

CHINA'S EVOLVING ROLE IN AFRICA (AFSP 4449)

Weekly Topics, Readings & Prep, Reflection questions, and in-class activities

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Fall 2024

MODULE ONE – SETTING THE STAGE, HISTORY, NARRATIVES & INTERESTS

WEEK 1 (Tuesday 3 September)

INTRODUCTIONS & SETTING THE STAGE

Prep

- REVIEW syllabus
- READ as instructed
- Ask 2-3 people (friends, family, classmates) about what they know about China-Africa engagements

In Class

- Introductions
- Discussion of syllabus, housekeeping/admin, concerns
- “Setting the Stage” PPT & small group discussions – myths, rumors, concerns, framings & narratives

Post

- Write a response to one of the reflection questions on Canvas discussion board

Required Reading:

(Note: unless you see a link, all required readings and many of the recommended readings can be found on Canvas. Look under files or under the corresponding weekly topic.)

- Andrew Malone, “How China’s taking over Africa and why the West should be Very worried,” *Daily Mail*, 18 July 2008 (PDF on canvas)
- Deborah Brautigam, U.S. politicians get China in Africa all wrong, *Washington Post*. April 12, 2018:
https://www.washingtonpost.com/news/theworldpost/wp/2018/04/12/china-africa/?noredirect=on&utm_term=.3bcd5c8325e8
- Yoon Jung Park and Lina Bendabdallah, U.S. policymakers often criticize Chinese investment in Africa. The research tells a more complicated story, *Washington Post*. Feb. 19, 2021

- Chris Alden. 2006. *China and Africa. Terms of endearment From Marxism to materials*. CLAS Special Report

For Further Reading (Optional)

- Timothy S. Rich and Sterling Recker, Understanding Sino-African Relations: Neocolonialism or a New Era? In *Journal of International and Area Studies*, Volume 20, Number 1, 2013, pp.61-76

Reflection Questions (also on Canvas/Discussions):

- Can you discern the main concerns about “China in Africa”? What are the key myths & rumors? Why is there so much mythology in the China-Africa space? Where are the biggest gaps between conventional wisdom (myths, rumors, exaggerations, misinterpretations/misunderstandings) and reality?
- What drives Western concerns about Chinese engagement in Africa? In your view, which areas of conventional wisdom/epistemology about China’s role are the most deeply held? Why?
- How do these framings/narratives impact perceptions? Foreign relations? Development? Policy making?

WEEK 2 (9 September)

THE HISTORY OF RELATIONS BETWEEN CHINA AND AFRICA

Prep

- Read as instructed
- Starting thinking about topic/sector and country for your research project
- MA students – peruse all topics and start narrowing your decisions about additional readings

In Class

- China-Africa History PPT/Lecture – Part One
- China-Africa History PPT/Lecture – Part Two
- Small group discussions – videos and readings (in 5 groups: Pre-colonial Period, Colonial Period, East Wind Blows in Africa, Tazara, Open Door & Post-Liberalization); followed by brief report backs from small groups and full class discussion
- Review Role Play Exercise for next week. Select roles/teams for reading assignments & prep for Kenya’s Standard Gauge Railway Role Play.

Required Readings:

- Julia C. Strauss. 2009. "The Past in the Present: Historical and Rhetorical Lineages in China's Relations with Africa," *The China Quarterly*, no. 199: 777-95
- Park, Yoon Jung. 2019. "Early Chinese migrants in sub-Saharan Africa: contract laborers and traders" in *Chinese and African Entrepreneurs. Social Impacts of Interpersonal Encounters*, Karsten Giese and Laurence Marfaing (eds.), Brill
- Siu, Helen and Mike McGovern. 2017. "China–Africa Encounters: Historical Legacies and Contemporary Realities." *Annual Review of Anthropology*, 46:337–55.

For Further Reading

- Bjørnar Sverdrup-Thygeson (2017). The Chinese Story: Historical narratives as a tool in China's Africa policy in *International Politics*. 54 (1), pp 54–72, doi:10.1057/s41311-017-0014-3 (PDF)
- Victor Ojatorotu and Ayo Whetho. 2008. "Sino-African Relations: The Cold War Years and After", *Asia Journal of Global Studies*, Vol. 2, No. 2: 35-43
- Snow, Philip. *The Star Raft: China's encounter with Africa*. Ithaca, N.Y.: Cornell University Press, 1989, chapter 1, pp. 1-36
- Jamie Monson, "Introduction", (Chapter 1), pp. 1-14 and "Conclusion" (Chapter 7), pp. 147-156 in Monson (2009) *Africa's Freedom Railway. How a Chinese Development Project Changed Lives and Livelihoods in Tanzania*. Bloomington, Indianapolis: Indiana University Press.
- George T. Yu, "China's Failure in Africa," *Asian Survey*, v.6, no. 8 (August 1966), pp. 461-68
- Tu T. Huynh (2008) "Loathing and Love: Postcard Representations of Indentured Chinese Laborers in South Africa's Reconstruction, 1904-10", *Safundi*, 9:4, 395-425
- YAN Hairong and Barry Sautman, "Chinese Farms in Zambia: From Socialist to 'Agro-Imperialist' Engagement?" *African and Asian Studies* 9 (2010): 307-333.
- Sarah Raine, "Contextualising Today's Sino-African Relations" (Chapter 1), pp. 13-58, in Raine (2009) *China's African Challenges*, Oxford, London: The International Institute for Strategic Studies.

Reflection Questions:

- When would you date the start of China-Africa ties? With the exchange of goods/trade? With human contact? With the establishment of state-to-state ties?
- How would you periodize the history of China and Africa? What are the key facets of each period?
- How might these histories impact contemporary relations? Consider, for example, contemporary narratives/myths about Chinese slaves/prison labor, the current

trade in endangered species/wildlife and other natural resources, or narratives of peaceful/friendly relations.

- Where are the ruptures and continuities between the past and present in China-Africa relations?
- How has China's engagement with Africa changed over the years? How have power balances shifted? What are the priorities today?
- Have rising tensions between the US and China had an impact on current ties? Are there other such examples like this in the past?

WEEK 3 (16 September):

CHINA, AFRICA, AND THE WEST: WHOSE INTERESTS? WHO BENEFITS? FRAMES, NARRATIVES, & DISCOURSES

Prep

- READ as instructed
- PREPARE - review Role Play exercise and find/read at least 5-6 media articles about the Kenya Standard Gauge Railway (I'll provide links to some of these in the Role Play description); prepare notes for in class team discussions

In Class

- Role Play Prep in small groups (+/-40 mins)
 - Concerned citizens bringing complaints
 - Chinese representatives
 - Kenyan government officials/spokespersons
 - Audience members: Western observers, media, and Kenyan & other citizens
- Role Play – Public Forum on Kenya's Standard Gauge Railway (labor issues, transparency, and debt & asset forfeiture rumors (60 mins)
- Full class discussion of debate, lecture & videos, readings (30 mins)

Required Readings: Everyone should read the first article. Then, read based on your team or interests. Read 2-3 articles from this section and several general media articles about the Standard Gauge Railway controversies. (You'll have a bit more time in class to skim a few more readings.) Prepare to participate in the role play from the perspective of your "side"/based on your assigned or selected role. I want some good acting; embrace your roles/positions.

Everyone

- Chris Alden, Oscar M Otele, "Fitting China in: local elite collusion and contestation along Kenya's Standard Gauge Railway," *African Affairs*, Volume 121, Issue 484, July 2022, Pages 443–466, <https://doi.org/10.1093/afraf/adac026>

Africa

- Yuan Wang and Uwe Wissenbach. 2019. "Clientelism at Work? A case study of Kenyan Standard Gauge Railway Project," *Economic History of Developing Regions*, Vol.34, pp 280-299.
- Kweku Ampiah. 2019. "Themes and thoughts in Africanists' discourse about China and Africa," in Chris Alden and Daniel Large (Eds) *New Directions in Africa-China Studies*, Routledge, pp.73-87.
- Vera Songwe and Nelipher Moyo. 2012 "China-Africa Relations: Defining New Terms of Engagement" Brookings Institution (3 pgs.)
- Sanou Mbaye. 2010. "Matching China's activities to Africa's needs" in Axel Harneit-Sievers, Stephen Marks and Sanusha Naidu (Eds.) *Chinese and African Perspectives on China in Africa*: 39-53
- Adama Gaye. 2008. "China in Africa: After the Gun and the Bible: A West African Perspective" in Chris Alden, Daniel Large, and Ricardo Soares de Oliveira (eds), *China Returns to Africa, A Rising Power and a Continent Embrace*: 129-142
- Giles Mohan and Marcus Power, "New African Choices? The Politics of Chinese Engagement," *Review of African Political Economy* (2008) 35: 115, 23-42. Available online.
- Barry Sautman and YAN Hairong. 2009. "African Perspectives on China-Africa Links" in *The China Quarterly*, 199: 728-759. DOI: 10.1017/S030574100999018X

China

- He Wenping. 2008. "China's Perspective on Contemporary China-Africa Relations" (Chapter 7), pp. 143-166, in Alden et.al, *China Returns to Africa*: 143-166
- Barry Sautman and Yan Hairong. 2007. "Friends and Interests: China's Distinctive Links with Africa," *African Studies Review*, Vol. 50, No. 3 (Dec): 75-114
- Zeng Qiang. 2010. "China's strategic relations with Africa" in Axel Harneit-Sievers, Sanusha Naidu, and Stephen Marks (Eds), *Chinese and African Perspectives on China in Africa*: 56-69
- Forum on China-Africa Cooperation website, China's Africa Policy: <http://www.focac.org/eng/zfgx/dfzc/> (skim and read several of the entries)
- David H. Shinn, Testimony before the U.S.-China Economic and Security Review Commission, May 8, 2020, *China's Strategy in Africa* (PDF)

The "West" (US, British, & EU concerns & perspectives)

- Mawdsley, Emma. 2008. "Fu Manchu versus Dr Livingstone in the Dark Continent? Representing China, Africa and the West in British Broadsheet Newspapers," *Political Geography*, 27 (5), pp. 509-29 (PDF on canvas)

