



RESEARCH PAPER

China and Peace Building in Africa: A Case Study of Sudan

¹ Assad Mehmood Khan ² Nazim Rahim* ³ Samina Noor

1. Ph. D Scholar, Department of Political Science & International Relations, Qurtuba University of Science & Information Technology Peshawar, KP, Pakistan
2. Assistant Professor, Department of Political Science & International Relations, Qurtuba University of Science & Information Technology Peshawar, KP, Pakistan
3. Ph. D Scholar, Department of Political Science, The Islamia University of Bahawalpur, Punjab, Pakistan

PAPER INFO	ABSTRACT
<p>Received: April 07, 2020</p> <p>Accepted: June 15, 2020</p> <p>Online: June 30, 2020</p> <p>Keywords: Africa, China, Balance Of Power Conflict Management, Darfur, Quasi-State</p> <p>*Corresponding Author:</p> <p>mnazimrahim@qu rtuba.edu.pk</p>	<p>This paper attempts to examine that how China's investments on the continent are donating to issues by observing at the transmission of China-made weapons to Sudan under the bid of securing oil to guard its domestic interests. The developing Sino-African relations are perceived by some foreign affairs academia as a measure of the basis on which its larger strategic drives are fabricated. Chinese interests on the continent not merely focus on economic benefits however also includes governmental, security, and sociopolitical interests. This fast-developing correlation offers opportunities besides challenges to both China and Africa. China's trade, venture, and infrastructural development support are primarily re-modeling African markets. However, the growth of China is to posturing a retreat dilemma to the international balance-of-power. Particularly, the US perceives the African continent ravenous for their investments, expertise, and peace and cordiality. Moreover, argumentative concerns are distressing these relations. Africa remained a fatality of Western colonialism in addition to "strings-attached" methodologies. "Strings-attached" methodology is carried around by "quasi-state" players and is frequently being condemned by majority African leadership for interfering with the local affairs within few African states besides also offering the continent reliant on foreign-aid support.</p>

Introduction

China's foreign policy towards African continent started growing during 1950-70s, mainly because China wanted to break international isolation, displace Taiwan as the internationally recognized government of China and replace it with Beijing policy (Sullivan, 2018, p. 15). Moreover, China also wanted to encounter the former Soviet Union for supremacy in using sufficient radical resistor to stop Western radical viewpoints standards of equality, liberty of language, and material being fully engrossed into Chinese Civilization. This was a test for the state's financial development. After demise of Mao's in 1976, China boarded on a slow financial rearrangement which caused an optimistic impact on financial development and additional communication with the outdoor world. To that end, China

underway liaising with African republics by supplementary self-governing African administrations frugally (Taylor, 1998, pp. 443-460).

As China's economic rise in the global scheme, most researchers forecast that by 2025, it may be the most leading political and political company on the world stage (DNI, 2008, p. 29). Essentially, it has all the qualities to make a country a great and influential state: A huge people expert and controlled and full of nationwide arrogance and devotion, massive earthly and a home grownup development and individuality. Its attention is focused on structure philosophical unity with African states to loan Chinese-style collectivism and on deterring Western expansion (Chigora, 2012). Thus far, China's interests in Africa have reformed into more practical pursuits such as expertise, asset, and strength. Interpreting realists, each state is autonomous and follows its domestic interests in the persuasion of protecting its existence. Accordingly, China's objectives to mollify its politico-economic and ethno-ideological interests to dominate its persistence in the international order.

