how it fits into external strategies of African states. It complements our previous session by introducing key actors in African engagements with China, and sets the scene for later classes.

##### *Required Reading*

- Sara Rich Dorman, 'Beyond the Gatekeeper state? Studying Africa's states and state systems in the twenty-first century', in Sara Rich Dorman ed. *Beyond the Gatekeeper State*. Routledge, 2024.
- 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.
- Lina Benabdallah, 'A Relational Approach to Gift-Giving: China's Aid Exchanges in the Global South', *Global Studies Quarterly*, 2, 4 (2022).

##### *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.
- Marina Rudyak. "'We help them, and they help us': Reciprocity and relationality in Chinese aid to Africa.' *Journal of International Development* 35, 4 (2023): 583-599.
- Emma Mawdsley, 'South-South Cooperation 3.0? Managing the consequences of success in the decade ahead,' *Oxford Development Studies*, 47, 3 (2019): 259-274.
- 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.
- '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. The Politics of China's 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'? 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.
- Joshua Eisenman and David H. Shinn. 'Party-to-Party relations', in *China's Relations with Africa: A New Era of Strategic Engagement* (Columbia University Press, 2023).

### 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.
- Claude Ake. *Democracy and development in Africa*. Brookings, 2001.
- 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.
- 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).
- 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).
- Seifudein Adem. *Africa's Quest for Modernity: Lessons from Japan and China* (Springer Nature, 2023).
- Ian Johnson, 'Xi's Age of Stagnation: The Great Walling-Off of China', *Foreign Affairs* 102, 5 (2023).

## 6. Economics: Modernization Redux?

This class will survey key general trends in economic relations, and explore China's infrastructure engagement in Africa.

### Required Reading

- Ricardo Reboredo and Elisa Gambino. 'Connectivity and competition: the emerging geographies of Africa's 'Ports Race'.' *Area Development and Policy* 8, 2 (2023): 142-161.
- Ana Cristina Alves and Chris Alden. 'China's economic and trade cooperation zones in Africa: from static model emulation to dynamic learning.' *Area Development and Policy* (2024): 1-23.

### Supplementary Reading

- Austin Strange, *Chinese Global Infrastructure* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2023).
- 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.
- 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.
- 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.
- Ricardo Reboredo and Elisa Gambino. 'Connectivity and competition: the emerging geographies of Africa's 'Ports Race'.' *Area Development and Policy* 8, no. 2 (2023): 142-161.
- Tim Zajontz, *The Political Economy of China's Infrastructure Development in Africa: Capital, State Agency, Debt* (Palgrave Macmillan. 2023).
- Dominik Kopinski, Pádraig Carmody, Ian Taylor, ed. *The Political Economy of Chinese FDI and Spillover Effects in Africa*, Palgrave MacMillan 2023
- Pádraig Carmody, Mandira Bagwandeem and Anthony Leysens, *Africa's Railway Renaissance: The role and impact of China*

## 7. Debt and the Politics of Economics (30 April)

Has China been pursuing debt trap diplomacy and why is this so controversial within and without many African countries?

### Required Reading

- Nicolas Lippolis and Harry Verhoeven, 'Politics by default: China and the global governance of African debt.' *Survival* (2022): 153-178.
- Thandika Mkandawire, 'Can Africa turn from Recovery to Development', *Current History* 113, 763 (2014): 171-177.

### Supplementary Reading

- Mandira Bagwandeem, Christopher Edyegu and Oscar M. Otele. 'African agency, COVID-19 and debt renegotiations with China.' *South African Journal of International Affairs* 30, 1 (2023): 1-27.
- Chen, Muyang. 'China's rise and the reshaping of sovereign debt relief.' *International Affairs* (2023): iiad108
- Pdraig Carmody, Peter Kragelund, Ricardo Reboledo, 'Debt trap diplomacy or structural transformation? The Belt and Road Initiative in Africa', *Africa's Shadow Rise* (Zed: 2020): 176-94.
- Deborah Brautigam, 'A critical look at Chinese 'debt-trap diplomacy': the rise of a meme.' *Area Development and Policy* 5, 1 (2019): 1-14
- Tim Zajontz, 'Debt, distress, dispossession: towards a critical political economy of Africa's financial dependency', *Review of African Political Economy* (2021): 1-11.
- 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):
- China-DAC Study Group, *Economic Transformation and Poverty Reduction: how it happened in China, helping it happen in Africa* (IPRCC/OECD, 2011).
- 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).
- Sam Wilkins, and Richard Vokes. 'Transition, transformation, and the politics of the future in Uganda.' *Journal of Eastern African Studies* 17, 1-2 (2023): 262-279.

## 8. Security and Development

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

- 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.
- 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.