- Obeng-Odoom, F. (2022). China–Africa Relations in The Economist, 2019–2021. *Journal of Asian and African Studies*, 0(0). <https://doi.org/10.1177/00219096221125423>
- Anna Katharina Stahl, “Contrasting Rhetoric and Converging Security Interests of the European Union and China in Africa”, *Journal of Current Chinese Affairs*, 4/2011: 147-173
- Bates Gill, J Stephen Morrison, and Chin-Hao Huang, “China-Africa Relations: An Early, Uncertain Debate in the United States” in Alden, et al, (Eds), *China Returns to Africa*, 2008: 167-180
- Horace Campbell, “China in Africa: challenging US global hegemony” in Firoze Manji and Stephen Marks, (Eds.), *African perspectives on China in Africa*, 2007: 119-138
- Daniel Bach, “The European Union and China in Africa” in Kweku Ampiah and Sanusha Naidu (Eds.), *Crouching Tiger, Hidden Dragon?* 2008: 278-293
- Adam Habib, “Western Hegemony, Asian Ascendancy and the New Scramble for Africa” in Ampiah and Naidu (Eds.) 2008: 259-277
- Amb. David Shinn, Congressional testimony/prepared comments, Senate Committee on Foreign Relations Subcommittee on African Affairs, 1 November 2011 and U.S.-China Economic and Security Review Commission on China’s Strategic Aims In Africa, 8 May 2020

Reflection Questions:

- How has Africa changed (or not changed) since independence? What does Africa have to gain or lose with their partnerships with China? How much agency or leverage do African countries/actors have?
- Is there a China, Inc? What are China’s interests in Africa? Has China become a neocolonial power in Africa? Can you identify some of the non-state Chinese actors and their interests? Can you describe an instance when state and non-state Chinese actors have differed/clashed?
- What is the common Western response to China-in-Africa? Are the West’s concerns justified? With the current administration in the US and the changes taking place in Europe, how might things continue to change in the coming years?

ASSIGNMENT #1 – Position Paper OR ChatGPT paper and critique. Due 23 September.

Option one: Take a position on the statement, “China is a neocolonial actor in Africa” and support your argument with evidence based on class readings and videos. No additional research required. Max. 1,500 words.

Option two: Provide the prompt plus a few additional details (2-3 African countries and/or sectors) to ChatGPT to generate a 1,500-word essay response, then write a 1,000 – 1,500-word critique explaining whether you agree or disagree with some of the points and why. Look, in particular, for any possible biases.

MODULE TWO: CHINA-AFRICA ENGAGEMENTS. A VIEW FROM UPSTAIRS

WEEK 4 (23 September)

CHINA-AFRICA POLITICAL & DIPLOMATIC ENGAGEMENTS

DUE: Module One Assignment (Position Paper)

Prep

In addition to the required readings below, take a look at a few of the media pieces about recent meetings/gatherings of FOCAC, BRICS, and the G20, as well as some of the pieces on soft power.

In Class

- Guest lecturer (Lina Benabdallah, Wake Forest University)
- Dr Belem to lead discussion on Soft Power

Required Readings

- Cobus van Staden. (2024) “China’s Agenda at FOCAC 2024: Climate, Connectivity, and Coalitions,” China’s Global South Project no. 002 (August). [China’s agenda at FOCAC: Climate, connectivity, and coalitions - The Africa Report.com](#)
- Paul Nantulya. (2020) “Strategic Application of the Tao 道 of Soft Power: The Key to Understanding China’s Expanding Influence in Africa,” *The African Review*, 47 (2), pp. 481-529.
- Lina Benabdallah. “Power or Influence? Making Sense of China’s Evolving Party-to-Party Diplomacy in Africa,” *African Studies Quarterly* (2020) 19 (3-4): 95–119.
- Cobus van Staden, Chris Alden and Yu-Shan Wu. (2018) “In the Driver’s Seat? African Agency and Chinese Power at FOCAC, the AU and the BRI,” South African Institute of International Affairs occasional paper no. 286 (September).

For Further Reading

- David Shinn. (2020) “China’s Strategy in Africa,” Testimony before the U.S.-China Economic and Security Review Commission, 8 May 2020. See at https://www.uscc.gov/sites/default/files/Shinn_Testimony.pdf

- Amb. Phillip Carter III, Dr. Raymond Gilpin, and Paul Nantulya. (2019) China in Africa: Opportunities, Challenges, and Options, pp 105-124 (in China's Global Influence: Perspectives and Recommendations, Eds. Scott D McDonald and Michael C Burgoyne)
- David Shinn and Josh Eisenman. (2020) “Evolving Principles and Guiding Concepts: How China Gains African Support for its Core National Interests,” *Orbis*, 64 (2), pp. 271-288.
- Ian Taylor and Tim Zajontz. (2020) “In a Fix: Africa’s Place in the Belt and Road Initiative and the Reproduction of Dependency,” *South African Journal of International Affairs*, 27 (3), pp. 227-295.
- Daniel Large. (2022) “China, Africa and the 2021 Dakar FOCAC,” *African Affairs*, 121 (483), pp. 299-319.
- Cobus van Staden (2016) “China’s Public Diplomacy in Africa: Challenging Our Ideas of Public Diplomacy,” *Public Diplomacy Magazine* 15 (Winter), pp. 72-77. See at <http://publicdiplomacymagazine.com/wp-content/uploads/2016/03/MPD-Mag-Winter-2016-Official-.pdf>.
- Cobus van Staden. (2017) “One Belt One Road and East Africa: Beyond Chinese Influence,” *China Brief* 17 (4). See at <https://jamestown.org/program/one-belt-one-road-east-africa-beyond-chinese-influence/>.
- Dzinesa, Gwinyayi A. and Lesley Masters. (2009) Taming the Dragon? Defining Africa’s Interests at the Forum on China-Africa Co-operation (FOCAC). Policy Advisory Group Seminar Report of the Centre for Conflict Resolution and Institute for Global Dialogue. See at www.ccr.org.za/images/stories/Vol_32_taming_the_dragon.pdf.
- Moller-Loswick, Anna, Thomas Wheeler, Richard Smith, and Showers Mawowa. (2015) “Promoting Peace Through Sustainable Development Goals: What Role for FOCAC?” *China Quarterly of International Strategic Studies*, 1 (3), pp.. 397-421. See at <https://www.worldscientific.com/doi/pdf/10.1142/S2377740015500190>.
- Monyae, David and Fritz Nganje. (2019) “BRICS and Regional Industrialisation in Southern Africa: Partner or Spoiler? The Case of China,” *Africa Insight*, 48 (4), pp. 3-20
- Nantulya, Paul. (2019) “Chinese Hard Power Supports Its Growing Strategic Interests in Africa,” *Africa Center for Strategic Studies* (17 January). See at <https://africacenter.org/spotlight/chinese-hard-power-supports-its-growing-strategicinterests-in-africa/>.
- Paul Nantulya. (2019) “Implications for Africa from China’s One Belt One Road Strategy,” *Africa Center for Strategic Studies* (22 March). See at

<https://africacenter.org/spotlight/implications-for-africa-china-one-belt-one-road-strategy/>.

- Garth Shelton. (2016) “The FOCAC Process and Sino-African Strategic Partnership,” *China Quarterly of International Strategic Studies*, 2 (2), pp. 259-276
- Monyae, David and Fritz Nganje. (2019) “BRICS and Regional Industrialisation in Southern Africa: Partner or Spoiler? The Case of China,” *Africa Insight*, 48 (4), pp. 3-20
- Dean Coslovi. (2018) “Like Water: An Inquiry into China’s Soft Power Strategy in Africa,” *Journal of Military and Strategic Studies*, 18 (4).
- Su-Yan Pan. (2013) “Confucius Institute project: China’s cultural diplomacy and soft power projection,” *Asian Education and Development Studies*, 2 (1), pp. 22-33.
- Jeremy Youde. (2010) “China’s health diplomacy in Africa,” *China: An International Journal*, 8 (1), pp.151-163.
- Carrie B. Dolan, Ammar A. Malik, Sheng Zhang, Wenhui Mao, Kaci Kennedy McDade, Eli Svoboda, Julius N. Odhiambo. (2023) “Chinese health funding in Africa: the untold story,” *PLOS Global Public Health*, 3 (6), e0001637.
- Benabdallah, L. (2019) “Explaining attractiveness: Knowledge production and power projection in China’s policy for Africa,” *Journal of International Relations and Development*, 22, pp. 495-514.
- Sujin Cha, Yehzee Ryoo, and Sung Eun Kim. (2023) “Losing Hearts and Minds?: Unpacking the Effects of Chinese Soft Power Initiatives in Africa” *Asian Survey*, 63 (1), pp 1–30. <https://doi.org/10.1525/as.2022.1722144>
- Pippa Morgan. (2019) “Can China’s economic statecraft win soft power in Africa? Unpacking trade, investment and aid,” *Journal of Chinese Political Science*, 24 (3), pp.387-409.
- Jingjing An and Yi Feng. (2022) “Do the “Dragon’s gifts” improve China’s national image? An empirical analysis of the economic relations and public perceptions of China in Africa,” *Journal of Chinese Political Science*, 27 (4), pp.747-770.

Reflection Questions

- What does China want from Africa and how does it get it? What are the bi-lateral and multi-lateral platforms and instruments of engagement, e.g., China’s toolkit in Africa?
- What do the results of the recent BRICS Summit and the inclusion of the AU in the G20 say about Africa’s role in China’s global strategy?
- Can you identify some trends or patterns in African state responses to China’s overtures?

WEEK 5 (30 September)

SECURITY & MILITARY ENGAGEMENTS

Prep

- Read as instructed

In Class

- Guest lecturer Amb. David Shinn (GWU)
- Prof Park's PPT and Discussion

REQUIRED READINGS:

- Amb Shinn articles and chapters, to be confirmed.
- Paul Nantulya. (2020) "China's Military Power Projection and U.S. National Interests," Testimony before the U.S.-China Economic and Security Review Commission, 20 February.
- Alessandro Arduino, Chinese private security firms are growing their presence in Africa: why it matters, August 8, 2022, in The Conversation: <https://theconversation.com/chinese-private-security-firms-are-growing-their-presence-in-africa-why-it-matters-187309>
- Lily Kuo, "China's vision of itself as the world's peacekeeper starts in Africa" September 26, 2017, <https://qz.com/africa/1087297/china-in-africa-chinas-vision-of-itself-as-the-worlds-peacekeeper-starts-in-africa/> (read and watch embedded video)
- Lina Benabdallah and Daniel Large. 2020. Development, Security, and China's Evolving Role in Mali. Working Paper No. 2020/40. China Africa Research Initiative, School of Advanced International Studies, Johns Hopkins University, Washington, DC. Retrieved from <http://www.sais-cari.org/publications>.

