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## LSE-UCT July School 2016

LCS-IR201

# Africa and Global Transformation: The rise of Emerging Powers and a New International Order

Outline and Reading List 2016

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### Co-Instructors

**Professor Chris Alden** is internationally recognised as a leading scholar on the dynamic role of emerging powers in Africa. Amongst his publications is *Emerging Powers in Africa* (LSE-IDEAS 2013); *The South in World Politics* (Palgrave 2010); *China Returns to Africa* (Hurst 2008), *China in Africa* (Zed 2007); *Land, Liberation and Compromise in Southern Africa* (Palgrave 2009); *South Africa's Post-Apartheid Foreign Policy* (IISS 2003); *Distant Mirror: Japan and South Africa* (Ashgate 2002); and *Mozambique and the Construction of the New African State* (Palgrave 2001). He is currently involved in co-editing a set of country-specific monographs on China and Brazil in Southern Africa. He has held fellowships at Cambridge University, Tokyo University, and Ecole Normale Supérieure as well as won grants from DFID, the Open Society Institute and the MacArthur Foundation. He is Senior Research Associate of the Global Powers Programme at the South African Institute of International Affairs (SAIIA), a research associate of the University of Pretoria, review editor of IISS and director of the LSE-IDEAS Africa Programme. Dr Alden taught at Wits University for ten years, where he co-founded the continent's first Asian studies research centre in 1992.

**Dr Karen Smith** teaches International Relations at the University of Cape Town (UCT). From 2000 to 2010, she was based at the University of Stellenbosch, where she also completed her PhD. She is affiliated to the South African Institute of Global Dialogue as a research associate, and is an associate editor of the journal *International Political Sociology*. Her current research interests include South Africa's foreign policy, the emerging powers - especially India, new global governance groupings like IBSA and BRICS, and Africa as an object and agent of International Relations theory. Recent publications include: (2013) "International Relations in South Africa: a case of 'add Africa and stir'?" in *Politikon*, vol.40, no.3: 533-544; "Soft Power: the Essence of South Africa's Foreign Policy" in *South African Foreign Policy Review*, vol.1. Pretoria: Africa Institute of South Africa (2012); "India's Identity and its Global Aspirations" in *Global Society*, vol.26, no.3: 369-385 (2012); "Contrived boundaries, kinship and ubuntu: a (South) African view of the 'international'", in Tickner, A. & Blaney, D. (eds) *Thinking International Relations Differently*. London: Routledge; (2012) "Africa as an agent of International Relations knowledge: a preliminary investigation" in Fantu, C., Shaw, T.M. and Cornelissen, S. (eds) *Africa and International Relations in the Twenty-First Century: Still Challenging Theory?* Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan (2012); "South Africa and India as Regional Leaders: Gaining Acceptance and Legitimacy Through the Use of Soft Power" in Modi, R. (ed.) *Redefining South-South Cooperation: Africa on the Centre Stage*. Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan (2011).

### Guest Lecturer

**Dr Folashadé Soulé-Kohndou** teaches international relations and political science at undergraduate and graduate level at Sciences Po Paris. She has held fellowships at the South African Institute of International Affairs (SAIIA), the Research and Information System for developing countries (RIS) in New Delhi, the Instituto Rio Branco (IRBr) in Brasilia and at the United Nations Office for South-South Cooperation (UNOSSC). She was a post-doctoral researcher at the Department of International Relations of the London School of Economics in 2015 and is affiliated to the Global Economic Governance programme at Oxford University as a research associate. Her current research focuses on African agency in global politics, the politics of south-south cooperation, and rising powers in global governance.

## Course overview

Nowhere in the world is the rise of the emerging powers more evident than in Africa. From the multi-billion dollar investments in oil and minerals to the influx of thousands merchants, labourers and consumer goods, the growing political and economic reach of emerging powers like China, India and Brazil are redefining Africa's traditional ties with the international community. At the same time, mobilised in part by this accelerated interest from abroad, the African continent is experiencing unprecedented growth, a rising middle class and signs of a new international assertiveness on the global stage. Is a new pattern of economic development, led by emerging power investment and robust political engagement, transforming not only Africa but challenging the established conventions which framed the continent's relationship with the rest of the world? How are African interests aligning with new global actors and what are the areas of divergence? What are the implications of this global power transformation for African development and security on the continent? In order to understand the burgeoning relationship between emerging powers and Africa, we need to recognise the range of economic, diplomatic and security rationales behind emerging power engagement with the continent.