Diplomatically, Africa is perceived as a measure of the basis on which China's larger strategic drives are fabricated. Africa is another greatest continent behind Asia, hence, China pursues African support in polygonal mediums like the UN particularly to the power of its balloting alliance (Eisenman & Kurlantzick, 2006, pp. 219-224). Entirely, the states of Africa represent over one-quarter of the United Nations member countries and ballots, thus, China has the world's communist association (Haifang, 2010, p. 178). China makes every exertion to nurture the extreme number of African republics on all subjects of attention to Beijing that ascend in international opportunities. Perhaps, in 1972 China saw Africa's very actual political position and worth when twenty-six African states were chosen for the People's Republic of China to restart its lead at the United Nations. African elections characterized an additional than one-third of the states sustained the resolve (Shinn & Eisenman, 2012, pp. 109-110). Collectively, China and Africa have been supportive of improvements contained by the UN. Such as, Africa Union has future packages for the UN improvements in which it is tough to cumulative the seats in the UN Security Council from five. Thus, providing a chance for China to increase its presence on the African continent. Ideologically, Sino-Africa shares the same fundamental past persecution by Western foreign controls and a shared empathy as emerging democracies.

Economically, China predominantly involves in Africa in the affluence of investments and trades. Aside from providing raw-capitals to Africa, Chinese finished products find their way simply into able African marketplaces. Interpreting the Africa Center for Strategic Studies (ACSS), 2007s review, Sino-African trade relations have been growing at 40 percent annually, with over 480 percent of the upsurge in manufactured clothing items from China during 2003-2014 (Romei, 2015). China, as an emergent business and trade state, has also extra employments that it extends to Africa to validate and gain investment yields, maximize productivity, and to minimize the liability of dependence on its national economical-plans (Khan, Rahim, & Ali, 2018, p. 82). Moreover, it has also been supporting self-governing African governments prudently providing developmental-loans as a primary instrument of improvement. Additionally, China has also industrialized a working substructure to establish a growing system of relations in Africa. Such as, it funded Tanzania US dollars 412 million for the assembly of the Tanzania-Zambia railway-track (Abdulai, 2016, p. 45).

Though China has unceasingly considered itself as the epicenter of the world's economic sphere, its rising effect in Africa is stimulating the Western delusion of equality, social privileges, the rule-of-law, and acceptable marketplaces in Africa. Though, China has been objected many times for mistreating human-rights and indorsing deprived equality as well as not offering any application to transfer services and info to Africa (Haifang, 2010, p. 56). Through Africa, China has been suspected of interfering with internal matters of African countries such as in Sudan where the Chinese have exposed endowment for the ruling government and challenged the endeavors of the antagonism to take along transformation (Khan, Rahim, & Ali, 2018, p. 78). This is a sign that China's intensely financial and military endowment in some African states deteriorates social equality.

China has portrayed herself as the World's leading country which is emerging with Africa (McNally, 2007, p. 199). This symbol has presented very valuable to her when the exchange with the African continent and this has permitted her to make numerous compensations contrasted to the Western states. Sino-Africa measure a usual mutual ground as an outcome of their communal past involvements, hence, both are the prey of colorism by the industrialists and Imperialists besides faced the same contract of nationwide independence and deliverance afterward the second World War (Hanauer & Morris, 2014, pp. 19-44). Moreover, Sino-African dealings have also been observed on an extraordinary increase as compared to the West in general and the US in particular. Since the end of the Cold War, and the appearance of a unipolar world dominated by the western controls, most African academics, and political élites have viewed it as the basis of apprehension for their countries' growth. Thus, the progression of China is received well among some African leadership (Zhang, 2015, p. 96). China is frequently quoted in some areas as approximately similar to Western expansionism and neo-colonialism in Africa. Some African leadership also perceives the West as the irony of growth and China as the partner of development.

Approximately, few argumentative concerns distressing Africa's relationship with the West contain the western representations of capitalism besides liberalism republics which are appeared by maximum Africans as un-befitting to their factual settings and their history as well as values. The Western states have been forcing African regimes to embrace equality to validate enduring support courses to their states (Phiri, 2020, p. 66). Furthermost, African leadership reason that democracy is immaterial to African growth requirements citing China as a model of development. An additional argumentative subject moving African relations with the West is dogmatic denationalization that has been enforced in few governmental establishments within Africa. Interpreting to some African élites, China has an honest driven-close policy package as unlike the western strategy of denationalization. China does not follow dogmatic denationalization however stimulates state inventiveness side-by-side with private inventiveness having value-adding actions, service formation, and comprehensive growth (Inboden, 2010).