Additional Recommended Readings, by sub-topic:

General Military/Security Ties

- David Shinn. (2008) "Military and Security Relations: China, Africa, and the Rest of the World," in *China into Africa: Trade, Aid, and Influence*, ed. Robert I. Rotberg (Washington: Brookings Institution Press), pp. 155-196
- David Shinn, "Military and Security Ties and Peacekeeping Missions" (Chapter 6, pp 162-193) in *China and Africa. A Century of Engagement*. David H. Shinn and Joshua Eisenman, 2012.
- Steven C.Y. Kuo, "Beijing's Understanding of African Security: Context and Limitations," *African Security*, v. 5, issue 1 (2012), pp. 24-43.

- Lina Benabdallah and Daniel Large. 2019. “China and African security,” in Chris Alden and Daniel Large (Eds) in *New Directions in Africa-China Studies*, Routledge, pp. 312-326.
- Jonathan Holslag, “China and the Coups: Coping with Political Instability in Africa,” *African Affairs*, v. 110, no. 440 (July 2011), pp. 367-86.
- Alden, Chris and Daniel Large. 2015. “On Becoming a Norms Maker: Chinese Foreign Policy, Norms Evolution and the Challenges of Security in Africa,” *The China Quarterly*, 221 (March), pp. 123-142.
- David Shinn, “China and the Conflict in Darfur,” *The Brown Journal of World Affairs*, v. 16, issue 1 (Fall/Winter 2009), pp. 85-100.
- SaferWorld, “China’s growing role in African peace and security” January 2011
- Chin-Hao Huang, “From Strategic Adjustment to Normative Learning? Understanding China’s Peacekeeping Efforts in Africa,” *Journal of International Peacekeeping*, v. 17 (2013), pp. 248-271. Direct Link: http://dornsife.usc.edu/assets/sites/451/docs/JOUP_017_03-04_Huang.pdf
- Shaio H. Zerba (2014) China's Libya Evacuation Operation: a new diplomatic imperative—overseas citizen protection, *Journal of Contemporary China*, 23:90, 1093-1112, DOI: 10.1080/10670564.2014.898900
- Paul Nantulya, “Only with Deep Roots Can a Tree Yield Rich Fruit:” *The People’s Liberation Army in Africa*” (pp 25-49), in *Enabling a More Externally Focused and Operational PLA – 2020 PLA Conference Papers*, US Army War College: USAWC Press: <https://press.armywarcollege.edu/cgi/viewcontent.cgi?article=1947&context=monographs>
- Paul Nantulya (2022) “China’s Growing Police & Law Enforcement Cooperation in Africa” (pp 39-56), in Nadege Rolland (Ed), *Political Frontlines. China’s Pursuit of Influence in Africa*. NBR Special Report #100. June.

Peacekeeping

- Wu Zhengyu and Ian Taylor, “From Refusal to Engagement: Chinese Contributions to Peacekeeping in Africa,” *Journal of Contemporary African Studies*, v. 29, no. 2 (April 2011), pp. 137-54.

Arms & Surveillance Technology

- Elijah Munyi, *The Growing Preference for Chinese Arms in Africa: A Case Study of Uganda and Kenya*, SAIS-CARI Policy Brief 49/2020: <http://www.sais-cari.org/s/PB-49-Munyi-Chinese-Arms-in-Africa-Uganda-and-Kenya.pdf>

- Jyhjong Hwang, African Military Aircraft Procurement from China: A Case Study from Zambia, SAIS-CARI Policy Brief 44/2020: <http://www.sais-cari.org/s/PB-44-Hwang-Zambia-Air-Forces.pdf>
- Andrew Hull and David Markov, “Chinese Arms Sales to Africa,” IDA Research Notes (Summer 2012), pp. 25-31. Direct Link: <https://www.ida.org/upload/research%20notes/researchnotessummer2012.pdf>
- Clifford, Edward. (2015). “Export to Arm: Is China’s Weapons Trade as Menacing as it Seems?” Brown Political Review (online) <http://www.brownpoliticalreview.org/2015/11/export-to-arm-is-chinas-weapons-trade-as-menacing-as-it-seems/>
- Ian Taylor, Chapter 5 (The Arms Trade) in *China’s New Role in Africa* by Ian Taylor. Boulder: Lynne Rienner, 2009
- Bulelani Jili. 8/14/2020. “Chinese Surveillance Tools in Africa.” China, Law, Development Oxford Project.

Chinese Private Security Companies

- Shuwen Zheng and Ying Xia, Private Security Companies in Kenya and the Impact of Chinese Actors. SAIS-CARI policy brief: <http://www.sais-cari.org/s/PB-53-Zheng-and-Xia-PSCs-in-Kenya.pdf>
- Alessandro Arduino, The Footprint of Chinese Private Security Companies In Africa, SAIS-CARI Policy Brief 42/2020: <http://www.sais-cari.org/s/PB-42-Arduino-Chinese-Private-Security-Companies.pdf>

REFLECTION QUESTIONS:

- Should the West be concerned about China’s role in Africa’s security matters? Do you think that the scrutiny of China's engagement in these matters is merited? What about the roles of other actors and their contributions to Africa's armed conflicts? Is China become a global partner or is it a norms-changer/maker?
- What various roles has China played in exacerbating African conflicts? Arms sales? Surveillance technologies? Poaching & mining activities in conflict zones?
- What about infrastructure and other development impacts? Discuss China’s understanding of the development-security nexus and evaluate.
- How will the increases in Chinese companies and Chinese people on the continent impact China’s non-intervention/non-interference policy? What of the role of Chinese private security companies?

WEEK 6 (7 October)

CHINA-AFRICA ECONOMIC ENGAGEMENT: UNTANGLING AID, FINANCE, TRADE, & INVESTMENT

Prep

- READ as instructed below
- EXPLORE:
 - The China Investment Tracker: <http://www.aei.org/china-global-investment-tracker/>;
 - SAIS-CARI interactive loans data website: <https://www.sais-cari.org/data/>; also available on BU website
 - China AidData website. <http://china.aiddata.org/>

As you explore the websites, look for figures relevant to your selected African country.

In Class

- Guest Speaker: Tarela Moses or Jyhjong Hwang, BU Global Development Policy Center's Global China (TBC)
- Prof Belem PPT (on aid, FDI and other investments, & trade issues) & class discussion
- Select topics for next week; divide into three groups and divide up readings (2-3 each)

Required Readings:

- BU Global Development Policy Center: <https://www.bu.edu/gdp/2023/08/18/a-new-state-of-lending-chinese-loans-to-africa/> (read webpage and linked policy brief)
- Brautigam, Deborah. "Rubbery Numbers on Chinese Aid," <http://www.chinaafricarealstory.com/2013/04/rubbery-numbers-on-chinese-aid.html>
- Linda Calabrese and Xiaoyang Tang, "Economic transformation in Africa: What is the role of Chinese firms?" *Journal of International Development* (2022): <https://onlinelibrary.wiley.com/doi/10.1002/jid.3664>
- BU Global Development Policy Center (2024) China-Africa Economic Bulletin, 2024 Edition

For Further Reading:

- Deborah Brautigam and Yufan Huang. 2023. [Integrating China into Multilateral Debt Relief: Progress and Problems in the G20 DSSI](#). SAIS-CARI Briefing Paper No.9.
- Chin and Gallagher, [Coordinated Credit Spaces: The Globalization of Chinese Development Finance](#)
- Kevin Acker and Deborah Brautigam. Twenty Years of Data on China's Africa Lending. CARI Briefing Paper No.4, 2021. <http://www.sais-cari.org/publications-briefing-papers-bulletins>

- Linda Calabrese. 2019. "Chinese OFDI in Africa," in E. Dussel Peters (Ed), *China's Foreign Direct Investment in Latin America and the Caribbean: Conditions and Challenges* (1st ed. Pp 61-85) Universidad Nacional Autonoma de Mexico. https://dusselpeters.com/CECHIMEX/20190804_CECHIMEX_Libro_Chinas_Foreign_Direct_Enrique_Dussel_Peters.pdf
- Leonce Ano, Linda Calabrese, and Winslow Robertson, 2022, "Whither FDI: What we mean by Chinese Foreign Direct Investment in African Countries" https://papers.ssrn.com/sol3/papers.cfm?abstract_id=4103685
- C K Lee, "The Specter of Global China", *New Left Review* 89, Sept/Oct 2014, pp: 29-65
- Acker, Kevin, Deborah Brautigam, and Yufan Huang. 2020. Debt Relief with Chinese Characteristics. Working Paper No. 2020/39. China Africa Research Initiative, School of Advanced International Studies, Johns Hopkins University, Washington, DC. Retrieved from <http://www.sais-cari.org/publications>.
- Joseph Onjala, "Merchandise Trading between Kenya and China: Implications for the East African Community (EAC)" (Chapter 4, pp 63-85) in Seifudein Adem (Ed.) (2013) *China's Diplomacy in Eastern and Southern Africa*, Burlington, VT: Ashgate.
- Hannah Ryder & Yike Fu. 2021. Africa's "too little debt" crisis: why finance from China to African countries is more crucial than ever in the wake of COVID-19 in *China International Strategy Review* <https://doi.org/10.1007/s42533-021-00083-x>
- Christina Wolf and S.K. Cheng. 2018. "Chinese FDI in Angola and Ethiopia: Between flying geese and resource colonialism?" IDCEA working paper no. 2. SOAS University of London. <https://www.soas.ac.uk/idcea/publications/working-papers/file139040.pdf>
- Were, Anzese. "Debt Trap? Africa's Development Options." SAIIA Policy Insights 66. August 2018 <http://www.saiia.org.za/research/debt-trap-chinese-loans-and-africas-development-options/>
- Xiaofang Shen, "Private Chinese Investment in Africa: Myths and Realities," World Bank Policy Research Working Paper 6311 (January 2013). Direct Link: <https://openknowledge.worldbank.org/bitstream/handle/10986/12174/wps6311.pdf?sequence=1>. (Just skim this one; it's the only long piece.)
- Heidi Østbø Haugen, "Chinese Exports to Africa: Competition, Complementarity and Cooperation between Micro-Level Actors," *Forum for Development Studies*, v. 38, no. 2 (June 2011), pp. 157-76. Direct Link: [www.sv.uio.no/iss/personer/vit/heidiha/Haugen%202011%20\(Chinese%20exports%20to%20Africa\).pdf](http://www.sv.uio.no/iss/personer/vit/heidiha/Haugen%202011%20(Chinese%20exports%20to%20Africa).pdf)
- Swedlund, Haley J. 2017. "Is China eroding the bargaining power of traditional donors in Africa?" *International Affairs* 93:2: 389-408.
- Friedrich Wu & Koh De Wei (2014) From Financial Assets to Financial Statecraft: the case of China and emerging economies of Africa and Latin America, *Journal of Contemporary China*, 23:89, 781-803, DOI: 10.1080/10670564.2014.882533
- Alden, Chris, "Chinese Multinational Corporations in Africa." Academia.edu - Share Research. Accessed June 18, 2022.

https://www.academia.edu/19012915/Chinese_Multinational_Corporations_in_Africa?email_work_card=title.

