Research in Europe and Africa-China Relationships

A Report for the Rockefeller Foundation*

Version Three

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1 Introduction

Following the rapid increase in China's trade investment and aid links with Africa. the issue of the impact of China on Africa has risen very rapidly up the European policy agenda. Even as late as 2005, however, the importance of this issue was not fully clear. In the Commission for Africa report (2005), commissioned by the UK government and published in 2005, China significance as an actor in Africa is not identified as an issue for discussion, even though one of the Commission's panel was Chinese. The report contains 21 references to 'China' and two references to 'Chinese'. The majority of these refer to China as an exemplar of good policy, in areas such as openness to trade and property rights. There are two references to China as a potential market for African products, and one reference to China as a potential power within Africa: "On the world stage, Asia – and particularly the giants of China and India – is emerging as a major economic power. Chinese investments and business interests, for example, are now to be found all across Africa" (Commission for Africa 2005: 19). But this is not followed up later in the report.

However, a report by the European Commission to the European Parliament on the EU's Africa strategy did flag up the China question in 2005:

> "Closer co-operation on international development issues would benefit the EU, China and partners in the developing world. There are significant downsides if we are not able to co-ordinate effectively, particularly in Africa but also in other developing countries. The EU and China should:
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> - engage in a structured dialogue on Africa's sustainable development. There should be transparency on the activity and priorities of both sides, providing a basis for full discussion;
> - support regional efforts to improve governance in Africa;
> - explore opportunities for improving China’s integration into international efforts to improve aid efficiency, co-ordination and opportunities for practical bilateral co-operation on the ground" (Commission of the European Communities 2005: 6).

The issue of governance is raised here, albeit in a diplomatic way. The suggestion that China should be more integrated into international efforts to improve aid efficiency is clearly directed towards China backing up its signature to the Paris Declaration by actively participating in the OECD DAC and adhering to its principles.

By 2007, the EU and national governments were overtly concerned with the China question, frequently in less diplomatic language. The then British Secretary of State for International Development, Hilary Benn, made hisconcern about Chinese policy in Africa clear in a widely-publicised statement in February 2007:

> "The international development secretary, Hilary Benn, on a visit to Malawi, told the Guardian that Britain has already made its concerns known to Beijing but that it is planning to 'ratchet up' the level of representation on the issue. Mr Benn said the Chinese money could do more harm than good. 'If countries are borrowing to the extent that their debt becomes unsustainable then that undermines all the work that has been done in trying to tackle unsustainable debt. The issue for debt is not debt per se, it's can you afford it?' he said. 'The other issue is governance because

> in the end China, with all its increasing stake in Africa, has just the same interest as the rest of the world - and the people of Africa - have in good governance. We need to talk more to China about how we can work together because we both have the same interests, which are the development of Africa as a continent.'"[1]

Benn highlighted two of the issues that have most concerned European governments: good governance and China's lending to Africa, with its potential for reinforcing or recreating indebtedness.

By 2007, EU officials were also willing to express, in private, quite strong views about China's behaviour in Africa, particularly with respect to the provision of loans and support for African governments that defied calls by donors linked to the DAC to meet good governance standards.[2]

A calmer and more nuanced view of these issues was, however, evident at a meeting on China, Africa and the EU in Brussels in June 2007. The report of this meeting explicitly called for more research and interaction between scholars:

> "The conference set a completely new tone in the often highly critical and emotional debate on China's engagement in Africa: sober, nuanced analysis based on evidence and a wide array of views and constructive proposals for further dialogue and concrete cooperation. A key objective of the conference could thus be achieved: improve mutual understanding, identify a first set of possible ways to cooperate in a trilateral setting based on an African agenda and propose a constructive agenda between the EU and China on the one hand and take up African priorities in common on the other hand" (Wissenbach 2007: 1)

The conclusions from this meeting were that there is:

> "Strong shared feeling that there is a great need for better knowledge on China in Africa and of Africa in China. Actions to be considered: disseminate information/studies, promote exchanges between researchers… any initiative in the field of research should involve at least two or three African research centres from countries of different levels of development, plus Chinese and European research ones. Any initiative should also build on existing ones (South African Institute, Global Governance School, etc.)" (Wissenbach 2007: 8).[3]

So far, this expressed need for more knowledge and research about China in Africa has not yet been translated into research projects and findings. As will be shown below, the recent spurt of articles and reports on China and Africa is not the result of

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1 The Guardian 8 Feb 2007. http://www.guardian.co.uk/debt/Story/0,,2008248,00.htm

2 The author of this paper attended a workshop at the European Investment Bank in March 2007 at which some strong opinions were expressed, privately, about China's policies in Africa.