### Supplementary Watching/Reading

- Jonathan Fisher and David M. Anderson, 'Authoritarianism and the securitization of development in Africa', *International Affairs* 91, 1 (2015): 131-151.
- 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.
- Chris Alden, Charles Alao, Zhang Chun and Laura Barber, eds., *China and Africa: Building Peace and Security Cooperation on the Continent* (Palgrave Macmillan, 2017).
- 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.
- 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).
- Lina Benabdallah and Daniel Large. "The Key to solving all problems"? Unpacking China's development-as-security approach in Mali.' *Third World Quarterly* 44, 1 (2023): 211-229.
- Film: *Wolf Warrior II* (Dir. Jing Wu, 2017).
- Okafor-Yarwood, Ifesinachi Marybenedette and Freedom C. Onuoha, 'Whose security is it? Elitism and the global approach to maritime security in Africa.' *Third World Quarterly* (2023): 1-21.
- Tim Allen and Melissa Parker, 'In the line of duty: Militarising African epidemics', *Global Policy* (2023).

## 9. 'East Rising, West Declining': (I)

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 and intensifying geopolitical competition in the politics of development in Africa.

### Required Reading

- Folashade Soule, 'Africa+1' Summit Diplomacy and the 'New Scramble' Narrative: Recentering African Agency,' *African Affairs* 119, 477 (2020): 633-646.
- Ueli Staeger, 'The war in Ukraine, the African union, and African agency,' *African Affairs* (2023): adad026.
- Mzukisi Qobo and Mjumo Mzyece, 'Geopolitics, technology wars and global supply chains: Implications for Africa,' *South African Journal of International Affairs*, 30, 1 (2023): 29-46.

### Supplementary Reading

- Rita Abrahamsen, Barbra Chimhandamba, Farai Chipato, Introduction: The African Union, Pan-Africanism, and the Liberal World (Dis)Order, *Global Studies Quarterly*, 3, 3 (July 2023).
- Repnikova, Maria, and Keyu Alexander Chen. 'Asymmetrical discursive competition: China–United States digital diplomacy in Africa.' *International Communication Gazette* 85, 1 (2023): 15-31.
- Paul Nantulya, 'Considerations for a Prospective New Chinese Naval Base in Africa', May 12, 2022
- Dawn Murphy, 'Strategic competition for overseas basing in sub-Saharan Africa', February 2023.
- Alexander Wooley et al., 'Harboring Global Ambitions: China's Ports Footprint and Implications for Future Overseas Naval Bases', *AidData* 2023.
- Mark Leonard, 'China Is Ready For A World Of Disorder: America Is Not.' *Foreign Aff.* 102 (2023): 116.

## 10. 'East Rising, West Declining': (II) (7 May)

### Required Reading

- Please select an external power and undertake your own reading about its engagement in relation to China and Africa in general, and your African country case in particular. Some examples:

### Africa

- Howard W. French, '[How Africa Can Avoid Getting Scrambled.](#)' *Foreign Policy* 19 December 2022.
- Dawn Nagar and Charles Mutasa eds., *Africa and the World: bilateral and Multilateral International Diplomacy* (Palgrave MacMillan, 2018) for different country cases.
- 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
- Bob Wekesa, *China's Footprint in East Africa: Pessimism versus Optimism*, (Singapore: Palgrave Macmillan, 2023).

### US

- '[Great power competition implications in Africa: the Chinese Communist Party](#)', written statement of Janean Davis, Deputy Assistance Administrator, Bureau for Africa 18 April 2023.

- Henry Tugendhat and Kamissa Camara. ‘Washington Needs a Better Message in Africa Than “Don’t Trust China.”’ *Foreign Policy*, November 29, 2021
- [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.
- Seth Schindler et al. ‘The Second Cold War: US-China Competition for Centrality in Infrastructure, Digital, Production, and Finance Networks.’ *Geopolitics* (2023): 1-38.
- James J Carafano, Michael Pillsbury, Jeff M. Smith, and Andrew J. Harding. ‘Winning the New Cold War: A Plan for Countering China.’ *The Heritage Foundation*, March 28 (2023).
- Maria Repnikova and Keyu Alexander Chen. ‘Asymmetrical discursive competition: China–United States digital diplomacy in Africa.’ *International Communication Gazette* 85,1 (2023): 15-31.
- Folashade Soule, ‘What a new U.S.-DRC-Zambia Electric Vehicle Batteries Deal Reveals about the New U.S. Approach Toward Africa’, Carnegie (August 2023).

## EU

- European Commission, [EU-Africa Partnership](#)
- Anna Katharina Stahl, *EU-China-Africa Trilateral Relations in a Multipolar World: Hic Sunt Dracones* (Palgrave Macmillan 2018).
- Che, Dewei, and Adams Bodom. ‘China and the European Union in Africa: win–win-lose or win–win-win?’’, *Asia Europe Journal* (2023): 1-18
- Maurizio Carbone, ‘When elephants fight, it is the grass that suffers: the Russo-Ukrainian conflict and the decentring-recentring conundrum in EU-Africa relations.’ *Journal of European Integration* 45, 3 (2023): 539-557.
- Peg Murray-Evans, ‘Regionalism and African agency: negotiating an Economic Partnership Agreement between the European Union and SADC-Minus,’ *Third World Quarterly*, 36:10 (2015): 1845-1865.