- Bala, Ezekiel Nuhu, "China-Nigeria Relations: Special Reference to Economic Relations." Academia.edu - Share Research. Accessed June 18, 2022. https://www.academia.edu/3738972/CHINE_NIGERIA_RELATION_SPECIAL_REFERENCE_TO_ECONOMIC_RELATIONS?email_work_card=title.
- Yuan, Jingdong, "China's Evolving Approach to Foreign Aid | SIPRI." Digital Object Identifier System. Accessed June 18, 2022. <https://doi.org/10.55163/WTNJ4163>.
- Kathleen Brown, August 2022, "Why Hide? Africa's Unreported Debt to China" AidData WORKING PAPER 120 (read intro & skim)
- Stefanos Ioannou, Liam Keenan and Dariusz Wójcik (2024). "Credit rating agencies' views on China's Belt and Road Initiative," *Eurasian Geography and Economics*, DOI: 10.1080/15387216.2024.2393626
- CK Lee, 2017. *The specter of global China: Politics, labor, and foreign investments in Africa*. University of Chicago Press

Reflection Questions

- Why do some Africans argue that China is a better partner than the West? What are the differences between aid/assistance vs. business as the key mode of engagement between countries?
- Which African countries and sectors are receiving Chinese FDI? What kinds of investments are these? Which sectors? State or private?
- Is China practicing debt trap diplomacy? How much of Africa's debt is held by Chinese banks? Which countries are most indebted (generally, and to China, specifically)? Which African countries are most in danger of defaulting on their loans?
- What are African countries trading with China? Why is the trade imbalance problematic? What can be done to address this? In terms of trade in China-made goods, who is importing these to Africa? What are some of the arguments about Chinese goods in Africa, especially vis-a-vis manufacturing?

WEEK 7 (21 October)

CONCERNS & CONTROVERSIES: LABOR, HUMAN RIGHTS, and ENVIRONMENT

Prep

- **READ** your 2-3 articles & take good notes as you'll need to contribute to a group PPT in class
- **Optional: Find and watch** 1-2 videos on the internet on your topic

In Class

- Coordinate with your group and create a 10-12 slide PPT on your topic to present to the rest of the class (30 minutes)
- Student Group Presentations (20 mins + 5 mins for Q&A)
- Full class discussion (30 minutes)

Readings (2-3 on ONE of the topics)

Labor

- Ching Kwan Lee (2009). "Raw Encounters: Chinese Managers, African Workers and the Politics of Casualization in Africa's Chinese Enclaves," *China Quarterly*, 199, pp. 647-666.
- Tang Xiaoyang (2010). "Bulldozer or Locomotive? The Impact of Chinese Enterprises on Local Employment in Angola and the DRC," *Journal of Asian and African Studies*, 45, 3, 2010.
- Kernan, Antoine and Katy N. Lam (2014). "Workforce localization among Chinese State-Owned Enterprises (SOEs) in Ghana," *Contemporary China*, pp. 1053-1072.
- Fei, Ding (2018). Work, Employment, and Training Through Africa-China Cooperation Zones: Evidence from the Eastern Industrial Zone in Ethiopia. Working Paper No. 2018/19. China Africa Research Initiative, School of Advanced International Studies, Johns Hopkins University, Washington, DC. Retrieved from <http://www.sais-cari.org/publications>.
- Karsten Giese. "Same-Same but Different: Chinese Traders' Perspectives on African Labor" (2013) *China Journal*: <https://www.journals.uchicago.edu/doi/10.1086/668841>
- Anthony Yaw Baah and Herbert Jauch (Eds.) (2009) "Chinese Investments in Africa: A Labour Perspective" May, African Labor Research Network. (skim)
- Human Rights Watch. (2011). "You'll Be Fired if You Refuse" Labor Abuses in Zambia's Chinese State-owned Copper Mines. Human Rights Watch (skim)

Human Rights & Democracy

- Stephen Brown & Chandra Lekha Sriram, "China's Role in Human Rights Abuses in Africa: Clarifying Issues of Culpability" (Chapter 12), pp. 250-271 in Rotberg.
- Shaun Breslin and Ian Taylor (2008), "Explaining the Rise of 'Human Rights' in Analyses of Sino-African Relations," *Review of African Political Economy*, v. 35, no. 115 (March), pp. 59-71.
- Daniel Large (2008). "China & the Contradictions of 'Non-interference' in Sudan" in *Review of African Political Economy* No. 115:93-106
- Paul Midford and Indra de Sousa, "Enter the Dragon! An Empirical Analysis of Chinese versus US Arms Transfers to Autocrats and Violators of Human Rights, 1989-2006"
- Ian Taylor, "The Issue of Human Rights" (Chapter 4), pp. 89-112 in Taylor
- Samuel Woodhams (2020), "China, Africa, and the Private Surveillance Industry", 21 *Geo. J. Int'l Aff.* 158
- Ndubisi Obiorah (2008), "Rise and Rights in China-Africa Relations," SAIS Working Papers in African Studies: <http://www.sais-jhu.edu/academics/regional-studies/africa>
- Adaora Osondu-Oti (2016), "China and Africa: human rights perspective," *African Development Vol. 41 No. 1*: <https://www.ajol.info/index.php/ad/article/view/153824>

- Zhang Chun (2014) China-Zimbabwe Relations: A Model of China-Africa Relations? SAIIA Occasional Paper: <https://africaportal.org/publication/china-zimbabwe-relations-a-model-of-china-africa-relations/>

Environment (If you select this topic, you may swap out the film for one of the readings)

- Cecilia Springer, Keyi Tang, Christoph Nedopil, Chris Alden, and Cobus van Staden. (2023). “What’s the Risk? ESG Lessons from Chinese Projects in Africa,” BU Global Development Policy Center <https://www.bu.edu/gdp/2023/08/30/whats-the-risk-esg-lessons-from-chinese-projects-in-africa/>
- Solomon Owusu, Keyi Tang, and Gideon Ndubuisi (2024) “Chinese Investment in Africa: A Double-Edged Sword for Low-carbon Industrialization,” BU Global Development Policy Center <https://www.bu.edu/gdp/2024/07/28/chinese-economic-ties-and-low-carbon-industrialization-in-africa/>
- Maiyo, Joshua. (2021) “Socio-environmental Imperatives for China-Africa Cooperation ahead of FOCAC 2021,” Academia Letters, July. https://www.academia.edu/49863280/Socio_environmental_imperatives_for_China_Africa_Cooperation_ahead_of_FOCAC2021?email_work_card=view-paper.
- Stephanie Rupp. 2019. “Ivory Trails: Divergent values of ivory and elephants in Africa and Asia,” in Chris Alden and Daniel Large (Eds) *New Directions in Africa-China Studies*, Routledge, pp. 225-240.
- Meryl Burgess. 2020. “China’s Global Environmental Engagement – Africa and Southeast Asia in Comparison,” in Ross Anthony and Uta Ruppert (Eds) *Reconfiguring Transregionalisation in the Global South. African-Asian Encounters*. Palgrave Macmillan, pp 167-196.
- Peter Bosshard, “China’s Environmental Footprint in Africa,” Policy Brief from South Africa Institute for International Affairs, April 2008. https://www.internationalrivers.org/sites/default/files/attached-files/saiia_policy_briefing_508.pdf
- Daniel Compagnon and Audrey Alejandro, “China’s External Environmental Policy: Understanding China’s Environmental Impact in Africa and How It Is Addressed”, *Environmental Practice* 15 (3) September 2013, pp. 220-227
- Yufang Gao and Susan G. Clark. (2014) “Elephant Ivory Trade in China: Trends and Drivers,” *Biological Conservation*, 180, pp. 23-30.
- Cerutti, P. O, S. Assembe-Mvondo, L. German and L. Putzel. 2011. “Is China Unique? Exploring the Behavior of Chinese and European Firms in the Cameroonian Logging Sector,” *International Forestry Review*, 13, 1: 23-34
- Sven Grimm and Meryl Burgess, “Greening Chinese-African Relations?” pp71-85, Li Xing and Abdulkadir Osmam Farah (eds) (2013), *China-Africa Relations in an Era of Great Transformations*, Burlington, VT: Ashgate
- Ministry of Commerce of the People’s Republic of China Ministry of Environmental Protection of the People’s Republic of China. 2013. “Guidelines for Environmental Protection in Foreign Investment and Cooperation,” February 18, 2013_
- World Wildlife Fund, “Africa and China: Cooperation for Sustainability,” (9 March 2012). Direct

Link: http://awsassets.panda.org/downloads/wwf_briefing_note_africa_china_cooperation_for_sustainability_en_1.pdf.

- Hensengerth, Oliver. 2013. "Chinese hydropower companies and environmental norms in countries of the global South: the involvement of Sinohydro in Ghana's Bui Dam," *Environment, Development and Sustainability*, 15, 2: 285-300.
- The Ivory Game (A documentary film), by Kief Davidson, Richard Ladkani, 2016 (1h52mins.) <https://theivorygame.com/>

Reflection Questions

- Are the concerns about Chinese engagement in/impacts on labor, human rights/governance, and environment in African countries warranted? Explain your response.
- What is the role of African governments with regard to labor, human rights, and environment?