3 The reference to the South African Insitute refers almost certainly to the South African Institute of International Affairs, while the Global Governance School is an intitiative of the German Development Ministry, BMZ, run by the German Development Institute and ImWent.

an intensification of research efforts. They are based predominantly on secondary materials and reviews of the existing literature, much of which is based on journalistic sources.[4]

For the time being at least, the investment by the European Union and national governments in understanding China and its impact on the global economy, global politics, global security and global governance has not been matched by an equivalent investment in research on China in Africa. For example, there are no overviews of China in Africa of the sort that have been provided by EU-funded research on China's impact more generally. Examples of these more general analyses include papers published by the European Union Institute for Security Studies (Casarini 2006; Zaborowski 2006) and a large collection of papers on the EU's strategic interests in Asia (van der Geest 2005).

The limited research on China and Africa in Europe has not prevented researchers and academic commentators from publishing quite extensively on this issue. Because of the dearth of detailed research and the importance of the topic, many publications draw on a limited range of material that is often drawn from journalistic and political sources. For example, Antoine Kernen writes an article on the impact of Chinese firms in Africa in *Politique Africaine* which states that:

> "Finding myself in the initial phase of a new research project, I should emphasise here that this article merely elaborates some hypotheses based essentially on secondary sources. This is particularly true with respect to the African case, which is less familiar to me than China. It is above all a question, therefore, of placing some markers from work in progress, not presenting the results of an already elaborated study" (Kernen 2007: 165).

A TV journalist's observations on a brief visit to Sierra Leone have been recycled by many writers commenting on attempts by Chinese firms' to learn through investments in Sub-Saharan Africa (Hilsum 2006). Chris Alden from the LSE has published extensively and authoritatively on China in Africa. His publications on this topic date from 1998 (Alden 1998; Alden 2005a; Alden 2005b; Alden and Davies 2006; Alden 2007),[5] and include a book to be launched in November 2007, but the intensity of this fieldwork diminished once he moved from South Africa to the UK. His current work , however (see Section 2.10 below), is does involve extensive fieldwork on China in Africa.

In spite of this, some research projects have been started or completed by scholars based in Europe, alone or in collaboration with scholars from other regions. The criterion for inclusion is that projects or publications involve at least one person from

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[4] This lack of systematic empirical research is not necessarily confined to Europe. A workshop at the Kennedy School of Governance in June 2007 brought together a range of policymakers and researchers, but very few of the presentations were based on new research in either Africa or China.

[5] Alden, and also Ian Taylor (see Section 2.4 below), both presented papers at a Hong Kong workshop on China-Africa relations in 2006 - see http://www.cctr.ust.hk/china-africa/. This had a strong Chinese participation.

a European research institute. These will be discussed in the next section. Section 3 follows with a brief indication of some published materials on China and Africa.

The material in this report has been collected through web searches and contacts with European scholars working in the field of China-Africa relations. In some cases, the researchers working on projects have been contacted directly for additional information.

2 European research projects on China and Africa

The eleven projects below are listed in roughly chronological order. They include both completed work, with reference to outputs and findings, and worked that is just being started.

2.1 The impact of China on the textile and furniture industries of sub-Saharan Africa

One of the earliest analyses of the consequences of China's increasing competitiveness in global markets for manufacturing firms in sub-Saharan Africa was carried out by Kaplinsky and Morris for DFID in 2005 (Kaplinsky and Morris 2006). This was not only based on an analysis of trade policy and trade statistics, but also on interviews with industry sources in sub-Saharan Africa and buyers in the United States. The results of parts of this research have been published in various places, including Kaplinsky et al. (2006) and Kaplinsky and Morris (2008), but the original DFID report is probably the most comprehensive presentation of the findings, and it is available on the Web.

The project focused on two manufacturing sectors in sub-Saharan Africa: furniture and garments/textiles. With respect to furniture, the report acknowledges that furniture exports from sub-Saharan Africa are extremely small. However, it takes the case of the garden furniture industry in Ghana and its changing fortunes in the UK market as a means of exploring some of the issues relating to the competitiveness of manufacturing in sub-Saharan Africa in the face of the challenge not only from China, but also from Vietnam (Kaplinsky and Morris 2006 60-2). It documents a major UK buyer's assessment of the relative performance of these three countries (Ghana, China and Vietnam) with respect to various elements of competitiveness.

