

**The extent to which China's involvement in Africa contributes
to the security-development nexus**

by

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DECLARATION

I hereby declare that: “The Extent to which China’s Involvement in Africa Contributes to the Human Security-Development Nexus” is my own work, that all sources used or quoted have been indicated and acknowledged by means of complete reference, and that this dissertation was not previously submitted by me for a degree at another University.

Sphamandla Percival Mpisane

Signature.....

Date.....

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ABSTRACT

Topic: The Extent to which China's Involvement in Africa Contributes to the Human Security-Development Nexus

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The concepts of security and development have always existed, even before the end of the Cold War. However, it was the former United Nations Secretary-General, Boutros Boutros-Ghali who introduced to the world, the notion of a 'security-development nexus'. This notion was encouraged by the shift in security concerns. This was a shift from traditional perspective focusing on protecting the interests and borders of the state, to a focus on ensuring the safety of citizens within a state. Such safety included a duty by the state to protect its citizens from chronic threats such as hunger, disease and repression. Moreover, the focus in this notion of a nexus shifted towards protecting citizens from sudden and harmful disruption in the patterns of their daily lives.

This notion of a security-development nexus resulted in the need to appraise the significance of the factors that underpin this fundamental shift in the African context; to conduct an assessment of the understanding and perceptions held about Africa's approach to this nexus; and to propose some measures which African governments can utilise to sustain the new approach to the security-development nexus, including possible areas of further research.

The study discovered that many African countries are unable to utilise this nexus to their advantage because they faced too many intra-state conflicts which they couldn't control, and they were also underdeveloped. It was then clear that many African countries needed external involvement. As a result, the researcher decided to do assess one of Africa's biggest partners, China. The purpose was to discover the extent to which an external players' (China) involvement in Africa contributes to the strengthening of this security-development nexus in Africa.

The study was carried out following a qualitative research methodology that combines both the descriptive and analytical approaches. The descriptive approach largely draws from the literature studies of primary and secondary sources, and the analytical approach was useful in analysing the extent to which China's involvement in Africa contributes to the security-development nexus.

The findings confirmed that notwithstanding China's alleged exploitation and extraction of raw material and natural resources in Africa, they are to a certain extent contributing to the security-development nexus in Africa. The research findings also established that the relationship between China and Africa is a mutual beneficial one. It is not one where China only exploits Africa's raw material and natural resources. It is based on a give and take partnership. While China provides African countries with development aid, unconditional loans, grants and infrastructure development, China is also gaining in return.

It is therefore clear that a number of factors regarding China's involvement in Africa need to be debated and researched before one can conclude that China does not contribute to the security-development nexus in Africa, and also to measure the exact extent to which China contributes to the security-development nexus in Africa.

LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

AFDB	African Development Bank
AU	African Organisation
BRICS	Brazil, Russia, India, China, South Africa
CAR	Central African Republic
CNMC	China Non-Ferros Metal Corporation
CPR	Civil and Political Rights
DRC	Democratic Republic of Congo
ESCR	Economic Social and Cultural Rights
EU	European Union
FDI	Foreign Direct Investment
FOCAC	Forum on China-Africa Cooperation
GDP	Gross Domestic Product
GWT	Global War on Terror
HDR	Human Development Report
IMF	International Monetary Fund
IPA	International Peace Academy
IRIN	Integrated Regional Information Networks
LICs	Low Income Countries
MFEZ	Multi Facility Economic Zone
MINUMSA	Multidimensional Integrated Stabilisation Mission in Mali
NAM	Non-Aligned Movement
NGO	Non-Governmental Organisation