ASSIGNMENT #2 – Country Presentations (PPT or Google slides) AND your video/audio presentation - uploaded to Canvas by Monday 28 October.

NOTE: We've only update readings up to this point; we will likely make some further changes specific readings in Modules Three and Four (YJP 31 August 2024)

MODULE THREE – SECTORAL ANALYSES

WEEK 8 (28 October)

MEDIA/COMMUNICATIONS or CULTURE/ARTS (select one)

DUE: Module Two Assignment (Country Presentations)

PREP

- READ as instructed below
- EXPLORE
 - <https://qz.com/africa/1137709/how-a-lone-ghanaian-cartoonist-stood-up-to-china/>
 - <http://gadocartoons.com/tag/china/>
 - <https://www.zapiro.com/component/zoo/advanced-search/373?Itemid=464>
 - <https://www.artsy.net/artist/michael-soi>

(Not all of these address relations with China but take a look (and have a think) about those that do.)

IN CLASS

- Bob Wekesa guest lecture (on Chinese media/comms engagements in Africa), TBC
- Grad student presentation/s

- Prof Park PPT on arts/culture engagement
- Class discussion

MEDIA/COMMUNICATIONS REQUIRED

- Wekesa, Bob. “New Directions in the Study of Africa–China Media and Communications Engagements.” *Journal of African Cultural Studies*, vol. 29, no. 1, Taylor & Francis, Ltd., 2017, pp. 11–24, <http://www.jstor.org/stable/26157322>.
- Li, Hangwei. “Media Representation of China in the Time of Pandemic: A Comparative Study of Kenyan and Ethiopian Media.” *Journal of African Media Studies* 13, no. 3 (September 1, 2021): 417–34. https://doi.org/10.1386/jams_00057_1.
- Madrid-Morales, Dani. “Who Set the Narrative? Assessing the Influence of Chinese Global Media on News Coverage of COVID-19 in 30 African Countries.” *Global Media and China* 6, no. 2 (June 2021): 129–51. <https://doi.org/10.1177/20594364211013714>.

FOR FURTHER READING

- Shubo Li & Helge Rønning (2013) Half-orchestrated, half freestyle: Soft power and reporting Africa in China, *Ecquid Novi: African Journalism Studies*, 34:3, 102-124
- Madrid-Morales, Dani. “Sino-African Media Cooperation: An Overview of a Longstanding Asymmetric Relationship.” Konrad Adenauer Stiftung (2021): 9-69.
- Fei Jiang, Shubo Li, Helge Rønning & Elling Tjønneland (2016) The voice of China in Africa: media, communication technologies and image-building, *Chinese Journal of Communication*, 9:1, 1-7, DOI:[10.1080/17544750.2016.1141615](https://doi.org/10.1080/17544750.2016.1141615)
- Diakon, Birama, and Ute Röschenthaler. “The Chinese Presence in the Malian Mediascape.” *Journal of African Cultural Studies*, vol. 29, no. 1, Taylor & Francis, Ltd., 2017, pp. 96–113, <http://www.jstor.org/stable/26157327>.
- Puppin, Giovanna. “Making Space for Emotions: Exploring China–Africa ‘mediated Relationships’ through CCTV-9’s Documentary African Chronicles (Feizhou Jishi 非洲纪事).” *Journal of African Cultural Studies*, vol. 29, no. 1, Taylor & Francis, Ltd., 2017, pp. 131–47, <http://www.jstor.org/stable/26157329>.
- Jedlowski, Alessandro, and Ute Röschenthaler. “EDITORIAL: China–Africa Media Interactions: Media and Popular Culture between Business and State Intervention.” *Journal of African Cultural Studies*, vol. 29, no. 1, Taylor & Francis, Ltd., 2017, pp. 1–10, <http://www.jstor.org/stable/26157321>.

- Zheng, Weidi, "The Silent China: Toward an Anti-Essentialism Approach for South-South Encounters | Zheng | International Journal of Communication." *International Journal of Communication*. Accessed June 18, 2022.
<https://ijoc.org/index.php/ijoc/article/view/16155/3743>.

CULTURE/ARTS

REQUIRED

- Motswedi Modiba sings in Mandarin on China's biggest stage:
<https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=Ylaum9J8gVQ> (interview on SABC);
<https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=9XwmtggnQvc> (performance on Sing! China);
<https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=gjs01O5B5MM> (same song, from her YouTube channel) (Feel free to skip around... just want you to get a sense of who she is)
- Ruth Simbao, "Resisting Soft Power, Subverting Solidarity. Visual Narratives of Chinese Presence in African," presented at the Smithsonian's AfricaAsia Materialities webinar, 16 September 2020. Start at 54.16 mins – ending at 1.20 mins. <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=sM7uk6TtXe4>

and

- Simbao, Ruth. 2012. 'China-Africa Relations: Research Approaches'. *African Arts* 45(2): 1-7
- Benabdallah, Lina. "Political representation of China-Africa: the tale of a playful panda, or a threatening dragon?" *Africa Review*; Vol. 7, Iss. 1, (2015): 28-41.
- Harrison, Philip, et al. "Visual Representations in South Africa of China and the Chinese People." *Journal of African Cultural Studies*, vol. 29, no. 1, Taylor & Francis, Ltd., 2017, pp. 25–45, <http://www.jstor.org/stable/26157323>.

FOR FURTHER READING

- Musanga, Terrence. "Perspectives of Zimbabwe-China Relations in Wallace Chirumiko's 'Made in China' (2012) and NoViolet Bulawayo's 'We Need New Names' (2013)." *Journal of African Cultural Studies*, vol. 29, no. 1, Taylor & Francis, Ltd., 2017, pp. 81–95, <http://www.jstor.org/stable/26157326>.
- Schmitz, Cheryl M. "Writings on the Wall: Chinese Material Traces in an African Landscape." *Journal of Material Culture*, 2014.
- Alessandro Jedlowski and Michael W. Thomas. "Representing 'otherness' in African popular media: Chinese characters in Ethiopian video-films" *Journal of African Cultural Studies*, 2017 Vol. 29, No. 1, 63–80
<http://dx.doi.org/10.1080/13696815.2016.1241704>
- Tu T. Huynh. "What People, What Cultural Exchange? A Reflection on China-Africa" *African-East Asian Affairs/The China Monitor*. Issue 2, November 2012.

- Ying Cheng; “The Bag Is My Home”: Recycling “China Bags” in Contemporary African Art. *African Arts* 2018; 51 (2): 18–31.
doi: https://doi.org/10.1162/afar_a_00400
- Natasha Norman (2013) Taking the Road Less Travelled, *Third Text*, 27:3, 400-406, DOI: [10.1080/09528822.2013.795699](https://doi.org/10.1080/09528822.2013.795699)
- van Staden, Cobus. “Watching Hong Kong Martial Arts Film under Apartheid.” *Journal of African Cultural Studies*, vol. 29, no. 1, Taylor & Francis, Ltd., 2017, pp. 46–62, <http://www.jstor.org/stable/26157324>.

REFLECTION QUESTIONS

Based on your readings, answer one or two questions for ONE of the topics

Arts/Culture

1. What are some of the ways in which China/Chinese people have impacted African societies culturally, aesthetically, linguistically?
2. Based on the Harrison, et al. reading, how are Chinese in South Africa represented in various images? What kinds of tropes do these images use? Do these images serve to strengthen or subvert stereotypes? Have these various visual representations changed over the years?
3. The Benabdallah reading and the links to the political cartoons and satirical artworks, discuss how states, commentators, cartoonists, and artists represent China, Africa, and their engagements.
4. How does Ruth Simbao’s work illuminate the role of “the creatives” in the continued examination of China’s engagement with different African countries? How do they add to existing discourses?

Media/Communications

1. What is the history of Chinese media/comms activities in Africa? What companies? Which African countries?
2. Why is China engaged in media/comms ventures/activities in Africa?
3. How have African media/journalists and African publics responded to Chinese media? Based on the research, have Chinese media been effective/influential?
4. Discuss the differences between Kenya and Ethiopia in terms of their coverage of China and Covid-19. What are some of the concerns about the coverage of these issues in the two countries.
5. Explain "positive journalism" and "developmental journalism". Are these significantly different from state-sponsored journalism and how do these practices differ from Western/International practices?

WEEK 9 (4 November)

MANUFACTURING or AGRICULTURE (select one)

PREP

- READ as instructed below on EITHER manufacturing or agricultural activities in Africa.

IN CLASS

- PPT/lectures (Prof Belem on manufacturing, Prof Park on ag)
- Grad student reading presentation/s
- Discussion

MANUFACTURING - REQUIRED READINGS

- Yoon Jung Park & Tang Xiaoyang (2021): Chinese FDI and impacts on technology transfer, linkages, and learning in Africa: evidence from the field, *Journal of Chinese Economic and Business Studies*, To link to this article: <https://doi.org/10.1080/14765284.2021.1996191>
- Brautigam, Deborah, Tang Xiaoyang, and Ying Xia. 2018. What kinds of Chinese "Geese" are flying to Africa? Evidence from Chinese manufacturing firms. Working Paper No. 2018/17. China Africa Research Initiative, School of Advanced International Studies, Johns Hopkins University, Washington, DC. Retrieved from <http://www.sais-cari.org/publications>.
- Udochi, Aisha C., "'Flying Geese" or False Promises: Assessing the Viability of Foreign Direct Investment-Driven Industrialization in Nigeria's Shoe Manufacturing Industry." SpringerLink. Accessed June 18, 2022. https://link.springer.com/chapter/10.1007/978-3-030-75556-0_22.

FOR FURTHER READING:

- Ying Xia. 2019. Chinese manufacturing and agricultural investment in Tanzania: A scoping study. CARI working paper no. 31. <http://www.sais-cari.org/publications>.
- Eom, Janet. 2018. Chinese manufacturing moves to Rwanda: A study of training at C&H Garments. Working Paper No. 2018/18. China Africa Research Initiative, School of Advanced International Studies, Johns Hopkins University, Washington, DC. Retrieved from <http://www.sais-cari.org/publications>.
- Tang, Keyi. 2019. Lessons from East Asia: Comparing Ethiopia and Vietnam's Early Stage Special Economic Zone Development. Working Paper No. 2019/26. China

Africa Research Initiative, School of Advanced International Studies, Johns Hopkins University, Washington, DC. Retrieved from <http://www.sais-cari.org/publications>.