The discussion of the garment and textile industries in the paper is altogether more significant for the future of manufacturing in sub-Saharan Africa. As Kaplinsky and Morris note (2008), garments and textiles account for more than half of manufactured exports from sub-Saharan Africa. The study examines the impact of the phasing out of the Multifibre Arrangement (MFA) in January 2005 on those countries in Africa that had taken advantage of AGOA to access the US market. With the MFA phase-out, these countries would be under more pressure from Chinese exports, which had hitherto been limited by quota agreements. It focuses specifically on five African countries: Lesotho, South Africa, Swaziland, Kenya and Madagascar.

The results are clear (Kaplinsky and Morris 2006: 14):

- There was a significant fall in the value of garment products exported from Africa to the United States in the year following the phase-out of the MFA.

Data from firms in the five countries show similar figures, although some countries, such as South Africa, suffered more than others.

- Trade data indicate that African exporters lost market share and that this could be attributed to competition from China.
- Employment in the garment industry in the five countries fell substantially.

These figures for 2005, taken from both trade data and firm-level interviews, are reinforced by interviews with US buyers, which pointed to a long-term trend towards declining imports from sub-Saharan Africa. The study suggests that garment producers in sub-Saharan Africa will not be competitive without continuing preferential access to export markets.

2.2 The impact of Chinese and Indian trade and investment flows on sub-Saharan Africa

Rhys Jenkins and Chris Edwards of the University of East Anglia carried out a DFID-commissioned project on the impact of China and India on sub-Saharan Africa in 2004-05. As well as a report to DFID, the results were published in two papers (Jenkins and Edwards 2006b; Jenkins and Edwards 2006a). This summary is based on the longer of the two papers, published in the Journal of Asian Economics.

This research used the IDS direct/indirect and complementary/competitive framework for analysing the impact of China and India on sub-Saharan Africa, considering both trade and FDI. The paper highlights the differences in impact between countries, notably between the resource exporters and the non-resource exporting countries. Some resource exporters have gained from direct trade with China, in particular, while those which have not exported directly have still benefited from the indirect impact of China and India on global resources prices. For non-resource exporters, the biggest impact of trade with China has been increased imports of manufactured goods. Generally speaking, Jenkins and Edwards play down competition between sub-Saharan Africa and China in global markets for manufactures, suggesting that impact is much less than seen, for example, in Latin America (Jenkins and Edwards 2006b: 224).

The approach of Jenkins and Edwards remains at a fairly aggregate level, and this may explain the difference in emphasis between this work and the results presented by Kaplinsky and Morris.

2.3 OECD Development Centre: impact of China and India on Africa

In 2006, the OECD Development Centre produced a substantial report (140 pages) on various aspects of the implications of the rise of China and India for Africa (Goldstein *et al.* 2006). While a substantial part of it is based on secondary materials, there is some analysis of macro and trade data, and overall this is a substantial and early contribution to the literature.

The approach taken by this report builds on the Asian Drivers perspective — distinguishing different impact channels (trade, FDI, etc.) and those economies whose exports are complementary to China's and those which compete with China. It provides a good summary of the overall impact of China and India on the global economy and on prospects for Africa. It shows clearly that China jumped ahead of India with respect to its engagement with Africa in the period 2000-2005 (Goldstein *et al.* 2006: 20). This is a good illustration of the general weakness of the 'China and India' approach to these questions: up until now, there has been much more of a 'China effect' than an 'India effect'.

Using Comtrade data, the report provides a good analysis of the consequences of the global commodity boom for the terms of trade of different categories of African countries (oil exporters, resource exporters and agricultural exporters), and the impact this has on GDP (Goldstein *et al.* 2006: 40). The analysis of African exports to China and India, based partly on IMF DOTS data, does not add significantly to the existing literature.

The chapter that examines China and India as potential competitors for African exporters into the markets is largely derived from other studies, notably the Jenkins and Edwards study discussed in Section 2.2 above, Stevens and Kennan (2006) and the work of Kaplinsky. The subsequent sections, on "Dutch disease", foreign direct investment, future scenarios and policy implications are not based on original research.