This dynamic course will investigate the deepening relationship between Africa and emerging powers, providing students with insights in the opportunities and challenges posed by this global transformation for Africa in the 21<sup>st</sup> century. Key themes to be addressed include:

- Are emerging powers progressive forces for African development or potential hegemonies?
- How can Africans best leverage the economic opportunities presented by emerging powers?
- How will these new modalities on aid and development affect African economic practices and democratic principles?
- What are the security implications for fragile states and those emerging from conflict?
- Is South Africa's role in BRICS transforming its aspirations and position as a continental leader?

The course will consist of lectures and discussion seminars. Active participation by students is essential.

## Recommended Preparatory Reading List

- Chris Alden, ed., *Emerging Powers in Africa*, Special Report SR06 June 2013, LSE-IDEAS 2013.
- Karen Smith, "Soft Power: the Essence of South Africa's Foreign Policy" in *South African Foreign Policy Review*, vol.1. Pretoria: Africa Institute of South Africa, 2012.
- Karen Smith, "India's Identity and its Global Aspirations" in *Global Society*, 26:3, 2012.
- Chris Alden, Marco Vieira and Sally Morphet, *The South in World Politics* (Palgrave 2010).

## Prerequisites

None.

## Assessment

One 2-hour midterm exam at end of week 1 (50%) and one 1500 word essay at the end of week 2 (50%).

## Course Overview

### Session 1: Global Transformation and Its Challenges for Africa

This topic will discuss the origins of the global power shift, including the rise of new actors, changes to international institutions and emerging norms, and its impact on Africa.

*Prescribed readings:*

- Chris Alden, 'Introduction' and 'African Agency and the New Multipolarity', *Emerging Powers in Africa*, Special Report SR06 June 2013, LSE-IDEAS 2013. Available online.
- UNECA (2013), 'Economic Transformation for Africa's Development' Washington DC: UNECA. Available online.

*Recommended readings:*

- Africa Progress Panel (2012) 'Africa – Investment Ready', Policy Brief. Geneva. Available online.
- Daniel Bach, 'Africa in International Relations: the frontier as concept and metaphor', *South African Journal of International Affairs* 20:1 1-22. Available online.
- Chris Alden, Marco Vieira and Sally Morphet, *The South in World Politics* (Palgrave 2010), introduction.
- Centre for Conflict Resolution (2012) *The African Union at Ten – problems, progress and prospects* 30-31 August. Available online.

*Questions to consider:*

- What are the distinctive features and actors driving this ongoing power shift?
- How does Africa fit into the ongoing process of global transformation?
- Is there a 'two-tiered' South in the making and what are its implications for Africa?

## **Session 2: The Dragon in the Bush - China and Africa**

The seminal role of China, the premier economic force on the continent, and as a key political actor with growing influence, will be unpacked. Its state-led enterprises, deep financial pockets and willingness to employ diplomatic instruments have helped it to become the continent's top trading partner and a lead investor while Chinese migration is reshaping the social landscape.

*Prescribed readings:*

- Zhang Chun (2013) 'The Sino-Africa Relationship: towards a strategic partnership', in *Emerging Powers in Africa – Special Report*, LSE Ideas. Available online
- Giles Mohan and May Tan-Mullins (2009). 'Chinese migrants in Africa as new agents of development?' *European Journal of Development Research* 21:4 588-605.

*Recommended readings:*

- Chris Alden and Sergio Chichava (2014) *China and Mozambique – from comrades to capitalists*. Johannesburg: Fanele. xiii-xviii; 199-209.
- Li Anshan (2007) 'China and Africa – policy and challenges' *China Security* 3:3 69-93.
- Sven Grimm et al (2011) *Transparency of Chinese Aid – an analysis of the published information on Chinese external financial flows* Stellenbosch: Centre for Chinese Studies
- Ana Cristina Alves (2013) 'Chinese Economic Statecraft – a comparative study of China's oil-backed loans in Angola and Brazil', *Journal of Current Chinese Affairs* 1 99-130.