Formerly, soliciting research case study, it is substantial to consider the foremost causative aspects of Sino-Africa peace building relations and Chinese engagement in the Sudan crisis that largely involves: fore-mostly, explanation of China's character of engagement in Africa, while the other efforts to investigate research study in case of Sudan's engagement with China in particular (Rahim, Khan, & Rehman, 2018, p. 2 & 5). Primarily, it offers exploration concluded the considerations of overt engagements and covert dealings with the African continent in general and Sudan in particular. The endeavor

has been laid in to integrate the latest works and readings on the matter to appraise the course and productive in fact. Thus, the reviews recognized, the neediness of upgrading study balancing over China's peace building in African and its engagements in Sudan.

Though, the number of books, periodicals, papers, articles, and readings attempted on the issue, however, limitations of study particularly in the case of Chinese engagement in Sudan exist. Thus, necessitates discoursing the referred concerns by considering the case study of Sudan with particular concern in discovering Sino-Africa peace-making engagements and its repercussions in embryonic international peace building efforts in Africa. Therefore, the data collected for this research will be analyzed referring to the "Realist Theory" to comprehend the behavior and interactions among states (Ripsman, Taliaferro, & Lobell, 2016, p. 183). Sino-African engagements as overall while Sino-Sudan, as specific, is deliberated to oil quest, resource-capital domination, and control over market-economy with viable argument.

Theoretical Setting: A Socio-Political Context of Stability

Predominantly, the international order has always been considered as an arena for power struggle by the realists (Schmidt, 2005, p. 525). Power, an aptitude to affect the performance of others, and the aptitude to thrive in conflict (Barnett & Duvall, 2005, pp. 39-75). Mearsheimer, essentials two styles of power: covert (dormant) power and overt (military) power. Covert power remarks to the socio-economic fixings that lead to the structuring of overt (military) power, hence, mainly established on a state's affluence and general choice of its public (Mearsheimer, 2001, pp. 39-60). Overt power positions to the capability of a state to own well-skilled armed forces and good military equipment. In this circumstance, China is exhausting the dormant power to improve admission to Africa's natural resource capitals to shape its economic development as well as worsening conflicts.

For realists, the global scheme is revolutionary henceforth the need for hegemonic constancy in which states are illustrious by their evolutionary power and score of contentment. The mark of contentment mentions whether a state is a content or discontent with the current international order. Content conditions are absorbed in stabilizing their status-quo, while discontented states are in pragmatic settings that want change in the current international order. At the top of the power-ladder is the leading power or hegemonic-state. Thus, a hegemon is a status-quo power absorbed in stabilizing the current order. Ever since the culmination of the Cold-War, the US has been a hegemon-state during the 21st Century. Though China has emerged as a hegemon-state, however, it is striving to be a great power.

Moreover, the hegemonic constancy viewpoint forecasts that a Counter-America alliance will not arise because other major powers including UK, Japan, and France are all fundamentally contented powers captivated in stabilizing the current world order (Zhai, 2015, pp. 1-5). One school of thought in international relations academia vies that the increase of China in the global scheme makes possible all-pervading security in the quest with the US that might consequence in considerable prospects for confrontation. N Woods views the international system as the arena of competition for power to be the only countless control in the system (Woods, 2011, p. 253). While, Mearsheimer quarrels is unacceptable because, in the author's view, the rise of China in the global system will not prime the confrontation since core power players like UK, Japan, and France are comfortable in stabilizing the US dominance (Mearsheimer, 2001, p. 351).

Predominantly, the qualitative technique of learning is applied to determine the research findings. Moreover, the descriptive-analytical method is used to consider the existing character of existing Sino-African peace-building engagements and contextualizing China's aspect in Sudan's crisis with a foremost emphasis on the recent politico-economic activities and peace-building process.