- Honita Cowaloosur and Ian Taylor. 2019. "Dependency and underdevelopment: The case of the Special Economic Zone in Mauritius," in Chris Alden and Daniel Large (Eds) in *New Directions in Africa-China Studies*, Routledge, pp. 205-224.
- Bräutigam, Deborah and Tang Xiaoyang. 2014. "'Going Global in Groups': Structural Transformation and China's Special Economic Zones Overseas," *World Development*
- Kaplinsky, Raphael. 2008. "What Does the Rise of China Do for Industrialization in Sub-Saharan Africa?" *Review of African Political Economy*, 35, 115, pp. 7-22. Tang, Xiaoyang. 2016. Chinese Investment in Ghana's Manufacturing Sector. Working Paper No. 2016/8. China-Africa Research Initiative, School of Advanced International Studies, Johns Hopkins University, Washington, DC. Retrieved from <http://www.sais-cari.org/publications>.
- Lin, Justin Y. 2011. "From Flying Geese to Leading Dragons: New Opportunities and Strategies for Structural Transformation in Developing Countries," World Bank Policy Research Working Paper No. 5702, June. <https://elibrary-worldbank-org.proxy.library.georgetown.edu/doi/abs/10.1596/1813-9450-5702>
- Shi, Donglai, "Documenting Life Inside a 'China-Africa Factory'." #SixthTone. Accessed June 18, 2022. https://www.sixthtone.com/news/1010480/documenting-life-inside-a-china-africa-factory?source=channel_home.
- Irene Sun (2017) *The Next Factory of the World: How Chinese Investment Is Reshaping Africa* Boston: Harvard Business School Press.

REFLECTION QUESTIONS

- Which Chinese actors are investing in manufacturing in Africa?
- Have these manufacturing investments created jobs? Resulted in knowledge sharing and technology transfer? Created opportunities for Africans? Resulted in structural transformation?
- What are the barriers to greater success for these manufacturing ventures?
- What is the role of the African state with regards to manufacturing/industrialization?

AGRICULTURE REQUIRED READINGS (NOTE: Most of the CARI publications include both working paper and policy brief versions. Read the Brautigam & Tang article and then the CARI policy briefs). **In addition, do an internet search for more recent Chinese agricultural activities on the continent so we can discuss current trends & concerns.**

- Deborah A. Bräutigam and Tang Xiaoyang, “China’s Engagement in African Agriculture: “Down to the Countryside,” *The China Quarterly* (Sept 2009) 199, 686-706.
- Makundi, Hezron. 2017. “Diffusing Chinese rice technology in rural Tanzania: Lessons from the Dakawa agro-technology demonstration center.” Working Paper No. 2017/12. China Africa Research Initiative, School of Advanced International Studies, Johns Hopkins University, Washington, DC. Retrieved from <http://www.sais-cari.org/publications>.
- Solange Guo Chatelard and Jessica M. Chu. “Chinese Agricultural Engagements in Zambia: A Grassroots Analysis” CARI Policy Brief No.4, 2015. Retrieved from <http://www.sais-cari.org/publications>.
- Josh Maiyo, "The Political Ecology of Chinese Agricultural Investment in Uganda," SAIS Policy Brief, 2014. <https://saiscari.files.wordpress.com/2014/10/maiyo-v-3-original.pdf>

FOR FURTHER READING:

- Ying Xia. 2019. Chinese manufacturing and agricultural investment in Tanzania: A scoping study. CARI working paper no. 31. <http://www.sais-cari.org/publications>.
- Helen Lei Sun, “Understanding China’s Agricultural Investments in Africa,” SAIIA Occasional Paper no. 102 (November 2011). Direct Link: <https://saiia.org.za/research/understanding-chinas-agricultural-investments-in-africa/>
- Deborah Brautigam, *The Dragon’s Gift*, Chapter 9 (Exporting Green Revolution) and Chapter 10 (Foreign Farmers)
- Deborah Brautigam, *Will Africa Feed China* (2015), Intro, Ch. 1, Conclusion
- Sergio Chichava, “Chinese Agricultural Investment in Mozambique: The Case Of the Wanbao Rice Farm, SAIS Policy Brief No 2, 2014: Retrieved from <http://www.sais-cari.org/publications>.
- YAN Hairong and Barry Sautman, “Chinese Farms in Zambia: From Socialist to ‘Agro-Imperialist’ Engagement?” *African and Asian Studies* 9 (2010): 307-333.

REFLECTION QUESTIONS

- Is there a Chinese-government led effort to acquire land for China’s food security?
- What does China’s policy framework suggest about intentions?
- What is the real experience of Chinese agricultural investment in Africa?
- What are the key takeaways from the Makundi and Maiyo case studies?

WEEK 10 (11 November)

ENERGY ACTIVITIES & NATURAL RESOURCE EXTRACTION (oil & gas, gold, copper, & critical minerals)

PREP

- READ the online pieces, reports, & journal articles, as instructed below

IN CLASS

- Grad student reading presentation
- Lecture/PPT on China's Natural Resource Extraction on the African Continent
- Discussion: Chinese energy needs, oil & extractive activities & impacts in Africa

REQUIRED READINGS:

- Pallarès, Glòria, "Chinese Companies Linked to Illegal Logging and Mining in Northern DRC." Pulitzer Center. Accessed June 18, 2022.
https://pulitzercenter.org/stories/chinese-companies-linked-illegal-logging-and-mining-northern-drc?utm_medium=Email&utm_source=Newsletter&utm_campaign=622022
- Understanding Chinese Investment in African Oil And Gas, AOW October 2023:
<https://africa-oilweek.com/articles/understanding-chinese-investment-in-african-o>
- Securing China's energy supplies in Africa & the Belt and Road Initiative, Enerdata, January 2020: <https://www.enerdata.net/publications/executive-briefing/china-strategy-in-africa.html>
- Could Africa Replace China as the World's Source of Rare Earth Elements? Gracelin Baskeran. Brookings Commentary, Dec 29, 2022:
<https://www.brookings.edu/articles/could-africa-replace-china-as-the-worlds-source-of-rare-earth-elements/>
- Byamungu, Christian-Géraud Neema, "Blue Metal Blues: Cobalt, the Democratic Republic of Congo, and China." SAIIA. Last modified May 31, 2022.
<https://saiia.org.za/research/blue-metal-blues-cobalt-the-democratic-republic-of-congo-and-china/>
- Cyril Obi, 2019, The Changing Dynamics of Chinese Oil and Gas Engagements in Africa, in *China-Africa and an Economic Transformation*, Arkebe Oqubay & Justin Yifu Lin (eds.), <https://academic.oup.com/book/42633/chapter/358095979>
- Hilson and Adu-Darko, "Chinese participation in Ghana's informal gold mining economy: Drivers, implications and clarifications," *Journal of Rural Studies*, Volume 34, April 2014, pp. 292–303.

FOR FURTHER READING:

- Mzukisi Qobo and Garth le Pere. 2019. "Between resource extraction and industrializing Africa," in in Chris Alden and Daniel Large (Eds) in *New Directions in Africa-China Studies*, Routledge, pp. 260-278.
- Luke Patey. 2017. "Learning in Africa: China's Overseas Oil Investments in Sudan and South Sudan," *Journal of Contemporary China*, 26:107, 756-768.
- Erica Downs. 2010. "Who's Afraid of China's Oil Companies?" Carlos Pascual and Jonathan Elkind, eds. *Energy Security: Economics, Politics, Strategy, and Implications*. Brookings Institution Press, pp. 73-102.
- Ricardo Soares de Oliveira, "Making Sense of Chinese Oil Investment in Africa" (Chapter 4), pp. 83-110 in Alden et.al. *China Returns to Africa* (2008)
- Erica S. Downs, "The Fact and Fiction of Sino-African Energy Relations," in *China Security* (Summer 2007) 3: 3, 42-68.
- Erica S. Downs, "The Chinese Energy Security Debate," *The China Quarterly*, 2004, pp. 21-41
- Hardus, S. "Chinese National Oil Companies in Ghana: the Cases of CNOOC and Sinopec." *Perspectives on Global Development and Technology*. 13 (2014): 588-612.
- Patricia I. Vasquez, 2019, China's Oil and Gas Footprint in Latin America and Africa, *International Development Policy*, <https://doi.org/10.4000/poldev.3174>

REFLECTION QUESTIONS:

- What are the facts? What are the principal natural resources exploited/exported by China? Who are the principal actors/countries involved in extractive industries? Who are the other foreign actors?
- How does Chinese engagement in natural resource extraction differ from Western engagement?
- How has foreign consumption of African oil impacted African economies? What happens to the "infrastructure for oil" (or other resource) deals when prices drop? What about environmental & social/human impacts?
- How do Chinese energy needs, the BRI, and China's efforts to become a clean/green energy leader intersect with China's extractive activities in Africa?