*Questions to consider:*

- Is China best understood as an economic competitor, development partner or hegemonic actor in its approach to Africa?
- How does Chinese migration impact upon Beijing's relations with African governments?
- Is regime type a good barometer for understanding the responses of African states to China?

## **Session 3: 'Tropicalismo' Development - Brazil and Africa**

Brazilian engagement with Lusophone Africa, coupled to high-profile diplomacy, has carved out trade and investment positions within the energy and agricultural sectors. Brazil's contention that its own development path and conditions best mirror those in Africa are behind its energetic outreach to the continent.

*Prescribed readings:*

- Carlos Milani (2014) 'Brazil's South-South Cooperation Strategies – from foreign policy to public policy' SAIIA *Occasional Paper* No 179. Available online.
- Ana Cristina Alves (2013) 'Brazil in Africa – Achievements and Challenges', in *Emerging Powers in Africa – Special Report*, LSE Ideas. Available online

*Recommended readings:*

- Sergio Chichava et al, (2013). 'Brazil and China in Mozambican Agriculture – emerging insights from the field', *IDS Bulletin* 44:4. Available online.
- Sergio Schlesinger (2014) 'Brazilian Cooperation and Investment in Africa – the case of Prosavana in Mozambique' TEMTI Series of Economic Perspectives on Global Sustainability EP 01-2014 TEMIT-CEESP/IUCN. Available online.

- Carine Kiala and Nomfundo Ngwenya (2011), 'Angola's Strategic Cooperation with the BRIC Countries', *SALLA Occasional Paper* 85. Available online.
- Christina Stolte (2013), 'Brazil in Africa', *Harvard International Review* 30 March. Available online.

*Questions to consider:*

- Is Brazil an economic competitor, development partner or hegemonic actor in its approach to Africa?
- Do Brazilian claims of cultural proximity with Africa matter in their engagement with the continent?
- Is the Brazilian focus on trilateral cooperation a successful model for emerging and traditional powers in Africa?

#### **Session 4: African Security and Emerging Powers**

With enduring conflict, democratic movements and international intervention all challenging political stability in Africa, how do emerging powers, the international community and Africans manage these contentious issues? What is the significance of the arms trade and piracy for emerging powers?

*Prescribed readings:*

- Eling Tjonneland, 'Rising Powers in Africa: what does this mean for the African peace and security agenda? NOREF March. Available online.
- Paul Williams (2011). *War and Conflict in Africa*. Cambridge: Polity. 13-52.

*Recommended readings:*

- Konrad Adenauer Foundation (2012), 'The Responsibility to Protect – views from South Africa, Brazil, India and Germany', June. Available online
- Chris Alden (2014) 'Seeking Security in Africa – China's evolving approach to the African peace and security architecture', NOREF March. Available online.
- Anthoni van Nieuwkerk (2014) 'South Africa and the African Peace and Security Architecture', March 2014. NOREF March. Available online.

*Questions to consider:*

- What has been the contribution of emerging powers to African security so far?
- How has emerging power economic interests and global aspirations shaped their commitment to African security?
- To what extent are emerging powers implicated in fuelling conflict in Africa?

#### **Session 5: Whither the West and the Rest?**

This topic turns the focus on the US and the European Union, which retains significant interests and influence over the continent, assessing how it is responding to the changing dynamics of power on the African continent.

*Prescribed readings:*

- Niall Ferguson, 'Civilization – the West and the Rest' interactive website, [www.pbs.org/wnet/civilization-west-and-rest/](http://www.pbs.org/wnet/civilization-west-and-rest/)
- G. John Ikenberry (2010) "The Liberal International Order and its Discontents" in *Millennium – Journal of International Studies*, vol.38, no.3: 509-521.