OECD	Organisation for Economic Cooperation and Development
PKO	Peace Keeping Operation
PLA	Peoples Liberation Army
PMI	Purchasing Manager's Index
PWC	Post-war Construction
RSS	Republic of South Sudan
SA	South Africa
SAIIA	South African Institute of International Affairs
SBG	Standard Bank Group
SLM/A	Sudanese Liberation Movement/Army
TI	Transparency International
UK	United Kingdom
UN	United Nations
UNDP	United Nations Development Programme
UNHRC	United Nations Human Rights Council
UNMISS	United Nations Mission in South Sudan
UNSC	United Nations Security Council
USA	United States of America
ZCCZ	Zambia-China Cooperation Zone

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CHAPTER ONE: IDENTIFICATION OF THE RESEARCH THEME

1.1. Introduction

Since the end of the Cold War, it has been commonplace to assert that security and development are interlinked, interdependent and mutually reinforcing (Bajpai 2000:12). What were traditionally two discrete sectors are increasingly meshing. Institutions conventionally associated with development are becoming involved in the security sphere and vice versa. Bilateral and multilateral donors and private institutions have integrated developmental and security considerations in responding to intra-state human security and human development issues such as conflict and climate change. For instance, the United Nations (UN) agencies and some emerging powers, notably China, increasingly take into account the linkages between human security and human development (Hurwitz and Peake 2004:1) in their relations with developing countries.

In this context 'human security' refers to the broadening of the concept of security since the end of the Cold War. This shift is characterised by the inclusion of referents other than states. By using the notion of human security, security has been "developmentalised" (Buur, Jensen, and Stepputat 2007:10) in the sense that a number of basic human needs have been suggested as being indispensable for the survival of the individual. Buur et.al (2007) further acknowledges that unlike the traditional concept of (national) security, the human security agenda focuses on the safety of citizens rather than the state. In addition, it focuses on the concept of sovereignty that is conditioned by the states' respect for the rights of citizens (Duffield 2004:49) rather than by sovereignty representing the absolute and unfettered power of the state over its citizens.

Conversely, 'human development' refers to the merging with and subjecting of development to security concerns (Duffield 2001:2). In this sense development has been 'securitised' or has been labelled a security issue. This securitisation is in relation to the salience of internal armed conflict in poorer African countries such as the Democratic Republic of Congo (DRC) and the Central African Republic (CAR), and the growing preoccupation with crime and violence in developing and rapidly urbanising countries such as South Africa (SA). The observation is that economic

inequality, underdevelopment and poor governance are the root causes of armed conflict and crime. Further observations are that while underdevelopment could explain armed conflict, the calamities of conflict are themselves seen as having huge costs in terms of missed development opportunities, disintegrating and failing states and low indexes of human development (Buur et.al 2007:9).

The conceptualisation of these terms explains the linkage between human security and human development. It proves that human security and human development are interlinked, interdependent and mutually reinforcing. The human security-development nexus can be useful in Africa since it is a poor continent and often experiences internal conflicts such as that in the DRC. Consequently, this study aims to assess China's role in reinforcing the security-development nexus in its developmental approach in Africa.

The motive behind choosing China is because China is rapidly growing as a non-traditional donor and investor in the region and there have been claims that it has surpassed aid provided by traditional donors. The other reason is to discover whether China is actually assisting the continent in reinforcing the human security-development nexus or whether it is only focusing on extracting raw materials and natural resources for its own benefit. The study will begin with a discussion of the roots of the human security-development nexus. To illustrate China's involvement in Africa, the study will make use of examples involving various underdeveloped and developing African countries in an attempt to cover most regions of the continent. Such countries include the CAR, DRC, Egypt, Guinea, Mali, Zimbabwe, Zambia and SA.

1.2. Literature overview

The preliminary overview of the relevant literature focused on three areas: 1) the general conceptual discourse, the emergence and expansion of the human security-development nexus; 2) the nature and role of China's human security and human development aid to Africa; 3) the comparison of China and traditional donors' human security and development aid to Africa.

