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### AFRICA – CHINA RELATIONS LES RELATIONS AFRIQUE – CHINE

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### I. CODESRIA PUBLICATIONS / PUBLICATIONS DU CODESRIA

### **1.** African Studies in China in the Twentieth Century: a Historiographical Survey, *Li Ashan*

In: *The Study of Africa. Global and Transnational Engagements* / Paul Tiyambe Zeleza Dakar: CODESRIA, 2007. Vol. 2 - ISBN: 2869781989. p.336-368.

### 2. Assessing China's Relations with Africa

#### Hany Besada

Africa Development / Afrique et Développement, Vol. 38, Nº 1-2, 2013, p. 81-105

Abstract: China's spectacular economic progress has led some security analysts and policy makers to question Beijing's intentions in other parts of the world. This paper examines the extent to which China's engagement with Africa has produced mutual for both and whether Africa is reaping the necessary benefits required for poverty alleviation and economic development. Chinese state-owned enterprises have invested billions of dollars in foreign reserves, construction, and engineering resources assisting African oil-producing exporters. While many in the West have started to question China's extraordinary level of interest in Africa – in particular, its economic engagement with perceived repressive regimes – African leaders view China's entry as a means of pulling Africa onto the path of globalization. It is thus important that African leaders and policy makers ensure that Chinese trade and investment bring reciprocal and tangible benefits for Africans and contribute to economic stability and good governance.

**Résumé** : Le progrès économique spectaculaire de la Chine a conduit certains analystes en matière de sécurité et des décideurs dans le Nord et le Sud à s'interroger sur les intentions de Pékin dans d'autres parties du monde. Cet article examine dans quelle mesure l'engagement de la Chine avec l'Afrique a été mutuellement bénéfique et si l'Afrique en tire les avantages nécessaires pour la réduction de la pauvreté et le développement économique. Les entreprises publiques chinoises ont investi des milliards de dollars en termes de réserves de change, de ressources pour la construction et l'ingénierie pour aider les producteurs et exportateurs de pétrole en Afrique. Alors que beaucoup en Occident ont commencé à s'interroger sur le niveau extraordinaire d'intérêt de la Chine pour l'Afrique – en particulier, son engagement économique avec des régimes considérés comme répressifs - des dirigeants africains considèrent l'entrée de la Chine comme un moyen de tirer l'Afrique sur la voie de la mondialisation. Il est donc important que les dirigeants et décideurs africains s'assurent que le commerce et l'investissement chinois apportent des avantages réciproques et tangibles aux Africains et contribuent à la stabilité économique et la bonne gouvernance.

**Topics**: Economic development, Imports, Economic investment, Textile industry, International cooperation, Corporations, International economics, Economic benefits

# 3. 'Big Think', Disjointed Incrementalism: Chinese Economic Success and Policy Lessons for Africa, or the Case for Pan-Africanism

### Jean-Germain Gros

*African Journal of International Affairs / Revue africaine des affaires internationales*, Vol. 11, N° 2, 2008, p. 55–87

Abstract: Chinese economic success is not the product of free market accidental coincidence. Rather, it is orchestrated by the State through a mixture of nationalism ('big think') and pragmatic decisions (disjointed incrementalism) in agriculture, finance and industry. Furthermore, these decisions build upon existing institutions (e.g. the Household Responsibility System, Township Village Enterprises, etc), some dating back to pre-revolutionary China (e.g. Special Economic Zones), rather than imported ones from outside China. The article explores the utility (and lack thereof) of the Chinese model in the African context, as well as the possibilities of an Africa-centred 'big think' (Pan-Africanism) capable of mobilizing the continent for development.

**Résumé** : L'essor de l'économie chinoise n'est pas le produit des miracles du marché libre. Au contraire, il est l'oeuvre de l'Etat chinois à travers un mélange heureux de nationalisme et d'une politique décisionnelle pragmatique portant sur l'agriculture, les finances et l'industrie. En outre, cette politique pragmatique est basée

sur les institutions chinoises, comme, par exemple, le Système de Responsibilité des Ménages, les Entreprises Villes-Villages et les Zones de Libre-Echange, au lieu d'être basée sur les institutions importées.

Cet article met en examen l'utilité du « modèle » chinois au contexte africain, et explore les possibilités d'un nationalisme africain axé sur le Pan-Africanisme comme moyen de mobiliser le continent pour le développement.

### 4. Brazil, Russia, India, China, and South Africa (BRICS) and Africa: New Projected Developmental Paradigms

#### Lumumba-Kasongo, Tukumbi.

Africa Development / Afrique et développement, Vol. XL, N° 3, 2015, p. 77-95

Abstract: This article reflects on the dynamics of Brazil, Russia, India, China and South Africa (BRICS) states' political economy and its implications for Africa's continuous effort to search for new developmental paradigms. The core questions addressed in the article are: What are the BRICS states specifically proposing to the existing world order and the global south in the areas of paradigms of economic and social development and systems of governance? What do these countries have in common? Can this commonality be instrumentalised and converted in favour of African progress? What is the ideological foundation of their solidarity? Within the pragmatism and ideology related to this solidarity, are the BRICS states proposing new development schemes to replace the failed old, top-down, anarchical, market-based, linear, and one-size-fits-all model of social and economic development? Based on the dynamics of the BRICS grouping and the movements of its members, it is argued that the emerging markets and economies in the Global South, regardless of the ideological contradictions and internal structural political weaknesses among its members, implies that the business-as-usual approach in the practices of the institutions of international political economy and world politics is no longer the only pragmatic way of conducting business. To have a significant impact in Africa, BRICS's activities should be shaped and guided by the bottom-up perspectives. BRICS strongly calls for shifts of paradigms in the realm of the world power and for qualitative state intervention in the management of the invisible hand of Adam Smith.

**Résumé** : Cet article se penche sur la dynamique de la politique économique du Brésil, de la Russie, de l'Inde, de la Chine et de l'Afrique du Sud (BRICS) et ses implications dans les efforts continus de l'Afrique pour la recherche de nouveaux paradigmes de développement. Les questions fondamentales abordées dans l'article sont: Que proposent particulièrement les BRICS à l'ordre mondial actuel et aux pays du Sud en matière de paradigmes de développement et de systèmes de gouvernance économique et sociale? Qu'est-ce que ces pays ont-ils en commun ? Ce caractère commun peut-il être instrumentalisé et converti en faveur de progrès pour l'Afrique ? Quel est le fondement idéologique de leur solidarité ? Dans le pragmatisme et l'idéologie liés à cette solidarité, les BRICS proposent-ils de nouveaux schémas de développement pour remplacer l'ancien modèle de développement social et économique, raté, descendant anarchique, fondé sur le marché, linéaire et uniforme ? En se basant sur la dynamique du groupe BRICS et des mouvements de ses membres, certains soulignent que les marchés et les économies émergentes de l'hémisphère sud, quelles que soient les contradictions idéologiques et les faiblesses structurelles politiques internes entre ses membres, montrent que l'approche de statu quo dans les pratiques des institutions d'économie politique internationale et de politique mondiale n'est plus la seule voie pragmatique en matière d'affaires.

Pour avoir un impact significatif en Afrique, les activités des BRICS devraient être conçues et guidées par des perspectives ascendantes. Les BRICS appellent fortement à des changements de paradigmes en matière de puissance mondiale et à l'intervention qualitative de l'Etat dans la gestion de la main invisible d'Adam Smith.

**Topics**: Economic development, International economics, International political economy, Free market economies, Gross domestic product, Developing countries, International economic cooperation, Governance

### 5. Capitalist Globalisation and the Role of the International Community in Resource Conflicts in Africa

#### Adekunle Amuwo

Africa Development / Afrique et Développement, Vol. XXXIV, Nº 3 & 4, 2009, p. 227-266

**Abstract**: The principal thesis of this paper is that under contemporary capitalist globalisation, the so-called international community constitutes more of the problem than the solution in the continent's resource and allied conflicts. We argue that the geo-strategic and geo-political interests of major western and other powers and the

transnational capitalist class (TCC), which tend to defend and enhance these interests, have over the past several decades either been the root cause of resource conflicts on the African continent or have fuelled, exacerbated and prolonged them. The almost devotional attitude of the continent's ruling elites to the values and institutions of capitalist globalisation – and its resultant unequal distribution of the gains and pains of market reforms – have equally contributed to resource conflicts. While there is a complex interplay between internal and external factors and actors, on-balance external causation has, by far, dwarfed internal explanations of conflicts.

African societies and peoples have thus suffered an unmitigated internationalisation, exploitation and pillage of their rich tropical hardwood, gems, mineral and oil resources. The paper proposes a strategic coalition of victims of capitalist globalisation and capitalist militarization in Africa and elsewhere (nations, societies, communities and peoples) to systematically confront and oppose the most invidious process that has turned Africa's resource blessing into resource burden.

Résumé : Cette étude défend essentiellement la thèse selon laquelle dans un contexte de mondialisation capitaliste, la soi-disant communauté internationale constitue plutôt un problème que la solution des conflits et autres exactions se déroulant sur le continent pour le contrôle de ses ressources. Il nous semble qu'au cours des nombreuses décennies, les intérêts géostratégiques et géopolitiques des principales puissances occidentales et d'ailleurs et la classe capitaliste transnationale (CCT) qui a tendance à défendre et à revaloriser ces intérêts ont été la cause profonde des conflits pour le contrôle des ressources du continent africain. Elles les ont alimentés, exacerbés ou perpétués. Les élites qui détiennent le pouvoir sur le continent font montre d'une dévotion presque religieuse aux valeurs et aux institutions de la mondialisation capitaliste et la répartition inégale des bienfaits et dégâts résultant de la réforme des marchés ont également aggravé les conflits pour le contrôle des ressources. Même si l'interaction entre facteurs et acteurs internes et externes peut s'avérer complexe, au bout du compte, les causes externes l'emportent de loin sur les justifications internes des conflits. Les sociétés et les peuples africains ont ainsi souffert d'une internationalisation, d'une exploitation et d'un pillage parfaits de leur bois dur tropical, de leurs pierres précieuses et de leurs ressources minérales et pétrolières. Cet article propose donc une coalition stratégique des victimes de la mondialisation capitaliste et de la militarisation capitaliste en Afrique etailleurs (nations, sociétés, communautés et peuples) pour confronter et s'opposer systématiquement à ce processus on ne peut plus injuste qui a transformé la bénédiction des ressources africaines en fardeau.

#### 6. China-Africa relations in the post-Cold War era: dialectics of rethinking South-South dialogue

#### Tukumbi Lumumba-Kasongo

CODESRIA Bulletin / Bulletin du CODESRIA, Nº 1/2, 2007, p. 8-16

Topics: South-South relations, Political economy, Africa, China

### 7. China-Africa Relations: Cooperation or Exploitation?

#### Aminata Diaw

CODESRIA Bulletin / Bulletin du CODESRIA, Nº 1/2, 2013, p. 14

**Introduction**: The increasingly pronounced presence of China on the African continent and the new global geopolitics cannot fail to interest the African scientific community. Clearly, Africa holds an important or even central place in this new strategy, whose direction seems to have been taken since the liberalization of the Chinese economy.

This presence is indicative of the ambition and overall strategic vision aimed at making this country, in a short or medium term, the undisputed world leader, by combining political authoritarianism and economic pragmatism...

### 8. China and Africa: Human Rights Perspective

#### Adaora Osondu-Oti

Africa Development / Afrique et Développement, Vol. 41, N° 1, 2016, p. 49-80

**Abstract**: At the turn of the twenty-first century, China emerged as a major player in Africa's international relations. This emergence has attracted a lot of attention in literature on what it portends for Africa. Studies have pointed that China's involvement in Africa undermines human rights. Of important note was China's support for the Sudanese government even in the face of human rights abuses; its unconditional aid to Angola, that has helped the government to shun accountability and transparency; its support for inhuman practices meted to the citizens of Zimbabwe by the government, among others. Against this background, this paper seeks to examine,

in detail, current China-Africa relations from the human rights perspective. It intends to explore China and human rights in Africa and China's stance on human rights issues. Another important aspect that is mostly ignored in literature is non-classification of those rights that China undermines in Africa. Is it civil and political rights, economic rights or both? This paper seeks to analyse all these in a bid to provide answers.

**Résumé** : Au début du XXIe siècle, la Chine est devenue un acteur de premier plan dans les relations internationales de l'Afrique. Cette émergence a fait l'objet de beaucoup d'attention dans la littérature quant à ce qu'elle laisse présager pour l'Afrique. Des études ont souligné que l'engagement de la Chine en Afrique portait atteinte aux droits de l'homme. On notera entre autres le soutien de la Chine au gouvernement soudanais même face aux violations des droits humains, son aide inconditionnelle à l'Angola qui a permis au gouvernement d'esquiver la redevabilité et la transparence ; son soutien aux pratiques inhumaines infligées aux citoyens zimbabwéens par le gouvernement. Dans un tel contexte, le présent article se propose d'examiner plus en détail les relations sino-africaines actuelles du point de vue des droits humains. Il s'agit d'analyser la Chine et les droits de l'homme en Afrique, ainsi que la position de la Chine sur les questions des droits humains. L'autre aspect important qui est généralement ignoré dans la littérature, c'est la non-classification de ces droits auxquels la Chine porte atteinte en Afrique. S'agit-il de droits civiques et politiques, de droits économiques ou des deux à la fois ? Le présent article se propose d'examiner toutes ces questions en vue d'apporter des réponses.

**Topics**: Human rights, Economic development, Privacy rights, Government, Chinese culture, African culture, International cooperation, Universality, Positive economics

**9.** China and Africa in the era of neo-liberal globalisation *Piet Konings CODESRIA Bulletin / Bulletin du CODESRIA*, N° 1-2, 2007, p. 17-22

## **10.** China in West Africa's Regional Development and Security Plans *Emmanuel Akyeampong*

Africa Development / Afrique et Développement, Vol. 40, N° 4, 2015, p. 1-19

Abstract: This article argues that we are presently in another global economic transition. The old centres of growth have witnessed serious economic reverses with several countries going into 'receivership' in the West – Greece, Cyprus, Portugal, Northern Ireland, and possibly Spain and Italy. The fastest growing economies in the world are no longer in the West but in developing regions such as Africa and Asia. China has emerged overnight as the second largest economy with predictions that it would overtake the United States within the next generation. China's economy has gone from one of export-driven growth to the prospect of continued growth based on internal demand, driven by one of the fastest and largest growing middle classes in history. South–South trade also holds great promise as one of the engines of continued growth for China. China's recent rise began with its designation as the world's 'factory' by Western multinational companies in the 1980s, seeking to increase their profit margins by outsourcing production to areas with cheap but disciplined labour. As China moves beyond the initial phase of labour-intensive industries to more technologically advanced industries, it has turned to developing countries in continents such as Africa for raw materials, investment and business opportunities in areas such as the construction of infrastructure (roads, railways, hydroelectric dams and so on).

**Résumé** : Le présent article soutient que nous sommes actuellement dans une autre transition économique mondiale. Les anciens centres de croissance ont connu des revers économiques graves, avec plusieurs pays en Occident qui sont entrés dans une phase de « redressement », notamment la Grèce, Chypre, le Portugal, l'Irlande du Nord, et peut-être l'Espagne et l'Italie. Les économies les plus dynamiques du monde ne sont plus en Occident, mais dans les régions en voie de développement telles que l'Afrique et l'Asie. La Chine est devenue du jour au lendemain la deuxième plus grande économie et, selon les prédictions, elle dépassera les États-Unis au cours de la prochaine génération.

L'économie de la Chine est passée d'une croissance tirée par les exportations à la perspective d'une croissance continue fondée sur la demande intérieure, tirée par une classe moyenne dont la croissance est la plus rapide dans l'histoire. Le commerce Sud-Sud a également de fortes chances de devenir l'un des moteurs de la croissance continue de la Chine. L'essor récent de la Chine a commencé avec sa désignation dans les années 1980 comme « l'usine » du monde par les entreprises multinationales occidentales, qui cherchaient à augmenter leurs marges bénéficiaires en externalisant la production vers les zones disposant de main d'œuvre bon marché et disciplinée. Alors que la Chine, qui était initialement caractérisée par des industries à forte intensité de main-d'œuvre, passe

aux industries les plus technologiquement avancées, elle s'est tournée vers les pays en voie de développement dans des continents comme l'Afrique pour les matières premières, l'investissement et les opportunités commerciales dans des domaines tels que la construction d'infrastructures (routes, chemins de fer, barrages hydroélectriques, etc.)

**Topics**: Mining, Countries, Trade regionalization, Railway systems, Regional planning, Economic development, Infrastructure, International economics, Wealth

### 11. Chinese Social Transformation and its Implications for the Future of Afro-Asian Solidarity

#### Horace G. Campbell

**In**: *The Global Financial and Economic Crisis in the South: Impact and Responses /* Edited by José Luis León-Manríquez & Theresa Moyo. Dakar, CODESRIA, 2015, p. 283-323.

**Introduction**: On 25 December 2011, China and Japan unveiled plans to promote direct exchange of their currencies. This agreement will allow firms to convert the Chinese and Japanese currencies directly into ech other, thus negating the need to buy dollars (BBC News 2011). This deal between China and Japan followed agreements between China and fourteen other countries to trade outside the sphere of the US dollar. A few weeks earlier, China had also announced a 70 billion Yuan (\$11 billion) currency swap agreement with Thailand. These reports were carried in the financial papers and the organs that understood the response of the Chinese to the continued devaluation of the US dollar. The disguising of these devaluations as 'quantitative easing' did not fundamentally deceive societies of the African and Asian blocs that wanted protection against a future financial collapse in the Western capitalist states (Johnson and Kwak 2010). As recently as March 2012, one expert speaking at the Board of Governors of the Asian Development Bank stated that, 'It may only be a matter of time before the US dollar gets replaced as the main currency in international trade.' The Western media and financial papers have been careful in reporting on this seismic shift in the international financial system. There are major implications that will emanate from this direct exchange of currencies between the first and second largest holder of US Treasury Securities...

### 12. Les économies africaines doivent-elles avoir peur de la Chine ?

### Herman Touo

Identity, Culture and Politics / Identité, culture et politique, Vol. 12, N° 2, 2011, p. 19-41

Abstract: The term 'Fear' constitutes for some years as the dominant paradigm through which the rise of China as emerging power in the World is analyzed in various realms. This concept of fear appears like a category endowed with a capacity of ambiguous explanatory. It postulates a sort of universal mistrust towards China. From this universalizing cognitive approach, imperialism emerges as a methodical doubt on the use of this concept whose content seems relative. Africa had to organize and stow itself to the Chinese' locomotive to the will of its interests. But Africa is itself contaminated by Chinese fears. While carrying the fear and who had never been offered economic support since a century or more, Africa surprised with certain Chinese clichés. China poses like a 'Big Satan Dragon' to Africa with its arrival to tap African oil, to pillage and influence of big media and some publications. One can ask whether Chinese strong growth controls/ occupies the geopolitical composition of the continent or is China a threat or opportunity for the African economies?

To bring elements of response to the questioning, two hypotheses can be drawn here:

1. Of course China constitutes a threat because of its status of emerging power and whose conquering economy conveys the image of an authoritarian new «grand» doubled with predator's appetite.

2. There is absolutely no need to be afraid of China because it is a giant whose model of development can be a source of inspiration for the African economies in the framework of a relation of win-win partnership. The stake for Africa is to have the mastery of its relations with China that can be an opportunity for this continent.

Our thesis is that China occupies the geopolitical reconstruction of Africa, which creates to a certain extent a conflict of interests with the former western powers. And it can be an opportunity for the African economies, especially if governments assume their own financial responsibilities by improving the way of collecting taxes, the business environment, and the quality of the public expense and by putting an end to the capital outflow, or by requiring the transfer of technology from Chinese partners. This is comprehensible given the fact that all weaknesses of Africa can be corrected by assets of Africa which is in a position to recover its status of strategic stake in the new global political and economic order.

**Résumé** : La peur constitue depuis quelques années le paradigme dominant à travers lequel la montée en puissance de la Chine dans le monde est analysée dans divers domaines. Cette notion de peur apparaît comme une catégorie dotée d'une capacité d'ubiquité explicative. Elle postule une sorte de méfiance universelle à l'égard de la Chine. De cet impérialisme cognitif universalisant naît un doute méthodique sur l'usage de ce concept dont le contenu semble relatif. L'Afrique qui devait s'organiser pour s'arrimer à la locomotive chinoise au gré de ses intérêts, se laisse parfois communiquer des peurs qui ne sont pas absolument les siennes. Portés par ceux qui depuis plus d'un siècle n'auraient pas pu offrir à l'Afrique les moyens de son décollage économique, certains clichés tendant à présenter la Chine comme « le grand Satan dragon » venu juste ponctionner le pétrole africain et piller les autres matières premières sont distillés à travers les grands médias et certaines publications. La question que l'on est en droit de se demander est de savoir si les économies africaines et ceux ou celles qui les pilotent doivent nécessairement avoir peur de la forte croissance chinoise et de la place qu'occupe ce pays dans la recomposition géopolitique du continent. Autrement dit, la Chine est-elle une menace ou une chance pour les économies africaines ? Pour apporter des éléments de réponse à ce questionnement, deux hypothèses méritent d'être formulées :

1. La Chine constitue certes une menace en raison de son statut de puissance émergente, dont l'économie conquérante véhicule l'image d'un nouveau « grand » autoritaire doublé d'un appétit de prédateur.

2. Il ne faut cependant pas avoir absolument peur de la Chine car celle-ci est un géant dont le modèle de développement peut être une source d'inspiration pour les économies africaines dans le cadre d'une relation de partenariat gagnant-gagnant. L'enjeu pour l'Afrique, c'est d'avoir la maîtrise de sa relation avec la Chine qui peut être une chance pour ce continent.

Notre thèse est que la place qu'occupe la Chine dans la recomposition géopolitique de l'Afrique, qui engendre, dans une large mesure, un conflit d'intérêts avec les anciennes puissances occidentales, est une chance pour les économies africaines, notamment si les gouvernements assument leurs propres responsabilités financières en améliorant la façon de percevoir les impôts, l'environnement des affaires, la qualité de la dépense publique et en mettant un terme à la fuite illégale des fonds vers l'étranger, ou encore en exigeant le transfert de technologie de la part des partenaires chinois. Cela se comprend, étant donné que toutes les faiblesses de l'Afrique peuvent être corrigées par les atouts de l'Afrique qui a retrouvé son statut d'enjeu/objet stratégique dans le nouvel ordre politico-économique global.

### 13. Emerging Questions on the Shifting Sino-Africa Relations: 'Win-Win' or 'Win-Lose'?

#### **Phineas Bbaala**

Africa Development / Afrique et Développement, Vol. 40, N° 3, 2015, p. 97-119

Abstract: Orthodox scholarly discourse on the theme of Sino-Africa relations has tended to accentuate the efficacy of the South-South alternative to development, chiefly as the vehicle for mitigating the developing countries' peripheral status in the global order. Literature has accused the North-South economic relations of favouring the former. In search of justice and fair play in international political and economic relations, most African countries started 'looking east', mainly towards China. Notwithstanding China's long solidarity with Africa throughout the liberation struggle, and its contribution to the continent through foreign direct investment, infrastructure development, trade and bilateral aid, some of its recent engagements with the continent have raised questions of neo-colonialism tantamount to those in the North-South relations. The new Sino-Africa relations are being viewed by many as mainly driven by China's hunger for Africa's natural resources and the search for international markets for its manufactures, and business opportunities for its multinational corporations. The article argues that the new Sino-Africa economic relations, although still largely 'win-win', could soon plunge into 'win-lose' relations in favour of China.

**Résumé** : Le discours savant orthodoxe sur le thème des relations sino-africaines avait tendance à accentuer l'efficacité de l'alternative Sud-Sud pour le développement, principalement en tant que véhicule permettant d'atténuer le statut périphérique des pays en développement dans l'ordre mondial. La littérature a accusé les relations économiques Nord-Sud de favoriser le Nord.

La plupart des pays africains, en quête de justice et d'équité dans les relations politiques et économiques internationales, ont commencé à « regarder à l'est », principalement vers la Chine. Nonobstant la solidarité longtemps exprimée par la Chine à l'égard de l'Afrique à travers les luttes de libération et sa contribution dans le continent à travers l'investissement étranger direct, le développement des infrastructures, le commerce et l'aide bilatérale, certains de ses récents engagements avec le continent ont poussé certains à soulever la question du néo-colonialisme par comparaison avec les relations Nord-Sud. Les nouvelles relations sino-africaines sont

considérées par beaucoup comme principalement animées par la soif de la Chine de tirer meilleur parti des ressources naturelles de l'Afrique et par sa recherche de marchés internationaux pour ses manufactures, ainsi que les opportunités d'affaires pour ses multinationales. Cet article soutient que les nouvelles relations économiques sino-africaines, bien que toujours largement «gagnant-gagnant», pourraient bientôt devenir des relations «gagnant-perdant » en faveur de la Chine.