*Recommended readings:*

- Nicolas van de Walle (2010), 'US Policy Towards Africa – the Bush legacy and the Obama administration'. *African Affairs* 109: 434. 1-21.
- Garth le Pere (2012), 'AU-EU Security and Governance Cooperation', in Adekeye Adebajo and Kaye Whiteman eds., *The EU and Africa – from Eurafrique to Afro-Europa*. London: Hurst. 257-276.
- Gilbert Khadiagala (2012), 'Africa and Europe –ending a dialogue of the deaf?', in Adekeye Adebajo and Kaye Whiteman eds., *The EU and Africa – from Eurafrique to Afro-Europa*. London: Hurst. 217-236.
- Peter Schraeder (2001), 'Forget the Rhetoric and Boost the Geopolitics – emerging trends in the Bush administration's policy towards Africa' *African Affairs* 100:400. 387-404.

*Questions to consider:*

- Is Western structural power sufficient to ensure its continued dominance in Africa?
- How important are the colonial legacies in shaping African-EU relations?
- Is US involvement on the continent best understood as driven by global security interests?

**Session 6: BRICS and Mortar - India and Africa**

India's growing involvement in Africa, rooted in the past but expanding beyond its traditional focus on the eastern and southern regions, is led by private entrepreneurs and built on a long history of technical cooperation. Its competitive approach towards China in particular is suggestive that friction between emerging powers is a possible influence.

*Prescribed readings:*

- Daniel Large (2013) "India" in *Emerging Powers in Africa – Special Report*, LSE Ideas. Available online
- Sanjukta Banerji Bhattacharya (2010) "Engaging Africa: India's interests in the African continent, past and present" in Fantu Cheru and Cyril Obi (eds) *The Rise of China & India in Africa*. London and New York: Zed Books (pp.63-76)

*Recommended readings:*

- Emma Mawdsley and Gerard McCann (2010) "The Elephant in the Corner? Reviewing India-Africa Relations in the New Millennium" in *Geography Compass*, vol.4, no.2: 81-93.
- Ian Taylor (2012) "India's rise in Africa" in *International Affairs*, vol.88, no.4: 779-798.
- Sanusha Naidu (2010) "India's African relations: in the shadow of China?" in Fantu Cheru and Cyril Obi (eds) *The Rise of China & India in Africa*. London and New York: Zed Books (pp.63-76).
- Pranay Kumar Sinha (2010) "Indian development cooperation with Africa" in Fantu Cheru and Cyril Obi (eds) *The Rise of China & India in Africa*. London and New York: Zed Books.

*Questions to consider:*

- How is India's engagement with Africa different to that of China?
- What role does India's historical linkages with the continent play in its current relationship with Africa?
- How does India use soft power in its foreign policy?

**Session 7: South Africa – the Continent's BRIC**

South Africa, with its status as the only African country on the G20 and in BRICS, is playing an unprecedented role in shaping the continent at the same time that its actions are provoking a divided response from the continent.

*Prescribed readings:*

- Padraig Camody (2013) "South Africa: Another BRIC in the Wall?" in Padraig Carmody, *The Rise of the BRICS in Africa: The Geopolitics of South-South Relations*. London and New York: Zed Books.
- Dianna Games (2013) "Building the BRICS of a New Global System: Cape to Cairo – South Africa's Search for Strategic Depth within BRICS" in Francois Kornegay and Narnia Bohler-Muller (eds) *Laying the BRICS of a New Global Order*. Pretoria: Africa Institute of South Africa (pp.365-382).

*Recommended readings:*

- Chris Alden and Mills Soko (2005) "South Africa's economic relations with Africa: hegemony and its discontents" in *Journal of Modern African Studies*, vol.43, no.3: 367-392.
- Adam Habib (2009) "South Africa's foreign policy: hegemonic aspirations, neoliberal orientations and global transformation" in *South African Journal of International Affairs*, vol.16, no.2: 143-159.
- Adekeye Adebajo, Adebayo Adedeji and Chris Landsberg (2007) *South Africa in Africa: The Post-Apartheid Era*. Durban: University of KwaZulu-Natal Press.

*Questions to consider:*

- To what extent is South Africa accepted as a legitimate regional power by the rest of Africa?
- What are the implications of greater engagement by the BRIC states in Africa for South Africa's Africa strategy?
- Can South Africa best be described as a hegemon or partner in Africa?
- What role does identity play in South Africa's Africa policy?

### **Session 8: Multilateral Institutions and the Future of Global Governance**

In the wake of the global power shift, multilateral institutions are undergoing changes in their structures, procedures and norms with important implications for Africa. How are emerging powers, in combination with African states, influencing debates on international intervention, 'responsibility to protect', the spreading of human rights norms, and the democratisation of international institutions?