2.4 China and oil in Africa

Ian Taylor, Professor of International Relations at St. Andrew's University in Scotland, has carried out research on China and its oil policies in Africa. He has a long history of writing on African issues and has a PhD from Stellenbosch University. More recently, he has been publishing and commenting on China.[6] One substantial article (Taylor 2006b) analyses China's oil strategy in Africa.

While this is a high-profile issue which has been touched on by many authors, the distinguishing feature of Taylor's paper is the reference to material obtained during fieldwork in Eritrea, Namibia, Sierra Leone and South Africa in 2006. In the course of the article, much of the comment is informed by interviews with government officials (from investment agencies, ministries of trade, etc.), local experts and diplomats (Chinese and non-Chinese). The article is good at underlining the challenges China faces with respect to its reputation in Africa as the political complexities of investments in countries such as Angola and Sudan increase.

2.5 China's contribution to African indebtedness

The issue of Chinese lending to Africa and its potential for recreating debt problems has been raised frequently by Western aid agencies. The quote from Hilary Benn in Section 1 is a clear expression of this fear: "If countries are borrowing to the extent that their debt becomes unsustainable then that undermines all the work that has been done in trying to tackle unsustainable debt." It is certainly the case that Chinese lending to African countries as a whole has risen rapidly, although data is hard to find, and the terms on which China lends to African countries are also frequently obscure.

Research by Helmut Reisen at the OECD Development Centre has cast important new light on this issue. In a presentation at a conference in Paris in July (Reisen 2007), and in an as-yet unpublished a paper written jointly with Sokhna Ndoye to be presented to the German Development Ministry, BMZ, in November (Reisen and Ndoye 2007), Reisen analyses the indebtedness of the African countries and provides a conclusion

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6 Comment pieces include Taylor (2005), Taylor (2006a) and Taylor (2007).

that is at odds with much of standard thinking. The arguments, which are summarised clearly in the conference presentation, are:

1. China has become a significant donor in Africa.
2. A lot of China's lending has been focused on resource extraction, telecom and transport.
3. China is not 'free riding' debt relief initiative such as HIPC: "the majority of the projects that receive Chinese financing are in non-HIPC resource-rich countries" (Reisen 2007: slide 7).
4. Two countries that are particularly prominent in discussions of Chinese lending, Angola and Sudan, have both dramatically improved to their external debt indicators from 2000 to 2005-06 (precisely the period during which China was rapidly expanding its lending) even though they did not benefit from debt relief.
5. China contributes positively to reducing problems of indebtedness by stimulating exports and GDP growth through its demand for African resources.
6. The evidence with respect to Chinese lending and corruption in Africa is mixed. Corruption scores in countries that have been recipients of Chinese lending have tended to improve from 2002 to 2006, with the significant exception of Zimbabwe (this is taken from the 2006 Goldstein et al. study referred to in Section 2.3.
7. The risks to Africa from this lending lie in potential exposure to the appreciation of the renminbi and further concentration of exports in the resource sector is as a result of rising prices and rising demand.

The longer paper by Reisen and Ndoye concludes with the observation that: "Ultimately, more transparency on and less debt vulnerability from foreign capital movements must be brought about by African governments and regional organisations such as the AU and NEPAD. Arguments made from outside Africa - be it the G8, the Bretton Woods institutions or the OECD donors grouped in the DAC – will not tilt the balance toward more transparency and higher debt tolerance" (Reisen and Ndoye 2007: 32). This echoes the argument of Gu and Humphrey concerning the importance of an African response to China (Gu and Humphrey 2007b).

The importance of this paper lies in the care with which it constructs indicators of indebtedness. Going beyond the observation that Chinese lending is increasing and therefore potentially harmful, it starts from fairly standard indicators of indebtedness problems — debt solvency, debt liquidity and debt serviceability — and undertakes the task of searching out the evidence to confirm or refute the hypothesis that Chinese lending is leading to increased problems. The data as presented refute the hypothesis.

2.6 China's development policy in Africa

A recent report by Davies (2007), written for the Eurodad network of 53 European development NGOs, provides a useful and balanced assessment of China's stance towards Africa. Its prime purpose is to provide a more informed assessment for these European NGOs. It is based on a good review of the recent literature and a series of 27 interviews carried out in China. Davies interviewed people from the government ministries, from think tanks and research institutions (CASS and CICIR, for example), from local non-government bodies and from the local offices of European development agencies.