**Topics**: International economic relations, International relations, Economic development, Neocolonialism, Imports, Raw materials, Imperialism, Exports, Financial investments, International development

### 14. How China's "Trade Not Aid" Strategy Became Construed as Charitable Help: Deconstructing the "Touching" Idyll of Li Li's Investment in Africa

*Philip Hsiaopong Liu Identity, Culture and Politics / Identité, culture et politique*, Vol. 12, N° 2, 2011, p. 1-18

**Abstract**: In recent years, China has increased investments in Africa and its "Trade Not Aid" model appears to be the best delivery of sustainable assistance. By reviewing the history of Chinese aid to Africa, examining race-relations literature, and deconstructing contemporary models of aid, the author argues that, at least in terms of agricultural endeavors, China's current approach resembles the colonialism that it once sought to disassemble.

**Résumé** : Comment la stratégie chinoise, "commerce et non pas assistanat", se transforme en un acte de charité. Ces dernières années, la Chine a accru ses investissements en Afrique et son modèle "Trade not Aid" semble être la meilleure prestation de l'assistance durable. En passant en revue l'histoire de l'aide chinoise à l'Afrique, en examinant les relations interraciales, et en déconstruisant les modèles contemporains de l'aide, l'auteur fait valoir que, du moins en termes de tentatives agricoles, l'approche actuelle de la Chine ressemble à du colonialisme.

### 15. Narrating National Identity. Fiction, Citizenship and the Asian Experience in East Africa

### Danson Kahyana

Africa Development / Afrique et Développement, Vol. 28, N° 1/2, 2003, p. 97-111

**Abstract**: The paper examines the crucial question of postcolonial identity in East African nation states, with particular reference to the Asian experience in East Africa. It attempts an examination of the conflict between citizenship and descent, particularly as regards the identity of East African Asians. It argues that descent and race are considered more important identity markers than citizenship in postcolonial East Africa, a distinction that has continued to frustrate attempts at building a multi-racial/multi-cultural society. Among other factors, the paper traces British colonial practices, for instance, the construction of a three-tiered society where Whites occupied the top seats, the Indians the middle ones and the Africans the lowest, as furthering a complex social structure and exacerbate in conflict situations. The paper explores the various ways through which citizenship and descent conflict has affected and influenced, policies and pronouncements on Asian identity in East Africa.

**Résumé**: Cette contribution se penche sur le thème majeur de l'identité post coloniale des nations de l'Afrique de l'Est, et porte particulièrement sur l'expérience asiatique dans cette partie de l'Afrique. Elle tente d'étudier la dichotomie entre les notions de citoyenneté et d'origine (identitaire), en ce qui concerne les Asiatiques d'Afrique de l'Est. Cet article affirme que les notions d'origine et de race sont considérées comme des marqueurs identitaires plus importants que la citoyenneté, en Afrique de l'Est post coloniale. Ce fait continue de remettre en tentatives de construction d'une société multiraciale/ multiculturelle. L'article décrit, entre autres, les pratiques coloniales britanniques, dont la construction d'une société à trois niveaux, au sein de laquelle les Blancs figuraient en première position, suivis des Indiens, et enfin, des Africains, qui occupaient une position subalterne; ceci ajoutait à la complexité de la structure sociale et exacerbait la situation conflictuelle. Cette contribution étudie les différentes manières dont les conflits autour de la citoyenneté et des origines ont influencé les politiques et déclarations sur l'identité asiatique en Afrique de l'E

**Topics**: Citizenship, Fiction, Nationalism, Passports, Business, Expulsion, Cultural identity, Communities, Retail stores

# 16. Nigeria-China Economic Relations under the South-South Cooperation Samuel Onuoha Udeala

African Journal of International Affairs, Vol. 13, Nº 1&2, 2010, p. 61-88

**Abstract**: The defining characteristic of the South-South solidarity is cooperation among the member countries of the South. The original vision was for member countries to promote trade as well as to demonstrate, through practical examples, how commercially viable projects can be implemented using the technology, experience and capital from the South. Regrettably, these dreams still remain unfulfilled. The experience gained by the developing countries after several years of bilateral interaction with the North underscores the idea that South-South trade should be symmetrical. However, the most discernible pattern in the South-South relationship is still asymmetrical. A case in point is the Nigeria-China relations which appear to be in great disequilibrium and to China's advantage.

As the bilateral relations have progressed from cultural linkages to intense economic penetration of the Nigerian economy, observers of Nigeria's international relations have become highly conscious of the reciprocal need to transform this intensive relationship into a mutually constructive one, that is towards the promotion of a more symmetrical relationship. This article, using dependency approach, demonstrates that these disparities actually account for the sharp differences in the outcomes of the bilateral trade and the level of development in the two countries. It also draws some vital lessons not only for Nigeria but also for other sub-Saharan African countries to learn from China in terms of the approach to economic reforms and development experience.

The study seeks also to identify the crucial aspects of Nigeria-China bilateral interactions, assess the receptivity to the Chinese penetration of the Nigerian economy and the changing perspectives on the viability of the bilateral relations.

**Résumé** : La caractéristique qui définit la solidarité Sud-Sud est la coopération entre les pays membres du Sud. La vision originale était que les pays membres promeuvent le commerce, et démontrent par des exemples pratiques comment des projets commercialement viables peuvent être mis en oeuvre en utilisant la technologie, l'expérience et les capitaux du Sud. Malheureusement, ces rêves ne se sont toujours pas réalisés. L'expérience acquise par les pays en développement, après plusieurs années d'interactions bilatérales avec le Nord, met en évidence l'idée que le commerce Sud-Sud doit être symétrique. Or, le modèle le plus perceptible dans les relations Sud-Sud est toujours asymétrique. A titre d'exemple, on peut citer les relations sino-nigérianes qui paraissent très déséquilibrées à l'avantage de la Chine. Alors que les relations bilatérales sont passées de liens culturels à une intense pénétration de l'économie nigériane, les observateurs des relations internationales du Nigeria ont pris pleinement conscience de la nécessité réciproque de transformer cette intense relation en une relation mutuellement constructive et axée davantage sur la symétrie. En utilisant l'approche de la dépendance, le présent article démontre que ces disparités expliquent effectivement les différences nettes des résultats des échanges bilatéraux et du niveau de développement des deux pays. Il tire aussi des leçons capitales de la Chine non seulement pour le Nigeria, mais aussi pour d'autres pays d'Afrique subsaharienne en termes d'approche des réformes économiques et d'expérience du développement.

L'étude cherche en outre à identifier les aspects essentiels des interactions bilatérales sino-nigérianes, à évaluer la réceptivité de l'économie nigériane à la pénétration chinoise, et les perspectives changeantes de la viabilité des relations bilatérales.

### 17. South Africa's Subimperial Futures: Washington Consensus, Bandung Consensus, or Peoples' Consensus

### William G. Martin

African Sociological Review / Revue africaine de sociologie, Vol. 12, N° 1, 2008, p.122-132

**Introduction**: South Africa has long dominated its neighbours. As the essays in this issue chart, the postapartheid epoch has certainly not brought about the withering away of the power of South African firms or the South African state. Indeed this project makes a major contribution to the study of both South Africa and the region by providing, for the first time, close and careful studies of how new relationships have been formed as South African firms have expanded across the region and continent. This work thus begins to provide what none of the studies in the last quarter century have: the material to build up, from concrete studies of South African capital and local actors, the regional and incipient continental network centred on South Africa. How these relationships coalesce and where they are heading remains very much an open question. It is easy to make imprudent projections of the South African African relationship. Over fifteen years ago, as part of a project involving a group at Binghamton University and a group at the Centra de Estudos Africanos at Eduardo Mondlane, I worked on an assessment of the future of southern Africa with the expected passing of the coercive relationships constructed under the apartheid regime (Wallerstein, Vieira, Martin 1992). At the time I and others (Martin 1991, Davies and Martin 1992,) laid out three plausible scenarios. The first marked out a potential path ofregional restabilisation, complete with ties of uneven development, accompanied by falling contract labour migration but enhanced South African capital expansion. The second scenario suggested a break-up of the region as individual states re-oriented to the North under conditions of structural adjustment. A third alternative entailed

**Topics**: Imports, Financial investments, Economic liberalism, International alliances, Apartheid, European Union, International financial institutions, Continents, World Bank, Business structures

### 18. Why is Chinese Investment Controversial in Madagascar: analysis of an Afrobarometer Survey

the decentring of South Africa with continuing, and potentially more rewarding, regional relationship...

#### Xiong Xinghan

*Identity, Culture and Politics / Identité, culture et politique*, Vol. 17, N° 2, December 2016, p.1-24

#### II. OPEN ACCESS PUBLICATIONS / PUBLICATIONS EN ACCES LIBRE

### 1. Africa-China Relations: Symmetry, Soft Power and South Africa. *Adams Bodomo*.

*China Review* 9, no. 2 (2009) : 169–78. **Full text** : http://www.jstor.org/stable/23462284.

### 2. African perceptions of China-Africa links: A quantitative content analysis of East African newspapers

#### Alicia Björnsdotter

Uppsala : Uppsala University, 2018. – 57 p.

Abstract : This thesis investigates the frequency in which certain views regarding the quickly developing China-Africa relationship appear in Kenyan, Tanzanian and Ugandan newspapers. Given the general lack of studies focusing on African perspectives of China-Africa links, and in particular the lack of studies focusing on perceptions articulated in media, this thesis fills a gap in current China-Africa research. Through examining previous literature and recent survey data, key economic, political, cultural and social factors are identified which can be assumed to affect Africans image of China. These factors, along with supplementary cultural and environmental aspects not yet extensively explored, make up the analytical tool used in a quantitative content analysis of 586 news articles. In brief, the results of this analysis show that positive and negative views are expressed to an almost equal extent in examined articles, both in total and within each subset of factors. This varied view is more positive than the generally negative view held by Western politicians and media but more negative than the very positive view generally held by the East African public. Furthermore, the results indicate that economic factors (mainly economic development and job opportunities) is the main focus, followed by the issue of whether or not the China-Africa relationship is mutually beneficial or of a more neocolonial nature. A few articles touched upon the environmental aspects of China's involvement in Africa, suggesting this to be of some importance to East Africans and hence relevant to include in future studies of China-Africa links. Full Text : http://uu.diva-portal.org/smash/get/diva2:1212745/FULLTEXT01.pdf

### **3.** African studies in China in the 21st century: a historiographical survey *Anshan Li*

Revista Brasileira de Estudos Africanos, Vol. 1, Nº 2, 2016, p. 48-88

Abstract : With the fast development of China-Africa relations, Africanists outside China have showed great interest in China-Africa academic engagement. What has been done in China itself regarding African studies ?

China's trade with Africa increased from 10.5 billion dollar in 2000 to 220 billion in 2014, a development which has provided Chinese Africanists with new opportunities and challenges. This paper will elaborate what Chinese Africanists have studied in the period of 2000-2015. What subjects are they interested in? What are the achievements and weaknesses ? The article is divided into four parts, focus and new interests, achievements, young scholars, references and afterthoughts. (Journal abstract, edited).

 $Full \ Text: https://seer.ufrgs.br/index.php/rbea/article/view/66296/40014$ 

### 4. Beyond 'dragon in the bush': the study of China–Africa relations.

#### Daniel Large.

African affairs, 2008, vol. 107, no 426, p. 45-61.

**Abstract** : In the wake of China's Year of Africa in 2006, China–Africa relations are currently the subject of unprecedented attention. However, although those relations are widely covered they are also under-researched. This article offers an introduction to China–Africa relations, covering background to the history and politics of Chinese involvement in the continent and identifying areas of further research. It concludes by calling for the study of China–Africa relations to develop a culture of serious research beyond current 'dragon in the bush' preoccupations and so engage a complex subject that is about to become a mainstream issue in African politics. **Full Text**: https://academic.oup.com/afraf/article-pdf/107/426/45/110522/adm069.pdf

### 5. Can Africa Build Greener Infrastructure while Speeding up its Development ? Lessons From China.

### L. Johnston, & R. Earley,

Johannesburg : South African Institute of International Affairs, 2018. 34p. (Occasional paper ; 292)

Full Text: http://www.jstor.org/stable/resrep28392

# 6. The Changing Landscape in Aid Relationships in Africa: Can China's engagement make a difference to African development?

#### Machiko Nissanke and Marie Söderberg

Stockholm: Swedish Institute for International Affairs, 2011. - 35 p.

**Abstract**: This paper examines potential effects of China's new "offensive" on African development through the lens of the changing landscape of aid relationships in Africa. After discussing domestic imperatives behind China's drive for deeper engagements with Africa, we present the model of "economic cooperation" as practised by Japan in Asia through a trinity of aid, investment and trade. It is this model that is most clearly visible in the modality of China's aid, though operational details differ significantly between Japanese aid and Chinese aid.

We also discuss why Japan itself has not followed this modality so much in its engagement with African countries as elsewhere. The paper then presents a critical review of the discourse of African economic development examined through an analysis of the aid relationships with the traditional donors. From this specific perspective, we examine the scale and modality of China's economic cooperation and its potential impacts on African development. We suggest that Chinese engagement has an important potential to fill some critical gaps left by traditional donors, but it is also presenting new challenges and problems for African policymakers and stakeholders. As concluding remarks, we discuss the potential opportunities and challenges African countries face as a result of China's decisive entry as a new partner for economic development and the dynamically evolving economic interface between China and Africa.

Full Text: http://eprints.soas.ac.uk/13323/1/Nissanke-Soderberg-\_UI\_paper.pdf

### 7. China-Africa Forest Governance Project: Improving Chinese Investment in African Forest Land Use.

#### James Mayers

London: International Institute for Environmental and Development, 2017. 5p. **Full text**: http://www.jstor.org/stable/resrep16721

### 8. China – Africa Relations: A Case Study of Ghana

### A Draft Scoping Study Prepared for the African Economic Research Consortium **Dela Tsikata; Ama Pokuaa Fenny; Ernest Aryeetey** Nairobi: AERC, January 2008. – 29 p.

**Introduction**: China, India, Brazil and South Africa are emerging as engines for economic growth particularly in countries previously left out of globalization. The rapid growth of China and India especially in recent years has raised many questions about the implications for the world economy and especially Sub-Saharan African countries. As the economies of China and India grow it is expected that investment opportunities in the consumer, agricultural, industrial, banking and logistics sectors will grow.

However, the developmental prospects of other economies may rather suffer as a result. Improved growth in China and India will intensify competition in global markets for manufactures, and the manufacturing industries in many countries will be affected negatively. Without efforts to keep up with China and India, some countries may see further erosion of their export shares and high-tech manufacturing sectors. On the other hand, the increased demand for natural resources by these fast-growing Asian economies may create new opportunities for traditional suppliers of these resources.

The question, however, is whether Africa will be able to take advantage of these opportunities to translate the supply of resources into sustainable economic development...

Full Text: https://www.econstor.eu/bitstream/10419/93154/1/587548835.pdf

### 9. China-Africa BITs: What is in the Treaties?

Lorenzo Cotula, Xiaoxue Weng, Qianru Ma, and Peng Ren.

*In : China-Africa Investment Treaties : Do They Work ?* International Institute for Environment and Development, 2016. p.23-33. **Full Text** : http://www.jstor.org/stable/resrep02691.8.

### 10. The China-Africa Investment Landscape.

*Lorenzo Cotula, Xiaoxue Weng, Qianru Ma, and Peng Ren.* In : *China-Africa Investment Treaties : Do They Work ?* International Institute for Environment and Development, 2016. p. 17-22 Full Text: http://www.jstor.org/stable/resrep02691.7.

### 11. China-Africa Relations: Governance, Peace and Security *Mulugeta Gebrehiwot Berhe and Liu Hongwu; eds*

Institute for Peace and Security Studies (Addis Ababa University) and Institute of African Studies (Zhejiang Normal University), 2013. 276 p. ISBN 978-99944-981-1-6

Full Text: https://media.africaportal.org/documents/China\_Africa\_book\_3.pdf

### 12. China-Africa Trade Relations: Insights from AERC Scoping Studies Oyejide Titiloye Ademola, Abiodun S Bankole & Adeolu O Adewuyi

European Journal of Development Research, 21(4), (2009), p.485-505.

Abstract: This paper analyses the impact of China–Africa trade relations both at the aggregate African and at the national level of a selected sample of countries. The paper confirms that there are both trade-related gains and losses arising from China–Africa trade relations. Beyond this is the concern that the existing pattern of Africa-China trade – which continues to be strengthened by China's rising profile – does not correspond to the region's longer term objectives, that is, to diversify its economic and trade structure and ensure that trade contributes to the industrial development of African countries. This paper suggests that for many African countries, the negative effects may outweigh the positive ones. Hence, concerted policy measures may need to be taken in particular African countries, carefully crafted in each case to suit specific circumstances. In broad terms, the menu of policy measures could include those aimed at gaining enhanced market access to the Chinese market as well as those targeted at eliminating the binding supply response capacity constraints.

**Résumé**: Cet article analyse l'impact des relations commerciales entre la Chine et l'Afrique, tant au niveau régional que national, à travers un échantillon de pays. Il confirme que ces relations commerciales donnent lieu

tant à des gains qu'à des pertes. Au delà de cette constatation, l'article souligne que la structure existante des échanges entre l'Afrique et la Chine – renforcée par l'envergure croissante de la place occupée par la Chine – ne sert pas les objectifs de l'Afrique à plus long terme. Autrement dit, ces échanges ne contribuent pas à une diversification de la structure économique et commerciale de la région, et n'assure donc pas l'objectif de développement industriel de pays africains. Cet article suggère que, dans beaucoup de cas, les effets négatifs des relations commerciales entre la Chine et l'Afrique peuvent être plus importants que les effets positifs. En conséquence, des décisions politiques concertées devraient être prises, décision qui soient bien adaptées aux circonstances spécifiques de chaque pays. De façon générale, ces décisions consisteraient de mesures politiques visant le renforcement de l'accès des économies africaines au marché chinois ainsi que l'élimination des contraintes de capacité de production.

Full Text: DOI: https://doi.org/10.1057/ejdr.2009.28 https://link.springer.com/content/pdf/10.1057/ejdr.2009.28.pdf

### **13.** China and Africa. Cooperation Outlook after the 6th FOCAC Summit in Johannesburg, South Africa

Monika Krukowska

Journal of Modern Science, Tome 3/30, 2016, p. 157-180

**Abstract**: China's rising international activity, among other directions, has led its interest to Africa. The continent, long dominated by the presence of the European and American investors, recently opened for cooperation with China, offering many opportunities in various fields. Within the last decade China has taken an important place in Africa's economic development by its share in trade, investment and financial cooperation. The Forum on China – Africa Cooperation (FOCAC) is one of the most efficient instruments strengthening cooperation between China and Africa in various sectors. The paper deals with the issue of China-Africa cooperation outlook within the frame of the last FOCAC summit. At the beginning the paper investigates the general place of Africa in China's foreign policy within the last decades, followed by the last FOCAC summit decisions. The next section analyses the results of cooperation are identified, followed by the final remarks. **Full Text**: http://cejsh.icm.edu.pl/cejsh/element/bwmeta1.element.desklight-a6d8b0cf-2a4d-402d-9d77-6c8a12c56e46

# 14. China and Africa: Expanding Economic Ties in an Evolving Global Context *Miria Pigato; Wenxia Tang*

Washington: World Bank, 2015. – 40 p.

Summary: Economic growth in Sub-Saharan Africa (SSA) has averaged roughly 5 percent per year over the past decade, improving living standards and bolstering human development indicators across the continent. Stronger public institutions, a supportive, private sector-focused policy environment, responsible macroeconomic management, and a sustained commitment to structural reforms have greatly expanded opportunities for countries in SSA to participate in global markets. In recent years, many countries in the region have benefited from an increasingly favorable external environment, high commodity prices, and an especially strong demand for natural resources by emerging economies, particularly China. China-SSA trade has rapidly intensified since the late 1990sand in 2013 China became SSA's largest export and development partner. China now represents about a quarter of SSA's trade, up from just 2.3 percent in 1985. About one-third of China's energy imports come from SSA-a vital trade link, especially as energy consumption rates in China have grown by more than twice the global average over the past 10years. Despite increased efficiency and rising domestic production, rapid urbanization and heavy industrialization continue to spur robust Chinese demand for coal, oil, and natural gas. China's banks, notably the People's Bank of China, the China Development Bank, and the Export-Import Bank of China (Exim Bank of China), have supported large-scale investments in African infrastructure. More than 2,200 Chinese enterprises are currently operating in SSA, most of them private firms (UNCTAD 2014; Shen 2014). Diplomatic contacts and bilateral aid and cooperation initiatives have greatly expanded, 1 and the Forum on China-Africa Cooperation, formed in 2000 and convened every three years, has become the primary institutional vehicle for China's strategic engagement with SSA... Full Text: https://openknowledge.worldbank.org/handle/10986/21788

#### 15. China in Africa: Beliefs and Reality

#### David Gakunzi

Jewish Political Studies Review, Vol. 30, No. 1/2 (2019), p. 226-229

**Abstract** : China knows without a doubt what to expect from africa. But what about Africa ? What does it want ? May it have already forgotten the debt crisis of the 1980s and its disastrous consequences, followed by painful structural adjustment plans ? are we witnessing a process of china's gradual takeover of africa ? china used to be a poor country, economically vulnerable and beset by famine. But its forced economic transformation has profoundly transformed the country and in a few decades it has become a world power. China is now the largest market in the world, the largest consumer of certain commodities, an investment and international-trade giant, as well as a powerful producer of cheap industrial products and manufactured goods. Claiming sometimes that china is a rich country alongside other rich countries and claiming at other times—according to its interests—that it is a poor country of the south, beijing appears for some years to have taken an interest in africa. We see china lending billions of dollars and implementing an expansive credit policy with exceptional facilities and loans often secured by agreements that mortgage the natural resources of borrowing countries. Examples include the debt of angola guaranteed by its oil resources, or loans granted to Zimbabwe and the democratic Republic of the congo that are conditioned on privileged access to their subsoil. **Full Text**: https://www.jstor.org/stable/26642825

16. China and Africa regional economic cooperation: History and prospects *Zhang Jin* 

Pula: Botswana Journal of African Studies, Vol. 29, N° 1, 2015, p. 6-17

Abstract: The establishment of the Forum on China-Africa Cooperation (FOCAC) in 2000 was a further development of the traditional model of bilateral cooperation, and the starting point for China's multilateral cooperation with African countries. In recent years, China-Africa economic cooperation has been addressing new situations. In particular, under its initiative to "support the integration of Africa and help Africa improve its overall capacity for development", China has participated in a variety of areas concerning the economic integration of Africa, and it has received an active response from Africa. Based on a consideration of the history and current features of China-Africa economic cooperation, this article analyses the implications for the further development of China-Africa regional economic cooperation in the future. It concludes that there is need to enhance mutual trust, to strengthen investment in manufacturing and strategic industries, and to increase cooperation on infrastructure projects for African integration.

Full Text: http://journals.ub.bw/index.php/pula/article/view/464/315

### **17. China and Africa: Model of South-South Cooperation?** *Richard Asante*

China Quarterly of International Strategic Studies, Vol. 04, N° 02, 2018, p. 259-279

Abstract: Chinese officials often claim that their country's massive involvement in Africa is an example of "South-South cooperation" with tremendous potential to unlock Africa's development prospects. They maintain that China's economic involvement in the continent is less exploitative and more relevant to local needs than the North's. Starting from a relatively small amount of investment in the early 1990s, China has become Africa's biggest economic partner. Yet, as the United Nations Conference on Trade and Investment (UNCTAD) and other studies have shown, Chinese trade and investment in Africa are reproducing African countries as exporters of raw materials and importers of manufactured goods. This paper deconstructs the uncritical view of China's development cooperation with Africa as "South-South" cooperation, highlighting its potential tensions, incongruities, downsides, and dilemmas. It demonstrates both good and bad news. Recent data show that despite the slowdown of the Chinese economy and slump in prices of certain raw materials, the total value of China-Africa trade is on the rise, with Africa's exports to China growing rapidly, indicating a narrowing gap between imports and exports in the bilateral trade. However, whether this phenomenon is sustainable remains in doubt. Dynamics of the boom and bust cycles of commodity markets, limited diversification, domestic institutional constraints, limited tariff exemptions and rising debt on African countries can all compromise the recent progress in China-Africa trade and exacerbate their asymmetrical relationship, reproducing the trade pattern between the West and African countries.