1.2.1. The Emergence of the Human Security-Development Nexus

The core work that established the nexus between human security and human development is the key report published by former UN Secretary General Boutros Boutros-Ghali in 1992 titled *An Agenda for Peace*. The report outlines the central tenets of the human security-development nexus. A second report that further elaborated on this nexus was the UN Development Programme (UNDP) Report of 1994 which focuses on Human Security and illustrates the need to link it with human development in order for both to succeed. In the UNDP Report of 1999, Kofi Annan further stressed the importance of the nexus. Apart from the institutional contribution to this nexus, there is also a number of scholarly works focusing on it. Some of the prominent scholars are Wilkin (2002); Klingebiel (2006); Stern and Ojendal (2010); and Dowding (2011).

1.2.1.1. Institutional Conceptualisation

Boutros-Ghali's (1992) report talks about 'post-conflict' and 'peace-building' as a coordinated action to identify and support structures tending to strengthen and solidify peace and avoid relapse to conflict. The report ushered in a new era of political affairs where, after the Cold War, a number of lower-level armed conflicts broke out. In the early 1990s a wave of insecurities pervaded many countries and regions with ethnic conflicts, genocides, deadly violence, appalling human rights abuses and massive flows of refugees within and sometimes across borders (Boutros-Ghali: 1992). Boutros-Ghali's report called for the linking of human security and human development to address the conflicts, human rights abuses, underdevelopment and the famine experienced by many countries after the Cold War, especially in Africa. This link led to what today is known as the 'human security-development nexus' which, according to Boutros-Ghali (1992), meant that in order for human security issues to be tackled, human development is needed, and vice versa.

After Boutros-Ghali had introduced the human security-development nexus in 1992, the UNDP issued its 1994 Human Development Report (HDR) also focusing on the

nexus. The Report argued that the traditional understanding of security neglected the legitimate concerns of ordinary individuals who sought security in their daily lives (UNDP 1994). This report identifies two core aspects. Firstly, safety from chronic threats such as hunger, disease and repression, secondly, protection from sudden and harmful disruptions in the patterns of daily life – whether in homes, work or in communities. According to the 1994 UNDP report, human security issues can only be addressed if states also focus on human development.

Annan further stressed the importance of the nexus. He advocated for the UN and the international community of states, as well as other sectors such as the business community to move from a culture of reaction to a culture of prevention (UN 1999:6). Both Boutros-Ghali (1992) and Annan (1999) argued that the security-development nexus is essential as a solution for structural violence and underdevelopment in the world. Here Annan (1999) includes the inequalities and injustices between the rich and the poor, the North and the South, and men and women as contributing to conflict. Such insecurities and underdevelopment issues were understood as both the roots and triggers of social tensions, conflict escalation and armed violence.

1.2.1.2. Scholarly Conceptualisation

Following from these reports, several scholars started explaining the human-security nexus. Amongst these is Wilkins, whom in his book, *Global Poverty and Orthodox Security*, shows how these separate discourses (human security and human development) developed and were amalgamated in the post-Cold War era. Wilkin (2002:637) argues that the merger between human security and human development is characterised by the “construction of a network of neoliberal global governance incorporating public and private institutions, Non-Governmental Organizations (NGOs), think-tanks, charities, aid agencies, intellectuals and corporations” (Wilkin 2002). As a result, the relationship between the state, capital and citizens has been restructured. The state now provides capital (human development) with the conditions it needs in order to thrive and the citizens with the tools (human security) that they need in order to succeed in a market economy – the human security-development nexus.

According to Wilkin (2002), advocates of development saw an opportunity to capture some of the more substantial political interests, and superior financial resources associated with military security and foreign policy by linking human security with human development. The link between human security and development is an attempt to join two discourses that have always been compatible with and supportive of each other.