WEEK 11 (18 November) (Note: Yoon away in Nairobi)

CHINESE INFRASTRUCTURE ACTIVITIES IN

DUE: Module Three Assignment (Research Paper)

PREP

- READ as instructed below

IN CLASS

- WATCH – *When China Met Africa*, by Mark and Nick Francis, 2011 (74 mins.) [Watch When China Met Africa Online | Vimeo On Demand on Vimeo](#) (YJP <https://vimeo.com/user98777900>)
- Prof Belem lecture on Infrastructure
- Grad student reading presentation/s
- Discussion

INFRASTRUCTURE/CONSTRUCTION REQUIRED READINGS:

- BRI: Success or Failure? 30 October 2023. China and the World/Financial Times podcast/interview: <https://www.ft.com/video/bc00595a-1198-4417-88cc-ea4bd07bf583>
- Yunnan Chen. 2018. Silk Road to The Sahel: African Ambitions in China's Belt and Road Initiative (CARI Policy Brief 23/2018) <http://www.sais-cari.org/publications-policy-briefs>
- Linda Calabrese, 2023. China and global development: What to read after the third Belt and Road Forum: <https://odi.org/en/insights/china-and-global-development-what-to-read-after-the-third-belt-and-road-forum/>
- James McBride, Noah Berman, and Andrew Chatzky (Council on Foreign Relations). 2023. China's Massive Belt and Road Initiative: <https://www.cfr.org/backgrounder/chinas-massive-belt-and-road-initiative>

FOR FURTHER READING:

- ODI, "Looking back, looking forward: Global South perspectives on the BRI," October 5th, 16:30 GMT+2 (hybrid): <https://tinyurl.com/4r33vyh9>
- Nadège Rolland (editor). (In)roads and Outposts Critical Infrastructure in China's Africa Strategy. The National Bureau of Asian research, NBR special report #98 | May 2022: https://www.nbr.org/wp-content/uploads/pdfs/publications/sr98_inroadsandoutposts_may2022.pdf (SKIM)
- Giles Mohan and Mary Tan-Mullins. 2019. "The geopolitics of South-South infrastructure development: Chinese-financed energy projects in the global South," *Urban South*, 56(7): 1368-1385, <http://oro.open.ac.uk/55889/1/Attached%20standard%20file-.PDF>
- Deborah Brautigam, Jyhjong Hwang, and Lu Wang. 2015. Chinese Financed Hydropower Projects in Sub-Saharan Africa (CARI Policy Brief 08/2015). <http://www.sais-cari.org/publications-policy-briefs>

- Wissenbach, Uwe, and Yuan Wang. 2017. African politics meets Chinese engineers: The Chinese-built Standard Gauge Railway Project in Kenya and East Africa. Working Paper No. 2017/13. China Africa Research Initiative, School of Advanced International Studies, Johns Hopkins University, Washington, DC. Retrieved from <http://www.sais-cari.org/publications-policy-briefs>.
- Lucy Corkin, “China’s strategic infrastructural investments in Africa” (pp 134-150) and "China's interest in Angola's construction and infrastructure sectors" (pp. 157-190) in Grace Guerrero and Firoze Manji (Eds) (2008) *China’s New Role in Africa and the South. A search for a new perspective*. Cape Town, Nairobi and Oxford: Fahamu.
- Ana Cristina Alves, “China’s ‘Win-Win’ Cooperation: Unpacking the Impact of Infrastructure-for-Resources Deals in Africa,” *South African Journal of International Affairs*, v. 20, no. 2 (2013), pp. 207-226.
- Landry, David G. 2018. The Risks and Rewards of Resource-for-Infrastructure Deals: Lessons from the Congo's Sicomines Agreement. Working Paper No. 2018/16. China Africa Research Initiative, School of Advanced International Studies, Johns Hopkins University, Washington, DC. Retrieved from <http://www.sais-cari.org/publications-policy-briefs>.
- David Dollar. 2019. Understanding China’s Belt & Road infrastructure projects in Africa: <https://www.brookings.edu/articles/understanding-chinas-belt-and-road-infrastructure-projects-in-africa/0000>
- Ian Taylor, 2020. “Kenya’s New Lunatic Express. The Standard Gauge Railway,” *African Studies Quarterly*, 19 (3-4): 29-52.
- Hong Zhang. 2021. Chinese International Contractors in Africa: Structure and Agency Working Paper No. 2021/47. China Africa Research Initiative, School of Advanced International Studies, Johns Hopkins University, Washington, DC. Retrieved from <http://www.sais-cari.org/publications>
- Henry Tugendhat and Julia Voo. 2021. China’s Digital Silk Road in Africa and the Future of Internet Governance. Working Paper No. 2021/50. China Africa Research Initiative, School of Advanced International Studies, Johns Hopkins University, Washington, DC. Retrieved from <http://www.sais-cari.org/publications>.

REFLECTION QUESTIONS

- Why is China investing in Africa’s infrastructure? What are they building/financing?
- What are the main concerns about China’s engagement in Africa’s infrastructure projects?
- What are the specific concerns about resources for infrastructure deals? Have they been used in the past by other countries? Can you give an example?

- Evaluate the role and impacts of BRI in Africa. What are some of the successes? Failures?
- How do Chinese contractors and African actors impact these projects? Discuss issues around drivers and agency.

<p>MODULE FOUR – HUMAN FLOWS AND ENGAGEMENTS, DRAWING INFORMED CONCLUSIONS</p>

WEEK 12 (25 November)

CHINESE IN AFRICA & AFRICANS IN CHINA

PREP

- READ or WATCH, as instructed below

IN CLASS

- Chinese in Africa PPT/Lecture & Discussion
- Laisuituo: <https://africansinchina.net/2016/09/24/film-laisuotuo-a-new-film-about-sinoafrica-encounters/>
- [Media Reports] ‘Africans in Guangzhou’ on Chinese (global) television – Africans in China
- Africans in China Discussion

CHINESE IN AFRICA

REQUIRED:

VIEWING

- Behind the Belt by Philip Man and Jidi Guo, <https://vimeo.com/224831662>; PW: 2017chinamarimba OR <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=XbpaKBTgQXY> (28:54min)

READING

Read my overview OR the Sullivan and Cheng piece, and the Driessen article.

- Yoon Jung Park. January 2009. “Chinese Migration in Africa” Occasional Paper No. 24, China in Africa Programme, South African Institute for International Affairs. Johannesburg: SAIIA (17 pp) <http://www.saiia.org.za> OR
- Jonathan Sullivan and Jing Cheng. 2018. “Contextualising Chinese Migration to Africa,” *Journal of Asian and African Studies*, pp 1-15. AND
- Miriam Driessen. 2016. “Pushed to Africa: emigration and social change in China,” *Journal of Ethnic and Migration Studies*, 42:15, pp 2491-2507.

FOR FURTHER READING:

- Tu T. Huynh, Yoon Jung Park, and Anna Ying Chen, “Faces of China: New Chinese Migrants in South Africa, 1980s to Present,” *African and Asian Studies* (2010) 9, 286-306.
- Romain Dittgen, “From Isolation to Integration? A Study of Chinese Retailers in Dakar,” South Africa Institute of International Affairs, March 2010.
http://www.saiia.org.za/images/stories/pubs/occasional_papers/saia_sop_57_dittgen_20100326.pdf
- Françoise Bourdarias, “Chinese Migrants and Society in Mali: Local Constructions of Globalization,” *African & Asian Studies* (2010) 9: 3, 269-285.
- Gregor Dobler, “Chinese Shops and the Formation of a Chinese Expatriate Community in Namibia,” *The China Quarterly* (Sept. 2009) 199, 707-727.
- Rirhandu Mageza-Barthel. 2017. “Beyond the State in Sino-African Relations? Situation Civil Society Interactions,” Arndt Graf and Azirah Hashim (Eds) *African-Asian Encounters. New Cooperations and New Dependencies*, Amsterdam University Press/International Institute for Asian Studies, pp 103-132
- Cheryl Mei-ting Schmitz. 2018. “Performing ‘China in Africa’ for the West: Chinese migrant discourses in Angola,” *Asian and Pacific Migration Journal*, Vol. 27(1) 9–27
- Jura, Jaroslaw & Kaluzynska, Kaja & Carvalho, Paulo. (2018). ‘The big brother we appreciate’ or a ‘Mafioso’? The emergence of stereotypes concerning China and the Chinese in Angola. *Journal of African Media Studies*. 10. 251-271.
10.1386/jams.10.3.251_1.
- Xiao, Allen Hai, and Shaonan Liu. “‘The Chinese’ in Nigeria: Discursive Ethnicities and (Dis)Embedded Experiences.” *Journal of Contemporary Ethnography* 50, no. 3 (June 2021): 368–94. <https://doi.org/10.1177/0891241620986838>.
- Haugen, H.Ø. (2021), Leaving on a strong passport: State protection of Chinese workers in Africa and beyond. *International Migration*, 59: 255-258.
<https://doi.org/10.1111/imig.12845>
- Arsene, Codrin. “Chinese Employers and Their Ugandan Workers: Tensions, Frictions and Cooperation in an African City.” *Journal of Current Chinese Affairs* 43, no. 1 (2014): 139–76. doi:10.1177/186810261404300106.
- Shaonan Liu, 2022. *The History of Chinese Presence in Nigeria (1950s–2010s): Factories, Commodities, and Entrepreneurs*, Routledge (new book)

REFLECTION QUESTIONS

- Who are the Chinese in Africa? Why are they moving to Africa? Where are they settling? What are their main activities?

- What challenges do Chinese face in Africa? How are Chinese treated in Africa?
- How does China's rise impact Chinese migrants?
- What, if any, impacts are Chinese migrants having on African countries? (Are there economic/developmental, social/cultural, political impacts?)

AFRICANS IN CHINA

REQUIRED

VIEWING/LISTENING

- China Remix by Dorian Carli-Jones and Melissa Lefkowitz, 2015, <https://vimeo.com/122390150>, 29 mins. (pw: africansinchina) OR
- One of Roberto Castillo's presentations or podcasts: <https://africansinchina.net/podcasts/> AND
- Africans in Guangzhou Episode 1: Major challenges Africans face <https://africansinchina.net/2019/07/30/africans-in-guangzhou-episode-1-major-challenges-africans-face/> (CGTN, 4.28mins.)

READING

- Padmore Adusei Amoah, Obert Hodzi & Roberto Castillo (2020): Africans in China and Chinese in Africa: inequalities, social identities, and wellbeing, *Asian Ethnicity*: <https://doi.org/10.1080/14631369.2020.1784706>
- Heidi Østbø Haugen. 2012. "Nigerians in China: A second state of immobility" in *International Migration*, IOM.

FOR FURTHER READING

- C. Jama Adams. 2015. "Structure and Agency: Africana Immigrants in China." *The Journal of Pan African Studies*. 7(10): 85-107.
- Zhigang Li, Laurence J. C. Ma, and Desheng Xue, "An African Enclave in China: The Making of a New Transnational Urban Space" in *Eurasian Geography and Economics*, 2009, 50, No. 6, pp. 699–719.
- Castillo, Roberto (2015), Landscapes of Aspiration in Guangzhou's African Music Scene: Beyond the Trading Narrative, *Journal of Current Chinese Affairs*, 44, 4, 83–115.
- Heidi Haugen, "African Pentecostal migrants in China: Marginalization and alternative geographies of a mission theology," *African Studies Review*, v56 (n1) (April 2013): 81(22)
- Heidi Østbø Haugen. 2012. "Nigerians in China: A second state of immobility" in *International Migration*, IOM.