Full Text: https://www.worldscientific.com/doi/pdf/10.1142/S2377740018500124

### 18. China and Africa: Rebranding the People to People Relations Ehizuelen Michael Mitchell Omoruyi

Arabian Journal of Business and Management Review, Vol. 6, Issue 5, 2016 **DOI**: 10.4172/2223-5833.1000248

### **19.** China and Africa: win-win strategy

Y. G. Smertin

European Science Review, 2015, p. 57-60

Abstract: The article analyzes the various aspects of China's policy in Africa in the 21st century. It is concluded that there is a mutual interest of PRC and African countries in multilateral cooperation. https://www.google.com/url?sa=t&rct=j&q=&esrc=s&source=web&cd=4&ved=2ahUKEwju6Z-Text: Full fyKfiAhWlxoUKHXogAQEQFjADegQIBRAC&url=https%3A%2F%2Fcyberleninka.ru%2Farticle%2Fn%2Fc hina-and-africa-win-win-strategy.pdf&usg=AOvVaw0jO7GGfBPLlod1L\_2TazQk

20. China and African Governance in the Extractive Industries

Neil Renwick; Jing Gu; Song Hong

International Development Policy = Revue internationale de politique de développement, Vol. 10, N° 1, 2018

Abstract: This paper examines China's role in the extractive industry sectors of sub-Saharan Africa and issues surrounding governance-particularly the maximisation of host country economic gains. China's involvement is controversial and the focus of international debate as to the extent to which Chinese - African relationships in this key sector are not 'win-win' but are damaging African partner economies and political cultures. The paper's motivation is a desire to explain more closely the growing involvement of China in sub-Saharan Africa's extractives sector in terms of how effectively African governance works to maximise the gains accruing to China's African partners. A central question is how far there is Chinese synchronisation with the rules, principles, norms and behavioural expectations of African partners. The study assesses the experience of the Democratic Republic of Congo (DRC). Key findings are that China's involvement takes many forms, but is heavily influenced by its own history as well as its emerging engagement with the international development assistance system. The DRC case demonstrates that the effectiveness of African regulatory regimes is highly variable and depends on the quality of governance. Africa has extensive regulatory and normative regimes that frame the Chinese relationship. However, to maximise gains to African partners, the Chinese state and Chinese firms must strengthen policy on corporate responsibilities and practice whilst African states must strengthen the quality of governance to turn political commitments into more robust practice.

Full Text: https://journals.openedition.org/poldev/2547

### 21. China and European Union in Africa. Comparison of China and EU **Development Cooperation in Africa**

Slobodan Tomic; Nils Vidar Vambheim Arctic University of Norway, 2017 Master's thesis in Peace and Conflict Transformation

Abstract: This thesis presents development strategies of the European Union and China inside the African continent. The European long presence in the African continent was challenged by China, the new actor on the international scene. Western system guided by the OECD regulations and demands was confronted by China, the biggest developing country demanding 'win-win' cooperation policy based on mutual benefit and noninterference. Based on the materials collected it seems like African leaders are welcoming Chinese approach, which has 'no conditions' and no demands but with economic and trade opportunities. This thesis compares those two models by looking into Chinese and European Union's their strategy and conditionality Full Text: https://munin.uit.no/bitstream/handle/10037/12768/thesis.pdf?sequence=2&isAllowed=y

### 22. China and SMEs in Sub-Saharan Africa: A Window of Opportunity for the United States

*Daniel F. Runde, Conor M. Savoy, Janina Staguhn* Center for Strategic and International Studies (CSIS) (Oct. 1, 2021) **Full Text**: https://www.jstor.org/stable/resrep36921

# 23. China in Africa: How will the Beijing Consensus benefit Africa? Throughout Africa, China is challenging the West, not only in terms of economic investments, but also through its development aid.

#### Ellen Lammers

The Broker, Issue 1, April 2007, p. 16-18

**Introduction**: China's growing presence in the global arena is causing alarm in the United States and Europe, for economic and geopolitical reasons. One main issue of interest at the moment is the country's mounting influence in Africa. Academic researchers have to avoid reducing the discussion to questions such as 'burden or boon?' or 'new colonialist or friend and benefactor?'

China's foreign policy, especially in relation to Africa, is now the subject of research and of international meetings around the world. A conference in Cambridge, UK, for example, brought together a wide variety of speakers, including international experts like Deborah Bräutigam, Daniel Large and He Wenping, to discuss 'A Chinese scramble?' in July 2006. 1 The stimulating papers presented at this conference (to be published as China Returns to Africa later this year) will undoubtedly set the stage for future research. Yet they also highlight the need for a solid empirical basis on which to base policy considerations and analyses of various aspects (trade, aid, governance) of this emerging fi eld of research.

Full Text: http://www.bibalex.org/Search4Dev/files/308319/137887.pdf

### 24. China in Africa: A Modern Story of Colonization? A case study of China's engagement in Angola

#### Omid Khodadadzadeh

Uppsala: Uppsala University, 2017. – 53 p.

**Abstract**: This study conducts a single descriptive analysis of China's engagement in Angola and has the purpose of examining if there are any features of Neocolonialism in regards to China's relationship with Angola from 2000-2017. In doing so, it was required to operationalize Neocolonialism into five main dimensions and use them as sorting tools. These dimensions included factors such as, political interference, economic influence, financial dependence, military appearances, and cultural/educational reinforcement. The material that have been used in this study are academic journals, NGO reports, Chinese ministry press releases, policy papers and various types of other political documents concerning the two countries in question.

The end result based on the established theoretical framework indicate that there are some features of neocolonial tendencies mostly within the economic and financial field of area and that the intensity of these are recognized as being extensive. However, the overall presence of Neocolonialism in Angola is considered being low as China's presence in Angola mainly includes two neocolonial dimensions. Yet, China and Angola's relationship can today best be understood as being of mutual benefit.

Full Text: http://uu.diva-portal.org/smash/get/diva2:1191904/FULLTEXT01.pdf

### **25.** China in Africa: A Partner or Patron Ethiopia in Focus. *Gashaw Ayferam*

International Relations and Diplomacy, Vol.46, June 2018, p.14-20

Abstract: This study examined Africa-china relation by taking the post-1991 Sino-Ethiopia relations as a case study, in light of patron-client relationship. Methodologically, the study employed qualitative research methodological approach and case study research design. Accordingly, the study has used secondary source of data collected from books, journal articles, government reports and other pertinent internet sources. Given the data gathered are qualitative; the study employed qualitative data analysis techniques specifically document and discourse analysis. The findings of the study shows that at the present moment, China is regarded as development partner of Ethiopia and other African countries; however there is a sign of a patron-client relation between African ruling elites and China. Thus, Chinese role in Ethiopia and other African countries should not

be treated in terms of the rhetoric 'altruistic' principles alone invoked by African ruling elite and Chinese. In this regard, the very China growing presence in Ethiopia should be viewed in light of Ethiopia people's interest, aspiration and development rather than in terms of party-to-party relations and aid that comes from China. It will be 'naïve' to negate the positive role of China in Ethiopia in terms of its involvement in various sectors, building of infrastructures and various projects, growing trade relations, investment and aid; but we should examine whether Chinese presence in Ethiopia as elsewhere in Africa is as a means to certain ends or an end in itself. This will depend on the reality and our own interpretation; if the reality is that Chinese growing presence in Africa further exacerbates the intra-inequality and if Chinese aid is being used to further consolidate life presidency and the power of the ruling elite, then it is possible to situate China African relations as a patron-client. Though it seems too difficult to deny the rhetoric of strategic partnership, mutual benefit, win-win cooperation, China-Africa relations is a kind of asymmetrical relationship. Thus, in the contemporary Ethio-China relations in particular and China-Africa relations in general, there is a need on the part of Africans to reconsider their relations with China. The undeniable fact is that there is a manifestation of patronage and 'clientelism' in contemporary Africa-China relations indirectly. Thus, African countries should have a countering Strategy of patronage and clientelism'. Falling to do so would mean blessing 'clientelism'.

Full Text : DOI:10.17265/2328-2134/2018.06.002

https://www.researchgate.net/publication/326877306\_China\_in\_Africa\_A\_Partner\_or\_Patron\_Ethiopia\_in\_Focus

### 26. China in Africa: What Challenges for a Reforming European Union Development Policy? Illustrations from Country Cases

### Sven Grimm ; Christine Hackenesch

Development Policy Review, 35(4), 2016, 18 p.

Abstract : During the past decade, the EU has introduced several reforms to make collective development policy more coherent and effective. At the same time, development exists alongside (and sometimes competes with) other policy fields, particularly in settings where the EU has strong economic interests. Reforms to EU external relations take place against a backdrop of rapidly intensifying economic and political relations between China and African countries, a debate often framed as increasing competition with the EU. This article argues that Chinese engagement in Africa poses challenges for the EU's development policy, but these differ considerably across African countries. We look at three country cases to show that China's increasing engagement with individual African countries does not cause EU collective action failures.

Full Text : https://papers.ssrn.com/sol3/papers.cfm?abstract\_id=2971439&download=yes

### 27. China in South Sudan and Mali

Cedric de Coning, Kari M. Osland

In: *China's Evolving Approach to UN Peacekeeping in Africa*, Norwegian Institute of International Affairs (NUPI) (Jan. 1, 2020).

Abstract: In a significant shift of its peacekeeping policy, China decided to deploy a combat-ready guard unit to the UN mission in Mali (MINUSMA) in 2013 and an infantry battalion to the UN mission in South Sudan (UNMISS) in 2015. In 2016 China deployed four Mi-171 multipurpose helicopters and 140 personnel to the African Union–United Nations Hybrid Operation in Darfur (UNAMID). However, although outside observers would characterize some of the Chinese contributions as combat troops, China's Ministry of Defence has not formally recognized these as such ('combat troops'/zuozhan budui), as the purpose of their mission is to 'maintain peace, prevent war and control the ceasefire' – 'not to be a direct party to the internal military conflict'.9 In this Policy Brief we emphasize the combat readiness of these units, to distinguish them from the support troops to which China has restricted itself in the past. The peacekeepers in Darfur, Mali and South Sudan are all deployed in missions that have the mandate to protect civilians and could thus find themselves in situations requiring the use of force.

Full Text: https://www.jstor.org/stable/resrep25753.6

### 28. China into Africa: Trade, Aid, and Influence

#### Robert I. Rotberg

Washington, D.C.: Brookings Institution Press, 2008. – ix, 339 p. ISBN: 9780815775614 / ISBN: 081577561X

Full text :

https://www.researchgate.net/file.PostFileLoader.html?id=56f557293d7f4b8b481904ba&assetKey=AS%3A343 546210078724%401458919207743 **Source** : Codesria Library [01.02.01/ROT/17050]

### 29. China's African financial engagement, real exchange rates and trade between China and Africa

#### Sylviane Guillaumont-Jeanneney; Ping Hua

Journal of African economies, Vol. 24, N° 1, 2015, p. 1-25

Abstract: In the last decade, China's trade with Africa increased faster than its overall foreign trade. This article focusses on the role of real exchange rates in this growth. A 'bilateral real exchange rate' augmented trade gravity model applied to China's trade with 49 African countries over the period 2000-2011 shows that the real appreciation of most African currencies relative to the renminibi favoured China's exports to these countries, but had no impact on China's imports from Africa. This real appreciation of African currencies is explained by three main factors: the decision to peg them to other currencies (in particular to the euro), the amount of export of raw materials from African countries and the amount of financial assistance from international donors including China. Thus, a kind of detrimental sequence exists in Africa's relationship with China: China's imports of raw materials and its economic co-operation are among the factors explaining the appreciation of African real exchange rates, which itself stimulates China's exports of manufactured goods, and so restricts Africa's own industrial development. (Journal abstract).

#### Full Text:

https://www.researchgate.net/publication/273630599\_China's\_African\_Financial\_Engagement\_Real\_Exchange\_Rates\_and\_Trade\_between\_China\_and\_Africa/download

### 30. China's Belt and Road Initiative: An Opportunity to Re-energize South-South Cooperation

### Zhou Taidong; Zhang Haibing

China Quarterly of International Strategic Studies, Vol. 4, Nº 4, 1-18

Abstract: Since the 2008 global financial crisis, the landscape of South-South cooperation has greatly changed mainly due to the ongoing power shift from the North to the South. Rising economies like China and India are taking the lead in driving forward the institutional development of South-South cooperation despite lingering challenges that call for collective actions and mutual support among developing countries. Based on the principle of achieving shared benefits through consultation and collaboration, China's Belt and Road Initiative (BRI) has presented a good opportunity for reinvigorating South-South cooperation and drawing concerted efforts from the international community to reduce the global deficits in peace, development and governance. In the long run, the BRI is expected to facilitate a new round of economic globalization and help shape a more balanced and efficient system of global economic governance, which will serve as the basis for jointly building a "community of shared future for mankind" proposed by the Chinese government.

Full Text: https://www.worldscientific.com/doi/pdf/10.1142/S2377740018500264

### **31.** China's changing foreign policy and resource diplomacy towards Africa: the role of China in the socio-economic development of Nigeria

### Nkanyezi Msimango

Pretoria: University of South Africa, 2016. – 111 p. *Dissertation under the supervision of Prof. Vusi Gumede* 

**Abstract**: China's economic expansion in recent years is one of the most important geopolitical developments of the 21st century (Mockli, 2007). More interestingly, Africa relations with China continue to be of keen concern to many, precisely because these two countries have been humiliated severely during the years of colonialism. This study examines, to the extent possible, Chinese changing foreign policy and resource diplomacy towards Africa, using Nigeria as a case study specifically looking at socio–economic issues. The study uses the Hegemonic Stability Theory as a framework of analysis. While the method of data collection is premised on existing qualitative and quantitative analysis on Africa–China relations, faceto- face interviews and one

telephonic interview with an expert on Africa–China relations were conducted as a method of gathering new data. The present study finds that China's economic expansion can be detrimental to Africa in many ways. For instance, China continues to export to Africa cheap manufactured goods, while extracting raw materials to fuel its own industrialization. This situation works against intra–Africa trade, which could potentially address the socio–economic issues facing the continent. However, to maintain its resource supply and stable market, China's foreign policy of 'non–interference' has changed significantly, particularly towards Africa. For example, China recently opened its first military base in Africa. This study argues that, because of the above mentioned arguments, the repercussions of the Africa–China relations could be dangerous for Africa since the continent is not really benefiting from these dealings. Furthermore, this study notes that China is contributing negatively towards the socio–economic development of Nigeria, despite the fact that it provides Nigeria with aid and loans, primarily for infrastructure projects.

Full Text: http://hdl.handle.net/10500/22798

#### **32.** China's Economic Aid to Africa: No Quid Pro Quo? *Osondu-Oti Adaora Ilorin Journal of History and International Studies*, Vol. 5, N° 1, 2015, p. 97-110.

Abstract: China's economic aid to Africa has been on for more than five decades now. Even though China is a developing country, China has been assisting African countries on many fronts. What has been a contested issue in literature is China's different approaches in giving out aid to Africa or what China calls its "aid policy." Past studies have argued that China's aid is different from Western countries "long procedural routine" as China's aid comes without any string attached. While this paper is not out to reiterate that argument, its main aim is to examine if China's aid to Africa is in the real sense no quid pro quo or unconditional aid. The major question this paper seeks to address is, is China's aid unconditional or a no quid pro quo? This paper is premised on the argument that China's aid is not truly unconditional as many people are meant to believe. **Full Text**: https://core.ac.uk/download/pdf/143491948.pdf

**33.** China's economic hegemony

P.A.G. van Bergeijk

The Hague: ISS, 2018. – 26 p. ISS Working Paper Series / General Series (Vol. 637, p. 1–26)

**Abstract**: Strong economic growth in China and the concomitant increase in its share in global production constitute the most important geo-economic shift of the post war period. With the re-emergence of China as a truly global player discussions on Chinese world leadership have re-emerged. This paper takes a long-run economic-historic perspective and investigates global macroeconomic conditions indicated by theories of collective action and hegemonism (in particular [lack of] dominance in production and fragmentation of global production) in order to assess the future outlook for the production of global public goods. The importance of these measures follows from the fact that in a fully fragmented world economy public good s cannot be arranged. If the share of the hegemon or the leading group in the benefits provided by the global public good is low, then the public good is less likely to be produced. What will be the consequences of China's emergence for global governance, its efficacy and its sustainability?

Full Text: hdl.handle.net/1765/105583

### 34. 'China's Empire Building Strategy: Belt-Road Initiative, Creating New Financial Institutions, and Aggressive Foreign Policy'

#### Vijay Kumar Kaul

University of Delhi South Campus - Department of Business Economics, 2017

**Abstract**: Given their size in terms of vast geographical area, large population, sizeable gross domestic product (estimated in PPP) and a large standing army, both India and China are widely expected to help shape the emerging 21st century world order. While china has already raced ahead in terms of economic growth, India is currently the fastest growing large economy in the world. China has emerged as India's largest trading partner in recent years. The two neighbours share a vast disputed boundary between them. They have gone to war once in 1962 over the boundary issue. At the same time, as developing societies, they share common concerns pertaining to world economic order and environmental justice. Given the complexity of their relationship, an understanding

of the mind-set as well as the extent and nature of engagement of elites/ leading socio-economic groups across the two neighbours and their response to global issues, acquires a critical importance for ensuring global growth and peace.

The Department of Business Economics, University of Delhi South Campus, has taken an initiative to bring the Indian Academia, Diplomats, Social Activists and thinkers, industry associations and entrepreneurs, and Policy Makers together for a sustained debate and discussion on China's rise and its implications for the world as whole. The seminar was entitled 'Is Belt-Road-Initiative of China a geo-economic strategy aimed at empire building ?'

The focus of the debate was to examine some of the following issues: Is BRI a new growth strategy using globalization as an opportunity and old Silk Route as a brand to build Chinese centric 21st century Empire? Are Chinese attempts at building a new International Financial Architecture a step towards creation of Chinese hegemony? How serious and justified are the strategic and security concerns of India and other Asian countries in China's neighbourhood? How threatening and damaging are the Maritime Silk Road and creation of naval bases in the Indian Ocean to India and other littoral countries ? How about the business interests of India business partners? Are they expecting any economic gains in terms of business opportunities, Investments and jobs for Indians ? Are the proposed Asia-Africa Growth Corridor and other maritime initiatives undertaken by India an effective balancing strategy ? Will the new form of Atlantis versus Eurasian Geopolitics be of some help to the world in overcoming the problem of poverty, poor infrastructure, energy shortage, degradation of environment, and climate change ?

Full Text : https://papers.ssrn.com/sol3/papers.cfm?abstract\_id=3036821&download=yes

### 35. China's engagement with development assistance for health in Africa Mohon Shajalal; Junfang Xu; Jun Jing; Madeleine King; Jie Zhang; Peicheng Wang; Jennifer Bouey; Feng Cheng

Global Health Research and Policy, Vol.2, Nº 1, 2017, p.1-9

Abstract: Background As an emerging donor in health related development across the world, particularly towards Africa, the People's Republic of China (PRC) has been increasing its influence within the field of global public health over the past few decades. Yet between the period of 2000 and 2013, little is known about the scope, scale and priority of China's grant-making programs. Methods Based on data sourced from the China Aid Database (version-1.2), descriptive analyses were applied to analyze the features of 531 health related projects that were undertaken between 2000 and 2013. Spearmen correlation was also performed to assess the relationship between China's export and aid to recipient countries. Results The total value of China's grantmaking programs in the health related sector between 2000 and 2013 was 5.67 billion USD, with 531 projects undertaken. During the five year period between 2004 and 2008, China had a contribution of 1.54 billion USD, which increased to 3.8 billion USD during the five year period between 2009 and 2013 – an 146.26% increase. In terms of specific diseases, China is most concerned with building an African public health system through donations targeted towards general health (313 projects), combating Malaria (115 projects) and maternal, neonatal and child health (MNCH), (12 projects). When it comes to recipient countries, if counted in total value, Zimbabwe received the most financial assistance from China, totaling 1.08 billion USD and 19 projects, while Angola and Tanzania received more projects - 30 and 29 projects respectively. In terms of the channeling of aid funding, most projects were targeted towards infrastructure, equipment and medicine (304 projects in total), followed by medical teams (189 projects). Moreover, there is a statistically significant relationship between aid to Africa and Chinese exports to Africa. Conclusion During the past decade, Chinese aid projects played an important role in the African public health system through providing funding for infrastructure, equipment and medicine, training health professionals, as well as disease treatment. However, very limited attention was paid towards disease prevention, health promotion and awareness initiatives, and health education. Furthermore, serious questions were raised regarding the long-term financial sustainability and actual impact these projects have on health development.

Identifier

Full Text: https://ghrp.biomedcentral.com/track/pdf/10.1186/s41256-017-0045-8

### **36.** China's expanding influence in Africa: projection, perception and prospects in Southern African countries

#### Xiaoling Zhang; Herman Wasserman; Winston Mano

South African journal for communication theory and research, Vol. 42, N° 1, 2016, p. 1-22

Abstract: China's multi-faceted endeavour to expand its influence in Africa has attracted worldwide scholarly and media attention. This article examines the different moments of China's soft power endeavour, from projection through its state media to representation and lived experiences in South Africa and Zimbabwe, two African countries which receive a significant level of attention in China's policymaking. Through interdisciplinary methodologies such as content analysis, online questionnaires and in-depth interviews conducted in China, South Africa and Zimbabwe, the authors found that China's state-engineered soft power initiatives have resulted in partial success in the two countries. The conclusions indicate that China faces many challenges in fully accomplishing its intended goal. The findings provide new insight into China's political impact in Africa within the context of Beijing's growing influence on Africa's political and economic future. Full Text: http://eprints.nottingham.ac.uk/46750/1/for%20JCC.pdf

### **37.** China's health assistance to Africa: opportunism or altruism? Shuang Lin; Liangmin Gao; Melissa Reyes; Feng Cheng; Joan Kaufman; Wafaa M. El-

Sadr

Globalization and Health Vol. 12, N° 83, 5 p.

Abstract: China has made substantial health commitments to Africa in the past several decades. However, while much has been written regarding China-Africa aid overall, relatively little attention has been given to China's health aid. To better understand these investments, we provide an overview of the current framework and characteristics of China's health aid to Africa. China's health assistance has been perceived by some as opportunistic, largely as a demonstration of China's engagement in "soft power" and an attempt to enhance its access to natural resources and political favors by African countries. Others have attributed altruistic intent, aiming to support the advancement of the health of populations in the African continent with a "no strings attached" approach. Our overview demonstrated that despite the magnitude of China's health assistance, many questions remain regarding the scope of this aid, its effectiveness and the governance mechanisms that guide the conceptualization and implementation of such efforts. We also identified the need for a systematic and rigorous evaluation of the various elements of China's health assistance to African countries in order to gain a deeper understanding of how priorities and allocations for health aid are determined, how such aid fits within the specific African country's health strategies and to assess the effectiveness of such aid. Insights garnered through such an assessment could help determine future priorities for investment as well as inform efforts to optimize the value of China's aid for the populations of the recipient countries.

Full Text: https://globalizationandhealth.biomedcentral.com/track/pdf/10.1186/s12992-016-0217-1

### 38. China's Influence in Africa: Current Roles and Future Prospects in Resource Extraction

#### Liu Haifang

Journal of Sustainable Development Law and Policy, Vol 8, N°1, 2017, p. 34 - 59

Abstract: In the second half of 2014, some African countries felt the heavy strike of falling prices of mineral resources on the world market. The international media raised vocalex positions on the negative impact that China's slow down might bring to the African economy. One headline read: "Chinese investment in Africa has fallen 40 per cent this year - but it's not all bad news".1 More recently, the exasperation intensified to "China's slowdown blights African economies",2 and managed to shadow the China-African Summit held in December 2015 in Johannesburg. Similarly, on the recent Africa Mining Indaba, the annual biggest African event for the mining sector, the renewed concern was stated as "Gloom hangs over African mining as China growth slows".3 There is no doubt that China's presence has had positive effects on Africa's growth over the past decade. Nonetheless, only a narrow perspective would view Africa's weak performance solely through the Chinese prism. This article addresses the afore-mentioned concerns regarding the impacts that China has in Africa. A historical approach is applied to reconstruct the economic cooperation since the mid-1990s. This reconstruction emphasizes the sustaining forces of cooperation. Literally, this article goes beyond the resource traction sector, to understand the basis of China-African cooperation, and the position mineral resource has taken in the bilateral cooperation. With a representative country case study, the current dilemma is shown from the structure of bilateral cooperation. Suggestions follow on how to address these challenges.