In his paper titled, *New Interfaces between Security and Development: Changing Concepts and Approaches*, Klingebiel (2006:1) points out that traditionally human security and development were pursued as two separate architectures, whereas in the post-Cold War era, the link between security and development has become a mantra of policy. He argues that the focus of international relations has acquired new flexibility by addressing not only the macro-level of power relations among states, but also micro (intrastate) dimensions of human security, human development and human rights in the so-called 4Ds framework: diplomacy, development, defence, and democratisation.

Klingebiel (2006:2) cautions, though, that throughout the 1990s, there was too much commitment to human health and human security, and humanitarian interventions, and very little attention to state security. This principle is not only confined to a military intervention in reaction to severe human harm, which a state is unable or unwilling to end (responsibility to react), but it implies two other major commitments. Firstly, the responsibility to prevent, aiming at helping local efforts to address both the causes of a conflict and their more immediate trigger. Secondly, the responsibility to rebuild based on the urgency to help states and societies in the construction of durable peace, good governance and sustainable development. Human security represents the linking of development and security. For Klingebiel, the link is manifested through the various economic, educational, health and political interactions aimed at improving the resilience and well-being of individuals whose existence is defined by the contingencies of underdevelopment.

In their paper on human security and human development, Stern and Ojendal (2010:5) assert that human security is divided into two ideas. They first argue that the protection of individuals is a strategic concern for national as well as international

security. Secondly, security conditions for people's development are not bound to traditional matters of national defence, law and order, but rather encompass all political, economic and social issues enabling a life free from risk and fear. Their definition of the human security-development nexus emphasises the protection of human beings and local communities from a variety of threats, ranging from individual to collective, and from physical to political, economic, social and environmental.

Another scholar is Dowding (2011:332), who discusses the human-development nexus within the context of two schools of thought, Idealism and Realism. He argues that the Idealist perspective on security and development has triumphed over the Realist school of thought. The Realists argue that the state is the core unit of an international system which is anarchic in nature and the main focus should be on the protection of the state rather than on human security and development. Therefore, the first priority of the state is to ensure its own security. Hence, states seek to increase their power relative to others for a geopolitical advantage. However, he emphasises that this is unnecessary in the post-Cold War era. In the Idealists' view, individuals, public opinion and morality, rather than national interests and state power, should be the critical determinants of the international system and its security. This is because Idealists believe that in the post-Cold War era the referent object of security ought to be the citizens rather than the state. This is due to change in security issues from interstate wars to security issues such as unemployment, famine, political repression and global warming.

1.2.2. Human Security-Development Aid to Africa

There is a fast-growing literature on China's involvement in Africa. In this section, attention is paid, first, to China's involvement in Africa. Thereafter, recent literature on human security and human development aid to Africa, focusing specifically on China, is covered. There have been debates over China's involvement in Africa, some arguing that China's role in Africa is exploitative while some argue it is based on mutual benefit. For instance, the edited book by Edinger, Herman, and Jansson on China's engagement in Africa (2008:1) argues that China's deepening involvement across Africa has become the subject of much debate. They speak

about two competing schools of thought that tend to discuss China's involvement in Africa as either inherently good or bad.

They argue that for scholars of the former persuasion, China's engagement in Africa is benign and does not threaten Africa's human security and human development. Instead, these scholars believe that China's increased trade, investment and aid, assists in achieving sustainable human security and human development across the continent. For those who are against China's involvement in African nations, China is part of a 'new scramble for Africa' and is the 'new imperial power' in Africa. They further argue that China's involvement in the African continent is a 'colonialist project' that will perpetuate Africa's underdevelopment through exploitation, extraction and destruction of the African continent's resources and industrial capacity which may lead to deepening insecurity. The book, though, results in cursory conclusions which do not contribute to a more nuanced explanation of China's involvement in Africa. This discussion of literature on China's role in Africa will first focus on China's contribution to Africa's human security, then on human development, concentrating mainly on the work of authors who overall view this involvement as positive and then those who view it as negative.