## Russia

- Sam Ramani, *Russia in Africa: Resurgent Great Power Or Bellicose Pretender?* (Oxford University Press 2023).
- Alex Vines, ‘Values vs Interests: EU and Russian competition in Africa’, EUREN 15 January 2020.
- Raffaello Pantucci, ‘Counter Terrorism Meets Great Power Conflict in Africa’, *Counter Terrorist Trends and Analyses* 15, 2 (2023): 18-23.
- Katja Lindskov Jacobsen, and Karen Philippa Larsen. ‘Liberal intervention's renewed crisis: responding to Russia's growing influence in Africa.’ *International Affairs* 99, 1 (2023): 259-278.

## India

- Prime Minister Modi’s [Address at Parliament of Uganda during his State Visit to Uganda, July 25 2018](#).
- 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.
- Nirupama Rao, ‘The Upside of Rivalry: India's Great-Power Opportunity.’ *Foreign Aff.* 102 (2023).
- Harsh V. Pant and Anant Singh Mann, ‘India’s Challenge to the BRI: Shaping the Global Normative Consensus’, In *The Palgrave Handbook of Globalization with Chinese Characteristics: The Case of the Belt and Road Initiative* (Singapore: Springer Nature Singapore, 2023): 459-473.
- Indrajit Roy, ‘Southern Multilateralism: India's engagement with Africa and the emergence of a multiplex world order.’, *Journal of International Development* 35, 4 (2023): 566-582.

## Japan

- 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.
- Caixia Mao. 'North-South development competition and the quality and sustainability of Chinese and Japanese transnational infrastructure initiatives.' *Journal of International Development* 35, 2 (2023): 331-346.
- Seifudein Adem, 'Sino-Japanese Rivalry in Africa?.' In *Africa's Quest for Modernity: Lessons from Japan and China* (Cham: Springer International Publishing, 2023): 141-160.
- Yoshiaki Furuzawa, 'Japan-Africa Relations.' in *Japan and its Partners in the Indo-Pacific: Engagements and Alignment* (2023).

## Brazil

- 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.
- Chris Alden and Marco Antonio Vieira, 'The New Diplomacy of the South: South Africa, Brazil, India and trilateralism', *Third World Quarterly* 26, 7 (2005): 1077-1095.
- Daniel Fledes, 'India-Brazil-South Africa (IBSA) in the New Global Order: Interests, Strategies and Values of the Emerging Coalition', *International Studies* 46, 4 (2009): 401-421.
- Adriana Erthal Abdenur, 'Brazil-Africa Relations: From Boom to Bust?.' *Africa and the world: Bilateral and multilateral international diplomacy* (2018): 189-208.

## UK

- Mark Langan, 'Africa and the Commonwealth: UK Imperial Imaginaries.' In *Global Britain and Neo-colonialism in Africa: Brexit, 'Development' and Coloniality* (Cham: Springer International Publishing, 2024): 31-59.
- Melita Lazell, 'UK aid to Africa: 'nationalisation' and neoliberalism.' *Canadian Journal of Development Studies/Revue canadienne d'études du développement* (2023): 1-20.
- Julia Gallagher, *Britain and Africa under Blair* (2013).

## France

- Tom Bayes, 'China in francophone West Africa: A challenge to Paris,' MERICS, May 28, 2020.
- Douglas A. Yates, 'France and Africa.' in *Africa and the World: Bilateral and multilateral international diplomacy* (2018): 95-118.
- Addis Alemahu, 'France Military Strategy Revision Plan in Africa and its Implications, Future Challenges & Opportunities for Africa.' *Journal of International Relations Security and Economic Studies* 2, 3 (2023): 11-21.
- Bruno Charbonneau, 'The durability of the Gendarme de l'Afrique: From empire to fighting terrorism.' In *Routledge Handbook of Francophone Africa* (Routledge, 2020): 57-70.

## IOs

- UNDP, 'Trilateral Cooperation with China: sharing China's Development Experience through Innovative Partnerships', Discussion Paper February 2017.
- Adriana Erthal Abdenur and Joao Moura Esteveao Marques Da Fonseca, 'The North's Growing Role in South-South Cooperation: keeping the foothold', *Third World Quarterly* 34, 8 (2013): 1475-1491.
- Lixia Tang and Zidong Zhu, 'Agricultural Trilateral Cooperation: A Case Study of the FAO + China + Host Country Model.' In M. Huang et al eds., *South-south Cooperation and Chinese Foreign Aid* (Palgrave Macmillan, Singapore: 2019).

## **11. Presentations (14 May)**

Full details on the Moodle site.

## **12. Conclusions (14 May)**

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 engagement 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? How will intensifying geopolitical competition involving Africa impact economic growth and development going forward?