Full Text: https://www.ajol.info/index.php/jsdlp/article/view/159201/148764

#### **39.** China's new role in Africa.

*Taylor, Ian* Boulder, CO : Lynne Rienner Publishers, 2009. **Full Text**: https://www.rienner.com/uploads/48ecec7b1fc5d.pdf

#### 40. China's Slowdown and Rebalancing: Impacts on Sub-Saharan Africa Csilla Lakatos; Maryla Maliszewska; Israel Osorio-Rodarte; Delfin Go

Journal of Economic Integration, Vol. 32, N° 4, p. 759-803

**Abstract**: This paper explores the economic impacts of two related tracks of China's expected transformation, that is, economic slowdown and rebalancing away from investment toward consumption. It estimates the spillovers for the rest of the world with a special focus on Sub-Saharan African countries. By 2030, an average 1 percent annual slowdown of China's GDP is expected to result in 1.1 percent GDP decline in Sub-Saharan Africa and a 0.6 percent global slowdown relative to past trends. However, if China's transformation also entails substantial rebalancing, the negative income effects of the economic slowdown could be offset through higher overall imports by China and positive terms-of-trade effects for its trading partners. Slowdown and rebalancing in China is estimated to increase GDP by 4.7 percent for Sub-Saharan Africa and by 4.8 percent for the global economy. China's transformation is also estimated to reduce poverty, but the extent depends on country in the Sub-Saharan Africa.

Full Text: https://www.e-jei.org/upload/JEI\_32\_4\_759\_803\_2013600142.pdf

## 41. Chinese Development Aid in Africa: What, Where, Why, and How Much ? *Bräutigam, Deborah*

SSRN Electronic Journal, June 2011

**Introduction** : China's development aid to Africa has increased rapidly, yet this might be the only fact on which we have widespread agreement when it comes to Chinese aid.1 Analysts disagree about the nature of China's official development aid, the countries that are its main recipients, the reasons for providing aid, the quantity of official aid, and its impact. Why does this matter ? Knowing more about Chinese development aid is important for understanding Chinese foreign policy and economic statecraft : how and to what ends does China use its government policy tools ? It is also important for more accurate comparisons between Chinese practices and those of other donors and providers of finance. Finally, for those who are interested in the question of whether, as it rises, China will transform, reform or maintain the existing system of norms and rules (Kim 1999), development aid provides a particularly interesting case study. The rules and norms about foreign aid have been forged not by a global institution, but primarily by the Development Assistance Committee (DAC) of the Organisation for Economic Cooperation and Development (OECD)—a group of countries of which China is not a part. To answer questions about China's impact on these rules and norms, we need to have a sound idea of what China is actually doing as a donor.

Full text: https://ssrn.com/abstract=2013609 or http://dx.doi.org/10.2139/ssrn.2013609;

### **42. Chinese Volunteering in Africa** *Antonella Ceccagno; Sofia Graziani Annali di Ca' Foscari : Serie Orientale*, Vol. 52, 2016, p. 297-333

**Abstract**: Due to the growing importance of people-to-people diplomacy in China's global strategies, this is a momentous time for China's international development volunteering. Drawing from underexploited Chinese sources, the paper shows that international volunteering has the potential for enhancing China's public appeal globally and giving a 'softer' connotation to China's aid to Africa. In this paper the policy, practices, and discourses about China's voluntary service are examined and framed within the context of China's soft power strategies. Moreover, the recent domestic debate on shortcomings of the 'China Foreign Aid Youth Volunteers Program' in Africa and the new directions suggested to the country's leadership by influential Chinese academics are critically analysed. The focus is on the tailoring of a new political and ideological 'space' for the Chinese NGOs as implementers of future international volunteering programs. In spite of considerable debates and evolutions, Chinese international volunteering programs seems to remain under tight state control and to be best understood as social engineering efforts, with China's soft power as their main objective. **Full Text**:10.14277/2385-3042/AnnOr-52-16-11

### 43. Complementary and competitive: the impact of Chinese trade on South African manufacturing exports

Jing-Woei Chien

Cape Town: University of Cape Town, 2016. – 82 p.

Abstract: This paper makes use of South African industry level data to identify the effects of Chinese trade on South African manufacturing exports. It contributes to the existing literature by considering the implications of the different channels of exports identified in Kaplinsky et al. (2007) for Chinese exports. In particular, the direct complementary (positive) and indirect competitive (negative) channels are identified as the key channels for China-South Africa export relations. The impact of these channels are looked at, not only in the terms of aggregate export values, but also the extensive margin (product count). Overall, the results suggest a positive effect arising from Chinese exports. This result is, however, dulled by the negative implications of the indirect competitive channel effect on the extensive margin. A breakdown of the manufacturing sector into low and highwage industries reveals that high-wage industries are the main recipients of benefits from Chinese exports through the direct complementary channel.

Full Text: http://hdl.handle.net/11427/20531

### 44. Consequences of Chinese aid in Sub-Saharan Africa *Phillip R. Sauls; Neal D. Heaton*

Monterey, California: Naval Postgraduate School, 2016. – 96 p. *Doctoral thesis* 

**Abstract**: Approved for public release; distribution is unlimited China's position of non-interference in foreign governments' affairs, while currently good for Chinese business, may threaten to increase international terrorism, deepen regime corruption, and erode U.S. political relevance in sub-Saharan Africa. China has empowered private enterprises, which can monopolize African market sectors, marginalize African businesses, and exacerbate local social conditions. Using non-violent uprising and violent resistance events from Social Conflict Analysis Database (SCAD), World Governmental Indicators (WGI), and World Development Indicators (WDI) databases, this study seeks to determine to what extent China's long-term economic goals may challenge U.S. security objectives in Africa. Observations from African states will form the base for analysis to establish a fundamental correlation between Chinese direct investment and Beijing's foreign policy in Africa. This study illustrates that China's foreign policy is not reflected in the actions of its state-owned enterprises and non-government organizations, increasing the potential for friction and conflict, and that China's investment approach inherently requires the support of the host nation and may affect our African partners' alignment with U.S. policy objectives. This study also highlights a significant gap in data regarding the state of our partners in Africa. Major, United States Army Lieutenant Commander, United States Navy **Full Text**: http://hdl.handle.net/10945/51612

**45. Contextualising Chinese migration to Africa** *Jonathan Sullivan ; Jing Cheng Journal of Asian and African Studies*, 2018

**Abstract**: Who are 'the Chinese' in Africa ? Why are they there ? As China's engagement with African countries intensifies, and the size of the Chinese population in Africa increases, these questions have elicited substantial attention. Many attempts to provide answers, especially in the media and popular publications, are problematically based on uninformed stereotypes and undifferentiated notions of 'the Chinese', by implication a homogeneous group lacking contextualisation. Seeking to address such characterisations, this paper uses the digital communications of present and prospective Chinese migrants to provide a more nuanced picture of the motivations, preoccupations and migration experiences of private entrepreneurs and state-owned enterprise workers

Full Text : https://core.ac.uk/reader/158369204

### 46. Dance of the lions and dragons: How are Africa and China engaging, and how will the partnership evolve?

Irene Yuan Sun; Kartik Jayaram; Omid Kassiri

#### Washington, DC: McKinsey Global Institute, 2017. - 79 p.

Abstract: In a mere two decades, China has become Africa's biggest economic partner. Across trade, investment, infrastructure financing, and aid, there is no other country with such depth and breadth of engagement in Africa. The Chinese "dragons"—firms of all sizes and sectors—are bringing capital investment, management know-how, and entrepreneurial energy to every corner of the continent—and in so doing, they are helping to accelerate the progress of Africa's "lions," as its economics are often referred to. Yet to date, it has been challenging to understand the full extent of the Africa-China economic relationship due to a paucity of data. This report aims to provide a fact-based picture of the Africa-China economic relationship. Its foundation is a large-scale data set about the economic relationship between Africa and China, including on-site interviews with more than 100 senior African business and government leaders, as well as the owners or managers of more than 1,000 Chinese firms and factories spread across eight African countries that together make up approximately two-thirds of SubSaharan Africa's gross domestic product (GDP).

#### Full Text:

https://www.mckinsey.com/~/media/mckinsey/featured%20insights/middle%20east%20and%20africa/the%20cl osest%20look%20yet%20at%20chinese%20economic%20engagement%20in%20africa/dance-of-the-lions-and-dragons.ashx

### 47. Decoding Relationships between Chinese Merchants and Batswana Shop Assistants: The Case of China Shops in Gaborone

### Yanyin ZI ; Monageng MOGALAKWE

African Study Monographs, Suppl. 54, March 2018, p. 171-189

**Abstract**: As part of China's growing presence in Africa, many Chinese merchants have set up shops in Botswana. Due to government regulations, these merchants are required to hire locals as assistants. However, Chinese shopkeepers, who seem to be motivated by the spirit of Confucian capitalism, have work expectations that are not shared by their Batswana shop assistants. Chinese merchants view their Batswana shop assistants as having poor work ethics, whilst Batswana assistants view Chinese merchants as exploiters of cheap labor. In this research, through participant observation and in-depth interviews, the voices of approximately 90 Chinese employers and 20 Batswana assistants were recorded. The research reveals a lack of organizational commitment and interpersonal trust. Similar to the situation in many other African countries, linguistic and cultural differences have led to disputes, tension, and a toxic work environment. In the rush for investment and employment opportunities, important social and cultural orientations have been neglected and the gap has been filled by pre-conceptions and prejudice

Full Text : https://core.ac.uk/reader/160457494

### 48. Deconstructing the Dragon: China's Commercial Expansion in Africa *Hruby*, *Aubrey*.

Washington : Atlantic Council, 2019. 20 p.

Abstract: When National Security Advisor John Bolton unveiled the Trump administration's new Africa strategy in December 2018,1 there were only two countries that he mentioned more than ten times. One was the United States, and the other was China. (The most-mentioned African nation, South Sudan, was referenced four times.) The administration's approach to Africa is inextricably linked to its perception of China as a strategic threat. China's challenge to American hegemony in Africa is primarily in the economic sphere: Chinese investment and trade are rapidly eclipsing those of American firms, as evidenced by a 40 percent annual growth rate in Chinese foreign direct investment (FDI) and tens of billions in government loans and grants over the past decade. But there is a profound lack of understanding among US policy makers about how China actually operates in African markets. As a result, the administration could misdiagnose the true nature of the threat that China poses. For years, US-Chinese competition in Africa has been conceptualized as a battle between Chinese and American companies over access to lucrative infrastructure projects. This storyline focuses on the unfair competitive advantages conferred on Chinese firms by Beijing's expansive global infrastructure financing programs. These lending programs are part of an ambitious foreign policy program to connect China with other regions through ports, railways, and fiber optic cables. President Xi Jinping rebranded these efforts, which started with the "Going Out" strategy in the late 1990s, as the Belt and Road Initiative in 2013. Full Text: http://www.istor.org/stable/resrep26690.

# 49. Empirical Assessment of Trade Engagements: Africa, China and the Maritime Belt and Road Initiative

Emmanuel Igbinoba

KIEP, 2017. – 48 p. (KIEP Research Paper. Working paper 17-07). ISBN: 978-89-322-4273-6

**Abstract**: Recent development economic literatures theorize that South-South trade and foreign investment may have a larger impact on economic growth in developing economies than North-South trade and investment, since investors from the South are more familiar with local developing markets and business practices, which increases their productivity spillovers (Aykut and Goldstein 2007). Amighini and Sanfilippo (2014) provided evidence that South-South trade and investments stimulate product diversification in light manufacturing industries such as agro processing, plastic, textile and leather production.

The Belt and Road Initiative (BRI) launched in 2013, aims to create economic opportunities as well as improve and establish new trading routes between China and connected regions. This paper attempts to evaluate the degree of trade relations between China and selected African countries along the Maritime Silk Route (MSR) and further appraise the trade potentials and gains inherent for African economies through the initiative. To achieve our objective, we apply quantitative techniques in trade evaluation to enable us explore and estimate the degree and intensity of trade engagements amongst selected Sino-African silk route countries, identify the trade opportunities and potentials, which are critical for increased trade engagements between both parties along the route and to explore some of the channels through which the maritime route can impact on investment, trade and economic growth in Africa.

Findings from the analysis indicate that while the degree of trade integration is unbalanced and favourable to China relative to Africa, the trade pattern and structure are observed to be more complementary than competitive, and this provides Africa with ample opportunity to engage in product upgrading and diversification, critical for structural transformation.

Full Text : https://papers.ssrn.com/sol3/papers.cfm?abstract\_id=3119573

### 50. The Growth Effects of Chinese Development Assistance in Sub-Saharan Africa: An Empirical Analysis

Yuanxin Li

University College Dublin (UCD) - Department of Politics, 2019. - 51 p.

Abstract : In this paper, I focus on the effectiveness of Chinese developmental aid in Sub-Saharan Africa and further explore under what conditions can Chinese developmental aid work effectively. The finding suggests that Chinese ODA fuels economic growth. Chinese development aid works effectively in countries with anocratic regimes. With concerns of losing authority, leaders in anocratic regimes can have a strong incentive to seek economic gains from foreign aid. Moreover, we find that the growth impact of Chinese aid depends on the US aid presence. In countries where no US aid presence, Chinese development aid works effectively in boosting economic growth. This finding shed light on the competition between China and the US for regional influence via developmental aid.

Full Text : https://papers.ssrn.com/sol3/papers.cfm?abstract\_id=3370159

#### 51. The impact of China on sub-Saharan Africa.

Raphael Kaplinsky, Dorothy McCormick and Mike Morris

Brighton : IDS, 2007. (Working paper series, 291)

Abstract: This paper focuses on the rapidly-growing links between China and SSA. The spotlight is placed on three vectors of interaction – trade, foreign investment and aid. Chinese involvement in Africa is driven predominantly by the quest for material inputs (oil and other primary commodities) required for its infrastructural investments and booming manufacturing sector. At least in the early years of this involvement, there appears to be close coordination between Chinese involvement in these three related vectors. Chinese involvement in SSA has important policy implications for growth, distribution and policy. Whilst it has provided a spur for some of SSA's key commodity exporting economies, its impact on manufacturing (both that destined for domestic and export markets) has been adverse. Even some of the benefits of the commodity price boom are ambiguous, since these are often associated with rising exchange rates, corruption and violent conflict. Commodity-based production also has adverse distributional impacts when compared to manufacturing. The

rapid growth and significance of enhanced Chinese participation in SSA has important implications for both future research (there are large unknowns and the picture is changing so rapidly) and for a poverty-focused policy agenda.

Full Text: https://opendocs.ids.ac.uk/opendocs/bitstream/handle/20.500.12413/4142/Wp291.pdf?sequence=1

### 52. Is China Helping Africa? Growth and Public Debt Effects of the Subcontinent's Biggest Investor

#### Indermit S. Gill ; Kenan Karakulah

Duke Global Working Paper No. 3, 2019. – 25 p.

Abstract : Because of the lack of reliable data, it is difficult to reliably answer the questions that many people are asking about China's activities in Africa : are the modes and magnitudes of Chinese finance creating unsustainable public finance and economic trajectories and — if they are — whose fault is it? Based on the available information and a rough analysis of the match between China's activities and Africa's development demands, we conclude that Chinese finance appears to have helped development on the subcontinent and has not - by itself - jeopardized its public finances : while public debt to GDP ratios have risen in the top ten recipients of Chinese loans, debt to China is generally a small portion of their external public debt. But China's role in the debt dynamics of some of these countries - that is, the speed at which their external public debt is growing - provides more reason to worry.

**Keywords** : China, Africa, Sub-Saharan Africa, trade, energy, development finance, debt, transport, FDI **Full Text** : https://papers.ssrn.com/sol3/papers.cfm?abstract\_id=3364645

### 53. Is Chinese investment Good for Africa ? A debate *D. Brautigam, and A Gaye (2007).*

**Abstract** : China's trade in Africa reached some \$50 billion in 2006, boosting growth rates on the continent and spurring much-needed infrastructure improvements. Many African countries view Chinese investment as an opportunity and welcome Beijing's "strictly business" policy of noninterference in domestic affairs. But China has come under fire from the international community for its refusal to pressure Sudan on the crisis in Darfur, and there is growing tension within some African countries over China's business practices. **Full Text** : https://www.issuelab.org/resources/20024/20024.pdf

### 54. Is China Recolonizing Africa? Some Views from Tanzania

Abel Kinyondo University of Dar es Salaam *World Affairs*, Vol. 182, No. 2, Summer 2019, p. 128-164

Abstract: This study assesses Sino-African cooperation with a view to understanding its nature and subsequently identifying ways to improve it. Using a mixed method that combined in-depth interviews, Afrobarometer, and Johns Hopkins' China Africa Research Initiative (CARI) data, I find that, despite a few gains, China takes the lion's share of benefits from the cooperation. Indeed, the balance of trade is skewed toward China, and there is very little Chinese foreign direct investment (FDI) flowing to Africa. Moreover, 'debt trap diplomacy' is crippling African economies, raising alarm over whether China intends to recolonize the continent. Also, while Chinese aid is negligible, the amount of contracts revenues and diplomatic support it gets from the continent makes one think Africa deserves more from the cooperation. Nevertheless, China, just like any other country, acts in its nation's interest. Therefore, it is incumbent upon African countries to ensure that they demand more from the cooperation. In the end, to address China's hegemony over Sino-African cooperation, Africa should prioritize the development of local content through technological and skill transfers, curb corruption, and build a critical mass of negotiators.

**Keywords:** Sino-Africa, China, Recolonizing Africa, FDI Flow, Chinese Hegemony, Hegemonic Cooperation, Aid, Loans, International Cooperation, Trade Balance, Curbing Corruption in Africa, Debt Trap Diplomacy, China Africa Research Initiative, CARI.

Full Text: https://www.jstor.org/stable/10.2307/26710688

### 55. La Chinafrique en contextes universitaires: une francophonie non prévue? *David Bel; Valentin Feussi*

Recherches en didactique des langues et des cultures, Vol. 12, N°. 1, 2015, 16 p.

**Abstract:** The term Chinafrica is nowadays widely used and refers to relationships between China and Africa, especially in the economic field. With this article, the two authors question the academic dimension of this relation. Based on their academic situations and life experiences and interviews conducted in China and Cameroon, they bring out an unexpected encounter with francophonie. However numerous issues are at stake, from political influence to opportunity effects regarding actors in various situations.

Le terme « Chinafrique » est de nos jours largement utilisé pour caractériser les relations entre la Chine et le continent africain notamment dans le domaine économique. Avec cet article, les auteurs interrogent la Chinafrique dans sa dimension académique. S'appuyant sur leurs expériences de vie et de situations universitaires et sur un corpus d'entrevues réalisées en Chine et au Cameroun, ils mettent en évidence une rencontre non prévue, une rencontre fortuite avec la francophonie. Cette rencontre n'est néanmoins pas dénuée d'enjeux qui peuvent se décliner sous la forme de politique d'influence et d'effets d'opportunités notamment. **Full Text**: https://journals.openedition.org/rdlc/366

### 56. On Cultural and Academic Exchanges Between China and African Countries *Charles Kabwete Mulinda*

International Journal of Asian Social Science, Vol. 5, Nº 4, 2015, p. 245-256

**Abstract**: Cooperation between China and African countries has often been portrayed as an economic one. Despite multiple exchanges in the area of culture and knowledge production, not much is written about Chinese culture in Africa or knowledge production interaction between both China and African countries. Just to give an example, each African major town has Chinese restaurants and Africans like Chinese food. But food is seen as an economic asset, not a cultural one. Chinese cuisine is not enough taken as scientific knowledge, but as professional economic skills. I want to argue that economics is not divorced from culture and academia. I further want to understand how culture and academia have also united Chinese and Africans for many centuries. African universities consume more western knowledge than Chinese one, despite the fact that China offers alot in this regard as well. I want to show how African countries also offer a lot to China in terms of knowledge production. I will choose few countries of Africa and examine how this cultural and academic exchange happens with China. My data are mainly from documentary research where I use content analysis. I seek to answer the following research questions: In what ways did the academic and cultural cooperation between China and African countries evolve? What can be done in order to make it more beneficial on both sides? **Full Text**: http://www.aessweb.com/pdf-files/ijass-2015-5(4)-245-256.pdf

### **57.** Does China and Africa South-South Cooperation Lead to Economic Development in Africa?

#### Paulette Nonfodji

International Journal of Development and Sustainability, Vol. 2, Nº 1, p. 194-231

Abstract: Since a few decades now Chinese enterprises' investments abroad have seen a continuous and steady ascension. At first cautious and just across the Chinese national borders, these investments, slowly but surely, spread like a sheet of water that seeps into the heart of each continent on the globe. This global infiltration of Chinese companies coincides with the popularity in the use of the expression "South - South Cooperation" to characterize a type of relations between countries categorized as being "developing". Accordingly, this paper seeks to examine the role of the use of this concept as a "channel to achieve common development" in the context of Chinese enterprises' outward direct investments in Africa adopting insights from international business production theories combined with an historical analysis of the notion of South-South Cooperation. Drawing on primary data gathered during my fieldwork in China in the period stretching from December 2011 to February 2012 and secondary data sources, it is argued these Chinese investments supported by the Chinese government rhetoric on South-South cooperation, cannot lead to significant economic development in Africa like it has happened in China in the eighties. Rather and at most Chinese investments in Africa show some "trickledown" effects characterised by very limited economic development in scattered localities throughout the African continent.

Full Text: https://isdsnet.com/ijds-v2n1-15.pdf

#### 58. Deal or No Deal: Strictly Business for China in Kenya? Apurva Sanghi; Dylan Johnson Weshington Weshing Dealer 2016 72 m (Deling Dealersh Weshing Dealer No. 761

Washington: World Bank, 2016. – 72 p. (Policy Research Working Paper; No. 7614).

Abstract: Existing work on China's economic influence in Africa refers to Africa in broad terms, thereby generalizing the results to an extent that is unhelpful for policy-makers in a specific country. Moreover, the emphasis is on oil exporters. This paper remedies this by focusing on a single, oil-importing country: Kenya. The paper examines China's economic presence in Kenya and some of the popular myths surrounding Chinese economic activity. The first myth is that Chinese companies do not employ local workers. In fact, 78 percent of full-time and 95 percent of part-time employees in Chinese companies are locals. Second, although China represents a large potential market for local exporters, the study finds that China has a better chance of expanding its exports to Kenya than Kenya does to China based on existing specializations. This may change with recent oil discoveries in Kenya, increasing the space for Kenyan exports to China, as well as from China's shift to a consumption-driven economy which will increase demand for services, a growing strength of Kenya's economy (World Bank Country Economic Memorandum 2016). The paper emphasizes that Kenyan policy makers should be less concerned about bilateral trade imbalances and worry about Kenya's overall trade balance. However, the Standard Gauge Railway and Thika superhighway experiences suggest that Chinese firms offer relatively few technology transfer or supplier opportunities for local firms and academia. Third, the popular focus of Chinese competition is on the impact on well-organized Kenyan producers and not on consumers, thereby underestimating the benefits Kenyan consumer derive from the availability of more affordable Chinese goods. The paper concludes with policy directions for improving export competitiveness and transparency in infrastructure projects, and local content.

Full Text: https://openknowledge.worldbank.org/handle/10986/24159

### 59. The Dragon, the Lion, and the Ballot Box: Evaluating China's Impact on Democracy in Africa

Cameron Silverberg

University of California, 2016. – 51 p.