China and Peace Building in Africa

China's strategy towards the African continent was inconsequential until the 1950s. However, during the 1950-90s, China's policies towards Africa developed gradually. Primarily, it aimed at diminishing Inter-continental inaccessibility, engaging the former Soviet Union for prevalence in the international communist drive, and correspondingly dislodging Taiwan as the globally accepted administration of China. Moreover, China also proclaimed the "Eight Principles" addressing techno-economic support to African states in 1964 (Lengauer, 2011, p. 37). These "Eight Principles" were perceived as candid African-driven strategies by the majority of the African leadership, hence, an outline as contrasting to neo-liberalist IMF besides World Bank Procedures. China has never asked for any treats or involved some conditions, thus, has attracted African leadership to continue with China's inclusive international position.

The problematic issues of Africa with the question of how they are accomplished professionally and skillfully remain one of the foremost trials of the recent era. With the expanding presence and consequence of China in Africa, many academics have been left making assumptions about the future of African states as much as conflict settlement is concerned. China may be Africa's leading trade partner, however, it has usually taken arm's distance method to the continent's skirmishes. Although been a permanent seat in UN Security Council, and owning the veto authority to vigorously address the accountability of all states to stand by their international promises such as indorsing international peace and security, it has been alleged of arms transmissions to Africa against the exchange of raw-capitals. For example, in Sudan, Chinese military armaments have been practiced to threaten the poor and the relegated in hence ensued clashes and human rights exploitations (Lewis, 2009, p. 22).

Moreover, China has been condemned for its character in conflict management and peace building in Africa including the Darfur issue in Sudan to DR Congo. However, China has been engaged in the mutual-recreation part within the post-clash rebuilding process (Safer world, 2011). Such as, it displayed a part in support of Sudan's peace contracts in 2005, which concluded in the signing of the Comprehensive Peace Agreement (CPA) (Lewis, 2009, p. 16). Thus, the emergence of a political change as a new independent democracy of South Sudan. However, China in peace building engagements within Africa has contributed to Involvement in UN Assignments in Africa, supporting human-rights and improvement, monetary assistance and lastly taking part in multidimensional mediums trailing a converted resolve to engagements, de-mining support, and to end within anti-piracy actions.

China and UN Peacekeeping Missions

China has been providing a monetary endowment for UN mediation in Africa through logistic sustenance to the United Nations and the confined regions. It too has

contributed to the UN Mission in Sudan (UNMIS) in 2005-11, which had the objective to provide support to CPA that managed the emergence of South Sudan (Lewis, 2009, p. 17). China has also supported the de-mining efforts in conflicted zones of Africa. Hence, assisted de-mining in Eritrea and also trained over 120 mine-clearance experts of Eritrea (Dequan, 2006, p. 66). Since 1998, China has operated with the UN to afford training in clearing land-mines besides the provision of gears to different African states including Sudan, Chad, Mozambique, Burundi, Ethiopia, Guinea-Bissau, Rwanda, Eritrea, and Angola, thus, helped to decrease risks in conflict zones (Alden & Alao, 2017, p. 30).

Humanitarian Assistance and Development Efforts

China has backed humanitarian assistance and development efforts for different African states like Sudan. As, throughout the Darfur conflict, China contributed food-supplies, clothing, and medicines for thousands of people who were emigrants as a result of the hostilities. Darfur is referred for prolonged under-development and it is one of the problems contributing towards problems in the area (Khan, Rahim, & Ali, 2018, p. 76). To counter this, China has been attractive in the building of infrastructure developments. Chinese suppliers have employed the assembly of principal highways surrounded by the Darfur province. Moreover, by establishing its Embassy in Sudan during 2008, China has too augmented assistance to South-Sudan (Kevin, 1996). Furthermore, through participation in multi-lateral settings, it pursued a negotiated resolution to issues in Africa. It has somewhat displayed a character in deciding issues in Africa. Perhaps, Chinese encumbrance is partially mentioned for bringing Omar al-Bashir to the board and ultimately concludes the "Comprehensive Peace Agreement" (CPA) with the "Sudanese People's Liberation Movement" (SPLM) (Lewis, 2009, p. 17). Thus, led to the creation of South-Sudan in 2011.