1.2.2.1. Human security

China has played a significant role in international peace and security in Africa through the provision of humanitarian aid and support of peacekeeping missions. According to Tull (2006:459), China has started to play an active role in this regard, albeit reluctantly, considering its staunch policy of non-interference and its historical lack of contribution to international peacekeeping missions. In recent years, China has contributed to UN peacekeeping missions throughout Africa. For instance, in April 2003, about 175 Chinese troops and a medical team of 42 personnel were deployed to the DRC on a peacekeeping mission. In December 2003 nearly 600 Chinese peacekeepers were deployed to Liberia.

Furthermore, Alden (2007) also acknowledges China's contribution to Africa's human security and asserts that in 2005, China capitulated on the Darfur issue, and supported the deployment of a peacekeeping mission to western Sudan. The IRIN (2006) argues that China previously opposed a deployment of a peacekeeping

mission in western Sudan because of its oil interests in that region, and the mutually beneficial relationship between Beijing and the Sudanese government, justifying its lack of support to an intervening force to its commitment to sovereignty and non-interference. However, the Chinese government ultimately granted \$3.5 million in budgetary support and humanitarian aid to the AU's peacekeeping mission in Darfur, and played a pivotal role in convincing the Sudanese government in 2007 to accept a hybrid UN-AU peacekeeping force in Darfur. In Alden's (2005:142) view, this indicates that China has had to recognise the importance of taking part in UN-sanctioned missions to promote international stability, including Africa's human security and human development (Alden 2005). Moreover, in terms of humanitarian aid, China donated \$200 000 towards fighting droughts in the Horn of Africa, and also donated \$610 000 towards combating draught in Darfur (Alden 2005).

According to Tull (2006:475), China's growing involvement in UN peacekeeping and humanitarian assistance is commendable, particularly considering the decline in political will from Western states to participate in peacekeeping missions in Africa. However, there is a trace of irony in China's support for peacekeeping missions, particularly in countries such as Sudan, where China plays an active role in perpetuating conflicts and human rights abuses (Tull 2006). In this sense, China is part of the problem, yet simultaneously is trying to be part of the solution. According to Botha (2006:98), this indicates an inconsistency in China's foreign policy. On the one hand, China is willing to ignore large-scale human atrocities and even fuel conflicts in order to accrue commercial gains and ensure energy security. On the other hand, China is eager to present itself as a responsible international power by supporting international efforts to quell those self-same conflicts that it helps to create.

1.2.2.2. Human development

In his paper on China's presence in Africa and the economic and commercial benefits derived from this presence, Lafargue (2005:7) argues that in return, Africa benefits from the booming trade with China. For example, trade between China and the DRC increased between 2002 and 2008 due to a growth in the DRC's exports of raw materials to China. In 2007 the DRC exported US\$304.8 million worth of cobalt,

and this figure increased to US\$1.13 billion in 2009 (Burke, Jansson and Jiang 2009:30). Furthermore, Africa also receives exponentially growing investments (especially in infrastructure) and large volumes of development finance which assist in addressing human security issues. For example, China has been actively involved in the CAR as well. China contributed to major aid projects such as the \$67.4 million loan from the Exim Bank of China to install fixed and mobile networks in the country (Austin, Bradley, Michael, Andreas, Alex, and Vijaya 2013:147). In addition, China contributed towards the construction of a 20, 000 seat stadium in Bangui financed by the Chinese government and also assisted in the cancellation of US\$11,.4 million in debt owed to China (Austin et.al 2013:352).

Lafarge (2005:8) also argues that African governments tend to prefer China's larger, soft loans with few strings attached to criteria-rigged loans from the International Monetary Fund (IMF), the World Bank and Western economies such as the United States of America (USA). Lafargue (2005:4) acknowledges that the more African economies are geared to exporting unprocessed goods, the less likely other sectors like service or manufacturing will flourish within the continent. He points to the fact that cheap imports from China have severe consequences as they sometimes contribute to displace local production in some African countries.