Abstract: Over the past two decades, China has forged a prominent economic partnership with practically every country in Sub-Saharan Africa. These partnerships have been met with concerns over the possible effects of Chinese aid and trade on democracy in Africa-concerns that are particularly invoked by China's cooperation with the continent's most repressive regimes, such as those in Sudan and Zimbabwe. This point raises a question: What impact is Chinese economic engagement having on the quality of democracy in Sub-Saharan Africa? In this thesis, I argue that concerns over China's impact on democracy in Africa are unsubstantiated by evidence. Regression analyses reveal that Beijing does not appear to disproportionately finance dictatorial regimes. Instead, as demonstrated by a series of highly statistically significant findings, China aids and trades with the same African nations that receive aid from and trade with Western nations. Additional results show that there is no empirical basis from which to conclude that Chinese economic engagement is harming Africa's democracies. These results are supplemented by the case studies of Kenya and Uganda, which similarly demonstrate that China is not undermining democracy in Africa. These quantitative and qualitative results contradict the expectations that would be made by drawing from the substantial amount of literature that is pessimistic towards China's relationship with Africa. In doing so, they cast doubt on fears of a "Beijing Consensus," in which China's rise is seen as harmful to democracies across the world, and they suggest room for cooperation between China and the United States in Africa.

Full Text: https://escholarship.org/uc/item/9ph8s3dv

#### **60. Editorial: Africa and China: Cooperation, interactions and research** *Frank Youngman1 and Kgomotso Moahi PULA: Botswana Journal of African Studies* Vol. 29, No. 1, 2015, p. 1-6

**Introduction**: It is convenient to identify the establishment of the Forum on China Africa Cooperation (FOCAC) in 2000 as the symbolic starting-point of a new phase of China's engagement with Africa. This intensified engagement is driven by the imperatives of China's current mode of accumulation which demands raw materials for its rapid industrialisation, and export markets for its manufactured products. It reflects China's increased integration into the global capitalist economy since its adoption of the "Go out policy" in 1999. Thus in analysing the changing relationship between Africa and China, much attention must be given to the economic issues of trade and investment, and the role China has played in the commodities boom that has fuelled a period

of strong economic growth on the continent. But while these economic realities are the basis of China's current involvement with Africa, there are many other ways that China interacts with the continent, diplomatically, socially and culturally. Hence a comprehensive academic analysis of the modalities and impact of China's engagement with Africa must encompass a complexity of issues at different levels of China's intercourse with Africa. This requires both the concepts that can capture the dialectic of global trends and local responses, and the tools of multi-disciplinary perspectives.

Full Text: http://journals.ub.bw/index.php/pula/article/view/463/314

# 61. Exchange rate intervention and trade openness on the global economy with reference to Brazil, Russia, India, China and South Africa (BRICS) countries *Desti Kannaiah & T. Narayana Murty*

Investment Management and Financial Innovations, Vol. 10, N°6, 2017, p. 418-426

Abstract: At present the economy of each and every country is trapped in interdependent global economic web. They are mutually dependent on one another's in imports, exports, fiscal and monitory stability. This brought great challenges and opportunities to the emerging economies. These countries have greater trade openness to the international trading and are more affected by inflation. The BRICS represents about 40 percent of the world population; encompass over 25 percent of the worlds land coverage and comprise huge natural resources. Starting with a share of a little over 10 percent in world Gross Domestic Product (GDP) and less than 4 percent in world trade in 1990, BRICS (with the recent inclusion of South Africa to the forum) now constitutes about 25 percent of world GDP in terms of PPP (Purchasing Power Parity), and 15 percent of world trade. The increase in GDP implies that the economic size of BRICS in terms of its share in world GDP has expanded by 150 percent in the past two decades, and they also estimated that the GDP of these countries may cross 47 percent of the world GDP and will emerge as strong economic power in the world, and they contribute one fifth of the global economic output. The BRICS economies operate under varied monetary policy frameworks. Brazil and South Africa have inflation targeting regimes, while other countries follow multiple indicator frameworks. There are various other indicators, such as trends in inflows and outflows of foreign direct investment, trade openness, current account balance, forex reserves and economically active labour forces that could make BRICS a formidable force to reckon with in future. But this study uniformly apply exchange rate, Forex reserve and trade openness on the economy (Share Price, Inflation, GDP and Sacrifice Ratio) of BRICS countries. Full Text: 10.21511/imfi.14(3-2).2017.05

# **62.** Friends and interests: China's distinctive links with Africa. *Barry Sautman et Yan Hairong African Studies Review*, 2007, vol. 50, no 3, p. 75-114.

**Full Text**: https://www.cambridge.org/core/services/aop-cambridgecore/content/view/3906E843DD6423D3D4476AA7E14D5E43/S0002020600001542a.pdf/friends-and-interestschinas-distinctive-links-with-africa.pdf; doi:10.1353/arw.2008.0014

### 63. Globalisation and sustainable Africa-China trade: what role play the African regional organisations?

*Daouda Cissé* Uppsala: Nordiska Afrikainstitutet, 2015. – 31 p. ISBN: 9789171067623

**Introduction**: Globalisation has been one of the most debated concepts in the 21st century. It has brought together developed, emerging and developing economies to strengthen trade, investment as well as political and diplomatic ties. Foreign trade based on the General Agreements on Tariffs and Trade (GATT) and the World Trade Organisation (WTO) has been the main vehicle for countries around the world for imports and exports. In its ideal form, globalisation was initially based on the economic principle of comparative advantage and free movement of goods across borders in a free market. Comparative advantage assumes that as countries concentrate on producing the kinds of goods and services in which they have a relative edge, the total effect will be an increased volume of trade from which all trading partners will benefit. The search for new and growing markets has become important for countries around the world to increase their market share and trade volumes.

Policies have been elaborated to achieve new developments in world trade. But in addition to comparative advantage, globalisation is propelled by other more complex factors, which include frictions in the movement of goods, policy implementation, the effect on the market and numerous other conditionalities. **Full Text**: http://nai.diva-portal.org/smash/get/diva2:782298/FULLTEXT01.pdf

### 64. Guangzhou's African Migrants: Implications for China's Social Stability and China-Africa Relations

#### Anas Elochukwu

*Contemporary Chinese Political Economy and Strategic Relations : an International Journal,* Vol. 2, N° 3, 2016, p.1195-1213

**Abstract**: Until recently migration was treated like a footnote in the Africa-China discourse. Previously researchers and the media had focused attention on the "cost-benefit analysis" of China's economic penetration of the continent. However, since 2008 when over a hundred African migrants blocked a major street in Guangzhou protesting the death of a Nigerian in an immigration raid, researchers and the media have been falling over themselves to unpack the phenomenon of migrant exchange in the relationship. There are now about one million Chinese migrants in Africa as against about two hundred and fifty thousand African migrants in China. Migration is a two-edged sword. On the credit side, migration can be a bridge between peoples as well as a major contributor to economic development. On the debit side, it can be a source of dispute between peoples and a threat to the hosts' social stability. This paper discusses the implications of Guangzhou's African migrants for China's social stability and China's relationship with Africa.

Full Text : http://icaps.nsysu.edu.tw/var/file/131/1131/img/2375/CCPS2(3)-Elochukwu.pdf

### 65. Having, Giving, Taking: Understanding China's Development Cooperation in Africa

#### Warmerdam, W.

Rotterdam: Erasmus University Rotterdam ISBN 978-90-6490-049-5 ISS PhD Theses. Erasmus University Rotterdam

**Abstract**: In the last decade or so China has re-emerged as an important actor in the international development cooperation arena at a time when development cooperation was undergoing reflection and critical revaluations in many traditional donor countries. The academic and policy debate on China's re-emergence as a donor has been divided between proponents who saw a new hope for the developing world, where lessons for the developing world could be drawn. Opponents or critics, on the other hand, posed a critical stand against China's non-adherence to the common standards, principles and practices of traditional donors considered fruits of decades long international development experience.

However, despite a myriad of publications on China international development policy and practice, much is still needed to fully grasp its architecture. How is it developed? What motivates it? How's does China conceptualize foreign aid?

Does it draw from its own experience as an aid recipient and as a developing country? What are some of the practical implications of Chinese foreign aid? This thesis seeks to answer these questions by drawing heavily on Chinese sources, bringing together various complementary literatures supported by field research in Uganda, a developing country and recipient of Chinese foreign aid and investment and a trade partner.

Although, various complementary analytical frameworks were used, the binding concept revolves around the role interaction of the domestic and international forces in shaping China's foreign aid policy and practices. This contributes to the literature on Chinese foreign aid by filling the gap in the literature on how domestic political forces and their interaction with the international context shape Chinese foreign aid policy and practices. This will be useful when analyzing future trends as the composition and interaction of domestic political forces change, and situations in international context develop.

Full Text: http://hdl.handle.net/1765/79054

#### 66. Illusion or Reality: Understanding the Trade Flow Between China and Sub-Saharan Africa

*Bamidele Adekunle & Ciliaka Gitau Journal of African Business*, Vol. 14, N° 2, 2013, p. 117-126 **Abstract**: The authors examine the trade flow between China and Sub-Saharan Africa (SSA) with the use of the gravity model. The authors examine the impact that variables such as gross domestic product (GDP), distance, foreign direct investment (FDI), inflation, exchange rate, and GDP per capita have on trade flow between China and SSA and vice versa. The authors also examine how the trade flow of oil-rich countries is affected by trading with China while considering the interactions with other macroeconomic variables. The specific objectives are to assess the trade flow between China and SSA; identify the variables that predict trade flow from China to SSA and vice versa; examine the trade flow between oil-rich SSA countries (Angola, Equatorial Guinea, Nigeria, the Republic of Congo and Sudan) and China; and develop desirable policies that will enhance China–SSA trade while protecting the industries in SSA. The result of this article improves understanding of why Sino–Africa trade is an illusion that is gradually becoming a reality.

Full Text: 10.1080/15228916.2013.804361

### 67. The Growing Relationship Between China and Sub-Saharan Africa: Macroeconomic, Trade, Investment, and Aid Links

A. Zafar

The World Bank Research Observer, Vol. 22, N° 1, spring 2007, p.103-130

**Abstract**: China's economic ascendance over the past two decades has generated ripple effects in the world economy. Its search for natural resources to satisfy the demands of industrialization has led it to Sub-Saharan Africa. Trade between China and Africa in 2006 totaled more than \$50 billion, with Chinese companies importing oil from Angola and Sudan, timber from Central Africa, and copper from Zambia. Demand from China has contributed to an upward swing in prices, particularly for oil and metals from Africa, and has given a boost to real GDP in Sub-Saharan Africa. Chinese aid and investment in infrastructure are bringing desperately needed capital to the continent. At the same time, however, strong Chinese demand for oil is contributing to an increase in the import bill for many oil-importing Sub-Saharan Africa countries, and its exports of low-cost textiles, while benefiting African consumers, is threatening to displace local production. China poses a challenge to good governance and macroeconomic management in Africa because of the potential Dutch disease implications of commodity booms. China presents both an opportunity for Africa to reduce its marginalization from the global economy and a challenge for it to effectively harness the influx of resources to promote poverty-reducing economic development at home.

Full Text: 10.1093/wbro/lkm001

#### 68. The Impact of Africa-China Trade Openness on TechnologyTransfer and Economic Growth for Africa: A Dynamic Panel Data Approach Dinkneh Gebre Borojo; Yushi Jiang

Annals of Economics and Finance, Vol. 17, N° 2, 2016, p. 403–431

**Abstract**: Using two-step system GMM estimator we analyze the impact of Africa-China trade openness on TFP and economic growth for 38 African countries for the periods 1995-2013 after controlling for edogeneity. The findings of this study reveal that Africa-China trade openness has robust positive effecton GDP growth of African countries. When Africa-China trade openness is interacted with the institutional quality and human capital of Africa, its effecton TFP is positive and significant. Hence, it needs strong domestic absorptivecapacity of Africa to reap technology improvement effect of trade with China.These findings, therefore, provide evidence that Africa-China trade opennessis an important contributor of economic growth for Africa. **Full Text**: http://down.aefweb.net/AefArticles/aef170207Borojo.pdf

### 69. The Impact of Chinese Import Penetration on the South African Manufacturing Sector.

#### Lawrence Edwards & Rhys Jenkins

The Journal of Development Studies, 2015, p. 1-17

**Abstract**: This article uses a Chenery-type decomposition and econometric estimation to evaluate the impact of Chinese trade on production and employment in South African manufacturing from 1992 to 2010. The results suggest that increased import penetration from China caused South African manufacturing output to be 5 per

cent lower in 2010 than it otherwise would have been. The estimated reduction of total employment in manufacturing as a result of trade with China is larger - in 2010 about 8 per cent - because the declines in output were concentrated on labour-intensive industries and because the increase in imports raised labour productivity within industries.

Full Text: 10.1080/00220388.2014.983912

### 70. Impacts of Africa's Total and Commodity-Based Trade with China and OECD Countries

#### Nihal Bayraktar

Eurasian Journal of Economics and Finance, 2017

Abstract: This paper studies the changes in the pattern of Africas trade with China and OECD countries, and the impacts of these changes on sub-Saharan Africas economic growth. In the study, the country-level total exports and imports, as well as the commodity-based exports and imports are considered for 42 sub-Saharan African countries between 1980 and 2014. The results show that as the share of China in sub-Saharan Africas trade has significantly increased, a declining trend is observed for OECD countries, traditional trading partners. Despite changing trade links, the investigation of the commodity-based exports and imports indicate that the types of imported and exported commodities have not changed much for Africa. However, a strong link is observed between economic growth in SSA and its changing trade links from the OECD countries towards China at the total level as well as at the commodity level. The study concludes that there is an increase in the international competition for Africas commodities, and resulting in improvements in the terms of trade has led to higher income growth in the region.

Full Text: 10.15604/ejef.2017.05.01.007

# 71. Integrating the knowledge economy with the prestige economy: Towards establishing a Centre for Africa-China Research at the University of Botswana

#### Isaac Mazonde

Pula: Botswana Journal of African Studies, Vol. 29, Nº 1, 2015, p. 87-99

Abstract: The pace at which China's economy is growing and the influence the country is exerting across the world have disrupted the post Cold War economic order and are posing a threat to the position of the United States of America as the world's largest economy, and the only global superpower. Although still a developing country by Western standards, China has overtaken Japan as the world's second largest economy. China's eyes are now set on the USA, a country whose economy China may overtake in the next two decades. Although China's unprecedented economic growth and increased influence are a cause for concern, Africa may be particularly vulnerable to this expansionism because it has the economic space for China to occupy. In response, there has recently been a resurgence of interest from the USA as manifested in part through the New Partnership for African Development (NEPAD). The Africa-China Research Group (ACRG) at the University of Botswana, set up to conduct research on Africa -China relations, considers China's expansion more likely to continue than to reverse. The Group concludes that the best way to respond to this emerging socio-political change in the global landscape is to establish mutually beneficial academic relationships with China. This relationship can be facilitated by establishing research centres that focus on relationships between China and Africa. At the University of Botswana, such a centre would need to adopt a pan African perspective in order not to miss the inter-linkages between China and the rest of Africa. Hence, the ACRG's proposal for a Centre for Africa-China Research should be situated within the context of similar centres and institutes that have been established throughout the world with a focus on China's international relations. Such a centre, we propose, would involve various stakeholders such as scholars, university management and government policymakers, all of whom are the target readership of this paper. Cooperation is the sine qua non amongst members of the global community, but such cooperation is dependent upon the knowledge economy and a research centre at UB would facilitate the generation of knowledge

Full Text: http://journals.ub.bw/index.php/pula/article/view/588

72. Is China Building Africa? *Zhengli HuangXiangming Chen The European Financial Review*, June - July 2016, p. 6-13 **Abstract**: In this article, the authors address the question "Is China Building Africa?" by examining the true nature of China's infrastructure development projects in Africa, and how the different players involved interact with each other.

Full Text: https://digitalrepository.trincoll.edu/cgi/viewcontent.cgi?article=1161&context=facpub

### 73. Kenya and the 21st Century Maritime Silk Road: Implications for China-Africa Relations

*Muhammad Sabil Farooq; Tongkai Yuan; Jiangang Zhu; Nazia Feroze China Quarterly of International Strategic Studies*, Vol. 04, N° 03, 2018, p. 401-418

**Abstract**: China remains Africa's largest financier of infrastructure, and the Belt and Road Forum held in May 2017 estimated pledge of funds of about US\$40 billion. Reportedly, projects worth much more than the pledged funds are in the planning or have been underway, making the "Belt and Road Initiative (BRI)" the biggest development initiative in history. China and Africa need each other in development, and the Asian giant continues to make inroads into Africa, home to minerals, oil, and other resources that help feed China's phenomenal economic growth. This article intends to discuss the "21st Century Maritime Silk Road (MSR)" under the BRI and its socioeconomic and cultural impact on China-Africa relations, with an emphasis on China's relationship with Kenya, a founding member of the East Africa community (EAC) that has enjoyed lasting friendship with China. It is concluded that despite the generally positive impact of Chinese economic presence in Africa over the past decades, both China and African countries have much to do to consolidate their mutually beneficial relationship and to achieve the MSR's target of common prosperity in the long run. **Full Text**: https://www.worldscientific.com/doi/pdf/10.1142/S2377740018500136

# 74. L'aide chinoise à l'Afrique: origines, modalités et enjeux *Jean-Raphaël Chaponnière*

L'Economie politique, N° 38, 2008, avril-mai-juin 2008, p. 7-28

**Introduction** : Depuis le début de la décennie 2000, la Chine est l'un des moteurs de l'économie mondiale ; en tirant les cours à la hausse, son appétit pour les matières premières a contribué à l'accélération de la croissance africaine [Goldstein, Pinaud, Reisen et Chen, 2006 ; Broadman, 2006]. Entre 2000 et 2007, la multiplication par sept du commerce sino-africain – de 10 à 70 milliards de dollars – classe la Chine au premier rang des fournisseurs du continent et au second rang de ses partenaires commerciaux derrière les Etats-Unis. Cette progression spectaculaire a arrêté le processus de marginalisation de l'Afrique dans le commerce mondial qui avait débuté en 1980. L'Afrique est certes un partenaire modeste de la Chine, mais elle pèse davantage dans

le commerce extérieur chinois (3,5 %) [2] que dans le commerce mondial. Si les échanges entre la Chine et l'Afrique relèvent du Sud-Sud, leur structure s'apparente à un commerce Nord-Sud :

la Chine importe des ressources naturelles (pétrole et minerais) et exporte des produits manufacturés. Les excédents des pays pétroliers (Guinée, Angola, Nigeria, Soudan) étant supérieurs aux déficits des 41 pays non pétroliers (sources chinoises), les échanges sino-africains dégagent un surplus pour l'Afrique. **Full Text**: https://www.cairn.info/revue-l-economie-politique-2008-2-page-7.htm

### 75. Learning from the Chinese Miracle: Development Lessons for Sub-Saharan Africa

Ali Zafar

World Bank, 2010. (Policy Research working paper ; no. WPS 5216).

**Abstract** : A notable contrast in modern economic history has been the rapid economic growth of China and the slower and volatile economic growth in Sub-Saharan Africa. As the engagement between the two continues to grows, there will be a greater cross-fertilization of experiences. Total factor productivity comparisons suggest that capital accumulation in China coupled with more efficient factor usage explains the differential with Africa. Although the two have similar populations and patterns of inequality, their growth trajectories have been divergent. What can Africa learn from China ? Although the lessons vary depending on country location and resource endowment, seven basic lessons are visible. First, the political economy of Chinese reforms and the shared gains between political elites and the private sector can be partially transplanted to the African context. Second, the Chinese used diaspora capital and knowledge in the early reform years. Third, rural reforms in China

helped accelerate economic takeoff through a restructuring of property rights and a boost to both savings rates and output. Fourth, Chinese growth has taken place in the context of a competitive exchange rate. Five, port governance in China has been exemplary, and African landlocked economies can benefit significantly from port reform in the coastal countries. Six, China has experimented with a degree of decentralization that could yield benefits for many Sub-Saharan African countries. Seventh, Africa can learn from China s policies toward autonomous areas and ethnic minorities to stave off conflict. Africa can learn from China s experiences and conduct developmental experiments for poverty alleviation goals.

Full Text : https://openknowledge.worldbank.org/handle/10986/3702

### 76. Mining and Economic Development: Did China's WTO Accession Affect African Local Economic Development?

Tony Addison; Amadou Boly; Anthony Mveyange

Washington: World Bank, 2016. – 38 p.

Abstract: This paper investigates China's influence on local economic development in 37 African countries between 1997 and 2007. The analysis compares the average changes in economic growth, migration, spatial inequality, and welfare for mineral-rich districts, pre- and post-accession, to the corresponding changes in districts without any mineral endowment. Using this exogenous variation, the paper shows that over 2002-07, mining activities in response to the global commodity price boom increased welfare as measured by spatial Sen Index but were insignificant for local economic growth, migration, and spatial inequality. The findings suggest that policy needs to do more to improve the local benefits of positive external shocks (such as China's World Trade Organization accession): it is not enough to assume, given Africa's high spatial inequality, that local economies will automatically benefit from higher national growth.

Full Text: https://www.econstor.eu/bitstream/10419/161524/1/875008127.pdf

### 77. Negotiating China: Reinserting African agency into China–Africa relations *Giles Mohan, Ben Lampert*

African Affairs, Volume 112, Issue 446, January 2013, p.92–110,

**Abstract:** Most analyses of China's renewed engagement with Africa treat China as the driving force, and little recognition is given to the role of African agency, especially beyond the level of state elites. This article investigates the extent of African agency in engagements with China and argues that at various levels African actors have negotiated, shaped, and even driven Chinese engagements in important ways. Suggesting a theoretical framework that captures agency both within and beyond the state, the article provides an empirical analysis of African agency first by showing how elements of the Angolan state created a hybrid set of institutions to broker Chinese investment projects, and second by discussing how African social actors have influenced and derived benefits from the activities of Chinese migrants in Ghana and Nigeria. While both cases demonstrate African agency, the ability of African actors to exercise such agency is highly uneven, placing African politics at the heart of any understanding of China–Africa relations.

Full Text : https://academic.oup.com/afraf/article-pdf/112/446/92/28985/ads065.pdf ; https://doi.org/10.1093/afraf/ads065

### 78. New Dimensions of Growth and Development in Africa—China Cooperation. *Cyril Prinsloo*

Johannesburg : South African Institute of International Affairs, 2021. 12p. (Policy briefing ; 232)

Full Text : http://www.jstor.org/stable/resrep32548

#### 79. New Presence of China in Africa

Meine Pieter van Dijk

Amsterdam : Amsterdam University Press, 2009. - 225 p.

**Abstract**: This book describes China's growing range of activities in Africa, especially in the sub-Saharan region. The three most important instruments China has at its disposal in Africa are development aid, investments and trade policy. The Chinese government, which believes the Western development aid model has failed, is looking for new forms of aid and development in Africa. China's economic success can partly be

ascribed to the huge availability of cheap labour, which is primarily employed in export-oriented industries. China is looking for the required raw materials in Africa, and for new marketplaces. Investments are being made on a large scale in Africa by Chinese state-controlled firms and private companies, particularly in the oil-producing countries (Angola, Nigeria and Sudan) and countries rich in minerals (Zambia). Third, the trade policy China is conducting is analysed in China and compared with that of Europe and the United States. In case studies the specific situation in several African countries is examined. In Zambia the mining industry, construction and agriculture are described. One case study of Sudan deals with the political presence of China in Sudan and the extent to which Chinese arms suppliers contributed to the current crisis in Darfur. The possibility of Chinese diplomacy offering a solution in that conflict is discussed. The conclusion considers whether social responsibility can be expected of the Chinese government and companies and if this is desirable, and to what extent the Chinese model in Africa can act as an example - or not - for the West.

**Geographical qualifiers :** Asia; East Asia, Far East; China; Africa; Society & social sciences; Politics & government; Economics, finance, business & management; Business & management; Business strategy **Full Text** : http://www.oapen.org/search?identifier=340012

### **80. Old Bottle New Wine? The Evolution of China's Aid in Africa 1956–2014** *Pippa Morgan ; Yu Zheng* Third World Quarterly, 2019. – 49 p.