China's Anti-Piracy Measures

China has donated in aggressive anti-piracy measures in the Gulf-of-Aden and Indian Oceanic. Nearly twenty percent of the 1,265 Chinese vessels transiting through the Gulf-of-Aden during 2008 were under warning from Somalian pirate, who grabbed a Hong-Kong listed tanker (USCC, 2009, p. 118). China prearranged two destroyers during early 2009 and a supply-ship to support combating piracy in the Gulf. The vessels have nearby 800 team members and around 70 specialized operation marines (Henry, 2016, p. 13). This maritime acquaintance contributes to the Naval forces with valued knowledge distant from its shorelines and permits China to pattern power in a region that is significant to its business. Seemingly, China's marine contingent has achieved well and synchronized efficiently with other fleets in the area (Dutton & Martinson, 2017, p. 27).

China and Peace Building in Sudan

Sino-Sudan relationships were insignificant before Sudan's freedom in 1956. However, the mutual relations among the two states commenced developing immensely from 1956 to 1990. However, this correlation is predominantly trade and industry as it is principally driven to a large extent by Chinese endeavor to maintain its domestic securities. China's intentions at monitoring and manipulating Sudan's capitals predominantly oil (Rahim, Khan, & Rehman, 2018, pp. 1-5). Thus, the claim is forced by China's increasing mandate for oil-capital as a consequence of its express economic development. Moreover, China is also supportive of developmental ventures in numerous areas of the state.

Therefore, it has capitalized billions, predominantly in the oil-industry. Subsequently the endorsement of the CPA in 2005, China have developed as an innovative frontline for an economic industrialist in Sudan. Wherein, it has been supportive of developmental endeavors including structuring education complexes, developing medics and care facilities, transportation besides energy groundwork in the country. Hence, a source of oil-capital other than supporting funding to sustain the government. Moreover, Sudan also exports cotton, metal-scrap, and sesame to China in the trade of weapons imports, clothing, and manufactured textile goods (Prah, 2007, pp. 295-297).

As Chinese wages extra attention to practice soft-power in Sudan, the fast-rising relationship offers massive prospects besides trials to the emerging state. Though China has arbitrated dialogues among belligerent groups in Sudan, yet its role is somewhat intermittent. During the balloting in Sudan in the 2000s, China affianced on the balloting in the capital, while in South-Sudan, by disparity, it had to map the CPA's sections with the topography of Chinese-oil, hence drove added to the conflicts in the region. Even, Chinese subsidized in multi-faceted opportunities following resolve to skirmishes in two Sudan's thus attracted criticism over its character in violating human-rights.

Sudan being one of the foremost oil-capitalists' countries in Africa, the appearance of China in the country offers a rheostat and exploit plan to oil-industry in Sudan. Chinese financial assistance has not merely anticipated "neo-colonialism", however also offered despotism and oppression within Sudan (Cheru & Obi, 2011, p. 74). Paradoxically, China contends that it does not intervene in the domestic matters of the states it contracts with. However, this is deceptive and challenging not merely in Africa but also for countries aspirant to advance democracies (Large, 2010, p. 618). Thus, Sudan was attracted to China when its dealings with international monetary organizations turned problematic owing to the deprived democratic-system. Established on the realist's view, despotism in Sudan would have been powerless to rule the country without substantial Chinese financial and armed endowment (Manyok, 2016, pp. 1-5). Most party-political interpreters hypothesize that Chinese financial support to Sudan's despotic élite has costed very high humanitarian abuses in Sudan and particularly Darfur. Therefore, Sudan is globally documented as the leading African state where dislocation and human-rights exploitations have arbitrated at greater enormity.