Writing from an emerging economy point of view, in their work on the involvement of emerging economies in Africa, Rampa and Bilal (2011:1) argue that since the 1990s, the relationship between Africa and China has been reinforced rather than being new. It is the continuation of engagement through the Non-Aligned Movement (NAM) and the struggle for independence from Western colonialism. China's cooperation with Africa, including technical assistance, dates back to the 1950s and what is new is the growing intensity of their relationship. For example, in November 1956, the Chinese government gave Egypt 20 million Swiss Francs in cash to support their fight for the right to the Suez Canal. In 1960, the Chinese government agreed to assist Guinea to build a match plant and a cigarette plant. In the 1960s, China sent seven agricultural specialists to Mali in helping their experiments on sugarcane and tea, which also succeeded (Xiaoyum 2004:14). This relationship refers to China's economic (human development) and strategic (human security) assistance to Africa and China's relative weight as an emerging economy in the global economy. Rampa

and Bilal further argue (2011:2) that the economic growth of China serves as a sense of inspiration for Africa because progress on human security and human development can be made relatively quickly. China's involvement in Africa benefits the region because of massive investments in infrastructure and resource development.

Not all authors, though, perceive China's involvement in the continent as being mainly positive. Such authors include Alden and Davies (2006), who express their concerns about the deteriorating human security and human development conditions in African countries. Alden and Davies (2006:83) argue that these conditions include a looming future debt crisis among many African countries. Beattie and Callan (2006) concur with them and adds that "China's emergence as an alternative lender is increasing, creating a new wave of hidden debt in Africa as it backs its companies' expansion overseas with increasingly aggressive lending". For example, in 2007, China loaned over \$2 billion to Zimbabwe in an attempt to prop up its collapsing economy. This led to more debts in Zimbabwe (McGreal 2007).

Moreover, Chileshe (2010:5) acknowledges that in Zambia, Chinese involvement is crucial for two reasons. First, Chinese assistance is mainly through loans and to a lesser extent, grants. Secondly, Zambia has a history of difficulty in managing and paying back external loans, largely because of the lack of a legal framework to guide the process. This leads to an increase of debts in Zambia. Alden and Davies (2006:84) further argue that Chinese involvement in Africa includes a diversion of intra-regional trade which harms the prospect of Africa's human security and human development. This includes efforts towards regional integration and the impact of a huge, non-domestic economic power, such as China, on human rights, labour, environment, and government conditions.

This view is echoed in the work of several others. For instance, from an emerging economy perspective, in his work on China's Diplomacy in Africa, Wenping (2010) adds that China's involvement in Africa has been accelerated by its primary interests to extract raw materials from the region to enrich itself rather than to assist in human security and human development desires. That is, Africa with its established and new oil fields and relative openness to foreign aid and investments is an obvious

place to do business with. He further claims that China's 'tied foreign aid' to Africa helps to attract young Chinese to the region, as the labour for large infrastructure projects is mostly imported. This further increases unemployment of Africans on the continent.

Wenping (2010) adds that Africa has become a migration destination for many Chinese citizens looking for new economic opportunities, thus, undermining local businesses and increases security threats. For example, though Chinese business helps Africa generally, but with some costs, in countries such as SA, citizens have complained about the Chinese in the country. Wenping (2010) further asserts that SA citizens complain that Chinese employees in the country must endure long hours and low pay. Other residents complain that though the Chinese contribute to bringing consumer goods, in the process, they are killing local business.

Moreover, Alden, in his book titled *Resurgent Continent? Africa and the World: Emerging powers and Africa*, argues China has made significant inroads into Western political and economic dominance in Africa (2010:12). According to him, this leads to a diversification of external factors involved across a range of sections in the African economy. Much of this interaction is being framed in terms of new forms of multilateral and bilateral arrangements. He further asserts that China's involvement in Africa is driven by the need to exploit and extract raw materials, natural resources (such as gold and energy) and markets.