- Mathews, Gordon (2015), African Logistics Agents and Middlemen as Cultural Brokers in Guangzhou, *Journal of Current Chinese Affairs*, 44, 4, 117–144.
- Tu T. Huynh (2016) A ‘Wild West’ of trade? African women and men and the gendering of globalisation from below in Guangzhou, *Identities*, 23:5, 501-518
- Shanshan Lan. 2015. “Transnational business and family strategies among Chinese/Nigerian couples in Guangzhou and Lagos,” *Asian Anthropology*, doi: 10.1080/168347X.2015.1050645.
- Lan, Shanshan. 2014. “State Regulation of Undocumented African Migrants in China: A Multi- Scalar Analysis.” *Journal of Asian and African Studies* 50 (3): 289–304
- Min Zhou, Shabnam Shenasi, and Tao Xu. 2016. “Chinese Attitudes toward African Migrants in Guangzhou, China,” *International Journal of Sociology* 46 (2): 141-161.
- Braun, Lesley Nicole, and Heidi Østbø Haugen. “The Weight Women Carry: Research on the Visible and Invisible Baggage in Suitcase Trade between China and Africa.” *The Professional Geographer*, September 13, 2021, 1–7. <https://doi.org/10.1080/00330124.2021.1950554>.
- Shum, Terence Chun Tat. “Conceptualising Integrative Exchanges: Marginalisation, Music and Identity of African Diaspora in Hong Kong.” *Migration and Development* 8, no. 1 (n.d.): 1–18. doi:10.1080/21632324.2018.1446500.

REFLECTION QUESTIONS

- Who are the Africans in China? Why are they moving to China? What are their main activities? How many are there?
- What challenges do Africans face in China?
- How are Africans treated in China?
- Based on what we’ve learned thus far about Chinese in Africa, do you see any similarities? Explain.

WEEK 13 (2 December)

RACE, RACISM, RACIALIZATION, AND XENOPHOBIA

PREP

- READ as instructed below
- WATCH/READ online:
 - Runako Celina, BBC documentary, [racism for sale](#).
 - Racist Laundry Detergent Ad blog & video - <https://africansinchina.net/compilation-opinion-and-analysis-pieces-about-the-notorious-racistchinesead/>; also read Li Anshan commentary: <https://fromafricatochina.com/2016/06/18/opinion->

[%E6%9D%8E%E5%AE%89%E5%B1%B1%EF%BC%9Aignorance-of-race-not-equivalent-to-racism/](#)

- Chinese Lunar New Year Gala 2018. Here's one link:
<https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=siEPxHafx-4>
- Michael Soi's "China Loves Africa" <https://qz.com/africa/1343155/michael-soi-china-loves-africa-paintings-question-chinas-influence-in-africa/>
- Vice Asia, Being Black and Mixed Race in China:
<https://africansinchina.net/2022/10/18/being-black-and-mixed-race-in-china/>

IN CLASS

- YJP brief PPT
- Small group and full class discussions on African-Chinese encounters and race, racism, and racialization

REQUIRED READINGS

- T. Tu Huynh and Yoon Jung Park. 2019. "Reflections on the role of race in China-Africa relations," Chris Alden and Daniel Large (Eds) in *New Directions in Africa-China Studies*, Routledge, pp158-172.
- Jamie Monson. 2015. "Historicizing Difference Construction of Race Identity in China-Africa Relations," *SSRC Think Pieces: Making Sense of the China-Africa Relationship*.

FOR FURTHER READING:

Historical

- Vera Fennell. 2013. "Race: China's Questions and Problem. *Review of Black Political Economy* 40: 245-275.
- Michael J. Sullivan, "The 1988-89 Nanjing Anti-African Protests: Racial Nationalism or National Racism?" in *The China Quarterly*, No. 138. (June 1994), pp. 438-457.
- Karen L. Harris. 2010. "Anti-Sinicism: Roots in Pre-Industrial Colonial Southern Africa," *African and Asian Studies* 9 (2): 213-231.
- Barry Sautman. 1994. "Anti-Black Racism in Post-Mao China," *The China Quarterly* 138: 413-437.

Contemporary

- Roberto Castillo (2020). "'Race' and 'racism' in contemporary Africa-China relations research: approaches, controversies and reflections", *Inter-Asia Cultural Studies*, 21:3, 310-336, DOI: 10.1080/14649373.2020.1796343

- C. Jama Adams. (2019) Chapter Chapter Five: Race and Ethnicity, in *Africana People in China: Psychoanalytic Perspectives on Migration Experiences, Identity, and Precarious Employment*, pp. 166-216, NY: Routledge (Orcid.org/0000-0001-5725-3939)
- Emmanuel Matambo (2019): A choreographed Sinophobia? An analysis of China's identity from the perspective of Zambia's Patriotic Front, *Africa Review*: <https://doi.org/10.1080/09744053.2019.1685322>
- Kwaku Opoku Dankwah & Padmore Adusei Amoah (2018): Gauging the dispositions between indigenes, Chinese and other immigrant traders in Ghana: towards a more inclusive society, *Asian Ethnicity*, <https://doi.org/10.1080/14631369.2018.1490173>
- Romain Dittgen and Ross Anthony. 2018 “Yellow, red and black. Fantasies about China and the Chinese in contemporary South Africa” in Bille F. and S. Urbansky, eds., *Yellow Peril*, Hawaii University Press.
- Yinghong Cheng. 2011. “From Campus Racism to Cyber Racism: Discourse of Race and Chinese Nationalism,” *The China Quarterly* 207: 561-579.
- Johanna Hood. 2013. “Distancing Disease in the Un-black Hand Chinese Politic: Othering Difference in China’s HIV/AIDS Media,” *Modern China* 39 (3): 280-318.
- Yvonne Erasmus and Yoon Jung Park. 2008. “Racial Classification, Redress, and Citizenship: The Case of the Chinese South Africans,” *Transformation. Critical Perspectives on Southern Africa* 68: 99-109.
- Tu T. Huynh. 2013. “Black Marxism: An Incorporations Analytical Framework for Rethinking Chinese Labor in South African Historiography,” *African Identities* 11 (2): 185-199.
- Barry Sautman and YAN Hairong. 2016. “The Discourse of Racialization of Labour and Chinese Enterprises in Africa,” *Ethnic and Racial Studies*, doi:10.1080/01419870.2016.1139156.
- Lan, Shanshan. 2016. “The Shifting Meanings of Race in China: A Case Study of the African Diaspora in Guangzhou.” *City & Society* 28 (3): 298–318
- Frank Dikotter. 1992. *The Discourse of Race in Modern China*. Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press.
- Dujon M Johnson. 2007. *Race and Racism in the Chinas*. Bloomington, IN: Author’s House.

WEEK 14 (9 December)

DRAWING INFORMED CONCLUSIONS: AFRICAN AGENCY, CHINA-US TENSIONS & IMPACTS ON AFRICA, and SHIFTING GLOBAL REALITIES

Prep

- READ short media pieces as instructed below; if you have time/energy, read any one of the academic articles.
- WATCH Wolf Warrior Two
- Explore Afrobarometer Round 8 results, especially on China: <https://afrobarometer.org/multi-country-results>
- COMPLETE course evaluation & submit

REQUIRED READINGS

- Joseph Sany and Thomas P. Sheehy. “Sidestepping Great Power Rivalry: U.S.-China Competition in Africa. Can Washington challenge Beijing in Africa while also seeking cooperation that advances African interests?” USIP publications. April 28, 2021: <https://www.usip.org/publications/2021/04/sidestepping-great-power-rivalry-us-china-competition-africa>
- Harry Verhoeven & Nicolas Lippolis. August 1st, 2022. “How the US-China rivalry is undermining efforts to address Africa’s debt.” LSE blogs. <https://blogs.lse.ac.uk/africaatlse/2022/08/01/how-the-us-china-rivalry-is-undermining-efforts-to-address-africas-debt/>
- Jordan Link. “Five things US policymakers must understand about China-Africa relations.” Oct 5, 2021: <https://www.americanprogress.org/article/5-things-u-s-policymakers-must-understand-china-africa-relations/>

FOR FURTHER READING

- Folashade Soule-Kohndou. 2020. “Africa+1’ Summit Diplomacy and the ‘New Scramble’ Narrative: Recentring African Agency”, *African Affairs*, 00/00, 1–14
- Procopio, Maddalena. 2015. “The Effectiveness of Confucius Institutes as a Tool of China’s Soft Power in South Africa,” *African East-Asian Affairs: The China Monitor*, issue 2 (June), pp. 98-121. <http://aeaa.journals.ac.za/pub/article/view/155/111>
- Cobus van Staden, Chris Alden, Yu-Shan Wu. “In the Driver’s Seat. African agency and Chinese power,” SAIIA Occasional Paper No 286. September 2018. http://saiia.org.za/wp-content/uploads/2018/09/saia_sop_286_Van-Staden-Alden-Wu_20180921.pdf
- Lucy Corkin, “Understanding Angolan Agency: The Luanda-Beijing Face-Off” in Aleksandra W Gadzala (ed), *Africa and China. How Africans and Their Governments are Shaping Relations with China*. 2015: 61-84

REFLECTION QUESTIONS

- Having watched Wolf Warrior Two, discuss how some Chinese citizens see themselves/their role in the world. How has this changed in the past several years of Covid lockdowns and a slowing Chinese economy?
- Based on the most recent Afrobarometer African attitudes survey results, do you think China's "soft power", investments, and loans are having an impact?
- The Afrobarometer survey also indicates that US-China competition may be a boon for African countries. Based on class readings and discussions, how do negative Western views of China (and China's malign influence around the globe) impact African perceptions? And what do you think about the impacts of US-China competition?
- Some of you may have read/heard of "sharp power". Do you think China is exercising sharp power in Africa? Explain your response.
- Given the size and power disparities between China and all African countries, how can and do African governments and African people/communities exert agency? Can you give a few examples?

DUE: Final Assignment (Policy Documents), Extra Credit Assignments, and all late work due 16 December