Abstract : China's aid is frequently portrayed as a challenger to established ODA norms, but it is unclear when the distinct "Chinese-model" of aid emerged and how it has evolved over time. Using new historical data on Chinese aid in Africa and the case of Ethiopia, we have three main findings. First, China developed a distinct model of mixing ODA-like aid and commercial forms of economic engagement only after the mid-1990s, reflecting institutional reforms for allocating and managing foreign official finance. Second, social sectors have played a much greater role in China's aid programme than is commonly perceived. Finally, Chinese aid to productive sectors has changed substantially whereas in social sectors it is relatively consistent. **Full Text** : https://papers.ssrn.com/sol3/papers.cfm?abstract\_id=3325060

### 81. Opportunities and Challenges Faced by the Trade Cooperation of China and Africa

*Xiaobin TANG, Shan MA & Li DONG Canadian Social Science*, Vol. 11, N° 5, 2015, p. 23-29

**Abstract**: This paper is based on the new normal background that the early days macroeconomic stimulation lead to the waste of manufacturability and hasted to find a new trade market, So we use the RCA Index proposed by Balassa in 1965 to compute the RCA Index and RMA Index of the mainly ten products of the export and import trade between China and Africa, Then specifies the competitive industries and the disadvantage industries in two countries, furthermore affirms the high growth potential trading products among the China and Africa. At the end of the paper, several opportunities and challenges are proposed according to the empirical results. **Full Text:** 10.3968/6959

### 82. La politique africaine de la Chine montante à l'ère de la nouvelle ruée vers l'Afrique.

#### Mamoudou Gazibo et Olivier Mbabia.

*Études internationales*, volume 41, numéro 4, décembre 2010, p. 521–546. **Full Text :** https://doi.org/10.7202/045561ar

### 83. The Past in the Present: Historical and Rhetorical Lineages in China's Relations with Africa

Julia Strauss The China Quarterly, N° 199, 2009, p. 777-795 **Abstract**: China's official rhetoric on its relations with Africa is important; it frames, legitimates and renders comprehensible its foreign policy in this ever-important area of the world. This article explores the following puzzle: why China's rhetoric on its involvement with Africa has retained substantial continuities with the Maoist past, when virtually every other aspect of Maoism has been officially repudiated. Despite the burgeoning layers of complexity in China's increasing involvement in Africa, a set of surprisingly long-lived principles of non-interference, mutuality, friendship, non-conditional aid and analogous suffering at the hands of imperialism from the early 1960s to the present continue to be propagated. Newer notions of complementarity and international division of labour are beginning to come in, but the older rhetoric still dominates official discourse, at least in part because it continues to appeal to domestic Chinese audiences.

Full Text: http://eprints.soas.ac.uk/9699/1/ChinasRelationsWithAfrica.pdf

#### 84. La politique culturelle de la République populaire de Chine en Afrique Subsaharienne francophone de la conférence de Bandung à 2015: soixante ans d'instrumentalisation de la culture

#### Laure Kemajou Nkouedje

Lyon: Université Lyon III Jean Moulin, 2017 *Thèse de Doctorat de L'université de Lyon* 

Abstract: Since the beginning of the twenty-first century, the People's Republic of China (PRC) has embarked in a spectacular charm offensive in Africa. This Chinese strategy is not new and falls within the legal framework established by the Bandung Final Declaration of 1955. Since then, and particularly since the establishing of FOCAC in 2000, the importance of Africa for the Global influence of the People's Republic of China has continued to grow, combining economic influence with cultural influence. Francophone sub-Saharan Africa is a good ground for studying this new Chinese strategy. This space frame allows us to see through the Confucius Institutes, the Chinese public media and the "traditional Chinese medicine (TCM)", the Chinese leaders intend to make every effort to preserve their economic interests in Africa and facilitate the integration of their businesses and diasporic communities. It should be noted that Africans are able to take advantage of this Chinese soft power. However, the relative integration of Chinese, the propagandist character of IC and the Chinese media, as well as the importation of labor by the Chinese companies' bases in Africa, contribute to tarnish the image of Popular China among African public opinion. In addition, this Chinese cultural breakthrough in francophone sub-Saharan Africa has had an endless impact on the cultural diplomacy of the historical partner, France, and also on Francophonie. As a result, it contributes to a redefinition of the balance of power and to the emergence of trilateral partnerships.

Résumé: Depuis le début du vingt-et-unième siècle, la République Populaire de Chine (RPC) est engagée dans une spectaculaire offensive de charme sur le continent africain. Cette stratégie chinoise n'est pas nouvelle et s'inscrit dans le cadre légal fixé par la Déclaration finale de la conférence de Bandung de 1955. Depuis cette date, et davantage depuis la création du FOCAC en 2000, l'importance de l'Afrique dans la quête d'influence globale de la Chine Populaire n'a cessé de croitre, alliant désormais influence économique et influence culturelle. L'Afrique subsaharienne francophone est un terrain propice à l'étude de cette nouvelle stratégie chinoise. Ce cadre spatial nous permet de constater qu'à travers les Instituts Confucius, les médias publics chinois et la médecine chinoise dite « traditionnelle » (MTC), les dirigeants chinois entendent tout mettre en œuvre afin de préserver leurs intérêts économiques en Afrique et faciliter l'intégration de leurs entreprises et communautés diasporiques. Précisons tout de même qu'à travers l'apprentissage du mandarin, les africains parviennent à tirer avantage de ce soft power chinois. Toutefois, la relative intégration des chinois, le caractère propagandiste des IC et médias chinois, ainsi que le recourt par les entreprises chinoises basées en Afrique à de l'importation de main d'œuvre, pratique encore en vigueur aujourd'hui, contribuent à ternir l'image de la Chine Populaire auprès des opinions publiques africaines. En outre, cette percée culturelle chinoise en Afrique subsaharienne francophone a eu un impact notoire sur la diplomatie culturelle du partenaire historique, la France, mais aussi sur la Francophonie. De ce fait, elle contribue à une redéfinition des rapports de forces et a induit l'émergence de partenariats trilatéraux.

Full Text: https://scd-resnum.univ-lyon3.fr/out/theses/2017\_out\_kemajou\_ponthus\_l.pdf

# **85.** Private Chinese Investment in Africa: Myths and Realities *Xiaofang Shen*

Washington: World Bank, 2013. – 49 p. (Policy Research Working Paper; no. 6311)

**Abstract**: Private Chinese outbound investment, not as well-known as government-led investment, offers special opportunities and challenges for Africa today. The significance of Chinese private-sector investment is already visible in the burgeoning manufacturing sector in some parts of Africa, and the trend will continue to grow in the near future. The underlying force behind this trend is the increased pressure of industrial restructuring in coastal China, a force that drives some labor-intensive firms to relocate to other parts of the developing world, including Africa. African host country governments can respond to this phenomenon with proactive development policies and strategies to maximize private Chinese investment for the benefit of their own economies. **Full Text**: https://openknowledge.worldbank.org/handle/10986/12174

#### **86. Régimes de change et commerce Chine-Afrique** *Sylviane Guillaumont Jeanneney ; Ping Hua Revue économique*, Vol. 64, N° 3, 2013, p. 469-482

Abstract : Cet article étudie l'influence des régimes de change sur la croissance spectaculaire du commerce entre la Chine et l'Afrique au sud du Sahara. Un modèle de gravité augmenté des taux de change réels montre que les exportations de biens manufacturés de la Chine sont stimulées par la dépréciation réelle du renminbi à l'égard de nombreuses monnaies africaines, alors que ses importations de produits primaires y sont insensibles. Ainsi la concurrence chinoise risque d'handicaper le développement de l'industrie africaine dans les pays qui connaissent une appréciation réelle de leur monnaie vis-à-vis du renminbi, soit du fait du rattachement de celle-ci à l'euro, soit du fait de l'ampleur de leurs exportations de produits primaires, elles-mêmes stimulées par la demande chinoise.

Full Text: https://www.cairn.info/revue-economique-2013-3-page-469.htm

# 87. Relationship between China's Economic Growth and South Africa's Exports to China

#### *Bella Angomoko; Malefa Malefane Acta Universitatis Danubius. Œconomica*, Vol 14, N°1, 2018, p. 112 - 124

Abstract: The rapid growth of China's economy has increased China's demand for imports required to meet the increased demand for raw materials in its industries. In 2006, China became the largest export destination for South Africa. This paper seeks to examine the relationship between China's economic growth and South Africa's exports to China. The paper aims to find out whether there is any significant relationship between China's economic growth and South Africa's economic growth and South Africa's exports to China. Using an import demand function for China, we employ an ARDL framework to analyze the research problem based on quarterly data covering the period 1992 to 2015. We find no evidence that there is a significant relationship between China's economic growth and South Africa's exports to China. However, the results do show that there is a positive long-run relationship between South Africa's export prices indicates lack of price sensitivity in terms of South Africa's exports to China. Based on the results, we recommend that South Africa should find ways to enable its exports sector to benefit more from the high economic growth in China. Among other ways, this could be achieved through negotiating a free trade agreement (FTA) between South Africa and China.

Full Text: http://journals.univ-danubius.ro/index.php/oeconomica/article/view/4368/4400

# 88. Reviewing China and Africa: Old interests, new trends – or new interests, old trends?

*Henning Melber Development Southern Africa*, 2013. – 21 p.

**Abstract**: Africa was for a long time considered to be Europe's backyard. This situation since the turn of the century has changed considerably. With new actors pursuing their own economic interests, mainly representing the growing influence of so-called emerging economies, new multipolar realities have arrived on the continent. Access to and control over natural resources has entered a new stage of competition among external actors and in their interaction with local elites. Africa has changed as an arena, and realities are increasingly shaped by Chinese influence too. This overview on recent contributions to the debate summarises the current assessments of the degree, impact and effects of the Chinese economic expansion. It then reflects on the potential new scope

for cooperation and development and ends with some conclusions on the possible options and opportunities this might offer.

#### Full Text :

https://repository.up.ac.za/bitstream/handle/2263/32363/Melber\_Reviewing%282013%29.pdf?sequence=1

#### 89. The Role of Africa in the New Maritime Silk Road

#### Diego Pautasso

Revista Brasileira de Estudos Africanos, Vol. 1, Nº 2, 2016, p. 118-130

**Abstract** : The purpose of this paper is to analyze Africa's role in the construction of the New Maritime Silk Road. This is just one of the vectors of the ambitious Chinese integration project in Asia, Europe and Africa, launched in 2013 under the title OBOR Initiative (One Belt, One Road). By overcoming the challenges of national reconstruction, China is becoming more assertive and shaping its global integration strategy. In this sense, the New Silk Road aggregates the main objectives of China's diplomacy in the twenty-first century, elevating Africa to a springboard condition in order for the project to become global. [Journal abstract].

 $\label{eq:source_hybrid} \begin{array}{l} \mbox{Full Text}: \mbox{https://www.google.com/search?hl=fr&source=hp&ei=UYjhXOGpDJCmaK-ct-AC&q=The+Role+of+Africa+in+the+New+Maritime+Silk+Road&oq=The+Role+of+Africa+in+the+New+Maritime+Silk+Road&gs_l=psy-ab.12..35i39.58982.64384..65949...3.0..0.226.1021.0j5j1.....0....2j1..gws-wiz.....6.-UZRoLxTSIo \\ \end{array}$ 

# 90. The Role of Chinese Corporate Players in China's South China Sea Policy *Xue Gong*

Contemporary Southeast Asia, Vol. 40, N° 2, August 2018, p. 301-326

**Abstract** : The growing pluralization of Chinese society has made China's foreign policy decision-making more complicated. As a result, traditional state-centric approaches to analysing China's foreign relations may no longer be adequate. A nuanced understanding requires attention to new actors in the formulation and conduct of the country's foreign affairs, including central state-owned enterprises (CSOEs). This article explores the increasingly important role played by Chinese CSOEs in Beijing's policy towards the South China Sea. It hypothesizes that although CSOEs are employed by the state as policy tools, they fulfil different roles in Beijing's South China Sea policy. Some CSOEs mobilize resources to influence state policy; some CSOEs proactively take advantage of state policy when opportunities arise; while other CSOEs are mostly policy takers. In the case of the last category, it is interesting to note that their activities are not just a demonstration of political subjugation to the state ; they also combine state-directed political tasks with efforts to seek market opportunities. This article employs three case studies — tourism, energy extraction and infrastructure — to demonstrate how the roles of Chinese business actors vary in China's South China Sea policy. **Full Text** :

 $\label{eq:https://www.google.com/search?hl=fr&source=hp&ei=fV3hXPu6B5C0aYHzv9gL&q=The+Role+of+Africa+in+the+New+Maritime+Silk+Road&oq=The+Role+of+Africa+in+the+New+Maritime+Silk+Road&gs_l=psy-ab.12..35i39.3555.3555.6161...0.0..1.444.899.2-2j0j1.....0...2j1..gws-wiz.....6.DCpIM2b6MvM$ 

# 91. Securing the way to power: China's rise and its normative peace and security agenda in Africa

#### Ilaria Carrozza

#### London: LES, 2018

A thesis submitted to the Department International Relations of the London School of Economics and Political Science (LSE) for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy,

Abstract : China's role as a global security actor has increased dramatically over the last decade and the country is now projecting its power and promoting its agenda well beyond Asia. In particular, peace and security have come to be at the centre of China's Africa strategy and are now a major factor affecting not only China's relations with African countries, but also its global image. Studying China through its engagement with the continent's security regime allows us to see the global actor the PRC is becoming.\ud In order to obtain a more nuanced understanding of the topic, I advance an argument that is both theoretical and empirical. Theoretically, I argue that the concept of normative power, understood as the power to shape the 'normal' in international affairs, gives us insights into China's preferred norms and practices and into the mechanisms through which it is

promoting its vision of world order.\ud Empirically, I claim that not only is China being socialised into the international system, but it also contributes to shaping it. Its norms-making attempts become more evident if we look at its engagement with Africa's security environment. I thus make two related claims. First, China increasingly acts as a security norms-shaper in the continent thanks to a stable discourse articulating China and African countries as fellow members of the Global South. Second, as China-Africa security cooperation develops mostly through multilateral institutions, I argue that its normative power potential varies depending on the contingent institution.\ud After mapping China's Africa discourse on security across the Forum on China-Africa Cooperation, the African Union, and the United Nations Security Council in the period 2000-2018, I argue that it is especially through creating dedicated forums responding to its interests and priorities, that China is becoming a normative power

Full Text : http://etheses.lse.ac.uk/3869/1/Carrozza\_securing-the-way-to-power.pdf

#### 92. Sino-African Relations and the Problem of Human Rights

#### Ian Taylor

African Affairs, Volume 107, Issue 426, January 2008, p. 63-87

Abstract : China's political and economic activities in Africa are increasing at an exponential rate. Equally, they are attracting criticism, chiefly over Beijing's no-strings-attached stance on human rights and governance. It is clear that many African states that enjoy Chinese support not only trample on civil and political rights (as per Western ideas of human rights), but also subvert their citizens' economic and social rights (as per China's discourse on human rights). If whilst adhering to the principle of non-interference, Chinese activities actually make things worse for some in Africa, then Beijing's argument that basic socio-economic rights are more important for the poor than abstract political rights is potentially problematic. This is because there is a danger that Beijing's engagement in Africa might be exploited by autocrats on the continent for their own, well-understood, reasons. Doing no harm, rather than a studied disinterest, needs to be part of China's overall African policy, something that Beijing is bound to recognize.

**Full Text** : https://academic.oup.com/afraf/article-pdf/107/426/63/110378/adm056.pdf ; https://doi.org/10.1093/afraf/adm056 ;

# **93.** Les stratégies chinoises en Afrique: du pétrole aux bassines en plastique *Antoine Kernen*

Politique africaine, N° 105, 2007, p. 163-180

**Résumé** : Cet article aborde la question du renforcement des liens économiques et politiques entre la Chine et l'Afrique. Il tente de prendre le contre-pied d'une littérature dominée par des internationalistes, qui posent une approche très classique des relations internationales, centrée exclusivement sur les relations interétatiques.

On propose ici d'élargir la perception « des stratégies chinoises en Afrique » en s'intéressant au développement de multiples réseaux commerciaux nourris par la croissance économique chinoise et donnant naissance à d'innombrables activités commerciales de dimensions très diverses. Les acteurs qui y participent bénéficient, pour les plus importants d'entre eux, d'un certain soutien de l'État, mais à l'évidence leurs actions ne s'inscrivent pas dans la stratégie gouvernementale chinoise à l'égard de l'Afrique.

Full Text: https://www.cairn.info/revue-politique-africaine-2007-1-page-163.htm

# 94. Les stratégies des entreprises chinoises en Afrique: quels objectifs, quelle coopération?

#### Fodé Siré Diaby

Nice: Universite de Nice Sophia Antipolis, 2014. – 312 p. *Thèse en vue de l'obtention du titre de Doctorat Sciences Économiques* 

**Résumé**: Au cours de ces trois dernières décennies l'économie chinoise a multiplié son PIB par 15. Pour soutenir une forte croissance interne et assurer ses approvisionnements en matière première et énergétique, la Chine s'est tournée vers l'Afrique en y augmentant rapidement et fortement ses investissements directs étrangers lors des dix dernières années. Deuxième partenaire commercial africain, investisseur stratégique, allié au développement et pourvoyeur financier, ce pays bouleverse les rapports de force qui s'étaient instaurés depuis les indépendances sur le continent. L'objet de ce travail est d'évaluer l'impact des IDE chinois sur le taux de

croissance de 38 pays africains partenaire de la Chine entre 2003 et 2011. Nous avons articulé notre réflexion sur la question suivante: la coopération sino-africaine permet-elle aux pays africains de lutter contre la pauvreté, le chômage dans leur pays et surtout d'entamer un véritable processus de développement économique? Pour répondre, nous avons analysé le mode de croissance chinois, les fondements de la politique africaine de la Chine, les raisons qui poussent les entreprises chinoises à aller investir en Afrique, les impacts politiques et économiques de la Chine en Afrique et enfin nous avons réalisé une étude empirique mesurant les effets des IDE chinois en Afrique. Nos résultats économétriques montrent que les IDE chinois n'ont pas d'effet significatif sur le PIB par tête de ces 38 pays africains, notamment à cause de la politique des entreprises chinoises en Afrique qui encourage les investissements dans les secteurs qui créent moins d'emploi local et qui ne permettent pas de vrai transfert de technologie.

Full Text: https://tel.archives-ouvertes.fr/tel-01086483/document

#### 95. Russia and China in Africa: Prospective Partners or Asymmetric Rivals? Samuel Ramani.

South African Institute of International Affairs, 2021.

Abstract : Since 2000, China and Russia have established their standing as resurgent great powers in Africa. The expansion of China's influence in Africa has been undergirded by its economic might. This has been exemplified by the proliferation of the Belt and Road Initiative (BRI) across Africa and Beijing's lead role in facilitating connectivity projects across the continent. Although China's trade and investments in African countries have furthered socioeconomic development, concerns have grown about their impact on the competitiveness of local industries and their potential to erode the sovereignty of countries in sub-Saharan Africa. Russia's resurgence in Africa appears opportunistic, as Moscow has capitalised on state fragility and protracted conflicts... Full Text : http://www.jstor.org/stable/resrep38659.

#### 96. Teaching Chinese as a Foreign Language in Higher Education in China and South Africa: Lecturers' views

#### Yuhua Wang; Eleanor Lemmer

Per Linguam: A Journal of Language Learning, Vol.31, N° 2, 2015, p.35-52

Abstract: As demand for knowledge of the Chinese language has increased, so too have the teaching and learning of Chinese worldwide. This article presents the findings arising from a questionnaire administered to lecturers teaching Chinese as Foreign Language (CFL) in universities in both China and South Africa. CFL programmes offered by universities in China are a popular choice among foreign students who wish to learn Chinese. In addition, the increase in CFL programmes offered by universities in South Africa reflects a growing interest in the Chinese language among South African nationals. The purpose of the questionnaire was to find the differences and similarities between teaching CFL in China and in South Africa, as seen from the lecturers' perspective. It details the research method that was followed and it presents its main findings in tables. The findings consist of a biographical profile, institutional factors, aspects concerning students, teaching methods, and curriculums. The possible reasons for differences and similarities between the two countries are explained. Identifier

Full Text: http://perlinguam.journals.ac.za/pub/article/view/608

#### 97. The EU and China in African Authoritarian Regimes: Domestic Politics and **Governance Reforms**

#### Christine Hackenesch

Palgrave Macmillan Grant: Deutsche Institut für Entwicklungspolitik (DIE), 2018. – 261 p. ISBN: 9783319635903; 9783319635910

Introduction: About 25 years after Francis Fukuyama proclaimed the 'end of history', ideological and strategic competition between democracies and autocracies has firmly reentered international relations. The rise of China has fuelled debates about the economic performance of authoritarian regimes compared with democratic ones (Zhao 2010; Acemoglu and Robinson 2012). Questions about the attractiveness of alternative development models have gained prominence, not least with the economic and financial crises that hit the European Union (EU) but left China largely unaffected. In addition, several observers have identified a pushback across the developing world against EU and USA good governance support, which is at least partly driven by the rise of China and other authoritarian powers (Puddington 2008; Carothers and Brechenmacher 2014). One prominent aspect in these discussions is the question of whether and how China's engagement in Africa affects the EU's attempts to support governance reforms in African countries. Some argue that China's economic cooperation 'with no strings attached' undermines the EU and other Western actors' efforts to support human rights and democratic structures (Halper 2010). Others point out that for the EU and other Western actors security, economic or aid policy interests often trump efforts to support political reforms (Olsen 1998; Brown 2005; Brüne 2007; Jünemann and Knodt 2007) ...

Full Text: https://link.springer.com/content/pdf/10.1007%2F978-3-319-63591-0.pdf

# **98.** Towards a Common African Policy on China - Prospects, Politics and Challenges.

#### Tembe, Paul, Arina Muresan, and Kenny Dlamini.

*In : China – Africa : High Time for a Common Integrated African Policy on China*. Edited by Philani Mthembu and Faith Mabera. Institute for Global Dialogue, 2017, p. 3-6

Full Text : http://www.jstor.org/stable/resrep07746.5.

#### **99. UNDERWAY: Beijing's Strategy to Build China into a Maritime Great Power** *Liza Tobin*

Naval War College Review, Vol. 71, Nº 2, Spring 2018, p. 16-48

**Introduction** : Strategists and onlookers seeking to anticipate China's next moves in the South China Sea (SCS) often have focused on aspects of the problem that are near term, security-centric, and geographically specific—such as whether and when China will seize or deploy military platforms on disputed features. These are important questions, but they are only pieces of a much bigger puzzle. Authoritative Chinese documents make clear that China's activity in the SCS, East China Sea, and Indian Ocean and elsewhere in the maritime realm is part of a larger strategy to build China into a "maritime great power" (MGP)—an end state that Chinese leaders define in the broadest possible terms and view as an essential component of their overall strategy to achieve national rejuvenation...

Full Text: https://digital-commons.usnwc.edu/cgi/viewcontent.cgi?article=1734&context=nwc-review

## 100. US, Russia, China and Africa in the Evolving Global Order *David Monvae*

Changing Societies and Personalities, Vol. 2, N° 4, 2018, p. 351 - 365

**Abstract**: The relations of US, Russia, China and the African continent have evolved since the end of the Second World War (WWII). While the US, Russia and China were not colonial powers in Africa, their interactions between and among themselves had little to do with Africa emerging from the bondage of colonialism. With the rise of the Cold War, Africa became a space of great interest to these countries as they compete for influence in different spheres big power politics. Throughout the Cold War, Africa's importance become significant as a source of vital resources and player within the institutions of global political and economic governance such as the United Nations. At the end of the Cold War in 1990s, the big took a different phase. The interactions of these countries with Africa declined drastically with expectation the US's humanitarian engagement. Russia and China withdrew support to Africa as they both abandoned an ideological driven and hegemonic foreign policy in Africa in the post-Cold War era. However, the rise of China and the resurgence of Russia is gradually bringing back rivalries between and among the big, three powers in Africa. Previously viewed as an insignificant continent, Africa is increasingly occupying an important role as a critical partner in development, conflict resolution, peace and security.

Full Text: https://changing-sp.com/ojs/index.php/csp/article/view/55/52

# **101.** What are the Prospects of China signing FTAs in Africa? *Thompson Oke Ayodele*

*Thesis* Submitted in Partial Fulfillment of the Requirements for the Degree of Master of International Studies (International Development Stream) Prince George: University of Northern British Columbia, April 2017. – 122 p.

Abstract: China's emergence as a global power is raising interest globally. This includes a rise in trade relations with Africa over the last two decades. China's relations with Africa have undergone several changes since the onset of modern China-Africa relations in 1955. In the current phase, relations have been marked by increasing economic interdependence. During the same period, China has signed Free Trade Agreements (FTAs) with many countries in different continents and African countries have also embarked on their own FTAs. However, no FTAs have yet been signed between China and any country in Africa. This thesis examines the question: What are the Prospects of China Signing FTAs in Africa? This thesis documents the growth of China-Africa trade over the last two decades, analyses the reasons why China signs FTAs, and assesses whether three African countries, Nigeria, South Africa and Sudan meet the criteria for China's FTA partners. The thesis finds that there is a slim chance that China will sign FTAs with any of these three African countries in the near term, because African countries are at the fringe of China's foreign policy. African issues are rarely discussed at the highest decision-making authority in China, and China's FTAs with African countries may have impacts on the latter's manufacturing sectors. Over the medium-longer term, South Africa is probably the most likely candidate of the three countries for a FTA with China.