Chinese participation in Sudan goes beyond oil-capital. Such as, the Darfur crisis was regarded as by uncultured defilements of humanitarian abuses encompassing an assortment of armed, securities, and law enforcement agency paraphernalia (Khan, Rahim, & Ali, 2018, p. 76). China is among few countries together with France, Saudi-Arabia, and Iran those have extent excessive numbers of fighting weaponries and light-guns and ammo to Sudan. The Darfurian zone was intensely pretentious by the propagation of these fighting weaponries and light-guns. Thus, belligerence faster in height within the conflict region. Moreover, the estimate of the humanitarian abuses, innocent killings, and obliteration of major portions were enormous. Thus, resulted in around 1.6 million general public displacements within Darfur, whereas, over 200,000 displacements to the bordering states including Chad while thousands were massacred (Betts, Loescher, & Milner, 2013, p. 70).

Actually, the West has always been a critic of Chinese for ongoing transmissions of the fighting equipment to Sudan. On the pretext of being well-recognized arms transfers

resulting in massive massacres, sexual-abuses, and kidnappings by government equipped militias and associated fighting groups in combat regions. Currently, China is too a foremost supplier of weaponries to Sudan as the Chinese corporations have the leading outward pale within Sudan's oil-fields. The former official government of Sudan is accused of using outpourings in oil-capitals to support an armed volume that has been practiced in Darfur, involving humanitarian abuses massive massacred in the area(Totten, 2011, p. 272). Furthermore, China has also been suspected of supplying gunships to former governments in Khartoum to subjugate resentment in current South-Sudan and Darfur. Paradoxically, China argues that armaments supplies are supportive of the resistance of the receiver state. Moreover, it does not warn the peace, safety, and reliability of the state in general and the international community as a particular. Yet, also do not intervene with the domestic matters of the state.

Chinese do not merely venerate humanitarian aspects but similarly, trust in the military besides law enforcement agency paraphernalia to empower them to remain its annexation of natural-capitals at the cost of the general public such as the Merowe-dam venture. The venture exiled local farmers and skirmish resulted in the police. However, the people were lastly relocated by the dam establishments (Kleinitz & Näser, 2011, pp. 253-280). Still, there is a resilient trend of Chinese aggravating skirmishes in Sudan. Perhaps, the Chinese workers constructing the power-tower engaged with water-wells in Bayuda while barred the Manasir nomadic to access the facility thus resulted in the killings of numerous of these nomadic by the trained and equipped soldiers (Hickey & Guo, 2010, p. 155).

Hence, as Chinese doughs African continent offering socio-political, socio-economic, techno-economic, and military assistance, there is a requirement for subterranean exploration to be concluded to originate the special effects of China's long-term relationship within the African continent. Though China is inspiring Africa's furthestmost suppressive establishments, thus growing the prospect of crisis. Yet, it is for that reason authoritative in engagement with African states. Hence, concluded that states in Africa require to exercise extra attentiveness in their mutual-relations as they receive Chinese financial assistance, development ventures, and supply fighting apparatus besides training facilities.

Conclusion

China's increased existence in Africa has obstructed equally constructively and destructively towards peace-building and reliability in the continent. Moreover, in a few states like Sudan experiencing representative evolutions, it has offered significant aid-supports including capitalizing in infrastructures, presenting technical contributions, and assistance in cooperative projects. Conversely, in states that have premeditated capitals including Sudan, Nigeria, and Angola, it too deteriorates the raw-capital expletive, thus reinforces neo-genealogical configurations which are barely self-governing hence leading to human rights abuses (Richard, 2008). Such as, since the 1990s, China has facilitated Sudan's government to develop an indigenous armaments market that has certainly driven ferocity the entire region. Moreover, it has also been equipping fire-arms to these states. Thus, such fire-arms are present-day notorious apparatuses for despotism and violence. Lastly, China has donated to peace-keeping interferences to African states developing after conflicts for instance in Sudan and South-Sudan.