1.2.3. Comparison between China and traditional donors

There is a growing debate about the difference between Africa's traditional and new donors. Traditional aid refers to development or economic assistance emanating from Western economies such as the USA, France and the United Kingdom (UK). New development aid refers to development aid from emerging economies such as China, India and Brazil (Kragelund 2010:1). The question is: which aid effectively contributes to Africa's human security and human development? For the purpose of this study, the focus will be on China as an emerging power, with a view to explore the impact of its aid on human security and human development in the continent.

From an emerging country perspective, in his work on China-Africa relations, Anshan (2007:69) asserts that there are growing concerns over China's labour practice and some African countries see limited benefits to local employment and the economy. There are concerns that the Chinese model for infrastructure development in Africa limits employment opportunities for local citizens. From a developing economy point of view, in their paper on emerging economies' aid to Africa, Reisen and Ndoye (2008:9) argue that China generally focuses on a project's economic viability. On the other hand, they argue that traditional partners emphasise long-term debt. They claim that China makes a distinction between productive and non-productive investments – the latter is generally financed through grants and the former by loans.

Writing from an African and Chinese perspective, in their paper titled, 'BRICS Philosophy for Development Financing and their Implications for LICs', Mwase and Yang (2012:3) argue that China tends to provide non-cash financing for African projects without attachment of policy conditionality. China views this as part of the principle of non-interference in the internal affairs of a country and as a means of circumventing corruption (Condon 2012:7). Mwase and Yang (2012:6) further argue that there is no significant positive relationship between aid allocation and institutions. According to them, most Chinese development financing in Africa is concentrated in the infrastructure sector.

For instance, Chinese financing and interest-free loans are offered mostly for the construction of social infrastructure such as stadiums, market squares, medical clinics, schools, and government complexes. Preferential and credit line loans, on the other hand, are provided for productive infrastructure such as hydropower, water generation, roads, and railways. Mwase and Yang (2012) also claim that China's financing, often comes as part of a package such as multi-year financing, including grants complementing FDI (Foreign Direct Investment), loans, and lines of credit with various elements. These elements are intended to tackle multiple constraints on human security and human development and the package can be complex, especially when national resource reserves are used as collateral. For example, under what has been coined the 'Angola Model' Chinese financing is used to build projects, usually infrastructure, which is often contracted to Chinese companies, which source their supplies from China.

Brautigam (2011:6) argues that for traditional donors, public funds for aid are often justified in the home country on the basis of poverty reduction, humanitarian assistance, or social welfare enhancement. For China, which is still a 'lower middle income country' that receives significant development assistance, its assistance to Africa supports mutually beneficial growth for both China and Africa. These differences from traditional donors contribute to divergences in the way in which human security and human development assistance is derived and how its effectiveness is assessed. These differences have also affected how China coordinates with other development partners.

In his work on China's relations with Africa, Buruku (2012) argues that China generally evaluates its assistance to Africa using two main measures: cost competitiveness and completion time. Projects tend to have shorter approval time than those of traditional donors who place greater emphasis on consultation processes, feasibility studies and societal and environmental safeguards. Buruku (2012) points out that the sustainability of some Chinese projects has often been under pressure due to lack of maintenance.

Overall, therefore, there are marked differences between Chinese aid and aid provided by traditional donors from the West. It is furthermore evident that there are contending perspectives and arguments with regard to China's implications for being involved on the African continent. There is a need for more studies that focus on examples of Chinese aid involvement in particular countries and sub-regions on the continent, with specific reference to its impact on the security-development nexus.

Based on the review of scholarly literature, the following propositions were made at this stage:

- China's involvement in Africa is based on an evaluation of the African continent's potential with regard to natural resources and raw materials beneficial to China's fast-growing economy.
- China's involvement in Africa is based on the provision of a market for China's exports, and the continent's usefulness as a political ally in the international arena.