The report provides little that is startlingly new. Its main function is to provide the NGO constituency with a clear overview of the issues, an understanding of China's perspective on these issues and an assessment of China based on the little research that is available. It does this very well, but the interviews in Beijing add relatively little to our knowledge.

2.7 Chinese construction firms in Africa

The activities of Chinese construction firms in Africa have attracted a lot of attention. They appear to be out competing Western companies, and they have been criticised for benefiting from tied aid and using Chinese labour (to the detriment of employment generation for the local population). One widely-publicised report on this issue was produced in 2006 by the Centre for Chinese Studies at Stellenbosch University (Centre for Chinese Studies 2006). In the 2007, another study of Chinese construction firms in Africa emerged from a collaborative project between the Paris-based OECD Development Centre, Tsinghua University in Beijing and Stanford University. The results were presented at various conferences, and versions of these presentations include Chen et al. (2007) Goldstein (2007a; 2007b) and Levitt (2007).[7]

The researchers looked for data on the increasing share of Chinese construction companies in the business of international construction companies in Africa, and they then interviewed key respondents in China and carried out a survey of 35 Chinese construction firms with operations in Africa. The main results of the study, summarised in Chen et al. (2007), are:

- The share of Chinese firms in international construction projects in Africa rose from 7.1 % in 2000 to 21.4 % in 2005.
- In what was a strongly growing market, this represented an increase in business of 43% per annum.
- The business of these Chinese companies is concentrated in resource-rich countries. The highest numbers of projects are found in Algeria, Sudan, Angola, Nigeria, Botswana and Congo.
- Notwithstanding the overlap between these countries and China's resource investments, half of the business of these Chinese construction firms came from projects open to international bidding — those financed by non-Chinese multilateral agencies.
- Financial support through project grants, export credits, concessional loans, etc. was important.
- Materials and equipment were predominantly sourced from China. In the case of materials, firms complained of lack of local availability. For equipment, Chinese sources were cheaper than international competitors.

[7] The conference paper by Chen et al. and the presentation by Goldstein in Paris were provided directly by Goldstein and do not appear to be available yet on the Web. The Levitt presentation and the presentation by Goldstein in Shanghai in May are very similar (21 out of 25 slides are the same, although not in the same order) and both are available on the Web, as shown in the bibliography.

- The labour employed by these companies was split 50-50 between workers from China and workers from Africa. Management, however, was overwhelmingly Chinese (91%).

The report concludes that Chinese construction firms are cost competitive, but political support from Beijing is also very important. Notwithstanding the support, Chinese construction firms face the same problems as other international construction firms in Africa: political and economic instability, poor quality local inputs, etc.

2.8 FDI in sub-Saharan Africa

A paper presented at a WIDER conference on 'Southern Engines of Global Growth: China, India, Brazil, and South Africa (CIBS)' in September 2007 by John Henley and three colleagues from UNIDO (Henley *et al.* 2007) provided an analysis of FDI from China, India and South Africa into sub-Saharan Africa. This is based on a UNIDO survey of 1216 firms (of all origins) investing in the region. The main drawback of the survey from the perspective of analysing the impact of China on Africa is that it groups together mainland Chinese firms with investors from Hong Kong, and there is no distinction made between them at any point. It is impossible to know even the distribution of the 47 'China and Hong Kong ' firms in the sample between the mainland and from Hong Kong.[8]

The analysis is, however, very suggestive. The paper provides a series of comparisons between the characteristics of investments by China+HK firms and those from South Africa, India, other parts of Asia, the Middle East and North Africa, and 'the North'. The distinctive characteristics of China+HK investment in Sub-Saharan Africa compared to that from other regions is that:

- It is more oriented to manufacturing.
- Compared to investment from South Africa and India, it is much more oriented to textiles and garments (one third of all investing firms). These two sectors are too unimportant to be discriminated on South African and Indian investment.
- It is more labour-intensive, with low ratios of sales to employment and low ratios of sales to book value of investment.
- It is more oriented to export sales than all other regions except 'the rest of Asia'. This could be the Hong Kong effect.
- It is more recent. 55% of China+HK firms started investing after 2000.
- It is growing very fast. Sales growth for the most recent year is higher than for any other group of investors.
- Local inputs (all local expenditures as a % of sales) are lower than for investors from other regions. This, however, may be partly a reflection of the age of the investments.
- Wages are lower than for all other investor groups.