Although, realists contend that the global order is recognized by anarchy, thus certainly China's increased existence in Africa has established that. Even though maintaining a permanent seat in UN Security Council, and owning the veto power to vigorously address the obligation of all countries to bear the international undertakings for instance validating inter-continental peace building, China has fueled conflicts through the continent. It has been blamed for careless armaments transferences to African states that have steered conflicts and humanitarian exploitations (Richard, 2005). Whereas maintaining a permanent seat in the UN Security Council, it has the principal obligation to control the flow of armaments transferences and ensure it does not donate to persistent humanitarian exploitations and international human-rights acts. Therefore, African leadership and international relations academics concerned about the continent essentially evaluate the policies that China is engaging with the continent besides the evolution of the bearings it has on Africa's future. Thus, more studies to be done to determine whether China can bring durable peace to Africa, what are the underlying motives for China's involvement in Africa, and can China work in hand with African countries to achieve Millennium Development Goals (MDG) in Africa.

Latterly, the conclusion leads to practicable recommendations concerning China's character in peace building within Africa in general and Sudan in particular. Hence, Chinese investments are generous in reshaping the continent however is not creating any space for the transmission of services and technologies to a particular state. Thus, needs transference of equipment and expertise to African states. Moreover, there is a requirement for the Chinese leadership to support democracy along-with development in Africa. African leadership needs to scrutinize how the finest to answer to the experiments accessible by China's position in Africa by instigating modules from former democracies remained engaged with China. Reinforce pellucidity concerning armaments transmissions through recording and openly on every aspect relating services, security, and policing that have been sanctioned export besides transportation, thus, documenting data from state to the user.

References

- Abdulai, D. N. (2016). *Chinese Investment in Africa*. Milton Park, United Kingdom: Taylor & Francis.
- Alden, C., & Alao, A. (2017). Africa's Security Challenges and China's Evolving Approach to Africa's Peace and Security Architecture. In C. Alden, A. Alao, Z. Chun, & L. Barbe, *China and Africa: Building Peace and Security Cooperation on the Continent* (pp. 13-38). Berlin, Germany: Springer.
- Barnett, M., & Duvall, R. (2005). Power in International Politics. *International Organization*, 59(1), 39-75.
- Betts, A., Loescher, G., & Milner, J. (2013). *The United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees (UNHCR): The Politics and Practice of Refugee Protection*. Abingdon, United Kingdom: Routledge.
- Cheru, F., & Obi, C. (2011). De-coding China-Africa Relations: Partnership for development or '(neo) colonialism by invitation'? *The World Financial Review*, 72-75.
- Chigora, P. (2012, Mar 21). *Challenges And Prospects For Peace And Security In Africa: Why China Matters?* Retrieved from Shanghai Institute for international Studies, China: <http://www.sis.org.cn/Research/EnInfo/1971>
- Dequan, Z. (2006). Humanitarian Landmine Action in China and the Role of the NGO. *The Journal of Mine Action*, 10(2), 66-67.
- DNI. (2008). *Global Trends 2025: A Transformed World*. Office of the Director of National Intelligence (U.S.). Washington: US Government Printing Office.
- Dutton, P. A., & Martinson, R. D. (2017). *China's Evolving Surface Fleet*. Newport, USA: CMSI Red Books .
- Eisenman, J., & Kurlantzick, J. (2006). China's Africa Strategy. *Current History*, 219-224.
- Haifang, L. (2010). China's development cooperation with Africa: historical and cultural perspectives. In F. Cheru, & C. Obi, *The Rise of China and India in Africa: Challenges, Opportunities and Critical Interventions* (pp. 53-62). London, United Kingdom: Zed Books Ltd.
- Hanauer, L., & Morris, L. J. (2014). *China in Africa Implications of a Deepening Relationship*. California, United States: RAND Corporation.
- Henry, J. (2016). *China's Military Deployments in the Gulf of Aden: Anti-Piracy and Beyond*. Paris, France: The Institute Francais Relations Internationals (IFRI).
- Hickey, D., & Guo, B. (2010). *Dancing with the Dragon: China's Emergence in the Developing World*. Lanham, USA: Lexington Books.
- Inboden, W. (2010, June 16). *The reality of the 'China Fantasy'*. <https://foreignpolicy.com/2010/06/16/the-reality-of-the-china-fantasy/>