Full Text: https://core.ac.uk/download/pdf/84875228.pdf

#### 102. Why is China Investing in Africa? Evidence from the Firm Level Wenjie Chen; David Dollar; Heiwai Tang

Munich: Center for Economic Studies and Ifo Institute (CESifo), 2016. - 44 p.

Abstract: China's increased trade with and investment in Africa have boosted the continent's economic growth but have also generated considerable controversy. In this paper we investigate China's outward direct investment ODI in Africa using macro and micro data. The aggregate data on China's ODI in African countries reveal that China's share of the stock of foreign investment is small, though growing rapidly. China's attraction to resourcerich countries is no different from Western investment. China's overall ODI is uncorrelated with a measure of rule of law, whereas Western investment favors the better governance environments. As a result, Chinese investment in strong and weak governance environments is about the same, but its share of foreign investment is higher in the weak governance states. The micro data that we use is MOFCOM's database on all registered Chinese firms investing in Africa between 1998 and 2012. We use key words in project descriptions to code the investments into 25 sectors. This database captures the small and medium private firms investing in Africa. Contrary to common perceptions, there are few projects in natural resource sectors. Most projects are in services, with a significant number in manufacturing as well. In our country-sector-level regressions based on firms' transaction-level data, we find that Chinese ODI, both horizontal and vertical, is profit-driven, just like investors from other countries. In particular, our regressions show that Chinese ODI is relatively more concentrated in skill-intensive sectors in skill-abundant countries, but in capital-intensive sectors in capital-scarce countries. These patterns are mostly observed in politically unstable countries, suggesting stronger incentives to seek profits in tougher environments. The predominance of Chinese ODI in services appears to be widespread across host countries, independent of host countries' market size and trade costs, but is negatively correlated with their skill abundance.

Full Text: https://www.econstor.eu/bitstream/10419/144975/1/cesifo1\_wp5940.pdf

#### **III. OTHER PUBLICATIONS / AUTRES PUBLICATIONS**

#### 1. African Perspectives of China in Africa

#### F. Manji, S. Marks (eds)

Fahamu – Networks for Social Justice Cape Town, Nairobi and Oxford, x - 188 p. ISBN-10 0-9545637-3-5 ; ISBN-13 978-0-9545637-3-8

**Description** : China in Africa : solidarity or exploitation ? China's involvement in Africa has provoked much debate and discussion. Is China just the latest in a line of exploiters of Africa's rich natural resources who put their own economic interests above humanitarian, environmental or human rights concerns ?

Or is China's engagement an extension of 'South–South solidarity' ? Does China's involvement enable African countries to free themselves from the tyranny of debt and conditionality that, through two decades of structural adjustment programmes, have reversed most of the gains of independence ? Or is Africa swapping one tyranny for another ?

Looking beyond the West's interests : Much of the commentary on China in Africa focuses either on assessing how Western capital's interest might be affected, or on denouncing China for practices that have for centuries been the norm for US and European powers – support for dictators, callous destruction of the environment, exploitation of minerals, and complete disregard for human rights.

Independent African perspectives : Lost in that noisy debate has been the voice of independent African analysts and activists. They are heard in this unique collection of essays from the prize-winning weekly electronic newsletter, Pambazuka News. As these articles demonstrate, there is no single 'African view' about China in Africa, but the authors are united by their concern for, and commitment to, social justice for Africa's people.

The contributors include Ali Askouri, Horace Campbell, Michelle Chan-Fishel, Moreblessings Chidaushe, John Blessing Karumbidza, Daniel Large, Anabela Lemos, Firoze Manji, Stephen Marks, Ndubisi Obiorah, Kwesi Kwaa Prah, Daniel Ribeiro and John Rocha.

#### 2. African Perspectives on China–Africa Links

#### Barry Sautman, Yan Hairong

The China Quarterly, Special Issue, New Serie, Sptember 2009, p. 728-759

### 3. Belt and road initiative: alternative development path for Africa *Thokozani Simelane*; *Lavheselani Rodney Managa*

Pretoria : Africa Institute of South Africa, 2018. – 164 p. ISBN: 0798305266 ; ISBN: 9780798305266

Abstract : China's emphasis on infrastructure development has received support from African leaders. Its focus on infrastructure development in Africa was endorsed by the signing of a Memorandum of Understanding between China and the African Union on 27 January 2015. The agreement outline plans for connecting African countries through transportation infrastructure projects, including modern highways, airports, and high speed railways. At the heart of Belt and Road Initiative lies the creation of an economic land belt that includes countries on the original Silk Road through Central Asia, the Middle East and Europe, as well as a maritime 'road' that links China's port facilities with the African coast, pushing up through the Suez Canal into the Mediterranean. China has from the outset emphasised that the Belt and Road Initiative will be developed within the framework of the five principles. These entails mutual respect for each other's territorial integrity and sovereignty; non-aggression; non-interference in each other's internal affairs; equality and mutual benefit; and peaceful coexistence.

# 4. China-Africa Relations: A Neo-Imperialism or a Neo-Colonialism? A Reflection. *Tukumbi Lumumba-Kasongo*

African and Asian Studies. 10, 2, 2011, p.234-266.

Abstract: Based on the intensity and the volume of financial and economic dimensions as it pertains to the relationship between China and various African countries since the end of the 1990s, the debate on these relations has just begun within a global context. The discussion on the nature of South-South relations, especially between a newly emerging industrial country, located in Asia, and the African countries, which represent the least industrialized area of the world, has more recently brought the subject of the unequal balance of power between the two regions under intellectual scrutiny.

Several intellectual debates on China-Africa relations have been mostly reactive in the sense that many analyses have focused on Africa's past relations with the Global North. The existing literature on these relations has, to a large extent, not sufficiently located the discourse within the existing dominant ideologies, namely neoimperialism and neo-liberalism. It is also important to localize these relations within the World Trade Organization's dogmas and practices, the United Nations Charter, and African Union Charter in order to assess whether or not they can be characterized as either neo-imperialist or neo-liberal. Furthermore, it is important to identify on which specific areas these economic relations have generally focused and in which specific African countries they have been dominant. How do the Chinese government and the Chinese Communist Party perceive and define them? How do the African Union and specific African public sectors? The main objective of this paper is, using the data and figures from Chinese sectoral investments and export-import of China and specific

African countries to make a critical evaluative analysis of these relations and determine if they are qualified to be called neo-imperialist or neo-liberal. The article is both an empirically-based analysis and a reflection. **DOI**: 10.1163/156921011X587040.

#### 5. China and Africa: Engagement and Compromise

Ian Taylor

London: Routledge, 2006. – 233 p. (Routledge Contemporary China Series)

**Abstract**: With China's rise to the status of world power, trade and political links between Africa and China have been escalating at an astonishing rate. Sino-African relations are set to become an increasingly significant feature of world politics as China's hunger for energy resources grows and many African countries seek a partner that, unlike the West, does not worry about democracy and transparency, or impose political conditions on economic relations.

Ian Taylor, one of the foremost authorities on the international relations and political economy of Africa, provides a comprehensive assessment of relations between China and Africa. He discusses the historical evolution of Sino-African relations in the period since the 1949 revolution, with particular emphasis on the period since the end of the Cultural Revolution. Considering in detail China's relations with Angola, Mozambique, Zimbabwe, Namibia, Zambia, South Africa, Botswana, Lesotho, Swaziland and Malawi, Taylor demonstrates how China has used the rhetoric of anti-hegemonies to secure and promote its position in the Third World.

Taylor gives an engaging account of the hitherto under-researched topic of relations between China and Africa, a phenomenon of growing importance in contemporary international politics.

Source : https://www.amazon.co.uk/China-Africa-Engagement-Compromise-Contemporary/dp/0415397405 Codesria Library [01.02.01/TAY/17049]

# 6. China and Africa: Emerging Patterns in Globalization and Development *Julia C. Strauss ; Martha Saavedra, eds.*

Cambridge : Cambridge University Press, 2009. – 251 p.

**Abstract**: Covering a range of African countries from Equatorial Guinea to Tanzania, this volume adds to a growing literature on the emerging relationship between China and Africa, presenting work that is based on primary research. It includes articles on a wide range of subjects, including China's energy policy, labour relations, trade networks and cultural perceptions. The various essays chart the rise of a multiplicity of different actors in the relationship, emerging patterns of globalization and development, and rhetoric and representation. **Source**: Codesria Library: [01.02.01/STR/17048]

#### 7. China and Africa: Whose Challenge and Whose Opportunity? Maxi Schoeman

Africa Spectrum, Vol. 43, N° 3, 2008, p. 403-413

**Topics**: Balance of trade, Economic crises, Imports, Financial investments, Superpowers, International relations, Natural resources, Economic development, Collaboration, Governance

#### 8. China and Mozambique: from comrades to capitalists

#### Chris Alden; Sérgio Chichava; eds.

Auckland Park, South Africa: Jacana Media, 2014. xviii-220 p. ISBN: 9781920196943.

Abstract: The wide range of reactions to greater Chinese involvement across Africa has varied from enthusiastic embrace by elites to caution from businesses, trade unions and civil society, and even hostility from some local communities. As a once-modest presence in Africa, China has rapidly grown to become one of Africa's top trading partners. Two-way trade surged from just over US\$10 billion in 2000 to US\$220 billion in 2012. The book China and Mozambique: From Comrades to Capitalists moves beyond the conventions of general surveys on China-Africa relations to explore real content and experiences of China's relationship with Mozambique. A fuller sense of bilateral relations is offered through the focus on this emblematic case; it drills down into the heart of a relationship whose growing depth and complexity exposes key themes that will affect Africa's future development.

Source: https://saiia.org.za/research/china-and-mozambique-from-comrades-to-capitalists/

Codesria Library [01.02.01/ALD/16777]

#### 9. China and the coups: coping with political instability in Africa

Jonathan Holslag

African Affairs, Volume 110, Issue 440, July 2011, Pages 367–386,

**Abstract**: However destabilizing illegitimate regime changes are for Africa, they have not caused China to change its policies. Examining five coups that occurred in Africa between 2003 and 2010, this article argues that China did not see the coups as major threats to its interests, but accepted instability as a part of doing business in Africa. China remained sceptical of democracy as an antidote to instability and deeply distrusted the effort of Western countries to promote liberal political standards. China therefore continued to display conservative self-restraint, a preference for unilateralism, and a pragmatic mercantilist policy intended to strengthen its economic presence. If China is guided by any strategy, it is the strategy of adapting to political realities, rather than trying to shape them.

Source: https://doi.org/10.1093/afraf/adr022

#### 10. China and Portuguese Speaking Africa: Business Approaches and Management Models in China, Mozambique and Cape Verde

Nelson Santos Antonio; Virginia Trigo; Anota Spring; Catherine de la Robertie; Jacky Hong; Joao Feijo

Lisbon: Ediçoes Silabo, 2011. – 157 p.

#### 11. China in Africa: Mercantilist Predator, or Partner in Development?

*Garth Le Pere* Midrand, Institute for Global Dialogue; Johannesburg: South African Institute of International Affairs, 2007. – 287 p. ISBN: 1-919697-96-9

Source: Codesria Library [01.02.01/LEP/17061]

#### 12. China in Africa

*Chris Alden* London: Zed Books; Cape Town: David Philip, 2007. – xi-157 p. ISBN : 978-1-84277-864-7

Abstract: Nowhere in the world is China's rapid rise to power more evident than in Africa. From multi-billion dollar investments in oil and minerals to the influx of thousands of merchants, laborers and cheap consumer goods, China's economic and political reach is redefining Africa's traditional ties with the international community. This book investigates the emerging relationship between China and Africa to determine whether this engagement will be that of a development partner, economic competitor or new hegemony. Alden argues that in order to understand Chinese involvement on the continent, we need to recognize the range of economic, diplomatic and security rationales behind Beijing's Africa policy as well as the response of African elites to China's entreaties. Only then can the new challenges and opportunities for Africa and the West be accurately assessed.

Source : https://www.amazon.com/China-Africa-Partner-Competitor-Arguments/dp/1842778641 Codesria Library [01.02.01/ALD/17053]

**13.** China returns to Africa: a rising power and a continent embrace *Christopher Alden, Daniel Large and Ricardo Soares de Oliveira, eds.* New York, USA : Columbia University Press, 2008. ISBN 9780231700986

**Abstract** : Chinese-African relations became an issue of increasing importance leading up to the 2006 China-Africa Summit in Beijing. Nevertheless, academics and policymakers have largely neglected China's expanding

relationship with Africa. Scholars have yet to explore the concrete ways in which Chinese actors operate in different parts of Africa, and developmental policy advisors have yet to take the political dynamics and implications of this involvement into consideration when forming policy. China Returns to Africa addresses key issues in contemporary Chinese-African relations, examining the impact of this relationship in issues of diplomacy, trade, and development. Beginning with the assertion that China is engaged in a "scramble for Africa" and that we are now on the brink of a "new Chinese imperialism," the essays in this volume transcend narrow, media-driven concerns and offer one of the first far-ranging surveys of the consequences of China's investment in Africa.

Source : http://eprints.lse.ac.uk/id/eprint/28168

#### 14. China Safari: On the Trail of Beijing's Expansion in Africa Serge Michel et Michel Beuret

New York : Nation Books, 2010. – xi-306 p.

Abstract: China has now taken Great Britain's place as Africa's third largest business partner. Where others only see chaos, the Chinese see opportunities. With no colonial past and no political preconditions, China is bringing investment and needed infrastructure to a continent that has been largely ignored by Western companies or nations.

Traveling from Beijing to Khartoum, Algiers to Brazzaville, the authors tell the story of China's economic ventures in Africa. What they find is tantamount to a geopolitical earthquake: The possibility that China will help Africa direct its own fate and finally bring light to the so-called "dark continent," making it a force to be reckoned with internationally.

Source : https://www.amazon.com/China-Safari-Beijings-Expansion-Africa/dp/1568586140

Codesria Library [01.02.01/MIC/17052

#### 15. China's engagement in Africa: scope, significance and consequences Tull, Denis M.

The Journal of Modern African Studies, 2006, vol. 44, no 3, p. 459-479.

Source : https://www.cambridge.org/core/services/aop-cambridge-

core/content/view/6DA61D9BA8AC2824143A40E93047D799/S0022278X06001856a.pdf/china-s-engagementin-africa-scope-significance-and-consequences.pdf

#### 16. China's Engagement in African Agriculture: "Down to the Countryside" Deborah A. Bräutigam, Tang Xiaoyang

The China Quarterly, Special Issue, New Serie, Sptember 2009, p. 686-706

#### 17. China's Sudan Engagement: Changing Northern and Southern Political **Trajectories in Peace and War**

#### Daniel Large

The China Quarterly, Special Issue, New Serie, Sptember 2009, p. 610-626

#### 18. Chine-Afrique: le dragon et l'autruche. Essai d'analyse de l'évolution contrastée des relations sino-africaines: sainte ou impie alliance du XXIème siècle?

Adama Gave

Paris : L'Harmattan, 2006. - 294 p.

Résumé : L'une étonne le monde ; l'autre le désole. La Chine, le dragon rugissant du 21ème siècle, et l'Afrique, l'autruche impuissante à affronter ses défis. Qu'est-ce qui a bien pu se passer pour que leurs sorts respectifs soient si différents ? Cet ouvrage, l'un des premiers sur le sujet, établit les causes de cette dissymétrie des destins sino-africains, en passant en revue leurs expériences au cours des 60 dernières années, mais aussi en analysant leurs ressorts politiques, économique et sociaux actuels.

Source : http://www.editions-harmattan.fr/index.asp?navig=catalogue&obj=livre&no=21456 *Codesria Library* : [01.02.01/GAY/14946]

#### **19. Chine-Afrique: facteur et résultante de la dynamique mondiale** *Chris Alden, Dan Large, Ricardo Soares de Oliveira Afrique contemporaine*, N° 228, 2008, p. 119-133

**Introduction** : L'essor des relations entre la Chine et l'Afrique constitue le plus grand bouleversement politicoéconomique du continent africain depuis la fin de la guerre froide. Ces relations se développent aujourd'hui dans un contexte sensiblement différent de celui des précédentes périodes d'engagement chinoises sur le continent africain, où l'économie joue un rôle décisif dans la dynamique de l'économie mondiale. L'intensité de l'engagement chinois vers l'Afrique est la résultante d'une dynamique économique et sociale intérieure à la Chine et d'une conjoncture internationale particulière (voir Alden, 2007 et Tull, 2006). Depuis 1978, la Chine connaît un développement économique majeur avec des taux de croissance annuelle de 9 %, poussé à la fois par des politiques économiques volontaristes 1, l'entreprenariat chinois, les investissements et transferts technologiques étrangers, mais aussi par une croissance de la demande globale en produits manufacturés vendus à bas prix. Ce développement économique reconfigure radicalement les relations de la Chine avec le continent africain – et de manière plus générale avec le reste du monde...

### **20.** La Chine dans vingt ans et le reste du monde: demain, tous chinois? *Pierre Picquart*

Lausanne : Favre, 2011. – 335 p. ISBN : 978-2-8289-1199-7

**Résumé** : Anticipons : nous sommes en 2031... Depuis dix ans, la Chine est le nunméro 1 mondial. Elle domine les principaux secteurs et les marchés : automobile, construction, industrie, agriculture, économie, énergies, transport, environnement, technologies, finances, tourisme, loisirs, recherche, conquête spatiale, informatique, télécoms, médias, culture, santé... Appuyée par le monde chinois et sa grande diaspora à elle seule de 100 millions de personnes dans le monde entier, la superpuissance s'est urbanisée, modernisée, et s'est quelque peu démocratisée, mais selon le « modèle chinois » et sa culture. La Chine investit aux quatre coins du monde. Ses réserves monétaires, sa puissance financière, technologique, militaire et diplomatique sont incomparables. Elle s'affirme, avec ses nombreuses et puissantes multinationales, comme le leader planétaire. Quelles seront les répercussions mondiales ? Prolongeant un lent déclin inexorable, les Etats-Unis sont en 2e position. L'Europe et la France, malgré les turbulences, résistent bien mieux que ce qui était prévu en 2011. Trois zones planétaires dominent et des nations ont émergé dont l'Inde et le Brésil. L'Empire du Milieu est devenu une société ultramoderne, un grand laboratoire technologique, social et environnemental qui marque le début d'une nouvelle ère. Va-t-on vers le dialogue ou un choc des titans ? Cet ouvrage n'est pas un livre futuriste ni de science-fiction. Il est le fruit de projections, d'analyses et de prospectives. Comprendre les enjeux de ce bouleversement garantit une adaptation réussie.

Source : https://www.decitre.fr/livres/la-chine-dans-vingt-ans-et-le-reste-du-monde-9782828911997.html Codesria Library [02.01.01/PIC/17059]

#### 21. Chine et Afrique, une longue histoire, une nouvelle donne géographique François Bart

*Les Cahiers d'Outre-Mer*, N° 253-254, 2011, p. 193-208.

**Résumé** : Les relations entre la Chine et le continent africain sont abordées dans le cadre d'une démarche de synthèse, inscrite dans l'histoire, privilégiant les aspects économiques, en particulier commerciaux. Il s'agit de rappeler l'ancienneté de certains liens, et surtout d'évoquer la véritable révolution géographique que représente pour l'Afrique l'irruption grandissante d'acteurs et de capitaux chinois, depuis que la Chine ne raisonne plus seulement par affinités idéologiques et politiques, mais d'abord par pragmatisme économique. L'augmentation considérable de ses besoins en énergie et en matières premières et sa volonté de s'affirmer comme puissance sur la scène mondiale sont devenues le moteur essentiel de sa politique vis-à-vis de l'Afrique.

#### 22. La Chine dans l'économie mondiale de 1300 à 2030 Angus Maddison

*Outre-Terre*, Vol. 2, N° 15, 2006, p. 89-104.

Introduction : À l'échelle mondiale, les performances de la Chine ont été exceptionnelles.

En 1300, l'économie chinoise était la première de la planète en termes de revenu par habitant. En matière de technologie, d'utilisation intensive des ressources naturelles, de capacité à administrer un vaste empire territorial, la Chine surpassait l'Europe. Toutefois, en 1500, le revenu réel par habitant ainsi que les capacités technologiques et scientifiques de l'Europe occidentale avaient dépassé ceux de la Chine. Du début des années 1840 au milieu du XXe siècle, les performances de la Chine ont en fait décliné, alors que d'autres pays dans le monde connaissaient d'importants progrès économiques. Au cours du dernier quart de siècle, la croissance économique de la Chine a été très rapide, et il est probable que ce processus de rattrapage se poursuive au cours du siècle actuel. En 2030, le revenu par habitant de la Chine dépassera probablement la moyenne mondiale, et la Chine sera de nouveau la première économie de la planète, comme ce fut le cas de 1300 à 1890.

La Chine a été pionnière en matière de gouvernement bureaucratique. Au Xe siècle, elle était déjà administrée par des fonctionnaires ayant reçu une formation professionnelle et recrutés sur concours méritocratique. La bureaucratie chinoise, éduquée selon les principes du confucianisme, était le principal instrument pour imposer un ordre social et politique à un État unitaire s'étendant sur un immense territoire...

#### 23. La Chine a-t-elle un plan en Afrique? Michel Beuret, Serge Michel

Afrique contemporaine, N° 228, 2008, p. 49-68

**Introduction** : Depuis la moitié des années 1990, plusieurs indicateurs témoignent d'une montée en puissance chinoise sur le continent africain. En moins de cinq ans, la communauté chinoise en Afrique est devenue la seconde par le nombre après les Indiens, qui seraient plus de 2 millions. Les Chinois installés sur le continent sont aussi nombreux que l'ensemble des expatriés français, anglais, américains et libanais. Les démographes et les spécialistes des migrations ont en vain tenté de les compter : leur nombre varierait entre 500 000 et 750 000. Commercialement, la République Populaire de Chine (RPC) a multiplié par dix ses échanges avec l'Afrique depuis l'an 2000 : ceux-ci s'élèvent en 2008 à 106 milliards USD, soit près de deux fois le volume entre la France et le continent noir. La Chine est ainsi devenue le second partenaire de l'Afrique, talonnant les États-Unis (120 milliards USD). Depuis cinq ou six ans, la Chine remporte la plupart des appels d'offres pour les grands contrats de construction ; à tel point que les géants occidentaux du BTP ne prennent souvent même plus la peine de soumettre une offre à l'image du français Bouygues. L'offre chinoise semble imbattable. Un chiffre est régulièrement évoqué pour résumer l'accélération des relations commerciales sino-africaines : la part africaine dans l'approvisionnement de la Chine en pétrole. En 1995, celle-ci importait 9 % de ses besoins d'Afrique ; en 2008, cette proportion est passée à 35 %, alors que, durant la même période, la consommation chinoise en hydrocarbures a presque triplé...

# 24. La Chine et l'Afrique: les faits et les chiffres, évaluation des relations commerciales de l'investissement et de l'aide publique au développement

Dakar : Enda Cacid, septembre 2012. – 93 p.

Source : Codesria Library [01.02.01/END/17060]

## 25. La Chine, un nouveau partenaire de développement de l'Afrique: vers la fin des privilèges européens sur le continent noir?

#### **Thierry Bangui**

Paris : L'Harmattan, 2009. - 291 p.

**Résumé** : La montée en puissance de la Chine en Afrique ces dernières années suscite beaucoup de polémiques : polémique entre Chinois et Européens d'une part, entre Européens et Africains d'autre part, et entre Africains eux-mêmes par ailleurs. Que fait la Chine en Afrique ? Pourquoi la coopération sino-africaine est-elle ainsi sujette à controverse contrairement aux relations presque exclusives qu'avait le continent noir avec l'Occident et notamment avec l'Europe pendant plusieurs décennies ? Ce sont les principales questions auxquelles ce livre apporte des éléments de réponse. L'auteur analyse, avec documentation abondante, les enjeux économiques, énergétiques, diplomatiques, politiques et géopolitiques d'une coopération décriée. Il examine le style ou la nature de relation et l'apport - chiffres à l'appui - de l'Empire du Milieu à l'Afrique, en comparaison à ceux de l'Europe, le partenaire historique du continent.