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[8] The lead author has been contacted on this point. He was not able to say whether the UNIDO database discriminates between these two categories, or what the balance of mainland and Hong Kong firms in the sample was.

The UNIDO data is clearly picking up investment in textiles and garments, which may well be related to AGOA. It would be important to know if the characteristics of China+HK investment outside of textiles/garments is similarly distinctive. Nevertheless, this kind of comparative work will be indispensable for a future understanding of the impact of Chinese investment in Africa. John Henley and his colleagues are planning to do further work on this database.

2.9 The politics of Chinese engagement with African development

This is an ESRC-funded research project hosted by the Department of Human Geography at the Open University with collaboration from the Geography Department at the University of Durham. The project web site is http://www.geography.dur.ac.uk/projects/china-africa/Home/tabid/2486/Default.aspx.

The website states that:

> "Our research seeks to understand China’s evolving political and economic role in Africa and assesses what impacts Chinese aid, trade and investment are having on the politics of specific African countries, and the extent to which it excites geopolitical competition. This will be examined through case studies of Angola and Ghana, which represent different examples of China’s development ‘partnerships’ in Africa. Angola possesses oil resources that China desperately needs, whereas Ghana lacks strategic resources, but is an important market and political ally."

The project started on 1 August 2007 and is due to run until 31 January 2010.

2.10 Leveraging China's new engagement of Africa

This DFID-funded research project started in 2007. It is headed by Chris Alden at the London School of economics and is being carried out in conjunction with three researchers from the South African Institute of International Affairs.

The project is in the familiar territory of China's engagement with Africa and its complex motives. To what extent, will China contribute to Africa solving its development challenges? The proposed work aims to produce "a regional-specific 'China African toolkit' for African governments, labour and civil society that provides the requisite information and strategic planning that will enhance their capacity to increase their gains from interaction China as well as manage more effectively relations" (Alden *et al.* 2007: 11-12). The work will focus on four areas: energy and resources, non-resource trade and investment, aid and development policy and multilateralism.

The proposal is very broad ranging, and it is not detailed on precisely how the work will be carried out, other than referring to commissioned and field research and expert-led workshops complemented by regular reports. The research will include investigations in three of Africa's regions and work in three sectors. This project will run until the end of 2008.

2.11 Chinese firms and the investment climate in Africa

A new project on investment by Chinese private sector firms in sub-Saharan Africa was started at the Institute of Development Studies in September 2007 (Gu and

Humphrey 2007a). This project aims to be complementary to the work that Martyn Davies and the Centre for Chinese Studies at Stellenbosch carried out on Chinese construction firms in Africa (Centre for Chinese Studies 2006). It focuses on private sector firms rather than SOEs, mostly in manufacturing. Second, it has deliberately targeted the Chinese end of the relationship, trying to understand the motives of these firms, their understanding of and responses to the African investment climate, and the role of the Chinese government in promoting this investment. Research work will collect official and unofficial data on Chinese investment in Africa, interview private sector firms in the Zhejiang province of China and follow-up with interviews in Chinese subsidiaries in four African countries (to be selected following the results of fieldwork in China).

This work will be completed by the second half of 2008. A subsequent stage of work may focus more on the interaction between Chinese subsidiaries and local companies and between these subsidiaries and governments in African countries.

3 Publications on China and Africa

This is not an exhaustive list. It refers to some recent material published on this topic and is designed to highlight the large amount of material that is available on China and Africa that does not appear to be based on fresh research. There is a large amount of recycling of material and papers whose sources are mainly web-based and journalistic.

This pattern of publications reflects the urgency of the issue for researchers and policy makers and the lag in research projects and research outputs. Policymakers are having to respond to a rapidly changing situation and, therefore, seek overview work that cannot be informed by fresh research. New research itself is possibly hampered by the general dearth of researchers who can move easily between China and Africa.

The selection below minimises the overlap with the researchers and projects summarised in Section 2.

Bates, R., Collier, P., Hale, D., Herbst, J., Jhazbhay, I., Mazinhaka, P., Mills, G., Solheim, E. and Stead, S. (2006) *Africa Security, Commodities and Development*, Whitehall Report 4-06, London: The Royal United Services Institute, available http://www.rusi.org/publication/other/ref:O44E3708613E05/

A set of six short papers. The authors are mostly policymakers, and the only academic in the lineup, Paul Collier from Oxford University, writes about Africa in general rather than China in Africa. Robert Bates from Harvard provides a short Foreword.