- Khan, A. M., Rahim, N., & Ali, S. (2018). Darfur Conflict beyond Ethnic Division: A Politico-Economic Perspective. *Global Political Review (GPR)*, 75-83.
- Kleinitz, C., & Näser, C. (2011). The Loss of Innocence: Political and Ethical Dimensions of the Merowe Dam Archaeological Salvage Project at the Fourth Nile Cataract (Sudan). *Conservation and Management of Archaeological Sites*, 13(2-3), 253-280.
- Large, D. (2010). *The End of Abstraction: China's Development Relations with Sudan*. Abingdon, United Kingdom: Routledge.
- Lengauer, S. (2011). China's foreign aid policy: Motive and method. *Culture Mandala: Bulletin of the Centre for East-West Cultural & Economic Studies*, 9(2), 35-81.
- Lewis, M. (2009). *Skirting the Law: Sudan's Post-CPA Arms Flows*. Graduate Institute of International and Development Studies. Switzerland: the Small Arms Survey.
- Manyok, P. (2016). Oil and Darfur's Blood: China's Thirst for Sudan's Oil. *Journal of Political Sciences & Public Affairs*, 1-5.
- McNally, C. A. (2007). *China's Emergent Political Economy: Capitalism in the Dragon's Lair*. Abingdon, United Kingdom: Routledge.
- Mearsheimer, J. J. (2001). *The Tragedy of Great Power Politics*. New York, United States: W. W. Norton & Company.
- Phiri, M. Z. (2020). History of Racial Capitalism in Africa: Violence, Ideology and Practice. In S. O. Oloruntoba, & T. Falola, *The Palgrave Handbook of African Political Economy* (pp. 63-82). London, United Kingdom : Springer Nature.
- Prah, K. K. (2007). *Afro-Chinese Relations: Past, Present and Future*. Cape Town, South Africa: Centre for Advanced Studies of African Society (CASAS).
- Rahim, N., Khan, A. M., & Rehman, A. U. (2018). Chinese Politico-Economic Engagement in Africa: Strategy of Economic Diplomacy and Beyond. *Global Economics Review (GER)*, 3(1), 1-11.
- Ripsman, N. M., Taliaferro, J. W., & Lobell, S. E. (2016). *Neoclassical Realist Theory of International Politics*. Oxford, United Kingdom: Oxford University Press.
- Romei, V. (2015, December 3). *China and Africa: trade relationship evolves*. Financial Times: <https://www.ft.com/content/c53e7f68-9844-11e5-9228-87e603d47bdc>
- Schmidt, B. C. (2005). Competing Realist Conceptions of Power. *Millennium - Journal of International Studies*, 33(3), 523-549.
- Shinn, D. H., & Eisenman, J. (2012). *China and Africa: A Century of Engagement*. Philadelphia, Pennsylvania, United States: University of Pennsylvania Press.
- Sullivan, L. R. (2018). *Historical Dictionary of Chinese Foreign Affairs*. Lanham, Maryland, United States: Rowman & Littlefield.

- Taylor, I. (1998). China's Foreign Policy towards Africa in the 1990s. *The Journal of Modern African Studies*, 36(3), 443-460 (18).
- Totten, S. (2011). *An Oral and Documentary History of the Darfur Genocide*. Santa Barbara, California, United States: ABC-CLIO.
- USCC. (2009). *Report to Congress of the U.S.-China Economic and Security Review Commission*. Washington, D.C.: U.S.-China Economic and Security Review Commission.
- Woods, N. (2011). international political economy in the age of globalization. In J. Baylis, S. Smith, & P. Owens, *The Globalization of World Politics: An Introduction to International Relations* (pp. 246-261). Oxford, Oxford, UK: Oxford University Press.
- Zhai, H. (2015, April 22). *Does International Order Ultimately Rely on States and Military Power?* Retrieved from E-International Relations: <https://www.e-ir.info/2015/04/22/does-international-order-ultimately-rely-on-states-and-military-power/>
- Zhang, C. (2015). *The Domestic Dynamics Of China's Energy Diplomacy*. Singapore: World Scientific Publishing company.