Source : https://www.amazon.fr/Chine-nouveau-partenaire-d%C3%A9veloppement-lAfrique/dp/2296083951 Codesria Library : [01.01.01/BAN/14945]

## 26. The Chinese Amigo: Implications for the Development of Equatorial Guinea *Mario Esteban*

The China Quarterly, Special Issue, New Serie, Sptember 2009, p. 667-685

# 27. Chinese Foreign Direct Investment in Africa's natural Resources and the Impacts on Local Communities (A Focus on Extractive Industries): Review of Literature.

#### Mulonda Munalula, Kaliba Matildah.

World Journal of Social Sciences and Humanities, 2(3), 2016, p.102-108.

Abstract : This paper discusses Chinese Foreign Direct Investment (FDI) in Africa's natural resources and its impacts on local communities. It opens the discussion by highlighting in the preamble how and why Chinese FDI has been skyrocketing especially beginning around the early 2000s with the introduction of the going global policy. The paper then zooms further to give a more nuanced understanding of the nature of Chinese FDI and the main areas of investment in Africa. Information for this write up was collected from secondary sources including published books, articles and seminar papers among others. The paper shows that Chinese FDI has impacted both positively and negatively on local communities in Africa. On the positive front, Chinese FDI has been instrumental in employment creation and infrastructure development. Notwithstanding this, Chinese FDI has been accused of engaging in socially irresponsible investments taunted with abusive employment conditions, environmental pollution etc. The paper remains skeptical on concluding whether Chinese FDI has been harmful or beneficial to the local or host communities because of the limited evidence provided in the paper. Hence, it ends by recommending possible areas for further research on the topic.

**Keywords** : Chinese, Foreign Direct Investment, Africa, natural resources, extractive industries, local communities

Source : doi: 10.12691/wjssh-2-3-3.

### 28. Chinese Shops and the Formation of a Chinese Expatriate Community in Namibia

**Gregor Dobler** 

The China Quarterly, Special Issue, New Serie, Sptember 2009, p. 707-727

#### 29. Les chinois à la conquête de l'Afrique

#### Jean Jolly

Paris : Pygmalion, 2011. – 327 p. ISBN : 978-2-7564-0425-7

Introduction : Ce livre tient du pamphlet. Dans un texte très court (cinquante-huit pages dans un petit format), incisif, avec le sens de la formule du moraliste caustique - position qu'il adopte volontiers -, d'où peu de leaders africains ne réchappent, si ce n'est ceux qui sont morts trop jeunes pour s'être fourvoyés dans un contact prolongé avec le pouvoir (Lumumba, Sankara), Vincent Hugeux, journaliste à l'hebdomadaire L'Express, fait un sort à la pseudo-démocratie africaine, un « mantra rassérénant » avalisé par les capitales occidentales. Une imposture, d'abord. Et là se trouve le passage le plus percutant du livre : « L'élection ne fait pas la démocratie. Laquelle suppose un système éducatif efficace, une justice indépendante, une administration impartiale, une presse libre, le respect du droit des minorités et un minimum de sécurité, physique comme alimentaire. » Et l'auteur trouve un beau slogan : « Quand le ventre est vide, l'urne sonne creux » (p. 19). Commentons l'argument cinglant. En cinquante ans, l'Afrique n'a jamais eu autant de pays pourvus de systèmes politiques issus des élections multipartistes. Depuis celle du Bénin en 1991, la grande majorité de pays africains tient régulièrement des élections nationales, régionales et locales, permettant - en principe librement - à leurs citoyens de choisir leurs dirigeants politiques et de garantir la légitimité des gouvernements. Le nombre croissant de participants aux élections (80 % en RDC en 2011, 77 % en Afrique du Sud en 2009 et 69,5 % au Ghana en 2008) n'est-il pas l'expression d'une parfaite adhésion à la démocratie élective ? Pour Vincent Hugeux, il faut précisément se méfier de cette lecture étriquée, quantitative et à courte vue. Deux mises en garde s'imposent. L'élection qui est une modalité de conquête du pouvoir qui assoit l'aura de respectabilité nécessaire pour négocier avec les partenaires étrangers (parfois pour « sanctifier par les urnes d'anciens putschistes »), ne conduit pas ipso facto à la stabilité. Au contraire, dans certains cas (Côte d'Ivoire 2000 et 2010 ; Kenya, 2007 et 2008 ; Zimbabwe, 2007 ; RDC, 2011, Ouganda, 2011), elles ont plutôt suscité une rupture des règles institutionnelles, exacerbant les tensions sociales...

Source : https://www.cairn.info/revue-afrique-contemporaine-2012-2-page-130.htm Codesria Library [01.02.01/JOL/17055]

#### 30. Comprendre la Chine d'aujourd'hui

#### Jean-Luc Domenach

Paris : Perrin, 2007. – 238 p. ISBN : 978-2-262-02829-9

**Résumé** : Que se passe-t-il quand un sinologue qui a beaucoup voyagé en Chine mais qui n'y a jamais vécu dans la durée se trouve en résidence à Pékin ? Que voit-il ? Qui rencontre-t-il ? Quelle est sa Chine ?

La Chine, celle d'hier comme d'aujourd'hui, est le « laboratoire » de Jean-Luc Domenach. En arpentant les rues de Pékin ou celles de Shanghai, en multipliant les rencontres avec l'homme de la rue, le chef d'entreprise, l'intellectuel ou le responsable politique ; en explorant les campagnes et les provinces oubliées des touristes, il s'est transformé en chroniqueur du quotidien, en ethnologue d'une société beaucoup moins exotique que nous ne l'imaginons.

Source : https://www.cairn.info/comprendre-lachine-d-aujourd-hui--9782262038540.htm Codesria Library [01.04.04/DOM/17056]

### **31.** Dancing with the Dragon Africa's Courtship with China *Paul Tivambe Zeleza*

The Global South, Vol. 2, N° 2, fall 2008, p. 171-187

Abstract: This paper examines the deepening economic relationship between Africa and China as manifested in the explosive growth in trade and investment. Celebrated by some and condemned by others, it is a relationship that cannot be ignored and is of great interest to African and Chinese policy makers and peoples. It has raised concerns in Western capitals and the media and is the subject of a rapidly expanding literature. The paper explores the three dominant ways in which the relationship tends to be framed: in terms of imperialism, globalization, and solidarity and argues that we need to develop a more historically informed approach that transcends these perspectives and recognizes the complexities, contradictions and changing dynamics of Africa's age-old engagements with China. The paper argues that like all major powers, China seeks to promote its own interests in dealings with African countries; hence the responsibility to make the relationship beneficial for Africa lies with African governments and civil societies working in concert also to protect their own interest

**Topics**: African history, Imperialism, Chinese culture, Economic aid, Dance, Globalization, Economic investment, Financial investments, Trade deficits

# **32.** Un demi-siècle de relations Chine-Afrique: évolution des analyses *Jean-Raphaël Chaponnière*

Afrique contemporaine, N° 228, 2008, p. 35-48

**33. The Dragon's Gift: The Real Story of China in Africa** *Deborah Brautigam* Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2009. –xv, 397 p. ISBN: 9780199550227 / ISBN: 0199550220

Source: Codesria Library [01.01.03/BRA/17051]

# 34. Expertise et recherche chinoises sur l'Afrique *Martina Bassan*

*Afrique contemporaine*, N° 2, (250), 2014, p. 105-117.

**Résumé** : Plus de cinquante ans après la création du premier institut sur l'Afrique à l'époque maoïste, la recherche sur l'Afrique en Chine a perdu son orientation idéologique des origines et est devenue une discipline académique ouverte à des questions plus en ligne avec les problématiques contemporaines. Le profil des experts sur l'Afrique a aussi profondément changé. Si les anciens ne pouvaient connaître l'Afrique qu'à travers les livres qu'ils traduisaient, les experts actuels peuvent profiter d'un large éventail d'opportunités financières et de formation. Cependant, leur expertise demeure encore inachevée, et se trouve aujourd'hui obligée de composer avec son succès soudain.

Ses développements dans les années à venir dépendront du processus de recrutements des experts dans les centres de recherche existants, ainsi que des choix de carrière des étudiants actuels.

# 35. Fuelling the Dragon: China's Rise and Its Energy and Resources Extraction in Africa

#### Wenran Jiang

The China Quarterly, Special Issue, New Serie, Sptember 2009, p. 585-609

# **36.** Globalization and Marginalization of Africa: Contextualization of China-Africa Relations

Felix M. Edoho

Africa Today, Vol. 58, N° 1, fall 2011, p. 103-124

Abstract: This article examines China–Africa relations by contextualizing China's economic activities in Africa and interrogating the ramifications of the evolving relations for economic development in the region. China–Africa relations need to be understood as the logical outcomes of the marginalization of Africa in the age of globalization. China is filling the vacuum in Africa created by Western disengagement from the region since the end of the cold war. That Africa is embracing China is informed by the former's appraisal of the consequences of its colonial experience and the realities of its postcolonial dependent relationships with the West. China–Africa relations embody opportunities and threats. Africa needs to utilize the new architecture of cooperation to maximize benefits and minimize threats. Africa's economic interest and quest for development could be in conflict with those of China, yet Africa must determine how to leverage the deepening relationship with China to its own advantage.

**Topics**: Economic investment, Economic development, Marginalization, Economic globalization, Capital investments, Economic regions, Infrastructure investments, Cold wars, Financial investments

# **37.** Harmony and Discord in China's Africa Strategy: Some Implications for Foreign Policy

#### Chris Alden, Christopher R. Hughes

The China Quarterly, Special Issue, New Serie, Sptember 2009, p. 563-584

# **38.** In it for the Long Term? Governance and Learning among Chinese Investors in Zambia's Copper Sector

Dan Haglund

The China Quarterly, Special Issue, New Serie, Sptember 2009, p. 627-646

#### **39. Introduction: China, Africa and Internationalization** *Julia C. Strauss; Martha Saavedra The China Quarterly*, Special Issue, New Serie, Sptember 2009, p. 1-13

**40. New African Choices? The Politics of Chinese Engagement** *Giles Mohan, Marcus Power Review of African Political Economy*, Vol. 35, No. 115, Mar., 2008, p. 23-42

Abstract: The role of China in Africa must be understood in the context of competing and intensified global energy politics, in which the US, India and China are among the key players vying for security of supply. Contrary to popular representation, China's role in Africa is much more than this however, opening up new choices for African development for the first time since the neo-liberal turn of the 1980s. As such it is important to start by disaggregating 'China' and 'Africa' since neither represents a coherent and uniform set of motivations and opportunities. This points to the need for, at minimum, a comparative case study approach which highlights the different agendas operating in different African states. It also requires taking a longue duree perspective since China-Africa relations are long standing and recent intervention builds on cold war solidarities, in polemic at least. It also forces us to consider Chinese involvement in Africa as ambivalent, but contextual. Here we look at the political dimensions of this engagement and set out a research agenda that focuses on class and racial dynamics, state restructuring, party politics, civil society responses and aid effectiveness.

**Topics**: Political economy, East Asian politics, Economic development, Political debate, Geopolitics, Cold wars, Economic investment, Governance, Solidarity, Civil society

# 41. An Opportunistic Ally: China's Increasing Involvement in Africa *David H. Shinn*

Harvard International Review, Vol. 29, N° 2, Summer 2007, p. 52-56

**Topics**: Economic development, Economic investment, Textile industry, Government initiatives, Trade, Raw materials, Developing countries, Economic benefits, International economic cooperation, Diplomatic relations

# 42. The Past in the Present: Historical and Rhetorical Lineages in China's Relations with Africa

Julia C. Strauss

The China Quarterly, N° 199, September 2009, p. 777-795

**Abstract**: China's official rhetoric on its relations with Africa is important; it frames, legitimates and renders comprehensible its foreign policy in this ever-important area of the world. This article explores the following Puzzle: why China's rhetoric on its involvement with Africa has retained substantial continuities with the Maoist past, when virtually every other aspect of Maoism has been officially repudiated. Despite the burgeoning layers of complexity in China's increasing involvement in Africa, a set of surprisingly long-lived principles of non-interference, mutuality, friendship, non-conditional aid and analogous suffering at the hands of imperialism from the early 1960s to the present continue to be propagated. Newer notions of complementarity and international division of labour are beginning to come in, but the older rhetoric still dominates official discourse, at least in part because it continues to appeal to domestic Chinese audiences.

**Topics**: African history, Discourse, Sovereignty, Political rhetoric, Imperialism, Maoism, Economic development, Sovereign states, Colonialism

# **43.** Raw Encounters: Chinese Managers, African Workers and the Politics of Casualization in Africa's Chinese Enclaves

*Ching Kwan Lee The China Quarterly*, Special Issue, New Serie, Sptember 2009, p. 647-666

# 44. Les relations Chine-Afrique: nouvelles responsabilités et nouveaux défis d'une puissance mondiale en devenir

Jean-Pierre Cabestan

*Hérodote*, Vol. 3, N° 150, 2013, p. 150-171

**Introduction** : Les relations Chine-Afrique ont connu un développement prodigieux au cours des dix dernières années. Certes, la Chine n'est pas une nouvelle venue sur le « continent noir » [Shinn et Eisenman, 2012]. Mais l'ampleur et la nature des rapports sino-africains ont diamétralement changé depuis la fin des années 1990.

Cette expansion et cette métamorphose ont été avant tout favorisées par la mise en place à Pékin d'une nouvelle politique africaine destinée à servir à la fois ses propres besoins économiques croissants et sa montée en puissance sur la scène mondiale.

On connaît la suite : le commerce a explosé ; les projets d'infrastructures chinois se sont multipliés ; l'assistance de la République populaire au développement des pays africains a atteint un niveau sans précédent, talonnant l'aide plus traditionnelle apportée par l'Occident et le Japon. Cet essor des échanges et des projets de coopération a directement resserré les liens diplomatiques, voire stratégiques entre Pékin et la plupart des capitales africaines. Aujourd'hui, restant à l'écart des problèmes politiques intérieurs que ces États connaissent, la Chine est de plus en plus favorablement accueillie comme une alternative aux diplomaties sourcilleuses et autres programmes d'aide contraignants des pays occidentaux, d'autant plus que la plupart de ces derniers, atteints par la crise, offrent moins que par le passé...

# 45. Les relations Chine-Afrique: l'empire du milieu à la conquête du continent noir *Eric Nguyen*.

Paris : Groupe Studyrama-vocatis, 2009. 141 p. (Studyrama perspectives ; No. 756). ISBN : 9782759008247.

Source : Codesria Library : [01.02.01/NGU/17058]

# 46. Les relations entre le Sénégal et la Chine: contexte, enjeux et prospective *Ibrahima Niang*

Dakar : Université Cheikh Anta Diop de Dakar, 2016. - xii-444p. Thèse, Doctorat unique en Sciences humaines, Spécialité : Sociologie des relations internationales, économique et géopolitique

Source : Codesria Library [01.02.01/NIA/16431]

# 47. Representations of Africa in a Hong Kong Soap Opera: The Limits of Enlightened Humanitarianism in The Last Breakthrough

Martha Saavedra

The China Quarterly, Special Issue, New Serie, Sptember 2009, p. 760-776

# 48. Le rôle des joint-ventures et alliances stratégiques dans l'internationalisation des multinationales chinoises: évidence pour les pays d'Afrique centrale *Théophile Dzaka-Kikouta*

Revue Congolaise de Gestion, Nº 15-16, 2012, p. 81-126

**Résumé** : L'objet de ce papier consiste à répondre à la question de savoir quel est le rôle spécifique des Jointventures (JV) et autres alliances stratégiques dans la réalisation des IDE par les FMN chinoises en Afrique centrale ? On montre d'abord dans quelle mesure le recours aux JV sino-occidentales ont aidé les firmes chinoises à améliorer leurs capacités techniques et managériales tant sur le marché domestique que sur les marchés étrangers ; on montre ensuite qu'en contexte des pays d'Afrique centrale, membres de la CEEAC, les JV et autres alliances stratégiques sont devenues un vecteur majeur de réalisation des IDE par les Multinationales chinoises. On soutient l'hypothèse que dans le contexte des pays d'Afrique centrale, les multinationales chinoises concluent des JV et autres alliances stratégiques pour essentiellement, garantir l'approvisionnement en matières premières, dans le cadre de package deals ou « modèle angolais » liant IDE à l'APD ; ensuite, pour conquérir les marchés étrangers ; enfin et dans une moindre mesure, pour acquérir les actifs stratégiques (auprès des multinationales occidentales et celles d'autres pays émergents, opérant aussi en CEEAC). En conclusion, on déduit que ce mouvement des IDE effectués par les FMN chinoises vers l'Afrique centrale, devrait, sous réserve d'une meilleure gouvernance économique et politique de la part des pays récipiendaires, contribuer au processus de leur développement durable.

**Abstract**: This paper aims to show the specific role of joint-venture and other strategic alliances in the realization of IDE by FMN in central Africa. The paper demonstrates how the occidental JV helps Chinese firms to improve their technical capacities and managerial assets on the home market and on the international market. In other hand, it proves that the central African countries context, member of ECCAS, JV and other strategic alliances have become a major vector of realization of IDE by Chinese multinationals. We provide the

hypothesis that in the context of ECCAS, Chinese multinationals deal with JV and other alliances for the purpose of enlarging the supply in raw material in terms of package deals or Congolese model bond to IDE to APD then for conquering foreign markets; and definitely to conquer strategic assets toward the occidental multinationals and those of emerging countries, prating the ECCAS zone. As conclusion, the movement of IDE inspired by FMN toward central Africa shall contribute to sustainable development in case political and economic accountability is proven.

# 49. South-South Transfer: A Study of Sino-African Exchanges *Sandra GILLESPIE*

New York: Routledge, 2001. – 263 p.

#### **50.** Le Vampire du milieu: comment la Chine nous dicte sa loi *Philippe Cohen ; Luc Richard* Paris : Mille et une nuits, 2010. – 318 p.

ISBN : 978-2-84205-985-9

**Résumé** : Quand la Chine s'éveillera, le monde tremblera, avait averti Peyrefitte... La Chine s'est levée, et elle a endormi le reste du monde. Elle a pris un essor phénoménal en quelques années, assumant sans complexe une expansion internationale qui en fait un prédateur irrésistible. Aux mains du PCC, le pays de Confucius ne se contente plus d'être l'atelier du monde, ni même son laboratoire. Il est devenu le Vampire du Milieu. La Chine aspire à elle toutes les richesses, non seulement le travail et les sociétés à fort potentiel technologique, mais aussi les ressources énergétiques, les matières premières et même les terres agricoles. Pour succéder bientôt aux États-Unis à la tête de la planète, sa diplomatie est avant tout économique. La Chine entend vaincre sans combattre. Ses armes ? Ce ne sont pas forcément des fusées et des missiles, mais d'abord une main-d'œuvre sous-payée, une monnaie dévaluée, le doux commerce de ses produits low cost ; des centaines d'instituts Confucius, des médias sous influence ; et une diaspora de dizaines de millions de Chinois d'origine, très encadrée, qui défend ses intérêts sur tous les continents. Cerise sur le gâteau, elle peut compter sur la couardise des idiots utiles qui, à Paris, à Londres ou à Washington, s'agenouillent devant le nouveau maître du monde. Pour la première fois, le grand puzzle de l'ambition chinoise est reconstitué. Exemples et chiffres à l'appui, Philippe Cohen et Luc Richard racontent comment le régime chinois nous dicte sa loi.

Source : https://www.amazon.fr/Vampire-milieu-Comment-Chine-Essais-ebook/dp/B005OKPBTG Codesria Library [01.02.01/COH/17054]

### 51. Western and Chinese Development Engagements in Uganda's Roads Sector: an Implicit Division of Labour

#### Hang Zhou

African Affairs, Volume 121, Issue 482, January 2022, p.29-59

**Abstract** : How has the process of institution and governance building in Africa, a domain traditionally subject to western development interventions, been changed by Chinese-led development ? Taking Uganda's roads sector, and particularly its main implementing agency the Ugandan National Roads Authority as a case study, I argue that traditional donors' influence on sectorial institution building has not been replaced or dislodged by China's growing presence. This presence primarily took the form of Chinese construction companies operating as profit-driven contractors interested mainly in quick project turnaround rather than in systematically shaping sectorial governance in the host country. Moreover, not only did traditional donors' development financing remain dominant vis-à-vis China, but the ways in which their interventions were designed, exercised, and monitored in the post-conditionality regime characteristically differed from their Chinese counterparts, ensuring their embedded and enduring role in the reforming of sectorial state institutions. As such, a tacit division of labour took shape between Chinese and western engagements in Uganda's roads sector : China focused on 'hard' physical road construction whilst traditional donors on the 'soft' aspects of sectorial governance and policy. The availability of both forms of development engagements with their distinctive foci enables issue-specific agency for Uganda to develop its roads sector, and yet they together appear to create favourable conditions for the Ugandan leadership's increasing authoritarianism.

Source : https://doi.org/10.1093/afraf/adac005

# 52. When China Rules the World: The End of the Western World and the Birth of a New Global Order. – Second Edition

*Martin Jacques* London: Penguin Books, 2012. – 812 p. ISBN: 978-0-140-27604-6

Source: Codesria Library [01.02.01/JAC/17047

# 53. Who's in charge of Sino-African resource politics? Situating African state agency in Ghana.

#### Jon Phillips

African Affairs, Volume 118, Issue 470, January 2019, p.101-124,

Abstract: Recent literature on Sino-African resource politics emphasizes the agency of African elites in relation to Chinese capital and state agencies, yet whether African elites have gained agency over the structure of African economies remains debatable. This article questions how agency has been understood in analyses of Sino-Africa relations by identifying the nature and limits of Ghanaian agency in bilateral and multilateral aid relations since the discovery of oil in 2007. First, although the agency of Ghanaian elites has shaped the outcomes of recent bilateral investments, Ghanaian state agency has been exercised primarily in brokering external sources of finance and in relation to domestic institutions and political factions. Second, Chinese investment did shift the aid modalities and the relative power of Ghanaian agency in relation to external finance and sectoral policy, respectively. As such, the scope of Ghanaian agency in relation to external finance and bilateral and multilateral relations of agency over economic and political structures can be avoided by situating African agency within the social and material context of transnational industries.

Source : https://doi.org/10.1093/afraf/ady041

# 54. The Impact of China-Africa Investment Relations: the case of Nigeria. A Final Report Submitted to the African Economic Research Consortium (AERC) O. Oyeranti, M. A. Babatunde, E. O Ogunkola and A S. Bankole.

Nairobi : AERC, 2010.

Abstract : The scope of the study covers 1997-2007 and the objective of this study is to analyze the economic relation between China and Nigeria in the area of foreign direct investment (FDI) with a view to determining its developmental impacts. Some of the objectives include: An inventory of FDI inflows from China including their sectoral breakdown and an analysis of trends; An estimation of the extent to which this FDI represent the creation of new or augmented production capacities or a change in ownership of existing production units; An analysis of the extent to which overall Chinese FDI inflows are bundled with aid; A description of the regulatory regime governing FDI inflows and the extent to which they embody China-specific provisions; An assessment of the economic benefits that arise from major Chinese FDI in terms of exports expansion, reduction of import dependence, contribution of value added and employment, government revenue.

## 55. Are there Potential Economic Benefits from China-Nigeria Trade Agreements. *A. O. Adewuyi and. A. S. Bankole*,

African Journal of Economic Policy, 19 (1). (2012).

**Abstract**: This study examined the potential economic gains and losses from trade agreements between China and Nigeria. A gravity model was implemented using panel data analysis to discern the drivers of trade and simulate the effects of trade agreements between the two countries.

Empirical results showed that economic size of both countries played a major role in promoting trade between them. Also, the levels of tariffs in China and Nigeria were important. Simulation experiments revealed that under

a non-reciprocal tariff reduction in China by 25 per cent,50 per cent,75 per cent and 100 per cent in all traded products, Nigeria will record positive growth of export. Similarly, a reciprocal tariff reduction agreement by China and Nigeria, by the same magnitude will lead to a rise in Nigeria's export of all products particularly chemicals, mineral fuels and some manufactured products by over 100.0 per cent while China's exports to Nigeria will rise by between 32.0 per cent per cent and 43.0 per cent (for miscellaneous manufactures and crude materials).

**Keywords** : *Trade agreements, Potential gains and losses, China, Nigeria, Gravity model, Panel data models, Simulations.* 

Source : https://www.ajol.info/index.php/ajep/article/view/101353 ;

https://www.researchgate.net/publication/281460576\_Are\_There\_Potential\_Economic\_Benefits\_From\_ China-Nigeria\_Trade\_Agreements