*Prescribed readings:*

- G. John Ikenberry and Thomas Wright (2008) *Rising Powers and Global Institutions. A Century Foundation Report*. Washington DC: The Century Foundation (pp.1-34)
- Jeremy Sarkin and Mark Paterson (2010) "Introduction: Africa's Responsibility to Protect" in *Global Responsibility to Protect*, vol.2, issue 4: 339-352.

*Recommended readings:*

- Oliver Stuenkel (2014) "The BRICS and the Future of R2P" in *Global Responsibility to Protect*, vol.6: 3-28.
- Malte Brosig (ed.) *The Responsibility to Protect – From Evasive to Reluctant Action. The Role of Global Middle Powers*. Johannesburg and Pretoria: Hans Seidel Foundation, Konrad Adenauer Stiftung, Institute for Security Studies and South African Institute of International Affairs.
- Paul Tiyambe Zeleza (2007) "The Struggle for Human Rights in Africa" in *Canadian Journal of African Human Rights*, vol.41, issue 3:474-506.
- Special Issue: Africa's Responsibility to Protect in *Global Responsibility to Protect*, 2010, volume 2, issue 4.
- Matthias Dembinski and Berenike Schott (2014) "Regional security arrangements as a filter for norm diffusion: the African Union, the European Union and the responsibility to protect" in *Cambridge Review of International Affairs*, vol.27, no.2: 362-380.

*Questions to consider:*

- What is the African Union's position on UN Security Council reform?
- To what extent is the norm of R2P accepted and implemented in Africa?
- What are some of the issues around the implementation of global human rights standards in Africa?
- What is the position of the emerging powers on the reform of the international system and its institutions?

### **Session 9: South-South Cooperation and the Changing Dynamics of Foreign Aid**

The Western domination of African economies through foreign aid and its investment policies is being rapidly dismantled by emerging powers' employment of its interest-based approach to economic cooperation with Africa. Are emerging powers simply repeating old patterns or are new forms of development assistance challenging existing relations of dependence?

*Prescribed readings:*

- Sanusha Naidu (2011) "Africa's New Development Partners: China and India: Challenging the Status Quo?" Paper presented at the 'Rethinking Development in an Age of Scarcity and Uncertainty' conference, University of York, 19-22 September 2011.
- Francesco Rampa, Sanoussi Bilal and Elizabeth Sidiropoulos (2012) "Leveraging South-South cooperation for Africa's development" in *South African Journal of International Affairs*, vol. 19, no.2: 247-269.

*Recommended readings:*

- Ngaire Woods (2008) "Whose aid? Whose influence? China, emerging donors and the silent revolution in development assistance" in *International Affairs*, vol.84, no.6: 1205-1221.

*Questions to consider:*

- What distinguishes South-South Cooperation from traditional Western ODA?
- Do 'win-win' approaches merely disguise elite bargaining over African resources?
- Does engaging in trilateral cooperation represent a significant shift for emerging powers in their approach to Africa?

**Session 10: Africa Rising and the New International Relations of the South**

The emergence of sustained economic growth in some African countries and the renewed interest of both traditional and emerging powers in the continent have resulted in some optimism about the future of Africa. What are the implications of these developments for Africa's position on the global stage?

*Prescribed readings:*

- William Brown (2012) "A question of agency: Africa in international politics" in *Third World Quarterly*, vol. 33, no. 10: 1889–1908.
- Scarlett Cornelissen (2009) "Akward Embraces: Emerging and Established Powers and the Shifting Fortunes of Africa's International Relations in the Twenty-First Century" in *Politikon*, vol.36, no.1: 5-26.

*Recommended readings:*

- Africa Progress Panel (2012) 'Africa – Investment Ready', Policy Brief. Geneva. Available online.
- Centre for Conflict Resolution (2012) *The African Union at Ten – problems, progress and prospects* 30-31 August. Available online.

*Questions to consider:*

- Is Africa really 'rising'?
- Are the emerging powers further undermining Africa's agency in the international system?
- Are existing theories of international relations appropriate for understanding Africa's international relations?