Carmody, P. and Owusu, F. (2007) 'Completing Hegemons? Chinese Versus American Geo-Economic Strategies in Africa', *Political Geography* 26: 504-524

This paper looks at US and Chinese competition in Africa in the context of oil and global security.

Cammack, D. (2006) *China and the Politics of Development in Africa*, Opinion 76, London: ODI

A two-page opinion piece on China and development policy, written in the context of the FOCAC meeting in late 2006.

Fues, T., Grimm, S. and Laufer, D. (2006) *China's Africa Policy. Opportunity and Challenge for European Development Policy*, Briefing Paper 4, Bonn: German Development Institute, available http://www.die-gdi.de/die_homepage.nsf/6f3fa777ba64bd9ec12569cb00547f1b/178fa4b8b8dc06fcc12570fb002ca2a2/$FILE/Druckfassung%20BriefingPaper%204.2006.pdf

This four-page briefing paper, predominantly oriented towards German policymakers, highlights the opportunities and challenges for European development policy posed by Africa's increasing engagement on the continent.

Haugen, H.Ø. and Carling, J. (2005) 'On the Edge of the Chinese Diaspora: The Surge of Baihuo Business in an African City', *Ethnic and Racial Studies* 28.4: 639-662

This article examines the impact of Chinese migration from Wenzhou to Cape Verde.

Kernen, A. (2007) 'Les Stratégies Chinoises En Afrique: Du Pétrole Aux Bassines En Plastique', *Politique Africaine* 105: 163-180

A run through of observations on China's increasing involvement and its strategy towards African leaders.

Lafarge, F. (2006) La Chine: Stratégie D'influence En Côte d'Ivoire, *Monde Chinois* 8: 39-48

Focuses particularly on growing Chinese influence in Côte d'Ivoire and highlights the strategic role of this country as a gateway to French West Africa.

Looy, J.V.D. (2006) *Africa and China: A Strategic Partnership?* ASC Working Paper 67, Leiden: African Studies Centre, available http://www.ascleiden.nl/Pdf/wp67.pdf

This paper defines itself as "a first attempt to fill this lacuna [on the consequences of China's increasing involvement in Africa] and presents an overview of Sino-African relations, China’s aid programme to Africa and the state of trade relations, with special emphasis on natural resources and the export market for Chinese products and investments in Africa."

Manning, R. (2006) 'Will 'Emerging Donors' Change the Face of International Co-Operation?' *Development Policy Review* 24.4: 371-385

Richard Manning was in charge of the OECD-DAC. This is an overview on the emerging donors.

Melber, H. (2007) *China in Africa*, Current African Issues 33, Uppsala: Nordiska Afrikainstitutet, available http://www.nai.uu.se/publications/books/book.xml?id=25236

This is a collection of three articles on China and Africa: one from Ian Taylor (see Section 2.4 above) on oil, one from Sanusha Naidu (CCS, Stellenbosch), and one from Margaret Lee at the University of North Carolina, Chapel Hill.

Tjønneland, E., Brandtzæg, B., Kolås, Å. and Garth Le Pere, Cmi, R (2006) *China in Africa: Implications for Norwegian Foreign and Development Policies*, Final report, project number 26050, Bergen: Chr. Michelsen Institute

An overview of China's activities in Africa which defines its goals as "present and review the new Chinese engagement in Africa and to identify and discuss implications for Norwegian foreign and development policies" (Tjønneland *et al.* 2006: 1).

Wild, L. and Mepham, D. (eds.). *The New Sinosphere: China and Africa*. London: IPPR

This is a collection of papers from the conference held by the IPPR in London in 2006. Contributors include UK television journalist, Lindsey Hilsum, African researchers and commentators, Abah Ofon, Claire Hickson, John Rocha, Mark Curtis, and Ndubisi Obiorah, Barry Sautman from Columbia University and Yan Hairong from the University of Illinois. The only UK researcher in the group who has definitely conducted research about China in Africa is Raphie Kaplinsky. This lineup is probably typical of efforts at that time to address the problem of China and Africa. It is strong on comment and policy, but only informed by research to a very limited degree.

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